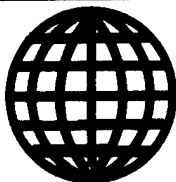


JPRS-EER-90-021
16 FEBRUARY 1990



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JPRS Report

East Europe

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BULGARIA

New Ministries, State Committee Established

*90EB0192B Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in
Bulgarian 12 Nov 89 p 3*

[Text]

Ukase No. 2557

In accordance with Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the Resolution on Structural and Personnel Changes in the Council of Ministers and Its Agencies.

Issued in Sofia on 20 November 1989 and sealed with the state seal.

P. Mladenov, chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic;

N. Manolov, secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Resolution on Structural and Personnel Changes in the Council of Ministers and its Agencies

In accordance with Article 78, points 14 and 16, and Article 100 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Ninth National Assembly

Resolves:

1. Establishes:

A Ministry of Finance;

A Ministry of Industry and Technologies;

A Ministry of Internal Trade;

A Ministry of Construction, Architecture, and Urbanization;

A State Committee for Environmental Protection with the rank of ministry.

2. Closes down the National Council for Education, Science, and Culture.

3. Relieves:

Petko Danchev, from his position as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;

Aleksandur Fol, from his position as chairman of the National Council for Education, Science, and Culture, minister, and member of the government;

Andrey Lukanov, from his position as minister of foreign economic relations;

Petur Mladenov, from his position as minister of foreign affairs;

Stoyan Ovcharov, from his position as minister of economy and planning.

4. Appoints:

Georgi Pirinski deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;

Kiril Zarev deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy and planning;

Mincho Yovchev deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technologies;

Stoyan Mikhaylov deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;

Belcho Belchev minister of finance;

Boyko Dimitrov minister of foreign affairs;

Ivan Shpatov minister of internal trade;

Nikolay Dyulgerov chairman of the State Environmental Protection Committee;

Petur Petrov minister of construction, architecture, and urban planning;

Khristo Khristov minister of foreign economic relations;

Petur Balevski member of the government and first deputy minister of economy and planning.

5. Approves the appointment of Georgi Yordanov as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and of Asen Khadzhiyolov as minister of public education, appointed by Ukase No 1322 of the State Council, dated 4 July 1989.

The present resolution was passed by the Ninth National Assembly, 11th session, on 17 November 1989 and sealed with the state seal.

St. Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Associations Closed, Responsibilities Reassigned

*90EB0246B Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in
Bulgarian 28 Nov 89 pp 1-2*

[Text]

Council of Ministers Resolution No. 16 of 21 November 1989 on the Closing Down of Associations

The Council of Ministers resolves:

1. Closes down, as of 1 January 1990 the following associations: a. Communications; b. Construction and Construction Industry; c. Industry for Man; d. Forest

Economy and Forest Industry; e. National Agroindustrial Union; f. Elektronika; g. Energetika; h. Biotechnological and Chemical Industry; i. Heavy Machinebuilding; j. Transportation, Agricultural and Construction Equipment; k. Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials.

2. The assets and liabilities and the remaining rights and obligations of the closed associations shall be assumed by:

a. The Ministry of Industry and Technology, for the Elektronika, , Biotechnological and Chemical Industry, Heavy Machine Building, Transportation, Agricultural and Construction Equipment, Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials, and Industry for Man associations;

b. The Ministry of Construction, Architecture and Urbanization, for the Construction and Construction Industry Association;

c. The Committee for Communications and Information, for the Communications Association;

d. The Committee for Energy, for the Energetika Association;

e. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forests, for the National Agroindustrial Union and the Forest Economy and Forest Industry associations.

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers
Pancho Burkalov, secretary of the Council of Ministers

Ukases on Penal Code, Amnesty Law Promulgated

*90EB0192A Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in
Bulgarian 24 Nov 89 pp 1-2*

[Text]

Ukase No. 2560

In accordance with Articles 84, paragraph 1, and 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic hereby

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the Law Amending the Penal Code.

Issued in Sofia on 20 November 1989 and sealed with the state seal.

P. Mladenov, chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic;

N. Manolov, secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Law on Penal Code Amendments

(Published in DV, No. 26, 1968; amended, No. 29, 1968; amended and supplemented, No. 92, 1969; Nos. 26 and

27, 1973; No. 89, 1974; No. 95, 1975; No. 3, 1977; No. 54, 1978; No. 89, 1979; No. 28, 1982; amended, No. 31, 1982; amended and supplemented, No. 44, 1984; Nos. 41 and 79 of 1985; corrected, No. 80, 1985; amended, No. 89, ???; corrected, No. 90, 1986; amended, No. 37, 1989)

1. Article 273 is deleted.

Concluding Stipulations

2. The present law will be enacted as of the day of its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

The present law was passed by the Ninth National Assembly, 11th session, held on 17 November 1989 and sealed with the state seal.

St. Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Ukase No. 2561

In accordance with Article 84, paragraph 1, and Article 93, point 6, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the Amnesty Law.

Issued in Sofia on 20 November 1989 and sealed with the state seal.

P. Mladenov, chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic;

N. Manolov, secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Amnesty Law

Article 1

Amnesty is granted for crimes committed as per Article 277 of the Penal Code.

Article 2

2.1. Individuals who have committed crimes as per Article 273 shall not be considered criminally liable and will not serve their sentence. They shall be freed from the consequences of their sentencing as per Article 83 of the Penal Code.

2.2. Confiscated property and fines levied on the basis of Article 53 of the Penal Code, based on the sentences passed prior to the publication of this law will not be returned and refunded.

2.3. Confiscated items and funds on pending penal cases for crimes committed as per Article 273 of the Penal Code shall be returned to their owners unless their

acquisition or ownership is prohibited or else if they are subject to confiscation on the basis of other laws.

2.4. Pending writs for fines imposed for crimes committed as per Article 273 of the Penal Code will be dropped.

Additional and Concluding Stipulations

1. Disputes related to the application of this law shall be resolved by the court which has issued the sentence or which has jurisdiction over the respective case.

2. This law shall become effective as of its day of publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

3. The execution of the law is assigned to the minister of justice and the minister of internal affairs.

The present law was passed by the Ninth National Assembly, 11th session, held on 17 November 1989 and sealed with the state seal.

St. Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Slovak Premier on Prospects for Coming Year

90EC0216A Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Organizing Free Elections"]

[Text] Bratislava—Czechoslovak Press Office [CSTK]—Milan Cic, Premier of the SSR Government, responded as follows to questions from a CSTK reporter as to how he views his responsibilities and what is most important for him to accomplish as Premier in 1990.

The SSR Government as a whole, each individual member and, understandably I myself are aware of an obligation to implement the program that we submitted on 19 December 1989 to the Slovak National Council and the general public. We are responsible to the highest representative body of the republic and to all its citizens for implementing this program and all the action measures required by the program declaration. We request their trust and support in our efforts to renew society, and to achieve a new quality in our economic, social and intellectual lives.

A priority task for the government is the organization of free, democratic elections for all representative bodies. In the interest of assuring the principles of constitutionality and legality we will work on drafting a Constitution for the SSR, a new Constitution for the CSSR, and all laws that help assure the justified interests and rights of free citizens and the sovereignty of the people.

Although the impact of the SSR Government is limited by the timing of the upcoming elections our implementation measures in the economic and social areas must be in line with the long term objectives of social and

economic development. With this in mind we are formulating a new strategy for economic reform and for dealing with the long standing problems facing our government as well as our entire society. These problems include:

1. Developing and implementing a program of quality environmental protection and enhancement. The program must synchronize appropriately ecological, social, technical, economic and cultural-intellectual considerations.

2. Giving priority to support for the domestic market. This involves full coordination and cooperation between all sectors, including the federal government. We also have to take carefully planned steps to improve resource formation, stop the decline in our foreign trade, stabilize our balance of payments by increasing foreign trade, and develop conditions that can lead to koruna convertibility. The principle of an open economy must apply to all economic activities. This means lifting restrictions on the importing and exporting activities of firms, and providing incentives for the formation of joint ventures with foreign firms.

3. Implementing an anti-inflationary budgetary policy, limiting investment expenditures, expenditures on defense, and on the bureaucracy. We need to create conditions that will support individual and cooperative entrepreneurship. Wages and bonus policy needs to be tied closely to resource formation. A system needs to be organized and realistic conditions created for financial equilibrium and our effective integration into world financial, and especially currency-loan systems. Renewing the membership of the CSSR in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank should help in this regard.

4. Updating the law concerning the state enterprise and making changes in the organizational structure of the production-technical base, scientific-research base, and money supply, based on analyses of the current legal situation and experiences from the operation of state enterprises. It appears that administrative monopolies persist in these areas. This implies a need for restructuring. The new structures should provide more opportunity for a mixed economy based on all forms of ownership. An antimonopoly policy and the potential for new enterprises to enter a market, the monitoring and analysis of markets can all help to make our economic structure more efficient.

5. Doing something about the relationship between agricultural and industrial production, mainly the reasons for the high costs of agricultural enterprises related to prices they must pay for machinery and chemicals. We need to reconsider transfer payments and other financial relationships and problems.

6. Paying attention to the legislative and actual application of legislative, judicial, and executive power. Among other things, this requires a new concept of free elections, of relationships between legislative and governmental

offices, a strengthening of control systems, the creation of an independent judiciary, constitutional courts and administrative courts authorized to review the decisions of administrative offices.

7. Adhering to the valuational and legal principles of the formation and application of quality law, a law that reflects actual social relationships, that guarantees social and legal certainty for citizens, that protects the freedoms, rights and interests of individuals, including the functioning of economic and commercial relationships and of a democratic political system.

In line with the revolutionary movement of 1968 we will form a democratic system, a socially just society in which a free individual stands at the apex of the pyramid, a citizen of our republic. If we undertake all our activities with this single goal in mind, we will then be able to view with a clear conscience everything that is moral, that serves the humanistic interest and goals of our policy, i.e. the person and all of society, as democratic, and therefore socialist as well.

Spokesman for New Leftist Movement on Its Program

*90EC0240A Prague TVORBA in Czech
20 Dec 89 pp 4-5*

[Interview with Petr Uhl by Rudolf Misek: "Why a Left Alternative?"; date and place not given; first paragraph is TVORBA introduction]

[Text] One of the five-member founding group of the Left Alternative and coauthor of its manifesto, Petr Uhl, granted us an interview.

[TVORBA] By way of an introduction, a necessary personal question: Who are you? In the press you have been publicly portrayed in the darkest of lights, so that now your manifesto of the Left Alternative will be a considerable surprise to many....

[Uhl] I have been referred to as a Trotskyist and a terrorist. A terrorist I am not, I never was, and I never had anything to do with any violent acts or exhortations to them, or with their planning. The designation as a Trotskyist can be misleading. I am a revolutionary Marxist, and around the world revolutionary Marxists are often referred to as Trotskyists. I, too, espouse the legacy of Leon Trotsky to a considerable degree. Particularly his "The Betrayed Revolution" and his views and ideas which he pushed within the framework of the left opposition while still in the Soviet Union and later in exile. So much, then, about my political orientation.

I am 48 years old, I was born in Prague, graduated in mechanical engineering, and worked as a design engineer and a patent reviewer. Then for 4 years as a high school professor at the technical school in Betlemska Street where the Prague Spring found me. During the time of the Prague Spring I was active in the Association of Opinions of the Left—in fact, with two other founding

members of the Left Alternative. This association later broke up, and I then became active during 1968-69 in the student movement, from which the Revolutionary Youth Movement actually evolved as a political group of the extreme left. It was not exclusively Marxist, but Marxism was predominant in it. It was a revolutionary socialist group, and it engaged primarily in discussions, creating an organization and making pamphlets for the 1st anniversary of August. I was then sentenced for this activity, together with my friends—19 of us stood before the court then, and 18 of us were sentenced. I got four years, and I served them. Then I was free for five and one-half years. I established a family with Anna Sabatova, who also spent time in prison for political activity. I am one of the founders of Charter 77, that is, people who worked on the text of the basic declaration of the Charter, later I was also present at the birth of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted, and began publishing already in 1987 information on the Charter, which is the oldest samizdat in Czechoslovakia. It is still being published and it will continue to be published, as we have decided. For my activity in the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted I was sentenced, together with Vaclav Havel, Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier, Dana Nemcova, and Ota Bednarova, in the well-known trial of 1979. I was sentenced to five years, and I served them too. Then I returned—that is, again five and one-half years—and I began to be active, particularly in the Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity, later in the East European Information Agency that evolved from it, and I work as an independent journalist. Besides that, I continue working as the editor of information on Charter 77, and I am also member of the Helsinki Committee. I am still working as a stoker in the national enterprise Metrostav, as I have been doing already for the past five years.

One more thing: I made a serious mistake in my work by publishing untrue information about the death of Martin Smid. We were absolutely convinced in the East European Information Agency that the information was true, and that is why we published it. The circumstances under which this information came to us, and others about which we are learning only now, are very reliable; we are continuing to check them, and when we are clear about this matter, we shall publish it. Nevertheless, I was accused on that account and placed in detention where I spent a week, even though it had to be clear to the police from the beginning that I did not commit any criminal offence. I was convinced that the information I published was true. Thus one necessary legal condition of the two criminal offences of which I was accused was not met.

[TVORBA] The manifesto of the Left Alternative is dated 26 November 1989. It appears that it rather fully and sufficiently clearly expresses the ideas of many strata of citizens about another socialism than the one with which they do not have the best experiences.

[Uhl] Yes, it could be put that way. Because this manifesto is not yet available to all readers, I shall mention

here some of the ideas contained in it. We want socialism to be based on a consistent and constitutionally codified political pluralism. We think that the basis of the democratic system will be a representational democracy, of the parliamentary type and with economic self-government. However, a parliamentary system must also be protected against the dominance of political parties or, as the case may be, of their leadership over society. It will be necessary to supplement the routine citizens' control by elements of direct participation of people in the administration of public affairs; while respecting civic freedoms, the political system may—given the nonexistence of the bourgeoisie and bureaucracy as social groups of repressive, suppressive, or manipulative character—evolve from classic parliamentarism to societal self-government. Socialism, for us, can be based only on the principles of social justice and equality. We reject such an economic system in which owners of capital or those who have the right to manage it concentrate economic power in their hands and thus exclude workers from decisionmaking on economic activity and its results. Political power stems from economic power. Even in countries with real democracy, where this political-economic system is applied with the consent of society's majority, this power, based on the ownership of capital and the right to manage it, has a distinctly manipulative character. Even though the dominance of money, a one-sided orientation on an individual's performance, and the privatization of society connected with exploitation, may appear more acceptable than the current situation in Czechoslovakia, we reject it as the wrong alternative, one which could perhaps increase the average standard of living but at the same time would produce extreme social differentiation. Key to the development of economic self-government must be a democratic creation of economic plans and a continually increasing share of individual workers in decision-making on work, its results and conditions. The developed market must be regulated. Economic entities competing in the market should not be individuals or groups strong in capital, but individual enterprises increasingly managed by workers. It is necessary to support cooperative forms of management, true cooperatives with internal democracy and self-government, independent of state bureaucracy. We also support individual ownership of the means of production, as long as they are meant for enterprises which are using the results of one's own work or for family enterprises. However, as socialists we hold the opinion that a significant share of private economy is not in accord with the real interests of society. Society should not tolerate the development of exploitative production relationships. I have already mentioned the role of the state in the political system and the new supply-and-demand economic system. Its task should be to moderate and remove developing social inequalities and tensions, with the provision that the frequency and intensity of state intervention will gradually decrease. We think that in the democratic system which we are going to build it will not be difficult to change the democratic forms, because these forms are not and will not be tied to such relatively stable capitalist

structures and social differentiations as exist in the West. Democracy of production, or democracy in the production sphere, is one of our goals. The trade union movement must also position itself on its natural base and transfer the center of gravity of activities from the bureaucratic apparatus to the membership base.

[TVORBA] The multitude of directions, streams, movements, and parties which have sprung up or have been emerging into the open these past days has become in this short time boundless. For the time being many of their goals and platforms are extraordinarily similar, as is given by the circumstances of the continually developing and open political events. Thus the question about the name of your movement: why a Left Alternative?

[Uhl] First, I am going to say that I do not agree with you completely, because when I read the program of Obroda [Renewal] and its declaration and compared it to the principles of the Christian-Democratic club HOS [as published], I noticed considerable differences. Otherwise, under the conditions prevailing in Czechoslovakia such compartmentalization into left and right does not always coincide with what we are used to in the West. The designation of left—I would prefer leftist—was chosen because we are socialists, as it is, after all, also clear from the subtitle; and we emphatically endorse this manifesto.

Moreover, we wanted to distinguish ourselves from other democratic socialists, who today are establishing, for example, a party of democratic socialism in Slovakia, and the Democratic Communist Forum certainly also belongs among them. We wanted to distinguish ourselves from them by this word, in order to emphasize that in the history of the workers' movement and socialism there always have been tendencies not only democratic—let us say antiparty (against parties), but that they were also tendencies very authoritarian, to a considerable degree antistate, that means that they tried to minimize the state, and, even though that word has not been used prior to the Second World War, tendencies toward self-government. It is interesting that although the concept of self-government appears, once even in the proclamation of the Civic Forum, the idea itself of self-government is somehow being pushed into the background, it is denounced by the civic movement. Even it includes considerable elements of self-government. If not of self-government, then elements of self-organizing—and self-organizing is precisely the necessary prerequisite for the development of economic and political self-government.

We wanted to distinguish ourselves from our socialist-friends, whom we do not want to insult by calling them rightists, but who objectively and also from the historical viewpoint tend toward social democracy—that means, to those more rightist wings of the workers' movement. We also wanted to emphasize that the left need not be always connected with Stalinism. We are confirmed anti-Stalinists.

Perhaps important for us in this sense is the last sentence of the manifesto, which was put there in a very prophetic manner when we finished it on 16 November, that is before the "November revolution" took place—that we shall not accept in our group: those people who shared in the political repression or bear responsibility for the stagnation of our country and society, because we fear—and that is unfortunately a danger which concerns not only us but also many other groups, that some Stalinists who held various functions will now look for suitable organizations, movements, etc., which at least formally express themselves in a language similar to theirs or hold views similar to theirs, even though they actually never held such views, or mostly never did, because for them it was only a matter of propaganda. We are concerned that our movement may be misused just by them. In order that that does not happen, we decided to identify those people as cadres. It is not a nice thing for us to do, but we shall do it.

[TVORBA] It is impossible not to ask about the relationship of the Left Alternative to Marxism.

[Uhl] Yes, I am a Marxist, a revolutionary Marxist—and most of the people who collaborated on this manifesto espouse Marxism, although not quite all of them. Or, in other words, none of us is an anti-Marxist or rejects Marxism, but some people have certain reservations about Marxism as a doctrine which presaged, and necessarily had to presage, an authoritarian development of society.

The fact that the manifesto does not contain the word Marxism, that is not for some opportunistic reasons. To the extent that we are Marxist, we acknowledge it. Of course, far more people espouse Marxism than just we of the Left Alternative. Perhaps even most or all reformist communists espouse Marxism in some form. Certainly today it is no longer possible to espouse every Marxist idea, and Leninist in particular. It is necessary to begin working with all postulates and theories in a new way. I believe that the fundamental view of society is to study the relationships of production, from which are derived to some extent all other social problems in society, or are minimally linked to them. The other important principle of Marxism is the possibility of understanding social development, analyzing it and influencing it in some way.

On this second point I would like to add that we are talking only about influencing social development. The idea certainly is not for us to conjure up some notions or pictures of beautiful tomorrows and mobilize people on behalf of those beautiful ideals, to fanaticize them so that they would realize these best of all alternatives or these beautiful tomorrows. Everyone has probably already given up this idea. But it seems to me wrong to go to the other extreme and concede that it is not possible to understand social development and therefore not possible to influence it either. Or that this understanding and influence can be only very minimal, so that it is

hardly worthwhile. But that is not what we think and in that sense all of us begin with Marxism.

[TVORBA] Of course, in order that a movement, any movement, can influence a practical implementation of its principles, it must have adherents and the support of the public. To whom do you turn with the manifesto of the Left Alternative, what response do you expect—or do you wish to be merely a center of ideas?

[Uhl] We do not wish to be merely a center of ideas. We want a response, but so far we do not have it. It is a paradox that the current events have drawn us into their vortex to such an extent that we do not have in fact the time to devote to the Left Alternative. We consider it more important to do our work, whether in the civic forums, strike committees, independent publicity activities—that concerns mainly me—or in the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted, because there are still political prisoners and I always considered that question more important than some political or ideological platform. Therefore I am now using this opportunity, when I am getting space on the pages of newspapers, to say that we turn to all the people, with the exception of those who would want to misuse our movement. I believe that we shall attract mostly young people, and we are obviously interested in attracting as many blue collar workers as possible. But also intellectuals and all people generally. We are not some class-specific group, we want to broaden our group, establish our own magazine, we want to achieve the opportunity, depending on the number of our adherents, to express our views on the radio, television, and in the pages of the press, and we also want to take part in the election battle.

[TVORBA] After studying the manifesto of the Left Alternative, I nevertheless have the feeling that one aspect is not emphasized enough. Briefly, and therefore not entirely precisely, I could call it the "degree of socialism." By that I have in mind a greater emphasis on a somewhat different scale of values for the near future than are, to put it mildly, the anachronistic values of the past century modified by the current consumerist society.

[Uhl] We tried to express it by starting with the idea that socialism in fact does not exist in this country: that the system which developed did in fact come into being by suppressing the capitalist way of production, but that it created a society—in many aspects and mostly in the political and economic, but obviously also in the moral aspect—worse than is the Western, capitalist, system. But we made the effort to express our opposition precisely to the consumerist society. We did not think about the 19th century, perhaps because we are in thrall of the 19th century ideals, but, to be self-critical, I concede that it did not occur to us. Our opposition to a consumerist society is of course deeper, it is abyssal. We trust that many people will acknowledge that such individualization and privatization of life is in its essence immoral. That it is a chase after money, after position, career, fulfilling one's life only by material possessions.

Our manifesto is not an election program. It is an ideological manifesto. Other matters, such as health care, questions of education, upbringing, but also trade unions, and so forth—all that will be the subject of our further work. We shall be able to undertake it only when we have enough people. For the time being there are only a few of us; we did not have any publicity and had response only where our distributed manifesto had won people over.

I would be like to see this group hold on, to gain a certain place in society, because I think that it could positively influence social development, if perhaps only by the fact that it would dispel some illusions. Even in that I see its immediate task.

Interior Ministry Deals With Survivals of Past

Report on Current Measures

90EC0231A Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
17 Jan 90 p 1

[CSSR Interior Minister R. Sacher on State Security]

[Text] (CTK)—Because of the growing misgivings among the public about the current state of the State Security Corps, which are also appearing in the media, I want to inform the public about the measures which have been gradually adopted by the new leadership of the Federal Ministry of Interior.

1. The investigative agencies of the State Security at the level of the center as well as in localities have been abolished.

2. All units which dealt with the so-called struggle against internal enemies, that is, against churches and antisocialist groups, with tasks of internal intelligence in the area of youth, science, education, culture, mass media, health care, sports, centers of ideological diversionism, and emigre groups have been dissolved, at the center as well as in the regions and districts. Members of these units were relieved of their duties. Their files were sealed and their service weapons were handed over to the armory. We are creating independent review commissions at the level of the center and localities which will evaluate in writing the records and activities of individuals and propose further action.

3. As of today, all members of the State Security are relieved of their positions of command at the level of the center, regions, and districts. In the future their work in review proceedings will be carried out by newly appointed officers from the ranks of the Public Security Corps. I turn to the public with the request to support these measures and activities of Public Security. A commission of laymen was established at the center level from the ranks of civic initiatives, political parties, and former members who had to leave State Security during the past 20 years for political reasons. Similar commissions are being established at the regional and district

levels so that security matters in localities can be resolved by the new commanders in contact with the public.

A meeting was called for 20 January at 9 am of former members of the Ministry of Interior and civilian workers assigned to units within the province of the Federal Ministry of Interior, who had to leave their functions because of their political views or political affiliation. They will be able to return to active duty if they so request and if they are qualified in terms of their professionalism, civic spirit, and health. The public will be informed about all further measures.

Minister Talks About Immediate Tasks

90EC0231B Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
17 Jan 90 p 1

[Article on interview with Deputy Minister of Interior Richard Sacher by Reuter correspondent Thalia Griffith]

[Text] (CTK)—In the gloomy building, which he inherited from his communist predecessor two weeks ago, the new minister of the interior has a revolver in his desk. So introduced Thalia Griffith, a correspondent for the British press agency Reuter, her talk with Richard Sacher.

"I am never quite certain what might happen. We had to retain many from the old staff, because otherwise we would not know how the apparatus here works. People who work here are alarmed by what is going on. I do not look like a minister", added R. Sacher, pointing to his sweater and open-neck shirt.

Reuter identifies R. Sacher as a Roman Catholic and a leading reformer of the Czechoslovak People's Party. It then quotes his words that the country will continue to need a police force in a certain form. According to Reuter the minister conceded that the winnowing process could be difficult, but noted at the same time that many policemen have a professional attitude and not a firm political conviction which would tie them to the former regime.

"Many of the policemen tell me: We never wanted to be directed by the Communist Party, we wished that our commanders would give us our orders", said R. Sacher, and continued: "If any of the present members of Security do not intend to accept my orders, there are enough people to replace them."

The minister stated, among other things, that he wished to obtain for Czechoslovakia membership in Interpol. Antiterrorist and antidrug units are to be established, aimed at fighting any increase in crime as a result of the relaxation of controls at the borders. "The doors are being opened for international crime to operate on Czechoslovak soil," said R. Sacher and emphasized that an effective fight to counter it must extend beyond Czechoslovak borders.

Reuter further announced that on Monday afternoon the activities of the office on Gorky Square in Prague, which has been engaged in the surveillance of mail, were curtailed. According to Sacher, in the future it will keep under surveillance only printed matter, in order to avoid importation of materials promoting terrorism and pornography. The minister of interior at the same time announced that local experts in chemistry and roentgenology will be made available to the criminal investigators. Certain arrangements will remain in the building for reasons of national security.

Mail No Longer Surveilled

90EC0231C Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
17 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Federal Minister of the Interior Dr. Ivan Prusa by Jan Kastanek; date and place not given; first paragraph is LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE introduction]

[Text] The fact that the agencies of the Ministry of Interior violate the privacy of mail, inspect the contents of letters and packages, particularly those coming from abroad or going abroad, has been written about already in the past—for example, in 1968, but also now, quite recently. Is it true that this unlawful practice continues? The answer to this and other questions was given by the first deputy of the Federal Minister of Interior, Dr. Ivan Prusa.

[Prusa] This can be talked about only in the past tense. The violating of the privacy of mail or packages occurred on the basis of internal orders, therefore in contradiction with existing laws, and was in essence an infringement of one of the basic civic freedoms. The surveillance was performed randomly, or in instances where tips on senders or addressees were received. In the second half of December an order was issued to stop this activity.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] Are you sure that the workers in question consistently follow this order?

[Prusa] Yes, they follow it. Just today [editor's note—on Monday] the Deputy Minister of Transportation and Communication Doc Ivan Laska, CSc, and I inspected the buildings in question, and we informed the Civic Forum of the Postal Transport Administration about the results. We shall turn over one of the buildings, where previously this mail censorship was being carried out, to the postal service for general operations.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] One of the buildings—does that mean that the surveillance of mail will continue?

[Prusa] Certainly, but only in accord with legal regulations. However, we are not talking about surveillance of citizens' letters, but of printed matter from abroad. What was being done before was against the law. As in any other country, our security agencies will continue to examine mailed printed matter which might break our laws or be connected with criminal activity. In accord with valid law amendments we do not allow, for

example, transport of literature promoting fascism, pornography, etc. But at issue are even more serious matters. For example drugs, which, although until now only sporadically, nevertheless have been making their appearance. We have also received certain warnings from neighboring countries—I repeat, warnings to which we must give appropriate attention—that explosives might be transported to or through our territory. The drug trade, international terrorism, these forms of organized crime could appear here, too. And we must prevent it in our own interest and in the interest of other countries with which we wish to cooperate in crime detection and prevention. By the way, the renewal of our membership in Interpol is a question of a very short time. But to go back to what we were discussing: surveillance of mail is possible only in accord with the constitution for a purpose determined by law. In practice, that means with the concurrence of the appropriate prosecutor or court of law; and for the future we are drafting new law amendments where everything will be delimited even more precisely than before. Or in other words, only a negligible part of mail will be surveilled, we are talking obviously only about fractions of percent. By the way—by discontinuing the past practice the travel time of mail between the sender and the addressee will be shortened.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] Thank you, Mister Minister, for your straightforward answers. I would like to ask one more question of a more personal nature. How does one become the first deputy of the federal minister of interior?

[Prusa] I do not know that in the general sense, I can only tell you about my own experience. Only a few weeks ago I would have considered the possibility of holding my present function to be a joke. You know, I specialized in constitutional law at the Law School of Charles University. As a specialist in constitutional law I worked for the Government Presidium. In December I was put in charge of running the Federal Ministry of Interior which at that time did not yet have a minister—and on 21 December I was entrusted with this function. And believe me, sometimes I do not know whether I am coming or going.

[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE] I believe that, and thank you for giving me your time.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Party Organ Discusses German-German Relations
90EG0118C East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in
German 29 Dec 89 p 7

["Theses" on the German question and relations between the GDR and the FRG by "a group of political scientists" at the Berlin Institute for International Politics and Economics]

[Text] 1. The road of consistent renewal of the social conditions in the GDR, based on the right of all interest

groups to cooperate equally and on free, self-determined human development, is the road to looking after the right to self-determination of the people of the GDR.

With free, equal, general, and secret elections in the GDR, with the creation of a new constitution accepted by the people, the legitimacy of the GDR as a democratic and sovereign German state is given a new foundation. In conjunction with honest and intense work in all areas of the social life, this is the only way to ensure the existence of the GDR; at the same time, it is the only way to develop a societal alternative to the Federal Republic of Germany, based on internal and external peace, on individual freedom (whereby the freedom of other citizens is not restricted), on economic democracy and high efficiency (which is not at the expense of social security), and on real consideration for others, which includes a positive attitude towards children, broad development space for youth, and unrestricted equality for women. With this type of self-determined development, the internal browbeating tolerated for decades is ended. It should not and cannot be replaced by any form of external browbeating. The people of the GDR want to be respected by other peoples and states in their self-determined development.

Chance for 'Open German Dual Statehood'

2. The GDR faces the dual task of realizing the people's right to self-determination in this sense while at the same time developing qualitatively new relations with the FRG, as the other German state, its immediate neighbor to the west, and its coexisting partner. What this means is achieving a qualified partnership in questions of peace, disarmament, political and, economic cooperation, in structuring humanitarian relations, and thus in all areas of governing interaction. In both its content and the manner of its institutional structure, this partnership must go beyond what the two states have achieved thus far, as well as that which is regarded as normal in relations between two sovereign states.

3. The starting point here must be two fundamental objective conditions:

Firstly: Today, there are two states within the German nation. That is a historical reality. The theory of two different developing nations emerged from a politically-ideologically motivated distinction and an overemphasis of the resulting differences in the real societal life of the two German states. Long-lasting national commonalities were flouted. The constitutive effect of state development on a particular sociopolitical foundation was unilaterally pushed to the fore. An exact analysis of the commonalities and differences that have developed among and between the GDR and the FRG and their people has yet to be formulated. It must also take into account the deformative effect of administrative-bureaucratic socialism on national development in the GDR.

However, the dual statehood that emerged as a result of the Second World War, the defeat of fascism, and

postwar developments is also a reality. This reality is part of the architecture of European security, as recognized in the CSCE documents. This demands unconditional recognition even by those who bear political responsibility in the FRG. Therefore, there should be support for the declaration by persons in both German states concerning acknowledgment of the opportunity for an "open German dual statehood without the delusion of care or official responsibility by one for the other" for the development of normal relations.

No More Room for Dead-Bolt Locks

Second: The existence of two German states and predictable and good relations between them is a precondition for stability and peace in Europe today in a new way. The issue on the agenda is promoting rapprochement in Europe and overcoming its division in the sense of universal cooperation, not overcoming different social orders. In this sense, structuring the unity of Europe must go hand in hand with rapprochement and cooperation between the two German states. For this reason, the following is true of our country: As a state in the center of Europe, as well as a socialist state, we only have a chance if we actively and cooperatively set out on the road to overcoming the division of Europe. During the long years of confrontation, the GDR had a stabilizing function as a cornerstone of European peace. Today, we stand at the outset of a new era, where a different Europe is developing. In it, there is no more room for dead-bolt locks, and in it the GDR has a place only as a dynamic building stone for a common European house, in which sovereign states with different political and social orders have equal rights and work together freely, even generously and with tolerance. Only a GDR undergoing renewal fits into this Europe, because the prospect is of a demilitarized, democratic, humanistic, and ecologically sound Europe.

In this sense, processes of renewal are specifically applicable to other states in Europe as well, not least of all the FRG.

4. What should be the future direction of development for relations between the GDR and FRG? There is no doubt that the discussion here must focus on short-, medium-, and long-term aspects. The decision on the direction of development, like other problems requiring a concrete solution, will be influenced by a large number of frequently contradictory interests. Naturally, we must be guided by the interests of our people, which prohibit a sellout and annexation. At the same time, there are legitimate interests of the FRG concerning the structure of mutual relations. Of major significance are the existential interests of the neighbors of the two German states, associated with experiences from history, the interests of the four powers, and in very general terms the demands of security and stability in Europe.

There is lively discussion under way within the political parties and movements of the GDR concerning the prospects of the reciprocal relationship between the two

German states. There are concurrent opinions, but also numerous differing opinions, and some contradictory ones. Taking all this into account, our basic premise, in agreement with a majority of the societal forces in the GDR as well as the clearly expressed political interests of the neighbors of the two German states, is that annexation camouflaged as reunification is not on the agenda of history; rather, we face a normalization process of a new quality between the GDR and FRG. The unification of the GDR and FRG is not an issue of current politics. The attempt to artificially accelerate it or to use it as ammunition for election campaigns could have an extremely negative effect on the already complicated process of developing into a new European peacetime order.

5. The starting point for the further development of relations is the reciprocal interests and European obligations laid out in the essence of our common responsibilities—guaranteeing a stabile peace in Central Europe and results for the people.

Association for Stabile Peace in Central Europe

Both in the offer made by the government of the GDR and in the 10-Point Plan by FRG Chancellor Kohl, the focus in this regard is on a treaty association between the two German states. In this sense, treaty association means that both states will mutually respect one another within their current frontiers and with their alliance memberships, while pursuing an optimally tight network of treaty-based and institutional cooperation between the two sovereign states.

Prime Minister Modrow and Federal Chancellor Kohl agreed to this type of direction at their meeting on 19 December 1989 in Dresden. They announced their mutual intention to enter into negotiations on the formal conclusion of a treaty association that can be signed as early as the spring of 1990.

6. If a treaty association is based on consideration of the conditions and interests noted above, if it most of all provides a clear rejection of any and all efforts to change borders, then its concrete contents could include the following elements:

- The overall expansion of international relations of a specific nature between two states within one nation; the establishment of permanent forms and levels of consultative contacts between the governments, the parliaments, caucuses, parties, labor unions, and other organizations, on a regional level as well, including the active formation of city partnerships in the interest of their citizens.
- Continuation and regulation by treaty of diverse economic and scientific-technical relations between economic entities, enterprises, companies, and institutions.
- This accompanied by the conclusion of corresponding governmental agreements and the formation of joint

committees and commissions, whereby the Joint Economic Committee GDR-FRG, which was agreed upon in Dresden, should play a central role. Of great significance would be institutionalized control over currency and financial relations, e.g., between the central banking institutions of the two states.

- Deepening of treaty-based relations into long-term, regulated coordination of projects and investments in the area of environmental protection, and the formation of a genuine ecological security partnership.
- Regulation of questions of interest to all parties with regard to Central European railroad transit, inland waterway transportation, telephone service, roads, and the development of an energy arrangement.
- Institutional arrangements in the areas of culture, health care, media, tourism, and many other areas.

German-German Disarmament Fund

7. The treaty association should regard a responsible contribution by the two German states to detente and disarmament, in the spirit of the CSCE process, as its priority and highest duty. This would include for both the GDR and the FRG substantial contributions to gradually bringing about a mutual nonaggression capability, supporting a significant reduction in nuclear arms in both German states, and undertaking a significant reduction in conventional arms and a reduction in the troop strength of the Bundeswehr and NVA [National People's Army]. The plans to replace the Lance missiles should be called off once and for all. A German-German disarmament fund would be of great practical and even greater symbolic value.

It must be assumed here that the respective alliance memberships and alliance obligations will be respected, and that the existing alliance systems will increasingly expand their political character, that they will provide a stabile framework for the processes of transformation and renewal in Europe, and that security and cooperation structures transcending the alliances will gradually be formed in which relations between the two German states will be anchored.

This type of medium-term prospect means that all necessary preconditions, including legal ones, must be met within the two states. In so doing, West Berlin too should and must be involved in arranging a treaty association. Relations between the capital of the GDR and West Berlin could be a model for treaty-based relations, and the formation—which has already taken place—and expansion of a regional committee could be the institutional form for this.

8. This form of treaty association includes significant elements of confederative structures and can continue to develop them gradually, in keeping with our own experiences and the development process of European security and cooperation.

In this regard, continuing to bear in mind the interests of all European states, further development into a confederation of the two states in the German nation would be examined. They could thus take into account the national peculiarities of their relations that draw neither the nature of their treaty foundations under international law nor their different societal orders into question.

Solo Courses Would Raise Doubts Among the Neighbors

In a potential confederation between the GDR and FRG under international law, each of the two German states would be and remain a sovereign subject under international law, with its own supreme state authority and its own government. However, joint committees or commissions, a system of regular contacts and consultations, could guarantee a high degree of cooperation and mutual interdependence. Such a confederation would not be an immediate order of business for today, even though a treaty association could provide the starting point for it.

The formation of a confederation could take place only within a pan-European framework, in the process of establishing a common European house and while preserving dual statehood as a factor of European security. German-German solo courses would raise doubt and mistrust among our European neighbors. All initial attempts to establish a confederation are unacceptable if they are envisioned simply as a short-term intermediate stage in the immediate annexation of the GDR into the political and societal conditions of the FRG. This would be nothing other than a contemporary version of annexation policy. We are not overlooking the fact here that other interesting ideas on this subject are being developed by parties and organizations in the GDR, but also in the FRG, such as the SPD [Social Democratic Party], whereby nothing should stand in the way of thorough discussion of such plans.

9. The expansion of a treaty association and the possible road to confederation could constitute a historical contribution by the GDR and FRG to the gradual creation of a European peacetime order, and could gain important impetus from that very process.

This type of Europe—largely demilitarized, characterized by nonaggression between its states and by security partnerships, by free movement of its people and overall cooperation—will raise new questions about the relationships between states and peoples. And this is true of the two German states as well. They must show an openness to historical developments.

Gerlach's LDPD Keynote Speech Excerpted

90EG0118A East Berlin DER MORGEN in German
21 Dec 89 p 3

[Excerpts from speech by Prof. Dr. Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany

[LDPD], to the eighth session of the Central Executive Committee: "The LDPD Is Renewing Itself in Work for the People"]

[Text] What is the state of our country? I believe that this must be the starting point for our discussion. The people have forced a new beginning, and now the question being raised is increasingly focused, vital, and clear: What next?

As we all know, there are a large number of difficulties in all areas. There are also quite a number of plans or initial ideas for, as we have said before in another place, making it through the winter. There are apparently no long-term ideas. There are signs of violence, of anarchy.

There are increasing demands for immediate reunification or immediate unity between the two German states. Especially in certain territories—less on the city and municipal level, but on the Kreis and in part on the Bezirk level—there is a more or less tangible power vacuum, since structures are being disbanded or are powerless to act, while new ones are not being created or are being created spontaneously, in some cases illegally. There is fear of economic collapse, because there are serious economic difficulties, some of which can scarcely be resolved.

All of this, I believe, leads one to the following conclusion: First and foremost, it is necessary that the normal life of the people, of the citizenry, be safeguarded, throughout the country. It is a very compelling conclusion that not in spite of, but rather precisely because of the revolutionary changes that we are carrying out, we attach greater value to the rule of law, and do not replace old injustice with new injustice. The law is the law. A law that is in force must be respected. A law that is no good must be replaced by a new one. But the law is the law.

In this context, a comment to the coalition, to the government, and to the forces supporting them. Naturally, a major effort is being made, and there are many decisions, many measures of an operative nature. But—and we clearly expressed this as a party during the latest coalition talks—the government has no plan. Perhaps it is not even possible for it to have one. Not yet. There are partial plans, ideas, orders to formulate certain things. But there is no visible, tangible, unified plan. The operative decisions dominate.

We have urged the government to show more assertiveness in implementing that which has been established and accepted; we have also urged that planning be developed so that the people know what this government wants to achieve by May, and what is sinking in, where there are genuinely visible changes.

Following the last coalition round, where we as representatives of the LDPD urged and demanded this very clearly, we can now say that there are more initiatives. The Council of Ministers meeting was held on the following day, and instructions were given by the chairman of the Council of Ministers to several ministers

to formulate plans of this nature, to perform certain tasks. In addition, a number of decisions were reached on things that we have urged. In the meantime, there have been resolutions on disbanding the militias, among other things.

But we also say that other questions are still open, even though they already should have been dealt with. In addition—and we said this clearly in the coalition—we do not agree with the media policy. The former state committees for television and radio have been disbanded. Social councils should be formed, with involvement by the parties. We wanted and should have been able to exercise influence. Nothing happened. We as a party have practically no opportunity to present ourselves to the people. It is impossible to agree with the current situation.

There have also been commitments in the Council of Ministers to the effect that when the presidium convenes the next meeting of the People's Chamber, possibly on 12 January, the agenda could feature a number of laws that must first be thoroughly discussed by the commissions, by the caucuses, and by the committees; several laws that are important and that take action, and thus look forward and resolve important things.

It is just as critical that the People's Chamber pass the resolution on shortening the electoral period, as required by the Constitution, during the next session in January, and at the same time order the Council of State to establish the election date. The election date should be 6 May 1990, as recommended by the roundtable; even if this date has been questioned by some, in the meantime it has been affirmed by all sides.

What I mean to say by this is that the Modrow government deserves our support. It is true that we are strongly represented in it, but that is not the only reason. It is the government with the legitimacy to perform its duties until May. It is accountable to the People's Chamber. But we will continue as we as a caucus have declared before the People's Chamber: We support the government. We are a coalition party, but are not uncritical; rather, we also have the right and obligation to be very critical within and towards this government, to be demanding, if the position of our party and our policy so allows in the interest of the people.

Throughout the country, we should continue or initiate our participation in the roundtable in this constructive manner, as we have said. It is evident in this regard—and it bears repeating in conjunction with the seventh session of the Central Executive Committee and the statements made there concerning our party history—that we are critically reappraising our history as a party. Today, we want to make a greater contribution, and the extraordinary party congress will certainly do so more comprehensively, and renew us in our work for the people. To me, it does not seem necessary as a top priority that we look back in lengthy documents, reappraising, so to

speak. That too must happen. Of much greater importance is that we renew ourselves from the inside in our work for the people, under the current revolutionary conditions.

We link this with a consistent, unmistakable rejection of attacks against us. I will say this quite clearly: We will not allow ourselves to be forced into a penitential robe, and we shall not be dependent on pardons from self-appointed political apostles of morality. We use every opportunity to preserve and strengthen our party's influence and also to make the public aware. And that is why I believe that the following should be said and underscored very clearly at this session of the Central Executive Committee: The LDPD was there, it has been growing consistently for more than 10 years, it is still here, and it will continue to be here. It too is a strong, utterly necessary political force in our country.

We acknowledge our past, and we also acknowledge our future. The upshot of all this is that we have no need to change our name. Thus, we are not engaging in any sort of label trickery.

What is necessary is this:

1. The Central Executive Committee must make inroads, it must influence—or better yet, have a determining influence on—the process of creating the political will.
2. We must state what is unacceptable to the LDPD, what it cannot be used for, e.g., no sellout of the GDR, no unilateral disarmament of the GDR, no anticommunism, no neo-Nazism, no anti-Semitism, no hostility towards foreigners.
3. If we want to become a liberal and democratic popular party, then this also means that different viewpoints on particular issues must be accepted within the party, and that support can be sought for such viewpoints until they are accepted by the majority. This means political tolerance, and in this regard we all—and no one is excluded from this—clearly have a great deal to learn together; still, I believe that we should guard against desperately yearning for an image and fishing for an effect. This would not be our style.

In the guidelines, we have registered, we have suggested positions, without having thought them out entirely, without being able to make them politically practicable. We did not want a collection of cheap slogans, and I think that this too should be rewarded. Now, it is high time not only to draw up our demands and objectives more succinctly, but also to combine them in such a way that the basic issues of the LDPD result, which we can make plausible to the citizens because they reflect the interests of the citizens, and thus make the LDPD electable. And in so doing, I think—to repeat once again—that we are also turning to the majority of the population, who are silent and in a state of confusion right now.

Next, I would like to turn to three problem areas that are of critical importance: the question of which social order the LDPD is striving for, the national question, and our thoughts concerning disarmament and security.

In the guidelines, we stated that what we considered to be socialism is merely the foundation for a social order that could make it possible to realize liberty, equality, and fraternity. A foundation capable of supporting such a system was not even built. I must state this with deep bitterness, which is surely shared by all of us.

We must state and see this quite clearly: What has failed is the claim to power and the power politics of a party that was in turn dominated by a leadership clique that willfully and knowingly misused us and others. What has failed is central planning and the economic administration, or perhaps, to formulate it more succinctly, the attempt to subject a modern economy to an economic dictatorship. And what has also failed is the ideological orientation of our people, the attempt to recklessly effect the dominance of a world view that was put forth and camouflaged as a socialist cultural revolution.

And this too must be stated openly: We have witnessed the failure of the community of socialist states. What remains—at least thus far—is a coalition of more or less far-reaching and more or less bilateral relations among the socialist countries.

Our position should be this: There should be no experimenting with the people in the future as well. Supposedly scientific socialism ended in a catastrophe. Who can claim that socialism, which now wishes to be known as democratic or renewed, would succeed? And if it is in fact successful, then for whom, for the people?

What is quite obviously at stake here is a new political initiative by our party. We want to base this on the person as an individual, on inalienable rights and freedoms; not primarily, as in the past, on society, the state, the political order and its requirements, class, and social strata, but rather, as I have said, on the individual and his needs and interests, his claims, his rights and his dignity, which he possesses and which no one can take away from him. And naturally the individual is at the same time a citizen within the community, a part of his nation of people, a German. Thus, what is needed is liberal and democratic political solutions, which means structuring the polity according to the will of the majority with others.

Based on these considerations, I propose that the LDPD pursue a democratic order that guarantees the political freedoms and equally the social rights of the individual, which is based on performance and competence as well as tolerance and morals, which does not recognize prescribed power structures, which guarantees the rule of law and is governed by a parliament, which ensures peace for our people, and which is welcome in the European house.

We are for a cooperative social order obligated to the individual, not to classes and social strata, in which the grand idea of liberty, equality, and fraternity stands a chance through our actions. We are for a socially just order, which should be understood in its broadest sense, including a rejection of exploitation and discrimination against women, minorities, and the Third World, and which is not based on the destruction of nature. In short, this means that we are no longer available to any form of socialism!

The central question here, when looking at a new society, is the economic system. We cannot allow the planning bureaucracy to be replaced by anarchy; rather, there must be responsible political and social action. First of all, we aspire to as much economic freedom of movement as possible, thus, a market economy. This means unlimited competition between enterprises under different ownership, the goal being to produce viably and earn profits in order to compensate employees in accordance with performance, and in order to be able to invest and pay taxes. This includes collective bargaining and requires freedom of movement for capital.

Secondly, we aspire to controls over economic processes insofar as it is necessary to a) ensure social justice, and b) enter into and manage development work that affects the entire country.

As far as ensuring social justice is concerned, I am thinking about housing construction and rent, care for retirees, the sick, and the handicapped, education and training for all the children of the people, a waiver of school fees, and support for college students, for example.

As far as general development work is concerned, I would refer to long-term energy policy, establishing priorities for expansion of the infrastructure, focused support for science and technology, and investment policy in order to rehabilitate our economy. Moreover, it appears sensible from this viewpoint as well to restore the Laender structure. They could gain the authority to establish economic guidelines, which would prevent centralism based in Berlin.

This is what the LDPD understands as radical economic reform, which was also noted in the government statement, and it includes ecological reorganization and reorientation of the economy.

It is urgent that there be a critical examination of energy production in this country, the rapid introduction of energy-efficient technologies, and a fee and tariff policy that will force people to save energy. And it is clearly urgent that the chemicals industry in our country be examined critically.

The central and at the same time most difficult problem is to devise a policy that can be reduced to three points: no economic collapse, no sellout, no unemployment.

The LDPD thus aspires to a just society with a market-economy structure, a German and democratic republic, in which all citizens can live in political and social security, not only part of them, not only the strong, who recklessly use their elbows—thus, circumstances where we compare favorably with the FRG.

On the national problem: There is only one German nation. It has lived in two states for 40 years, and it wants to be rejoined.

The problem is that the German question is not an issue for the Germans alone. It is a European question, and an extremely explosive object of international political developments. The division and existence of two German states is the result of a Stalinist strategy, to this day called "revolutionary world process," and the result of an imperial policy by the Western powers, especially the United States, explained by the need to put Stalin in his place.

With the transformation in the USSR, with disarmament, detente and the USSR-U.S. rapprochement—thus, with the changes in international politics—the German question is seen in a new light. For the first time since 1949, its solution, meaning the reunification of the two German states, is becoming a subject of practical policy. Nevertheless, the German question remains a problem that is difficult to handle, an explosive task concealing a potential for conflict if it is handled thoughtlessly or tackled forcefully.

One must consider the contradictory ties between the two German states and the Warsaw Pact on the one hand and NATO on the other, as well as the Paris Accords for the FRG and the State Accords for the GDR. One must consider the power and security interests of the four main states in the former anti-Hitler coalition, especially the USSR and the United States. And one must consider the interests or fears of nearly all European states with respect to the possible consequences of a resolution of the German question.

Based on this situation, the demand for immediate reunification does not seem encouraging, but rather counterproductive. The LDPD is for the introduction of a process of gradual unification of the two German states, naturally including West Berlin, anchored in the process of international disarmament negotiations and as a component of the effort to establish a European house.

The East-West division of the continent has been rescinded and must be rescinded if everyone acts constructively to achieve it, and this means the division of the German nation into two states as well. The united Europe will incorporate variety and will be characterized by differences, since variety exists and affects things: national history, ideas, experiences, mentalities, political reality. The LDPD wants to and intends to make a substantial contribution in this sense to the reunification process, and thus to the European house as well.

Our party proposes that reciprocal ties be quickly effected and broadly expanded, as described by Hans Modrow using the term "treaty association," which in our view demands in turn a government that is capable of taking action, and which is not possible without a consolidation of the GDR.

We propose the development of what FRG Chancellor Kohl has put forth using the term "confederative structures." Medium-term tasks that should merged into one another must be performed. The key concepts should be noted here: joint ventures, joint expansion of the infrastructures, joint transportation planning, joint research projects, coordination of energy policy. In other words, to say it and name it quite clearly: an economic and transportation association, as well as close cooperation between cities and regions, the formation of German-German commissions, committees and other official bodies.

And here, at this place, it must be said that the LDPD and FDP have a lot of experience in terms of cooperation. We should expand this and think about how we can become even closer to jointly influence the development and content of German-German policy.

Not least of all, there is also a need for joint disarmament proposals in accordance with the respective alliances. There should be no solo course.

Also of importance are joint initiatives in the United Nations, joint development projects in the Third World, and so on. This policy and the results of it will qualitatively change German-German relations, and this change will determine Europe's attitude. This means the two German states, the ability of the responsible political forces to develop reason, perceptiveness, and a sense of reality, will decide on the answer to the German question. Thus, once Europe has seen that German-German rapprochement does not bring with it a threat to the peoples of Europe, further steps are conceivable.

A German federation with pan-German governmental institutions, a federal legislative assembly, a federal head of state, and joint UN membership, for example, would be the first ways in which the new Germany would take shape. Further developments would presumably be linked to concrete results from the disarmament process, including the disbanding of the military blocs and progress on the road towards European integration.

Several remarks on the disarmament and security problem. The LDPD is in favor of courageous disarmament steps so that by the year 2000 not only have the means of nuclear destruction disappeared from Europe, regardless of how important that is, but also the continent is free of opposing armies with a high level of conventional arms.

The GDR should be an initiator in this regard, naturally not against our allies and not without them, but rather in accordance with them, especially the USSR. And we present the following proposals and ideas in this regard:

- A reduction in the personnel of the NVA [National People's Army].
- Reequipping our Armed Forces, the goal being to promote disarmament in Central Europe. This could be done, for example, by rejecting certain types of weapons and particular special military units.
- Shortening the term of military service to 12 months.
- Drastically reducing defense spending.

Even now, in my opinion, a number of practical steps are possible in our country unilaterally, so to speak, which are of benefit to the citizenry, as a sort of preliminary concession. For example, I could immediately picture a significant reduction in the military prohibited areas in the GDR. It is known that every satellite for NATO, for example, can discern an identification number on a military vehicle from high in the sky. And during this time, we have expanded the prohibited areas many times over, at least in a large part of the GDR, and made them inaccessible! These areas should be returned to normal use, including recreational purposes for the population.

Furthermore, the LDPD is in favor of a democratic military reform. The class army must be transformed into the army of the republic. To a certain extent, this is also a process of freeing the NVA from ideological constraints, as well as a process of self-reflection by the officers' corps in interaction with the formation of democratic structures throughout the entire country.

There is absolutely no doubt that the military reform will be complex in nature. In the course of the constitutional revision or the rewriting of our Basic Law, the National Defense Council must be abolished. Its authorities should be assigned to the defense minister, who must be politically responsible to the parliament alone.

In general, responsibilities and areas of competence in the military must be disclosed and clearly defined. The openness of the NVA, insofar as secrecy is not necessary, is important, and the political bodies must decide on this in conjunction with the minister.

As far as the internal composition of the NVA and its self-representation are concerned, it is our opinion that the military reform must include abolition of the political educational commission. The soldier is and remains a citizen. The NVA must be restricted to defensive duties in a narrower sense. To state it clearly: No more sports clubs, cultural ensembles, etc. financed by the defense budget; rationalization of training and general service; away with Prussia's glory, with parades, cords, lametta, and all the tra-la-la!

All of this, I believe, leads to the idea of the National People's Army, like any other army today, as a necessary organ of state. The military reform must be accompanied by a general demilitarization of the GDR, and especially of the formation and shaping of our political thinking.

The security doctrine that was in force until the turnaround in the fall of 1989 was based on the wrong idea that the GDR faces a permanent threat, that the threat

could become acute at any moment, and that the country is thus in an undeclared, but nevertheless effective state of emergency.

Based on this understanding, each citizen was a fighter, to whom civil rights were at best conceded. Security, defensive readiness, and service in the NVA were instruments of political discipline.

This must be irrevocably ended, and this means not least of all that the NVA must be removed from the shady domain in which it was placed on the day it was founded.

Without military reform, which in the liberal-democratic view must include the considerations presented here, redefining the military doctrine of the GDR would amount to shadowboxing, and naturally every step must be evaluated in conjunction with the CSCE process and the international disarmament negotiations. Critical issues stipulate and/or influence each other.

Admittedly, neither the effort to clean things up, so to speak, and the desire for greater efficiency in the NVA, nor demilitarization in the area of international detente and cooperation, is linked, at least not primarily, to the national economic emergency. Rather, the issue at hand is to have armed forces that can justifiably be called a people's army.

These basic positions and basic directions of our policy will define the LDPD as a liberal and democratic popular party. This must be transformed into policy and arguments that will make the citizens vote for the party. This is an urgent task.

LDPD Publishes Declaration of Goals

*90EG0118B East Berlin DER MORGEN in German
22 Dec 89 p 3*

["Goals of the GDR Liberals: Executive Committee Approved 'Declaration of the LDPD'"]

[Text] In the process of democratic renewal in our country, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] feels that it is essential to declare the following:

I.

Our goal is the free unfolding of the human personality. We want no new "models" of socialism.

What has failed is the claim to power and the power politics of one party. What has failed is central planning and the economic administration. What has failed is the ideological orientation of our people, the attempt to recklessly effect the dominance of a world view.

The new society that we want should be a democratic community. It is characterized by the fact that in it:

- the dignity and integrity of each person is respected;
- the political rights and liberties of each citizen are guaranteed, and his social rights and liberties are realized;

- performance and competence are promoted and recognized, while solidarity towards the weak and minorities is exercised;
- truth, openness and tolerance are among the highest political virtues of the state and its citizens.

The new society should be a socially just order in which the grand idea of liberty, equality, and fraternity stands a chance through our actions.

In the new political initiative by our party, we thus base our position on the person as an individual, on inalienable rights and freedoms, not, as in the past, on society, the state, class, and social strata. Naturally the individual is at the same time a citizen within the community, a part of his nation of people, a German. Thus, what is needed is liberal and democratic policy, which means structuring a humanistic polity according to the will of the majority with others. We are no longer available to any form of socialism!

II.

Our goal is a market economy, which guarantees social and ecological security. We thus reject the planned economy, which is the source of shortages, with its centralism and bureaucratism.

We are interested in an economic order in which the principle of work performance and economic competition between independent economic units under all forms of ownership results in a high degree of effectiveness, and through the regulatory influence of the democratic state social and ecological duties are looked after in the interest of society as a whole.

Therefore, we are in favor of:

- applying environmentally friendly technologies and stimulating ecologically-economically rational behavior by producers and consumers;
- unlimited application of the principle of work performance in all areas as part of a general material and moral reevaluation of scientific-technical work and management responsibility;
- social security, especially for those with low performance and income levels, through corresponding wage and consumer price policy;
- redefinition of structural policy for effective, processing- and intelligence-intensive lines of products with a high status in the consumer goods industry and foodstuffs industry;
- full exploitation of the possibilities of international specialization and cooperation;
- the formation of a relationship between large, mid-size, and small enterprises defined solely by effectiveness;
- the free unfolding of private initiatives through the development of all forms of ownership, including utilization of various forms of domestic and foreign

capital investment, in industry, construction, transportation, trade, commerce, other commercial enterprises, in the service sector, and in professions requiring licensing;

- the full unfolding of cooperative self-management and commercial freedom while at the same time preserving the values of craftsman labor.

III.

Our goal is a new governmental unit of Germany within the 1989 borders in a united Europe. The thesis of the socialist German nation has failed.

We know that the German question is not an issue for the Germans alone. It is a European question. The two German states are involved in different pact systems. There are power and security interests of the states in the former anti-Hitler coalition, especially the USSR and the United States. Many of the peoples of Europe fear the possible consequences of a resolution of the German question. We do not want a "sellout" of the GDR. Thus, the call for immediate reunification of the two German states is not conducive to our overriding goal. We are committed to a gradual unification, anchored in the process of international disarmament negotiations and as a component of the effort to establish a European house. Steps that could be agreed to between the GDR and the FRG or West Berlin include:

- a treaty association that goes far beyond that which was negotiated in the Basic Treaty;
- confederative structures leading to an economic and transportation association, the formation of joint commissions and committees, and close cooperation between cities and regions;
- a German Federation with pan-German governmental institutions, a federal legislative assembly, a federal head of state, and joint UN membership.

In this process, which will be promoted by both German states, people, and politicians with reason, perceptiveness and a sense of reality, the Germans will achieve a respected place among Europeans as a welcome neighbor. We want the GDR to contribute to this development with its own face and with open borders. In our view, this includes political and economic stability as well as the rebirth of the Laender in the course of an administrative reform, ideas, and experiences.

IV.

Our goal is a Europe that by the year 2000 is free of both nuclear weapons and of armies that are heavily armed with conventional weapons. Our continent can no longer be a powder keg. This requires courageous disarmament steps as well as the promotion of comprehensive security structures, all the way up to disbanding the blocs—not against our allies, and not without them, but rather in accordance with them, especially the USSR. We want the GDR to be an initiator in this regard, and propose:

- a reduction in the personnel of the NVA [National People's Army];
- reequipping our Armed Forces, e.g., rejection of certain types of weapons and special military units;
- shortening the term of military service to 12 months;
- drastically reducing defense spending;
- significantly cutting down on military prohibited areas and converting the land thus gained into recreational areas for the people.

We support a democratic military reform. Its core is the transformation of the NVA into a true people's army. Furthermore, it is important:

- in the course of the revision of our Basic Law to abolish the National Defense Council and assign its authorities to the defense minister;
- to disclose and clearly define the responsibilities and areas of competence in the military domain;
- with regard to the internal composition and self-representation of the NVA, to abolish the political educational commission; the soldier is and remains a citizen;
- to restrict the NVA to defensive duties in the narrower sense, to do away with "parades, cords, and lametta" and with sports clubs and cultural ensembles financed by the defense budget.

The military reform must be accompanied by a general demilitarization of the GDR, especially of the formation and shaping of political thinking. At the same time, this provides a focus for the redefinition of GDR military doctrine.

New Marxist Party Spokesman Interviewed

90EG0144A East Berlin WOCHENPOST in German
Vol 37 No 2, 12 Jan 90 (signed to press 7 Jan 90) p 3

[Interview with Michael Czollek, "spokesman" for the founding group of "Die Nelken" (carnations), a Marxist party, by Winfrid Neubert: "Rosa's Carnations"; date and place not given]

[Text] WOCHENPOST: A new shade of color will be added to the political spectrum with the Marxist party "Die Nelken" (carnations) which your group intends to found on 13 January in Berlin. Why is an additional leftist party meaningful in terms of substance? Are you not promoting the fragmentation of the left?

Michael Czollek: In past years the left was gradually atomized and is now in the process of coming together in molecules and minimolecules. We have repeatedly expressed our willingness to cooperate with all leftists. We would like to unite all those who have contacted us to date and who want to become members into a tighter organization than, for example, is the case with the United Left. Cooperation with the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism] is out of the question because very many of my comrades have just come away from there disappointed. They were unable to accomplish anything in the former SED. I was a

member there for five years as well. To be sure, we also cooperate with this party on factual issues.

WOCHENPOST: In contrast to other new parties, whose names alone express their programs, you chose a floral one. What is the story of the carnation as a symbol under GDR circumstances?

Michael Czollek: It is well known as a symbol of the workers' struggle for their rights. Although rights are spelled out in the constitution of the GDR, they were never put into practice. With the carnation and the designation "Marxist party" we want to say from the very outset: Power belongs in the hands of the workers and nowhere else. And besides, the name of a party should be easily remembered.

WOCHENPOST: Will the "Nelken" even find a position on the left that is not already occupied?

Michael Czollek: The SED left plenty of positions unoccupied that it had originally emblazoned on its standard. One of our fundamental assertions is that the development of productive forces over the last decades did not, as is well known, shake imperialism as had been expected. On the other hand, the system of the countries who call themselves socialist is proving itself incapable of developing socialist conditions within society. We regard the lack of public ownership of the means of production and thus the separation of the workers from the exercise of power as the cause of this. State ownership, which exists to a great degree, could not be public ownership by the very fact that democratic access to the state is impossible.

WOCHENPOST: What policy recommendation do you derive from that?

Michael Czollek: We have demanded that it not be tolerated in any factory that workers remain uninvolved in the decisions that have to be made. For example, general directors who were appointed under the power relationships that prevailed prior to October 1989 are now conducting negotiations on capital participation with business concerns from the FRG. There is no democratic monitoring mechanism for these talks, however. Works councils are at present the only means of directly ensuring that interests are represented and that ownership rights are asserted. Moreover, the formation of these councils are nothing more than the implementation of article four of our constitution. Minister for Economics Prof Christa Luft advocated the formation of works councils on 3 January in the presence of the members of the roundtable. She was speaking only on her own behalf, however, and not for the government or her party.

WOCHENPOST: But the "Nelken" are not the only ones who are demanding that. The United Left and the SED-PDS executive board have also called for works councils.

Michael Czollek: The United Left is already very active in that regard and we consider protecting the rights of working people to be more important than seeking publicity for partisan political purposes. The difference between our position, for instance, and that of the SED-PDS on this issue, is that we are immediately demanding the formation of works councils and we do not want to delay. That is all the more important because, as has been stated, at this very moment decisions of importance are being made in the enterprises but, now as ever—and, strictly speaking, in violation of the constitution—the majority of workers are being excluded from them.

WOCHENPOST: During the Christmas holidays a democratically elected works council was formed in the Heavy Transport Division of VEB (State Enterprise) Motor Transport Leipzig. Do the "Nelken" participate in such foundings?

Michael Czollek: In Berlin, for example, we are in contact with colleagues from Bergmann-Borsig and are having an influence. To be sure, our means and opportunities are decidedly limited. Just the reproduction of texts alone has to be arranged differently each time.

WOCHENPOST: What is your position on the performance principle?

Michael Czollek: We expressly approve of it. But it must not be our aim to set up a system of piecework such as is done day in and day out in the capitalist countries. We are opposed to replacing the time clock with electronic monitoring so that pretty soon every trip to the bathroom can be deducted from wages. That way we would back to the production stress that existed in the time of steam-driven machinery.

WOCHENPOST: What happens to the employees when an enterprise that is operating on the principle of earning its own operating resources from its own production goes bankrupt?

Michael Czollek: That is an issue of the educational process that we are beginning to undergo in the form of self-education. That is why "educators" are no longer necessary for adult people. The members of a labor force who have once gone through that and who have had to look for other work because they themselves participated in economically incorrect decisions will learn lessons from it. And so too will those who have only heard about it. We must learn how to learn from experience and to accept that life cannot be kept free of mistakes and that others are not always going to make everything smooth for us. We must be aware that life is a series of good decisions, but it is also a series of mistakes and lessons.

WOCHENPOST: Is it possible to roughly estimate the number of members the party will have after its founding?

Michael Czollek: At the present time we are counting on about 500. The trend is clearly upwards. In addition, we

assume that sympathizers will abandon a kind of wait-and-see attitude after the founding. At present, a number of Bezirk groups are forming.

WOCHENPOST: Are people from the productive area applying for membership?

Michael Czollek: We do not want to be an organization in which only intellectuals bustle about. Among those who have announced their intention to become members are workers and members of the technical intelligentsia.

WOCHENPOST: How are you and your comrades going to appeal to the people in this country? Are they going to be mobilized in the usual way—just equipped with better arguments—in order to do good deeds later?

Michael Czollek: You really cannot mean that seriously! It is not a matter of better arguments but of honesty, which for us is a very important fundamental principle. And it is neither honest nor true to maintain that we already have publicly owned property in this country and that it is simply a matter of heightening the awareness of ownership in order to get people to work better. We believe that not until the people really are owners will they have consciousness of ownership and act responsibly. The rampant irresponsibility of recent years came about precisely because the people were separated from their property. There can be no question of "mobilizing" and "leaving things like they were."

WOCHENPOST: You speak about democratic opportunities but not about our very diversely pronounced abilities to exercise democracy.

Michael Czollek: The danger exists that the processes of arriving at a consensus of opinion will drag out and that many a person will remember the time when individuals or relatively small committees made the decisions. But we have no other choice! The former individual decisions often involved greater mistakes than the collective ones.

WOCHENPOST: In a press release the "Nelken" declare: "We want to be a Marxist party at whose founding we can say: We are once again with Rosa Luxemburg and under her banner." Leaving aside the sorry attempts in our country to "discipline" this important thinker, are you not again laying the foundation for a new dogma? The questionable method of trying to answer contemporary questions with quotations from the classic thinkers is not new!

Michael Czollek: In our programmatic work we analyze the works of communist and socialist theorists, among which are Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Gramsci, and Lenin. We want to update the latter's ideas in a critical fashion as well. And Rosa Luxemburg: In her essay "On the Russian Revolution," for example, she foresaw—and, above all, warned against—much of what has now happened in the GDR and other countries.

WOCHENPOST: You say that thus far there has been no socialism at all in the GDR and therefore you also reject

the concept of "command socialism." Nonetheless, your party is part of a socialist consensus which, though not universal, yet does exist in this country.

Michael Czollek: I see no contradiction in that. After all, the idea has not perished.

POLAND

Statements on Polish-Soviet Publishing Cooperation

90EP0256B Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
1 Dec 89 p 2

[Article by (mi): "Polish-Soviet Publishing Cooperation, Direct and Multifaceted"]

[Text] The fourteenth meeting of the permanent Polish-Soviet working group on cooperation in publishing and bookselling ended on 30 November with the signing of a joint protocol. Wasilij Slastionienko, deputy chairman of the USSR's State Committee on Publishing, and Michal Jagiello, deputy minister of culture and art of the PPR [Polish People's Republic], signed the protocol.

The meeting was used to exchange information on the problems of the publishing and bookselling movement and to discuss prospects for Polish-Soviet cooperation.

Both ministers spoke with ZYCIE WARSZAWY:

Wasilij Slastionienko: "The changes that have taken place so far do not reflect negatively on our cooperation. After all, culture develops independently of the political and economic situation. This year books by Polish authors have appeared in our country in a combined imprint of 9 million copies (since the conclusion of the Second World War 155 million books in 39 languages have appeared). We also import books printed in Polish, because many people, not only those of Polish descent, read in that language. The fact that perestroika and glasnost made possible the publication of many authors who were for decades unable to be officially published is also essential to our cooperation."

Michal Jagiello: "In comparison to earlier protocols, in this its full deideologization calls particular attention. The Soviet side has recognized in full our point of view, according to which the role of government should be limited to inspiring and formulating ideas and sometimes subsidizing especially important items, such as, a Bielorrussian-Russian-Polish dictionary. Organizing meetings of translators and literary scholars from both countries is important. I think it would be good if these very publishers and the artistic unions would take up this matter. We drew attention to the fact that if the Soviet side wants to know the real picture of the situation in Poland, then the Union of Polish Writers can not be its only partner. And one should remember that many books by Polish authors appear in the West or are issued by religious publishers. The fact that this is understood is confirmed by, among other things, the organization of an

interesting encounter with publishers of the so-called second circulation during the working group's session and the very open way in which the talks progressed.

ROMANIA

Top Ceausescu Aides Plead Guilty

90EB0245A Paris LIBERATION in French
29 Jan 89 p 6

[Article by Sorj Chalandon: "In Bucharest, Defendants Inevitably Plead Guilty"]

[Text] When Colonel Nitzoiu, president of the Special Military Court in Bucharest, takes his seat, he appears as unemotional as the judgment he must hand down. Outside, at the doors of the Military Academy, four immobile tanks are theoretically keeping watch, and the helmeted soldiers walking along the corridors are parading more than they are protecting. It is a nice day, the streets are calm, and it is no longer the scene of 25 December 1989. This is not the same as Ceausescu's precipitous trial or as the somewhat arbitrary sentences dictated from a corner of the table. We are far from the military pressures of the dictatorship, the physical threats of Securitate. This court has neither the excuse of urgency nor the flamboyance of theater.

Four officers take their seats around the uniformed president. No pens, few notes. Simply their hands placed flat on the large table. To their right, the military prosecutor sets a thin file down on his desk. From the same Army corps and with the same rank as the president of the court, he immediately puts on his glasses and begins reading to himself the indictment. In the room are several dozen foreign reporters, representatives of the local press, and about 50 Romanians who cannot hide the large number of empty seats. Invited officials, police in plain clothes, and newly elected dignitaries suddenly turn their eyes to the door which has just opened to the four defendants.

Manea Manescu is the first to enter. Sixty-four years old, wearing a green polo shirt too big for his thin neck and a tasteless gray-striped jacket, his white hair dishevelled like that of a man who did not have a mirror to use. Behind him is Ion Dinca. Wearing a dark suit and a blue tie, he quickly moves to the corner of the prisoners' dock to make room for Emile Bobu, a small, round, white-haired man, and Tudor Postelnicu, who will keep his eyes fixed on the floor throughout this first hearing. For these men, there is a hastily built and varnished wooden enclosure and four chairs.

This trial is not an ordinary one. It is the trial. Whatever its repercussions may be, whatever the importance of the future trials, this one, because it is the first, must be regarded as one of the elements forming the Romania of tomorrow. "The Ceausescu trial was the last act of the old regime," people now have the habit of saying in

Bucharest, as if to make excuses for its hastiness. However, with a predictable tentativeness or the clumsiness of a courtroom procedure confined for so long to caricature, this first day was not up to the importance of the task. It was as if both sides had a hard time relinquishing the automatic formalities of the absurd, as if it was difficult for them to get beyond the rigid vocabulary in which they had been steeped for 25 years, and finally, as if atrophied by the Ceausescu regime, their perception of true justice could not go beyond these mechanical references.

The president is directing the questions. Looking at the order remanding the prisoners to this court, he asks for some information on the identity of the defendants. "Tudor Postelnicu?" The former minister of the interior jumps to his feet. "Do you have a nickname?" He shakes his head. "You were born on 13 November 1931, the son of Constantin and Elena." The defendant says nothing. "Education?" The broken voice of the man standing in the dock. "Six junior forms [classes elementaires], four upper forms [classes superieures]." "Married?" "Yes." "Children?" "Yes." "Adults?" "Yes." The president looks at the prisoner. "Assets?" "Just the essentials. My house and a car." Smiles throughout the room. Then Manescu, former vice president of the State Council, and Bobu, presented as the mind behind the Ceausescu couple. Finally, Ion Dinca. Especially Dinca, for he is the one to whom this first hearing will be devoted in its entirety.

Like the other three, the former deputy minister of the Romanian Government, nicknamed "Handcuffs" by the rebellious population of Bucharest, pleads guilty. "I am an idiot because I agreed with the decisions on repression," Postelnicu said during his initial examination. "By remaining passive, I am guilty of aiding the repressive action of the dictator, when I could have countered this criminal action," Bobu says. "I showed cowardice in backing this odious criminal," Manescu avowed. According to the predictions of Robu, the attorney general: "You will see, the participation of the accused in the preparations for the events will be demonstrated throughout this trial."

Now for Dinca. Accused of failing to oppose the order to fire in Timisoara or, what is worse, of having been a direct accomplice in it. "Do you admit the facts?" the president asks. "Yes, and I also acknowledge as true everything I declared during my initial examination." The president peers at the accused over his glasses. "I will ask you to answer only one question at a time. Do you admit the facts?" "Yes." The president reads his notes. "And do you admit as true what you declared during your initial examination, Dinca?" "Yes," he murmured, "I admit it."

From now on, everything the accused says is painstakingly written down by hand by a clerk leaning over his sheet of paper. Every sentence, every word, is repeated. Dinca is speaking. "On 17 December, at 1700 hours, Ceausescu convened..." The president interrupts him.

"This must be written down." Then he turns to the clerk, and enunciating every word: "On 17 December, at 1700 hours, Ceausescu convened..." He turns back to the defendant. "Convened what?" "The Executive Political Committee to say that hooligans were attacking stores..." "Wait," interrupts the president. "Clerk, write: "...the Executive Political Committee to say that hooligans were attacking."

What is important in this proceeding is less what the prisoner says during the hearing than that it agrees precisely with his previous statements. When Dinca refers to 17 December, the day that Ceausescu gave the order to fire "at the legs" of the crowd in Timisoara, he says that the Conductor [Ceausescu] encountered "opposition" on the part of his close collaborators. "Opposition?" the president asks in surprise, not finding the term in his notes. "Another position," corrected Dinca, apologizing. At times, what the military judge dictates is rather far from what was actually said. "By my silence at that meeting," the defendant says, "I gave my de facto approval of the criminal measures decided by Ceausescu." The president turns to the clerk and repeats. "By my attitude, I in fact helped turn the revolt into a bloodbath." He turns to Dinca. "Was this revolt justified?" Dinca nods. "Yes, yes, completely justified." Smiles in the courtroom. The president settles into his chair. "How was it justified?" Dinca murmurs: "Because the people were defending their rights and freedom." The president to the clerk: "The justified revolt of the masses."

Other times the defendant rambles on. Thinking he is doing the right thing, he speaks of something else and begins to talk about events prior to December. "The personality cult gave Elena Ceausescu the rank of an academician. But this pseudoscientist never wrote a single one of her books and I don't think that she even knew basic chemistry. She was in fact illiterate." "Stick to the facts," cuts in the president. "Let's keep to the facts that brought you here." Dinca opens his arms. "Mr. President, please tell me what you want me to say. Ask the questions." "Why didn't you oppose the order to fire?" "Nobody opposed it," Dinca retorts. "In my case, it was out of a lack of courage; I am a coward, Mr. President."

The military prosecutor gets up. In a loud voice, with a smile at the corner of his mouth: "Not true. Everybody was not in agreement at that meeting." Then he quotes several superb phrases of General Vassil Milea, who stood alone against the others and who was murdered the next day by the dictator. When Ceausescu gave the order to fire in Timisoara, the high Romanian official let it be known that he "had never learned in any of the military handbooks that the people's Army should fire on the people." Ceausescu pounded his fist on the table and went into a rage. "You deserve the firing squad," he shouted at Milea. "Have you just completed your military service," the general answered full of scorn. Dinca lowers his head. Yes, Milea was the only one to stand up

to him with courage. No, Dinca did not support him. "If I had, I would probably be dead today, but I would have saved my nation."

And then, the attorneys, silent since the start of the hearing, and crowded together on their single bench; the only papers they have are the few notes they are feverishly jotting down. Many refused to defend the accused. The ones they ended up with are Vasule Olaru for Bobu, Dimitru Petrescu for Manescu, Virgil Rata for Postelnicu, and Pavel Varzaru for Dinca. The last one rises. He asks for a clarification on a date. Just one question, then he sits down again and gives his three colleagues an opportunity to speak. They all launch an attack on Dinca. "Wasn't the defendant Dinca a full supporter of the regime, and well before December 1989?" asked one of the defense attorneys. "Wasn't my client, in contrast to the defendant Dinca, threatened by Ceausescu like Milea was?" another asks. Dinca's fists are so tightly closed that his knuckles are white. Practically without reading it, he now signs the pages of the statements laboriously repeated by the president. Three hours have gone by. It is over.

Before the men leave the room, Postelnicu glances questioningly at his attorney, but the attorney does not answer. Then the defendant opens his arms and begins crying, as he is grabbed by the military police. "It is the regime they defended that has created the circumstances for this trial," a hurried defense attorney whispers.

The trial resumes this morning at 0900 hours.

YUGOSLAVIA

Croatian Assembly President Advocates Unyielding Position

90EB0162A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
5 Dec 89 pp 15-17

[Interview with Dr. Andjelko Runjic, president of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly, by Mladen Maloca: "Croatia Will Not Give Up"; date and place not given]

[Text] Many of the senseless things occurring in Yugoslavia today are in fact threatening to take us into a wilderness in which we will lose ties to this country's AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia] foundations.

We heard those sincere and worried words from Andjelko Runjic, president of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly, in answer to our question about the events which have hounded Yugoslavia at a time when it was celebrating its 46th birthday. The demand to break off relations between two republics, which has never occurred before in the history of the new Yugoslavia, opened up cracks of darkness, and it made the citizens of Yugoslavia fearful of new and perhaps even tragic divisions. Which is in fact why Runjic says: "If we believed

and naively supposed that those who were pointing to the impatience and aggressiveness of a policy were exaggerating, this act of severing relations can convince us all that it promises nothing good. It is in fact destroying Yugoslavia!"

DANAS: The political tension which has existed for a long time now between Slovenia and Serbia culminated a few days ago, shaking the constitutional foundations of Yugoslavia. As president of the highest legislative and self-management body of a republic which is also subject to pressures and criticism of a kind, how do you see this event?

Runjic: I believe that I express the outlook of a majority of the serious and disturbed people of our republic, and indeed of Yugoslavia, when I say that this is one of the lowest points to which relations in Yugoslavia have dropped since 1945. The dramatic situation was given its magnitude by the official announcement of a high political forum, specifically the Presidium of the Serbian SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People], which called for a complete boycott and blockage of all communications with another socialist republic—Slovenia. This destroys not only the AVNOJ foundations, but also the constitutional concept of Yugoslavia. That is why I think that Yugoslavia's federal and constitutional institutions must make themselves heard in an essential way in order to protect its constitutional integrity. There have been attacks on the very foundations of the federal and constitutional makeup of Yugoslavia as well as on representatives of the highest government bodies in the country.

DANAS: You are referring to the attacks on Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, on the chairman of the FEC [Federal Executive Council], and so on?

Runjic: I truly think that along with everything else in this situation it is important to protect the constitutional integrity of the offices occupied by individuals in the highest positions. In recent months, and in recent statements I have been encouraged by the strength of Janez Drnovsek, by his attempts to overcome the situation of conflict that has grown up and the political tension with patience and tolerance. And instead of lining up behind that voice of reason which is warning of and pointing out the possible abysses from the most responsible position of president of the SFRY Presidency, we are listening to arbitrary and undocumented attacks on Drnovsek. Can we really be unaware that unless we protect both him and the Presidency, which must in addition budge from the stalemate of 4:4 and 5:3 votes, a federal institution has for all practical purposes been extinguished!?

Much the same is true of the FEC, more accurately of its chairman Ante Markovic. The Federal Executive Council reacted very unambiguously concerning the amendments to the Constitution of SR Slovenia, it has been reacting without any vacillation to the many unscrupulous attacks for what the government headed by

Markovic is fighting for, and it has also expressed itself unambiguously concerning the need to protect the constitutional integrity of SR Slovenia and every part of federal Yugoslavia. How, then, is one to understand why, for what reason, these attacks are being made on those institutions? And we are offered—aside from the system which we have, Novi Sad SOLIDARNOST, Jugoslav, the workers at Rakovica, the committee from Kosovo Polje. The messages being broadcast from those meetings, which Kecman has been sending during the holidays on Yugoslav news programs, are disturbing. They fall short of what Yugoslavia needs. I would like to believe that they are on the line of the truth and brotherhood and unity, but essentially they are not. We do not take this export of revolution, this holding of rallies, with mistrust, but rejection. Neither we nor Yugoslavia needs this. We have committed ourselves to reform, to development, we have committed ourselves to helping the underdeveloped, to helping Kosovo. So let us not jeopardize all that now! It is not permissible to talk about reform, and hold rallies for two years, to circulate throughout Yugoslavia, to wait in ambush for every action, every statement, every political position from other communities which does not coincide with the project of the antibureaucratic revolution, to shake Yugoslavia and bring it to its knees. Nor in fact is that Yugoslavia so weak. If we truly want reform, if we truly want to arrive at new constitutional solutions through joint efforts, then we have to say to all those committees and their spokesmen: That's enough!

DANAS: The organizers of the truth rally say that their intentions were good, that they wanted to go to Slovenia so that the people there would hear the truth about their position in Kosovo.

Runjic: The Federal Executive Council has clearly said that the lawful and constitutional decisions of the system's institutions have to be respected on the territory of the SFRY; the competent authorities in Slovenia adopted a decision prohibiting assembly to hold rallies, and that must be respected. Everything else is an assault. The Slovenes have defended their sovereignty and their right, and they did not break off relations even though people wanted to go to Ljubljana and Slovenia against the will of Slovenia, its citizens, and the Slovenian people.

It is true that Kosovo is a large Yugoslav problem. This can be seen both in the emergency measures and in the emergency situation in Kosovo. All the more reason not to allow this immense misfortune, the difficult position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, to be quietly and arrogantly used for certain other purposes. Here in SR Croatia the position concerning separatism and the irridenta in Kosovo has been unambiguously formulated and clearly and firmly stated more than once. No one, however, is so ignorant or so uninformed to fail to see certain other things as well which are happening in Kosovo, and this is compounding the misunderstandings and taking us further away from solving the problems there. If a policy toward Kosovo is to be truly Yugoslav,

then it cannot be reduced merely to arbitrary proclamations, but must be the result of a profound insight into the situation there and agreed on in the Yugoslav manner. Otherwise, the problems will be compounded, and all of us together will move further away from the end of the Kosovo drama.

All this that I have said does not mean that I am uncritical of certain things both in Slovenia and in Croatia. I would like to emphasize, however, that unless all of us together broaden our views about everything that is bothering and burdening Yugoslavia as a whole, unless we resort to analytical materials and approach the problem in a documented and reasonable way in all communities, then there is no hope that we can sit down at the table together.

DANAS: Some of the rally leaders announced even earlier, and the other day they repeated, that Yugoslavia is only the semifinals, but the real finals are to be played in Zagreb, that is, in Croatia! This caused a certain excitement and even unrest among citizens. How will the SR Croatia Assembly react in that case?

Runjic: The SR Croatia Assembly, as the highest legislative and self-management body, is aware of its importance, of its constitutional responsibility for the integrity of SR Croatia, for its historical rights, for the peace and stable life of all its citizens. And it will bear that responsibility. We have no need for any proclamations and pressures in that direction, but we will be open to any well-intentioned warning, to everything that represents human concern for Croatia and Yugoslavia, for our life together. I emphasize this because certain other lines, which are the consequence of our multistrata and sensitive public in this republic, are also emerging.

DANAS: Nevertheless, when one reads the individual statements there are obvious differences in views concerning how the rally organizers should be received.

Runjic: We have been subjected to criticism and indeed even pressures, for being silent, for not reacting quickly enough. When the highest legislative body of a republic in a federal community makes itself heard, then there must be the most serious reasons for that. It must be based on the Constitution, on responsibility, and it must be in conformity with the political tradition which binds us all. The Assembly has already announced its positions concerning the rallies, and they have been very well received by the public. They unambiguously state that we will defend the sovereignty and integrity of the republic with every means offered us by this republic's Constitution. What we mean by that is that any unrest, any pressure, any march on Croatia, any violation of public peace and order, not to mention brutal forms of penetration, will be stopped by legal means. Although it is not easy to speak about this, this has to be said, and the citizens must know it. It is difficult for everyone to mention repressive measures, to see the members of the special forces in the street, but if other means, a more reasonable way, do not exist, then everything that acts

destructively against this republic, that goes against and apart from the will of its citizens, will be halted even if that method is required. SR Croatia, with all the attributes of sovereignty granted it by the Constitution, is aware of its responsibility not only to itself, but also to Yugoslavia.

DANAS: Does that mean that the posture in Croatia would be the same as in Slovenia?

Runjic: I do not know whether it would be identical, but certainly in keeping with the powers I mentioned. This is a battle to preserve even the functioning of the system, and the resorting to such drastic measures is a sign of the tragic situation in which we have gotten ourselves. The Slovenes were forced to resort to that protective mechanism, and all of that was caused by the statement of the leadership of the Serbian SAWP, which has faced us with the most profound dilemmas we have had in our existence. This has trampled on the Constitution, unified Yugoslavia has been trampled on, and that is why federal bodies and agencies must sit down at the table as soon as possible and clear up the situation that has come about. For its part, Croatia is ready to give its full commitment and to fight for a solution of this situation that adheres to principle. It is truly a question of a difficult and dark moment for the Yugoslav community, and that at a time when Italy is awaking the great reformer Gorbachev with ovations, when walls are being torn down in Eastern Europe, when the socialist world is being realigned into a new democracy, when the borders of freedom are spreading everywhere. Yet we in Yugoslavia, during these holidays, on the birthday of the republic, have to listen to Kecman seven times!?

DANAS: Are you not afraid of being accused of suspending democracy, of resorting to undemocratic means and methods?

Runjic: There is a confusion about many things in our country, including democracy. Democracy also means respecting the legal and constitutional norms, an awareness of responsibility—individual and public. And when it comes to democracy, there is a great deal more to do for it to become a complete way of life and pattern of relations. At this moment, the breathing of democracy in Croatia is still fragile and feeble. I would say that we have opened the door to democracy, but we have not gone through it yet. Nor has the party done it, and that is why I say, perhaps it will sound like rhetoric, let us open that door wide and go through it. We need not be afraid of our fellow citizens and fellow members of our nationality who think differently. Our historical experience teaches us that responsibility should be broadened and shared with everything that is well-intentioned and creative. In that respect, work on the new election law, the law on civic associations, and finally the work on the new constitution, offer true chances for a spread of democracy in the sense in which I speak of it. Incidentally, even the present Constitution offers significant opportunities for differing types of opinions to be elaborated and to fit into political life, all the way to the multiparty idea. The

Chamber of Opstinias is so structured that there is no obstacle to there being, say, a member of the Social Liberal Alliance in it if he is the candidate of his community. Nor is there any problem at all in having representatives of all those groups in the Sociopolitical Chamber. Of course, the work on the new constitution is making it possible to remove the bottlenecks that exist, so that political life becomes democratically open to the full extent. It is difficult to say at this point how this will look, but I am personally persuaded that we are on the road toward a good and modern constitution. However, the circumstances we are talking about, this political tension, can truly jeopardize all those democratic processes.

DANAS: Are you not afraid that in this time of universal divisions there could be ethnic divisions even in SR Croatia, especially since in political situations like this there can very easily be a division into "ours" and "theirs"?

Runjic: Of course, that danger always exists, but as president of the Croatian Assembly I must express satisfaction with the behavior of the citizens of SR Croatia as a whole, both the Croats and the Serbs, and members of the ethnic minorities, who have shown quite a profound sensitivity about everything happening around us. In saying that, I by no means wish to displace the knowledge that certain cracks have also become evident. There have been very marked pressures on the Serbs in Croatia and attempts to embrace them within the framework of a general homogenization, in spite of all the specific features, developments in characteristics of their common life with the Croats and other citizens of SR Croatia. A paternalistic attitude toward the Serbs in Croatia is becoming more and more evident, various emissaries are emerging with their respective truths, which is resulting in an awakening of Serbian nationalism and attempts at linkage apart from the interests, logic, and need, and outside the official policy of SR Croatia. We are aware of that, and we therefore should look with open eyes, but also wisely, on those points where attempts are made under the guise of democracy, freedom, and civil rights to destroy a very deep relationship among the citizens of SR Croatia, especially between the Croats and Serbs. It has been a test for the Serbs in Croatia, but also for the Croats as the majority nationality, to see whether they can continue that life that has lasted several centuries in a democratic atmosphere, in a manner appropriate to the interests of community life and mutual equality.

DANAS: As for equality, reproaches that it has been upset have become more frequent recently. There have also been attacks on the Croatian Assembly to the effect that it has contributed to this, and here the questions of language, statehood, and the speeches of certain delegates are mentioned most frequently!?

Runjic: The issues which you mention are those over which attempts at division are always made in times of conflict, and an issue is made of the position of the Serbs

in Croatia by weakening the historical bonds and interpenetration of the two nationalities. There are indeed problems, and they must not be minimized and underestimated. They are obvious when one speaks about economic position and development, although it is worth saying that attempts are made to use this for manipulative purposes. Studies which we have done show that the Croats and Serbs and all other citizens living in the underdeveloped regions of the republic share the same economic fate. Issues which affect the ethnic identity of Serbian people in Croatia are particularly sensitive. There are no dilemmas, nor have there ever been, about the need for it to protect itself, for the culture of the Serbs in Croatia to be protected and advanced, for their institutions to be updated, beginning with Prosvjeta and going all the way to other cultural societies. In that respect, the SR Croatia Assembly has a clear and open stance and consciousness of the equality of all citizens, of the equality of the Serbs in Croatia, and it will protect that equality with all the powers it has under the Constitution and law. This makes it all the harder to hear declarations about the Serbs in Croatia being menaced, about assimilation, about displacement of Cyrillic and about the cultural policy which neglects it. There are arguments which would challenge and deny those and similar theses, but unfortunately a segment of the Serbs in Croatia, given the kind of situation we are in at the moment, are becoming susceptible to those and similar accusations. That is why a great political and democratic effort has to be made to clear up the problems and clarify things. To recognize what the real problem is and what is a part of a destructive hegemonistic strategy that is counting on the unrest of the Serbian nationality in Croatia. That strategy is ready to use every means, so that out of its arsenal, along with charges that the Serbs are second-class citizens in Croatia, we are also

receiving messages about the genocidal, narrow-minded, and fascistoid nature of the Croatian ethnic identity. The relations between Croats and Serbs in Croatia are one of the key issues and most important issues to the stability of Croatia, and that is why this kind of one-sided divisiveness and political manipulation could have far-reaching consequences. By no means should we ever resolve those issues by playing with the equality and ethnic and cultural identity of any nationality. In this scenario, unfortunately, there have also been rumors that the SR Croatia Assembly has been infected with some ethnic virus, that it has been seized by intensified ethnic identities. As the president of the Croatian Assembly, I absolutely reject even the thought about the penetration of nationalism into the Assembly. This cannot be attributed to the Assembly. It would not be good for the Assembly to be divided along ethnic lines, although a certain amount of fidgeting can be felt concerning certain issues, and there has been some sniping. I want to emphasize, however, that the SR Croatia Assembly has been able, and will be able in the future, to preserve its constitutional dignity, its position of the highest legislative body, a body guaranteeing the equality of all.

DANAS: How much support for this opinion is there in the behavior of delegates in formulating the positions concerning rallies?

Runjic: Well, that is another argument for what I am saying. Those views were adopted unanimously, and this persuades us that people are thinking, that they are worried, and that they are resisting an aggressive political style. A defense mechanism is created toward the rude assaults which have been aimed at Croatia, and if I were the strategist of that aggressive and intrusive policy, I would seriously wonder whether Croatia would give in. My answer is this: It won't!

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Homosexuality in Armed Forces Addressed

A0EG0153A East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German
No 1, Jan 90 p 5

[Commentary by Holger Siemann: "Coming Out in the National People's Army?"]

[Text] From my years of work in the Interdisciplinary Working Group on Homosexuality at Humboldt University I know about the special problems of homosexuals in the Army. After the programs broadcast by GDR Television as part of the "aha" and "Up Close" series, I received several hundred letters in which homosexual members of the Army depicted their problems—some of them in dramatic fashion. I see no other solution than to promote as quickly as possible a tolerant attitude in the units and in particular among superiors, and, in addition to lectures, this article should serve to contribute to this. Neither a general discharge nor the shunting of draft-age youth into alternative service can be a long-term solution. Homosexuality is not a sickness—rather in socialism it must be a viable variant of sexuality.

"Well, dear?" someone says to his neighbor in the latrine. The latter rolls his eyes and whistles, "Ah, I am already promised." Almost a daily occurrence where men live together, and not meant seriously at all.

Bernd, 24, noncommissioned officer: There is constant joking, but if you are really gay, you had better keep your mouth shut. The jokes stop then and the others feel attacked and threatened. On top of that, superiors often feel that they have to protect the soldiers from someone like that. The worst thing happened to me in H., where the political officer warned the company about me and demanded that any incidents should be immediately reported to him. I was then beaten up, naked, in the latrine, and they really wanted to stick a broom handle up my rear. The company commander just said that it was my own fault and I should not be surprised.

Comrade M., deputy chief political officer of a battalion: I see to it that there are no soldiers in my unit that are like that. The soldiers have strenuous duty, and whoever still has time for such games is certainly not being worked to capacity.

Gerd, 26, enlisted man in Comrade M.'s unit: I play the game here. After going on leave, I tell about adventures with girls, but every three months when I go home I pick up mail from my friend which is sent to my home address. My friend saves the letters and then we read them together. I wrote him one letter from here—in the latrine. I do not know how I will last out the year.

Comrade M.: I bear the responsibility for seeing to it that the interpersonal relationships in my unit are orderly. Most people in our country have only very unclear ideas about homosexuality and homosexuals, and terms such as "bugger," "paragraph 175'er," and "faggot" attest to

that. The image is still alive of the lecherous old man lurking around the corner in wait for little boys in order to get into their pants. Homosexuality means no more and no less than preferring a partner of the same gender for sex. And yet when we find out that a person is gay we think: Oh! So that is the way it is—and he walks so funny.

Scientists estimate that there are about 700,000 homosexually oriented people in the GDR. Not included in this figure is the probably larger number of those persons who are capable of being both homosexual as well as heterosexual—that is, who are not exclusively oriented towards one sex. Coming out—that is the term for the acknowledgement of one's own homosexuality—occurs for most people between the ages of 17 and 25, and thus for many during the time of their military service. Homosexuals are welders and teachers. They live in partnerships or alone. They are cheerful or sad. They are party members or are unaffiliated with a party. They pursue studies and collect stamps. The only difference: They love in a different way.

Andreas, officer and FDJ [Free German Youth] secretary of a battalion: The worst thing is that you cannot talk to anyone about it. I feel terribly alone and that is my main problem—not the fact of being gay. How will I ever find a friend? I do not want to leave the Army, but I often think that it would be my only chance.

Up until September 1988 there was a regulation stipulating that homosexuals were not fit for military service and they were discharged. This regulation was suspended in order to grant equal rights and obligations to all. A correct military decision is one thing, practice another. The specific problems of homosexuals in the Army are persistent. They are exacerbated by the fact that those concerned often do not have the courage to defend themselves or to turn to superiors, and that they do not find sympathy when they do.

Andreas: The best thing, of course, would be for the attitude towards homosexuality to be so tolerant that one could acknowledge it. But for that to be possible, most people would first have to understand that being gay not only has to do with sex, but that it is really concerned with love and longing. Most people grow up with a negative assessment of homosexuality as if it were an unimpeachable given. For many homosexuals, coming out is characterized by shock at being "that way:" dirty, perverted, disgusting. Self-hatred is the result. The suicide rate of young homosexuals is five times higher than that of their "normal" contemporaries. A movie from the 1970's had the long title of "The homosexual is not perverted but the society in which he lives [is]. And we are the society...."

Wolfgang, enlisted man: Pills, ambulance, and then I was thrown out of the house when my parents found out. That was when I was 17. There is so much talk about one's first unforgettable love, but it almost killed me.

Bernd: Maybe they should form units in which mostly homosexuals serve. It would be a compromise and maybe not the best thing for integration, but service in the Armed Forces involves serious danger for many. And maybe there would be a few less people who dodge military service out of fear.

Michael, noncommissioned officer: I often attend the working group here in town—in civvies, of course. I have friends there with whom I can talk about my problems as a homosexual. We listen to lectures or readings and recently we saw the documentary film "The Other Love." I think that most people in my unit know that I am gay. People were here from the Berlin Sunday Club two months ago and I was amazed at how they reacted in such an open-minded way. There ought to be more educational work. Sexuality is a major topic in soldiers' conversation anyway, so why not in political education sessions? In the age of AIDS that would be very important for everyone, not just for homosexuals.

New Content for Officer Colleges Urged

90EG0145A East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German
No 2, Jan 90 p 6

[Article by Lt Col Reginald Lassahn, principal of the Organization and Methodology of Government Political Work team of specialists of the Social Sciences Chair at the "Ernst Thaelmann" Officer's College of Land Forces: "New Content, New Forms? Regarding the Article 'How Could State Political Work Look?' in VOLKSARMEE 49/89"]

[Text] On fundamental points, I follow the conception of the "Wilhelm Pieck" Military Political College collective under the leadership of Colonel Professor Dr. of Science Wolfgang Markus that were published in VOLKSARMEE Nr. 49/89. At the same time, I would like to expound on some deviating and continuing thoughts regarding state political work. State political work in the National People's Army is to be understood as a goal oriented exertion of influence by commanders from all levels of leadership and by all institutions created for the direction and organization of state political work on the thoughts and actions of Army members with the goal of crystallizing, developing and strengthening the readiness to fulfill all obligations resulting from the constitutional mandate as well as the tasks set by the People's Chamber, the government, and military leadership. In this context, exertion of influence on the thoughts of Army members may not be identical with intentional modification of political, ideological, religious, or other individual stances of Army members by superiors in the interest of a party. It must be nonpartisan but must also be concurrently supported by all parties, organizations, and movements that embrace the Constitution.

Based on the specified objectives, state political work is to be directed toward:

- the development and strengthening of the understanding by all Army members of the Constitutional

mandate of socialist forces and the purpose of being a soldier in socialism;

- the conscious perception of the constitutional rights and obligations to protect peace, the Socialist Fatherland, and its achievements;
- the development and strengthening of the willingness to implement the military doctrine of the participating states of the Warsaw Pact and the GDR;
- the creative and motivated fulfillment of all orders given in the interest of realizing the Constitutional mandate;
- the maintenance of a conscious military discipline and order.

In its totality, it influences the mobilization and the utilization of all mental and physical potential toward a motivated and creative realization of military requirements by every Army member.

Thus, state political work as an element of troop leadership must provide a meaningful contribution to guaranteeing a fighting force and battle readiness of the units and troop components in keeping with political and military political conditions.

What Substance Must State Political Work Be Primarily Geared to?

In my view, state political work should basically encompass three problem areas.

1. Continued development of the political education of Army members.

In establishing material contents, it must be assumed that the socialist citizen has already acquired substantial political knowledge in the course of his development prior to military service. Political education should take place in a sensible union of education (classes, schooling, information, etc.) and independent acquisition of facts and correlations to:

- the policies of the GDR and its political parties, especially military policy and military political views;
- the history and present of the National People's Army and of one's own troop component;
- associated armies and the consolidation with them in the Warsaw Pact;
- NATO States, their policies—especially military policy—and their armies, including the ideological diversion against the Socialist states and armies.

2. Motivation of Army members to consciously implement the requirements resulting from military doctrine and the Constitutional mandate.

It is necessary to conduct a dialogue individually and in small groups and to not let schooling, appeals or pleas dominate in state political work with Army members in order to be genuinely motivating. What can they be motivated for?

First, to overcome the difficult physical and mental stress of general service, battle training with all its domains, the on duty system, etc. and

Second, for acting under the conditions of an armed battle to defend against aggression, which is still possible.

3. Supporting Army members in overcoming all individual and collective social problems as well as cooperating in organizing their service conditions and living conditions in the units.

The term of social and intellectual/cultural assistance used in the train of thought of the Military Political College appears to be too narrowly defined, as the objectives of this problem area cannot be sufficiently gauged. This consists especially in the crystallization and incessant strengthening of the relationship of trust in superiors and peers in the individual's unit as well as the conviction of the guarantee of social security of the Army member and his family during military service, in the safeguarding of his feeling of well-being in the small group and in the unit as well as in the fulfillment of already existing intellectual/cultural, athletic, and other needs developing in the course of military service.

Who Must Implement the State Political Work?

As emphasized initially, state political work is an element of troop leadership. Thus, it comes to bear first in the responsibility of superiors on all leadership levels. However, since it is geared toward Army members, the requirements for effective leadership and organization on the superiors at company level are to be especially emphasized. The institutions and/or individuals responsible for state political work serve to support superiors, not to supervise them or even treat them like a child. In addition to the usefulness of superiors, the institutions of state political work and perhaps of the different parties, mass organizations and movements in the interest of implementing the goals of state political work, direct inclusion of Army members is unavoidable. Only in doing so will it be possible to do justice to the individual Army member's interests located primarily in the third problem area. In this context, corresponding legal stipulations such as the possibility of electing spokespersons or representatives by Army members to preserve their interests, founding of a Soldier's Association with appropriate proxies regarding their supervisors or other forms of democratic participation by Army members are to be made.

Departing from previous policy, state political work must then be managed and organized on the broadest basis and under genuine inclusion of conscriptees and enlistees.

Should There Be Established Organizational Forms for State Political Work?

I am of the opinion that such organizational forms are necessary. However, it also requires modified designations. The terms in use in the National People's Army for

a long time—propaganda, oral, and written agitation, political schooling and contemporary political information, among others—are so negatively charged in the conscience of Army members that their continued use could lead to instinctive rejection by the majority of Army members from the outset. Established organizational forms must mold the first problem area of state political work. In my view, there should be two types:

1. Civic Education

The facts and correlations enumerated at the outset should comprise the substantial focal points of this form. It must fundamentally differ in many aspects from the previous political schooling of the soldiers and noncommissioned officers, but at least in its chronological scope, in the manner of execution, in the determination of the administrators and in its evaluation. Most general fundamentals could be:

- four hours in one day monthly;
- the main method is conversation about the established but currently addressed focal points;
- administrators of this demanding measure of state political work are experienced and proven officers, cadets or career noncommissioned officers accepted by Army members (as a rule, it may not be a graduate in the first year of his troop service or a temporary officer);
- the military unit (generally, the platoon) conducts combined civic education (i.e., no separation of draftees and enlistees);
- no evaluations in the form of grades that serve as a basis for competition, recognition and so on, are given.

2. Civic Information

The content of this form consists of current events in economics, politics, military organization and other societal areas as well as problems of an Army member, the unit or the troop component.

The most general fundamentals could be:

- at least 30 minutes a week; the unit commander (company/battery) can establish additional times in the training schedule of the unit if needed or by request of the representatives of the Army members;
- immediate supervisors are administrators;
- the unit commander decides the composition of the participants (group/troop/service personnel/crew; platoon or group of specialists are possible);
- main methods are brief information and talks with Army members.

Both forms must be sustained by diverse methods of state political work to be determined by the unit commander in close cooperation with the subordinates.

These methods could consist of:

- independent information in powerful and attractively designed materials placed at the disposal of state political education;
- film events;
- reception of radio or television programs;
- talks and discussions;
- varied artistic, literary and musical events.

The other problem areas may not be encumbered by any established or even rigid organizational forms. However, in addition to established forms, new forms and methods, too, must enter into the units and into the activity of the commanders and those responsible for state political work. In my view, the following (among others) is part of this:

- election of representatives in the units;
- hearing of the elected representatives by the commanders and compliance with the proposals and ideas during decision making;
- commander's office hours for all members of the troop component;
- creation and safeguarding of the effectiveness of permanent or temporary committees for democratic participation by all Army members—from conscriptees to officers—concerning problems such as food, cultural assistance, attachment to the territory, off duty time structuring, club facilities, preparation and execution of highlights in the life of the troop component, object layout and so on;
- preservation and/or creation of new traditions in the units and troop components.

BULGARIA

Prospects for East-West Economic Cooperation Examined

90EB0193A Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT in Bulgarian 25 Oct 89 p 7

[Article by Prof. Danail Danailov, doctor of economic sciences: "Stockholding Company for Foreign Economic Activities"]

[Text] The organization of the economy in our country on the basis of companies introduces a number of essential changes in the management of the foreign economic area. The traditional foreign trade organizations are abolished. Commodity producers have the right to select the type of organizational form of trade, independent or through associations and companies, in which they wish to participate. It is natural for such a choice to include also stockholding companies engaged in foreign economic activities. Such companies and associations are being developed in other socialist countries as well, such as Hungary and the USSR.

Essentially, the stockholding company for foreign economic activities is a voluntary association of state, cooperative, and municipal companies, organizations, enterprises, and banks, aimed at the efficient implementation of such activities. The development of such companies is at its very beginning and is encountering a number of difficulties and problems. More laws must be passed regulating their activities. The fast elimination of such difficulties would accelerate the economic reform in the national economy.

It is universally accepted that the stockholding company engaged in foreign economic activities is a voluntary association of interested commodity producers, regardless of their own organizational form or administrative subordination. In this light the most shortsighted policy would be, at the time of their organization, to let some associations, ministries, and departments to impose certain restrictions. It is wrong, for example, for the Khimimport AF [Stockholding Company] to block the participation (as stockholders) of companies and organizations which do not belong to the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry associations. Interest rather than administrative coercion motivates commodity producers to join one stockholding company or another, engaged in foreign economic activities. Such is the worldwide practice which we must follow.

Inherent in the stockholding company for foreign economic activities is an improved organizational-management structure, consistent with contemporary management methods and acceptable to commodity producers. The structures of the traditional foreign trade organizations are no longer adequate. We must change the approach to the development of the functional units. Our current practices have two features: a management with offices based on the commodity principle and a management with offices of economic associations.

The possibilities, however, do not stop there. There is also a third aspect. The company organization of the economy demands a comprehensively motivated new type of management: It must be commodity-market and company oriented. It would be expedient for the range of commodities to stop on the level of the management. This will enable the stockholding company to consider a number of governmental interests as well. The market and company scope is manifested on the level of the various offices within the management. Furthermore, it would be sensible within the framework of the management, if the need for this has been established, to set up offices servicing the given stockholding company. There also should be offices each servicing several companies with more limited foreign trade interests. This will take more fully into consideration and encompass the interests of the companies in terms of international markets.

It has become necessary to improve the efficiency of the functional units—departments and services. Today, as a group, such units are small and numerous. The practices of some advanced countries indicate a good approach to building the functional infrastructure of stockholding companies engaged in foreign economic activities. For example, this applies to consolidating and classifying the units into three groups: development, resource, and services. This approach is largely consistent with the interests of commodity producers. It is mandatory to set up reliable market study units. Without them the commodity producers would be unable to determine the proper requirements on international markets.

The foreign trade organizations and companies in our country are brokers. Foreign trade brokering should not be underestimated. It is inherent in stockholding companies as well. However, it would be erroneous to exaggerate its role and possibilities under the conditions of the setting up of companies. The brokering variant in foreign trade with stockholding companies presents the following picture: the stockholding companies pay brokerage fees to the offices for their services, some of which are recovered as dividends. On a parallel basis, it is a universal truth that in engaging in foreign economic brokerage activities, the broker is substantially removed from the problems, difficulties, and failures of commodity producers. Such must not be the fate of the stockholding company engaged in foreign economic activities. Better solutions are available.

This problem can be solved by increasing the activities of the stockholding company and the results of such activities, and thus tying the company more solidly to its stockholder companies. On the practical level, the solution should be sought within the following parameters:

Limiting foreign trade based on brokerage within sensible limits acceptable to commodity producers and merchants;

The stockholding company for foreign economic activities should make deals on its own account, on the basis of specific commodities;

The stockholding company should invest foreign exchange in the production activities of Bulgarian companies with a view to ensuring the competitiveness of exports;

Joint production operations with foreign companies on Bulgarian territory should be organized;

Financial operations using available funds should be carried out;

The offices should participate in the profits of the stockholding company.

More such possibilities could be listed. Global experience is rich in them.

The stockholding company for foreign economic activities should not engage exclusively in classical foreign trade activities. It has opportunities also in the area of international engineering. Conditions exist for the development and functioning of contemporary engineering associations for foreign trade activities. With them one will not reject but only sensibly limit the trend which is typical of Bulgaria, that of having small enterprises, companies, and institutes independently participating in the international engineering markets. Global practices are different: Advantages in international engineering are achieved mainly by concentrating production, design, financial, consulting, and other services. It is precisely in this connection that it would be sensible to set up stockholding companies for international engineering activities. There are good and realistic opportunities for restructuring the Tekhnoimporteksport Trade Company as a stockholding company with a wide range of activities: design, consultation, production, investment, construction, foreign economic, etc.

The stockholding company can be advantageously used in other forms of foreign economic activities as well. It could set up companies abroad, both Bulgarian and with Bulgarian participation. Their purpose is to be competitive and profitable and to help in the fuller implementation of the company's strategy. It is also possible to establish holding relations among companies abroad, with a view to the priority concentration of capital in suitable areas and activities. This new development, however, should not be blocked by the practices of companies set up abroad of selling substandard and noncompetitive goods, i.e., of being unprofitable. Their strategy should be formulated together with the stockholding company for foreign economic activities and the stockholder companies.

Selected Societies, Unions Declared Self-Supporting

90EB0240A Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Council of Ministers Resolution No. 54, dated 22 November 1989, on the Economic Activities of the

Federation of Scientific and Technical Societies, the Union of Bulgarian Architects and the Union of Bulgarian Scientific Workers

Council of Ministers resolution:

Article 1

Recommends to the Federation of Scientific and Technical Societies, the Union of Bulgarian Architects and the Union of Bulgarian Scientific Workers to convert their economic activities to self-support and keep a separate balance sheet as of 1 January 1990, in accordance with Ukase No 56 on Economic Activities (DV, No 4, 1989; corrected No 16, 1989; amended Nos 38, 39 and 62, 1989).

Article 2

Relieves the organizations listed in the preceding article from making payments to the budget of the tax on profits and the tax on wage funds, and payments for the people's councils, based on their economic activities. The computed funds will be paid to the respective associations (federations), for the specific purpose of improving their material facilities and carrying out their statutory activities and steps. The balance of the profits will be distributed in accordance with the rules adopted by the administrative council of the respective association (federation).

Article 3

3.1. Wages paid to collectives and individual citizens for assignments based on contracts concluded with the Federation of Scientific and Technical Societies, the Union of Bulgarian Architects and the Union of Bulgarian Scientific Workers will not be part of the wage funds of companies and other customer organizations in computing the tax on increases in the wage fund and the wage funds of the respective association (federation).

3.2. Payments for work done as per Article 1 will be taxed as per Article 13, Paragraph 2 of the Law on the General Income Tax.

Provisional and Concluding Stipulations

1. Rescinds as of 1 January 1990 Resolution No 77 of the Council of Ministers of 1980 and its related regulation on the specific rules governing the adoption of an economic approach to engineering and application activities by the Scientific and Technical Associations, the Union of Bulgarian Architects and the Union of Bulgarian Scientific Workers (DV, No 7, 1981).

2. Contracts concluded prior to the date of publication of the present resolution will be implemented also after 1 January 1990, under the conditions stipulated in the rescinded regulation as per the preceding paragraph.

3. Instructions on the application of the present resolution will be issued by the minister of economics and planning, coordinated with the central managements of

the Federation of Scientific and Technical Societies, the Union of Bulgarian Architects and the Union of Bulgarian Scientific Workers.

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers
Ivan Shpatov, chief secretary of the Council of Ministers

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Daily Responds to CPCZ's Attacks on Apology to Transferred Germans

90EC0215A Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
6 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by R. Strobinger: "Communists, the Transfer, and Human Rights"]

[Text] One has to give Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist propagandists one thing. They are masters at the demagogic "explanation" of historical phenomena. This is true today as they misuse, on the one hand, the justified pride in the liberation struggle of our peoples against the Nazi occupation, while at the same time misusing the discussion of the transfer of the Sudeten Germans for their propaganda purposes.

What is the reality? What did Czechoslovak communists do when the "greatest mass murderer of all time," as the Soviet historian Afanasjev has called Stalin, toasted the successes of the "Führer" Adolf Hitler and congratulated him on his defeat of France? Gottwald, Slansky, and Kopecky attacked the Czechoslovak democratic exiles, insulting them as "servants of western capitalists," and characterized Czechoslovak soldiers abroad as "soldiers in the service of capital." They forbade communists abroad from enlisting in foreign armies. Vlado Clementis, one of the few who objected to these statements, paid later with his life. What sort of communist patriotism was it when communist propaganda slandered the paratrooper heroes of the Heydrich assassination, among them Jan Kubis, for many years a member of Eagle and a catholic, and removed them from the order of the nation? And how did the communists reward the heroes of the resistance? By brutalizing officers from the West in the "little house" at the Castle. By dragging foreign pilots, the heroes of the battle of Britain, to the Jachymov mines, to prisons and concentration camps. Many who had been imprisoned in Nazi prisons for their role in the resistance or who fought at the front lines, were executed. Let us recall only the names M. Horakov, general H. Pik, assembly delegate Z. Broj.

No, the party that dealt this way with the heroes of the resistance, that violated their graves, destroyed their families, has no moral right to invoke these sacrifices.

And the transfer? This decision was made in Potsdam by the four victorious powers of World War II. We have to come to terms ourselves, however, with many accompanying, and unpleasant occurrences. Numerous interviews with democratic delegates to the National

Assembly in 1945-46 prove that these incidents occurred. Peroutka wrote about them in his DNESEK, and the popular publication OBZORY also published accounts. For criticizing perverted actions in his collection of reports from the periphery of the Republic, entitled "Prichazim," communists threw the journalist Michal Mares into prison for years after the 1948 coup. However, the court writer of the CPCZ after February, V. Rezac, also mentions these events in his novel "Nastup." The things that happened in Usti, Prague, Olomouc, Brno, and in other places simply shouldn't have happened. These incidents were contrary to human rights and to human dignity.

The Christian humanism that we subscribe to considers the words of one prayer to express the entire conceptual richness of world civilization, to be the single standard of our morality. These words are "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us...". In this prayer the person who commits a crime directly requests forgiveness. And forgives the person who repents for his wrongs. Forgiveness and repentance, after all, determine the greatness of the individual and a nation.

If the communists now demagogically misuse these standards of human values in order to whip up emotions and the mistrust of the young in our young democracy, then this only goes to show that they have not learned anything from their own past, that they are hiding their face of brutality, violence and lies behind their promises of renewal.

Market, Price Reform Before Decentralization, Warns Klaus

90EC0243A Dueseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German
16 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Klaus C. Engelen: "Decentralization Without Reform of Market and Price Structures Leads to Tragedy"]

[Text] "I am quite satisfied with the CEMA meeting in Sofia. Only dreamers could already have expected fundamental, spectacular innovations from Sofia. But evidently we managed to imbue the conference with a very new reform spirit and it appears to have been successful to drastically change the way we talk to each other and negotiate in CEMA. From this aspect, nothing is as it was before."

With this remark, the new Czechoslovakian finance minister, Dr. Vaclav Klaus, in a conversation with HANDELSBLATT referred to the pioneering reform role of the CSSR at the latest meeting of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) in Sofia. Together with his cabinet colleague in charge of CEMA affairs, planning minister Dr. Vladimir Dlouhy, the Czechoslovaks, supported primarily by the Hungarians and Poles, represented the vanguard of the reformers at the Eastern economic meeting, the first CEMA meeting after the epochal political upheavals of 1989. Although they could

not win over a majority in CEMA for holding an extraordinary reform meeting this coming June, Klaus remains optimistic: "The reform train is on track. We could hardly have achieved anything more dramatic."

At least since his appearance in Sofia, Prague's new finance minister stands in the worldwide limelight. "We made it clear to the Soviets in particular that in CEMA we should offset trade in hard currency as soon as possible, but that payment for USSR oil and natural gas exports cannot be made in hard currency from one day to the next, nor without compensations for other CEMA countries."

On Monday and Tuesday of this week, Klaus will attend the Paris government conference for the founding of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), although on Tuesday in Prague, the CEMA Currency and Finance Commission begins its consultations on the convertibility question not fully discussed in Sofia. For the former economist of the Prague Prognosis-Institute, membership in the new "East Europe Bank" as well as the now officially requested activation of membership in IMF and World Bank, which had been given up in 1953, are important steps on the way back into the international system. "In this light, the visit to Paris after so many decades represents a premiere for us. In our viewpoint, the focus is not so much on new Western credits, but rather on the expertise of international financial institutions. We are not becoming an IMF member in order to get loans tomorrow." According to Klaus, many in the West have a wrong idea about the actual importance and working method of CEMA for the individual socialist economies. "Many still cannot grasp the fact that there are striking discrepancies between the textbook version and the reality of CEMA institutions." It is not true that strong planners have the upper hand in the socialist economies as well as CEMA.

Planning coordination in CEMA has long lost its relevancy for the CSSR economy. And it will become even less important in the future. Says Klaus: "The role of CEMA is overestimated everywhere in the West. Even today, bilateral economic relations and negotiations are much more important than the multilateral coordinations in CEMA. In future, CEMA will only be the umbrella for bilateral negotiations. This change in economic relations between socialist countries was addressed very clearly in Sofia. I consider as urgent and realistic not the dismantlement of CEMA, but its reform in this respect."

The report from Poland, that the CSSR is considering withdrawal from CEMA, is incorrect. But in the process of foreign trade offsetting in convertible currency vis-a-vis the USSR, Prague will insist on a fair balance for the totally different export structure. The high percentage of capital goods exports—for which there are no world market prices as for oil and natural gas—is of serious disadvantage to the CSSR.

"We would like to make our currency convertible as soon as possible," says the Prague finance minister. "But Sofia shows that a common route on the way to currency convertibility is not yet in sight. We and the Soviets have great communications problems in this respect. The concepts are very divergent. We had to leave the question of currency convertibility completely open. Nothing was decided in this field. If the Soviets want to approach the problem by wanting to sell us their oil and gas in hard currency, we shall stick with our 'No.' We also want to be paid for our capital goods exports in convertible currency. Hence we must strive for convertibility for all export goods." In this context, another "hot iron" will have to be tackled in CEMA. Contrary to other CEMA member states, particularly the USSR, the CSSR considers as a precondition of foreign trade aiming at convertibility that decisions are not made by governments and planning ministries, but rather by exporting and importing enterprises. Only if one succeeds in shifting foreign trade from the government level to the enterprise level will progress be made on the road to true currency convertibility. "The Soviets evidently do not seem to understand that." They still proceed from the assumption that they have greater negotiating leverage vis-a-vis foreign trade partners if they deal at the government level.

In commenting on the economic reform by the new leadership, the former economist, also respected internationally, wants to start with a question: How can the CSSR avoid the mistakes of other reform-minded socialist countries? Despite sharp criticism by Czechoslovakian state monopolies, adaptation of the koruna to actual market conditions introduced by him [Klaus] is a step in the right direction, through external devaluation and internal revaluation (adjustment to the black market exchange rate).

In Klaus' opinion, the CSSR is in a more stable starting position than other CEMA reform candidates with regard to the starting position of a far-reaching economic restructuring and a division of labor opening vis-a-vis the world economy. "The CSSR can approach restructuring with a global balance on the consumer markets, without a noteworthy monetary excess and without excessive external indebtedness."

It will now be decisive during the reforms to maintain the correct sequence of the individual steps, i.e., not to take the second or third step before the first. To avoid such "reform traps" must be the goal of state restructuring policy. Because he had criticized the time sequence of the individual reform steps, he had recently been attacked in Poland. But he will continue to criticize a cardinal mistake of Eastern reforms, i.e., pursuing decentralization without simultaneously taking care of the reform of price and market structures.

If reforms are carried out under the slogan of economic decentralization, it means that decisions by central planning authorities are shifted to individual enterprises. But when this shift is carried out without changing the

existing market and price structures, it can only become a tragedy; "that is shown by the economic reform in the Soviet Union." In order not to fall into the "reform trap," the new Prague leadership aims "not at decentralization, but demonopolization of the economy. Reforms must begin primarily in state enterprises. It is a matter of protecting the consumer from irresponsibly operating monopolists in the enterprise sector, i.e., to provide more competition." This demonopolization must be carried out at two levels: through a very restrictive monetary and fiscal policy from above, so that monopolistic prices are flattened out; in this regard, because he is said to tend toward Friedmann, he will not necessarily please even the leftists in the West. On the macroeconomic level one must tailor a monetary coat which forces monopolists to lose weight. On the microeconomic level one must begin in all economic sectors to replace monopolistic enterprise structures with competitive structures. This cannot be done without additional support for new competitors in existing and new markets. New competitors will have to provide a broader and more differentiated range of goods. This will help reduce still existing imbalances on the consumer markets—always taking into consideration a global balance. Says Klaus: "In this we shall make possible all types of ownership, including private property. To clarify it once more: Decentralization without a flanking reform of market and price structures would finish us off."

It will take time to carry out these reforms. "I am warning foreign entrepreneurs or bankers who come to visit us after the recent political changes and ask impatiently where one can invest in the CSSR. One can only say that it would be irresponsible to invest tomorrow before we have even begun the restructuring of the economy."

Asked about the economic and banking reform initiated by the former communist government during the last two years, Klaus sees both advantages and disadvantages. "On the one hand, the reforms already in place make the start easier for us; on the other hand, these reforms are inadequate, from the new enterprise laws to the law for joint ventures, and the bank reform." Still, the bank reform already in force means that the reduction of the Monobank—the state bank monopoly—into a two-tiered banking system with greater possibilities of competition has already begun.

Photo Caption

Dr. Vaclav Klaus is the banking and currency expert of that "Gang of Three" of the Prognose-Institute who seem to determine the economic reform course of the new Prague leadership. Together with the "top guru" of the new economic start at the Vltava, the economic mentor of the Citizens' Forum, Dr. Vaclav Komarek, and the new planning minister, Dr. Vladimir Dlouhy, the Institute's top leadership occupies the economic policy switching stations of the new Prague administration.

Strougal Talks About His Past Role

90EC0234A Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech
17 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Lubomir Strougal: "We Had To Make Compromises"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are ZEMEDELSE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Prague [Czechoslovak Press Office [CTK]]—CTK reporters visited former Federal Government Premier Lubomir Strougal at his country house in the Jizer mountains. In an interview that lasted more than two hours the former premier talked about the events of the past 20 years and his role in them and commented on current events.

Following are excerpts from the interview.

[ZEMEDELSE NOVINY] During the past 20 years you helped form the history of this country. After the events that are being recorded in the history of our people as the gentle or velvet revolution, the period in which you participated is being evaluated very critically. What is your opinion?

[Strougal] There is no way to evaluate this period other than critically. This is because the initial promises, that the Action program of the CPCZ from April 1968 would be continued after the invasion of Soviet forces, were not kept.

When I became Premier of the CSSR Government in 1970 we attempted, at least minimally, to maintain certain economic reforms, because government efforts given the prevailing distribution of power, were focused on economic and social problems. The government did not control the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or the Ministry of Defense. To be sure, constitutionally we were responsible, but in practice power was in the hands of the CPCZ CC.

We attempted to revive economic reforms at certain stages. We were aware, however, that the fundamental condition for economic development was political reform. This reform, however, could not be implemented a priori, so we attempted to reform the political system through economic reforms. These attempts included, for example, the well-known "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980." The most hopeful developmental stage occurred after Michail Gorbachov came to power. Unfortunately, even then, when the leadership was forced to adopt certain concepts of economic and political reform, it was clear that most of those in the party leadership did not take such reforms seriously. As a result, during this time we had to make serious compromises in our economic reforms. The new government of national reconciliation, in my opinion, is doing the right things to correct the consequences of these compromises.

[ZEMEDELSE NOVINY] Your answer implies that the government has been subordinate to the CPCZ CC. Was this the case before 1968 as well?

[Strougal] Yes, but there was some dialog. In socioeconomic issues the constitutional rights of government members were respected. CPCZ CC intervention in government activities increased after 1972. I would be lying, though, if I said that as premier of the government I did not have the capability to resolve socioeconomic issues. But I always had to submit my proposals to party offices.

[ZEMEDELSE NOVINY] Could you appoint the ministers you wanted?

[Strougal] I could nominate them, but the issue turned on who the CPCZ CC approved. One of the reasons that I stepped down from the position of premier was that the current CPCZ General Secretary, Jakes, refused to approve changes in the government that I recommended.

[ZEMEDELSE NOVINY] If you will permit one more question on the events of 17 November 1989. The opinion has been expressed that action was taken to break the power of the current leadership at that time. What do you think?

[Strougal] I think that is pure speculation. The police actions stemmed from the power system and from a policy that assumed that people supported the CPCZ, and viewed the demonstrations not as an expression of popular dissatisfaction, but as an antisocialist phenomenon.

[ZEMEDELSE NOVINY] How do you view the changes now taking place in our society?

[Strougal] They are changes that can allow the country to develop more rapidly, both politically and economically, but under one condition: that national understanding will be taken as a categorical imperative, i.e. we must strive to maintain it despite all conflicts. I think that the current process for engaging people is setting a good foundation.

During the interview Lubomir Strougal denied the allegation made to CTK by the Czech Hunting Union that he frequently shot animals on hunts. Strougal asserted that he never indulged in either hunting or fishing, and that he only attended official dinners on hunts for diplomats.

Concerning his private life, Lubomir Strougal told us that he is married, has a grown son and daughter, and five grandchildren. He enjoys skiing in the winter and tennis in the summer. He owns a villa in Prague, a country house in the Jizer mountains, and a cottage in south Bohemia. Both he and his wife have a car. He also indicated that he might write his memoirs.

In answer to the final question of how he views his life, Strougal answered, "With a great deal of disappointment. In the past 40 years we should have done things differently. The mistakes began in 1948 when one party government began."

Trade Unions, Strike Committees Agree on Congress

90EC0215B Prague PRACE in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Communique on the results of meetings between the Central Trade Union Councils and the Association of Strike Committees on 27 and 28 December 1989]

[Text] On 27 and 28 December 1989 four working groups held meetings. The working groups were composed of representatives of the Association of Strike Committees and representatives of the Central Trade Union Councils. The working groups agreed on the following points.

1. National congresses of current trade unions will be held through 25 February 1990.
2. These congresses will be organized by appointed labor commissions. Participants will include factory committees, newly elected factory committees, and citizen initiatives to monitor preparations. One may apply for a place on these commissions.
3. The national trade union congresses will elect delegates to an all-union congress.
4. Before and after these congresses there may be a reallocation of trade unions based on the needs of basic organizations. After these congresses, but no later than 15 March 1990 there will be an all-union congress. The task of this congress will be to dismantle the all-union structure, to replace the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] with an umbrella union federation organization. Elections will be held and the statutes drafted for this new organization.
5. Unions will work with the Association of Strike Committees to make preparations for the union congresses.
6. Procedures for setting up individual unions require coordination with the Association of Strike Committees.
7. The unions will arrange for consultation services related to the negotiation of collective contracts.
8. The Association of Strike Committees will work with the Central Recreation Services Administration and the individual unions to assure a smooth transition in the delivery of recreation services in the new environment, so that the price of vouchers will not increase. These groups will inform the membership about the new circumstances.

9. The Association of Strike Committees and trade unions will continue to support labor law counselling offices at the district level.

10. Individual unions are fully independent and autonomous in questions of internal union work.

11. Because of the way the PRACE daily paper has handled union issues, representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the National Association of Strike Committees will request the allocation of a page in the PRACE daily devoted to current union issues up through the convening of the all-union congress. An open letter has been sent to the PRACE editorial offices with this request.

12. Representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the national Association of Strike Committees have agreed to hold a joint meeting on 1 May 1990 on issues of the transition of the Central Recreation Services Administration to the new conditions and to do further work on individual points of a joint approach to the materials of the trade union congress.

13. A work group will be formed under the Association of Strike Committees that will be charged with organizing the all-union congress and coordinating the activities of individual unions. Each union will send a representative to these meetings. The group will begin its activities on 1 March 1990.

This communique is the outcome of ongoing, joint activities of trade unions and the Association of Strike Committees. The participating parties promise to continue to inform the general public about all measures that are adopted.

Signed by representatives of 17 trade unions, the Central Recreation Services Administration, and the National Association of Strike Committees (nine parties did not sign point 13; one party did not sign point 12.)

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IPW Economists Interviewed on Joint Ventures, Economic Zones, IMF

90EG0112A West Berlin TAGESZEITUNG in German
5, 7 Dec 89

[Interview with three GDR economists by Ulli Kulke and Walter Suess: "There Was Too Much Mixing and Not Enough Probing." GDR Economics Researchers Christine Kulke-Fiedler, Juergen Nitz, and Eberhard Lang on Their Work at East Berlin's Institute for International Policy and Economics"; date and place not given]

[5 Dec 89 p 9]

[Text] On 17 November, East Berlin's BERLINER ZEITUNG published excerpts from a paper on "The GDR and the International Division of Labor." In it, three

scholars from the Institute for International Policy and Economics (IPW) argue that comprehensive economic reform must also include a restructuring of the GDR's international economic relations. They say that this must also include the establishment of special economic zones, joint ventures, and an examination of the possibility of joining the International Monetary Fund. The TAGESZEITUNG spoke with the three authors about their work at the IPW and the turnabout in the field of economics. Christine Kulke-Fiedler and Juergen Nitz are professors at the IPW and Eberhard Lang is an economist there. The second part of the interview (on the IMF, special economic zones, and joint ventures) will appear on Thursday.

TAGESZEITUNG: Isn't it true that you've produced as much paper in recent weeks as in all the previous years?

Juergen Nitz: We'd been writing books all along, preparing analyses, giving interviews, addressing the public in GDR publications—although admittedly we spoke out more forthrightly at conferences in Western countries. Of course, though, we've spoken out more in topical discussions recently and above all we've published in GDR newspapers, which we almost never did before.

[TAGESZEITUNG] Is this a question of different media or different ideas? In the 1970's and 1980's, after all, we saw only the most mildly critical assessments of the GDR economy. If today in the BERLINER ZEITUNG you're calling for special economic zones, considering joining the IMF, et cetera—well, you weren't doing so before.

Nitz: That's quite true. Although we did have some problems in the past over our publications. Recently we've stepped up the pace. But the basic ideas in our BERLINER ZEITUNG article didn't come to us overnight. We'd already written an article along those same lines in the spring, although it's only now being published in IPW-MATERIALIEN, number 1/1990: a very critical assessment of East-West trade with conclusions for the Socialist economy.

Kulke-Fiedler: Since the mid-1980's, with the beginning of perestroika in the Soviet Union, things have changed here. The new ways scholars there had of looking at things have had an enormous influence on us. But of course the debates were held behind closed doors at first.

[TAGESZEITUNG] What was your relationship with Guenter Mittag, the gentlemen responsible for the economy in the SED [Socialist Unity Party] Politburo?

Kulke-Fiedler: Early last summer, for example, we'd prepared a study of the question of joint ventures and did our very best to get it published in the GDR too. First we had to submit such things to Mittag's office. The response was always that we should think it over again. However, I'm grateful to our institute for allowing us nonetheless—long before the turnabout in the GDR—simply to go ahead and publish it.

Nitz: There were a few critical issues in our field that little or nothing was written on: joint ventures and special economic zones for example. It was impossible to write about the GDR's economic relations with the Federal Republic or West Berlin. Basically our institute was the one place in the whole country whose people could publish on such issues—in in-house publications or in the Federal Republic. I often did that. That's how we made those issues respectable subjects of study in the GDR.

Eberhard Lang: But on the other hand the IPW was mainly interested in analysing the Western countries. Because of that, Mr. Mittag didn't pay so much attention to us. We weren't primarily interested in the Socialist economy in the GDR, where it was easiest to get in trouble. I knew a professor who specialized in medium-sized industry. After a while he couldn't work any more because the enthusiasm for combines had marginalized his speciality, and he left the institute. Today he's in the limelight again because his speciality is an up-and-coming one.

Nitz: If you're asking about our personal guilt, I think it consisted of this, that maybe we didn't get involved enough in internal GDR affairs. Whether that would have done any good is another question.

[TAGESZEITUNG] You could have pushed harder?

Kulke-Fiedler: It was always a sort of tightrope act. We always attempted to go a bit beyond the official line. But speaking today in a spirit of self-criticism, I must say that we could indeed have pushed farther.

Nitz: We could have taken chances.

Kulke-Fiedler: But on the other hand, and without wanting to make excuses, without that tightrope act it would have been impossible for us to bring anything new into the discussion.

[TAGESZEITUNG] Were there ever sanctions against you?

Nitz: Not here. After all, we weren't subordinate to Mr. Mittag. We were always an independent institute, although people did attempt to influence us. On touchy issues, but really only when people in the West picked something up, we'd right away get a telephone call from Mittag's office: How could that have happened, what's going on there?

Kulke-Fiedler: In our institute we had an atmosphere of very free discussion. But, for instance, I recently attended an economics conference held by the New Forum and met a number of former economists who have different jobs today. They weren't exactly fired from their institutes but people made it impossible for them to do their work. After a while they quit on their own.

Lang: How you said something was always important. Proposals on how to improve the GDR's competitiveness in the world market were always welcome, for instance. It was a matter of looking for the right mixture and always probing.

Kulke-Fiedler: Yes, but there was too much mixing and not enough probing.

[TAGESZEITUNG] Did you ever see your proposals bear fruit, lead to concrete policy results?

Nitz: Certainly we laid the groundwork for greater cooperation with Western countries. We didn't invent industrial cooperation or licensing arrangements. But we introduced people in this country to those concepts, long ago spread today's ideas through all our lectures to executives and combine directors.

Kulke-Fiedler: We helped ensure that existing tendencies to cut off the GDR economy from the outside were not implemented to the degree that some wanted to. For years, indeed, for decades, we propagated the idea of opening up the GDR economy to the world.

[7 Dec 89 p 10]

[Continuation: "We Must Accept the IMF as a Reality." GDR Economics Researchers on Special Economic Zones, Joint Ventures, and the International Monetary Fund"]

[Text] On 17 November, East Berlin's BERLINER ZEITUNG published thoughts on "The GDR and the International Division of Labor" by Christine Kulke-Fiedler, Juergen Nitz, and Eberhard Lang. The three scholars from East Berlin's Institute for International Policy and Economics (IPW) argue for establishing special economic zones and joint ventures and for examining the idea of joining the IMF.

The first part of the interview, which dealt with the three author's work at the IPW and with the turnabout in economic policy, appeared on Tuesday.

TAGESZEITUNG: The things you proposed in the newspaper have always had the same effect on the West German left as a red cape does on a bull. I'm talking about joining the IMF, but also about special economic zones, which are very controversial in the Third World.

Kulke-Fiedler: We've analyzed special economic zones in developing countries, in China, but also in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, etc. Such zones aren't suitable instruments for solving a country's fundamental economic or social problems. But historic experience with these zones shows that they can be used to attack specific problems, for instance with special zones around large ports or at other transportation centers.

[TAGESZEITUNG] What specific problems can they be used to solve?

Kulke-Fiedler: In ports, for instance, you can reduce transfer times, improve storage conditions; in areas near borders you can create more favorable conditions for cooperation with foreign firms. On the other hand, you can't import technology on a large scale.

[TAGESZEITUNG] In developing countries, special economic zones used for production—i.e., not just for services—have been a particular source of social tension. Do you also want to provide tax breaks for production facilities or even keep unions out of them? If all you have in mind is goods transfer and storage in ports, that's a miniscule part of the economy.

Kulke-Fiedler: We don't want just the special economic zones by themselves. We're talking about the joint ventures in connection with them. If I'm striving for a social-economic and ecological economic system, of course that system has also got to apply in those zones, obviously there must also be unions to represent workers' interests. We're not excluding the possibility that transport-related facilities could be set up in special economic zones at transportation centers, for instance, or that we could promote the establishment close to the border of production plants enjoying tax breaks. What I don't like about current models in CEMA is that they're treated as extraterritorial islands. I don't want either the special economic zones or the joint ventures to be ecologically or socially outside our society.

Nitz: That's a fundamental point of dispute between us and other economists in CEMA, comrades from the USSR for instance. They're more practically minded and argue that that could solve their trade problem with the West.

[TAGESZEITUNG] But you also criticize the fact that the joint ventures suffer from undercapitalization.

Kulke-Fiedler: No, I merely argue that some CEMA countries have been disappointed in their hope that joint ventures could import capital on a massive scale.

[TAGESZEITUNG] Then shouldn't you actually argue for increasing their tax breaks?

Kulke-Fiedler: People have argued that in a number of CEMA countries. The tax breaks have gotten bigger and bigger. In my opinion the problem lies elsewhere. Joint ventures become attractive when they're accompanied by increased efforts by the country itself to modernize its economy.

[TAGESZEITUNG] If joint ventures are permitted in the GDR, that will mean that foreigners are permitted to own part of large enterprises but natives still will not be. Is that fair?

Nitz: No, that's not correct. We don't want to introduce private ownership of the means of production only through joint ventures; that was clear from Modrow's government policy statement.

[TAGESZEITUNG] But there's not supposed to be private ownership of large enterprises.

Nitz: What's large?

[TAGESZEITUNG] A combine, for instance.

Nitz: Well, we won't see joint ventures involving an entire combine. A combine does consist of many units, and those could work individually with foreign firms.

Lang: Today four percent of the economy is in private hands. If that were 10 percent, which would be a major development, that wouldn't be the end of the GDR. There was a time when it was 50 percent.

[TAGESZEITUNG] That might turn out to be connected with the other point you recommend: joining the IMF. The International Monetary Fund pursues economic policies that pretty much amount to privatization. If you want credits from the IMF, which could very well happen to you as a debtor country, the IMF will make certain demands.

Nitz: We did only call for "serious consideration of joining."

[TAGESZEITUNG] I suspect from your urging that that you could very well imagine joining.

Kulke-Fiedler: Naturally we have reason to think about why the GDR is one of the very few countries in the world that isn't a member of such international institutions and organizations. Besides, it hasn't just now dawned on us that those countries play a significant role in the world economy. That doesn't mean that we approve of IMF policies in developing countries. What GDR economists wrote criticizing the IMF during its congress in Berlin last year hasn't ceased to be valid since our economic turnabout.

[TAGESZEITUNG] Do you mean then that the IMF could be a sort of catalyst for economic reforms that wouldn't be feasible without such external influence—which is what some people in Poland hope will happen?

Kulke-Fiedler: The public pressure for reform is so great that we don't need such outside help.

[TAGESZEITUNG] At any rate the IMF doesn't have the effect of a red cape on you?

Kulke-Fiedler: No. We want to accept it as a reality and on that basis seek a critical debate with it about its policies and how it is made up. I criticize, for example, the fact that the IMF hasn't contributed anything substantive to the solution of the problems of the developing countries.

[TAGESZEITUNG] But what positive results do you hope for from membership in the IMF?

Kulke-Fiedler: First, quite simply that we can participate in the international discussions in such institutions. Now we're totally excluded from them. Second, I know some

people in the IMF with whom it would be entirely possible and useful for us to conduct a reasonable discussion on further developments in our currency system, although we do not intend to allow anyone to prescribe to us. Third, with its development projects in Third World countries, the IMF's partner organization, would certainly be of interest to the GDR, too.

POLAND

Austrian Interest in Investment, Assistance to Poland Examined

90EP0287A Warsaw *POGLAD* in Polish
No 4, Dec 89 pp 50-51

[Article by Aureliusz M. Pedziwol: "He Who Helps Quickly..."]

[Text] Vienna, 5 Nov—In recent weeks, there have been many declarations concerning aid to Poland but, unfortunately, fewer specific decisions. Poland has rather slim chances of getting on its own feet without such aid from the outside or, putting it bluntly, from the West. Meanwhile, those who at one time forced billions on Gierek somehow cannot part with their money at present. Western bankers and politicians still appear surprised by the turn of events in Poland and are trying to make the best of a bad situation. In keeping with the principle "Once burned, twice shy," they want first to see the effects of the reforms proposed. In all of this, they fail to see that without their money the reforms, particularly those in Poland, may get stuck in yet another wave of protest by the dissatisfied populace.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki supposedly said in a conversation with the Austrian Vice Chancellor Josef Riegler and Minister of Science Erhard Busek: "He who helps quickly helps twice." They went to Warsaw on 13 September, almost as soon as the previous editor in chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC assumed the post of the prime minister. They were the first Western politicians to talk to the new government of Poland. However, the purpose of this visit was to consult with the prime minister and his ministers on the ways in which Austria could directly help this government and the entire reform process in Poland rather than to make the first entry in the attendance register of the new prime minister.

However, Vice Chancellor Riegler qualified this immediately after returning from Warsaw: "The decisive point of this issue is that we cannot restrict ourselves to merely providing money. This should be accompanied by changes in the economic structure; very specific projects in individual enterprises are necessary. Familiarizing ourselves with the expectations of the Poles was exactly one of the goals of our trip."

At the same time, the two politicians assured their Polish interlocutors that Austria is prepared to convert the

loans guaranteed by the government into participation in investment in Poland and allocate additional funds for such investments. They were also able to communicate that their country had joined a program of food aid to Poland.

In the course of the negotiations, opportunities for setting up the branches and agencies of Austrian banks in Poland were touched upon, and specific projects in the sphere of tourism, power industry, and agriculture were discussed.

One of these projects began to generate hard currency soon thereafter. As early as September, the mayor of Vienna Helmut Zilk had an occasion to host a ball in the new Holiday Inn hotel in Warsaw which was built by the Austrians and belongs to them. The mayor of the Austrian capital stated: "This hotel is already in operation, and doing quite well at that; its occupancy rate is 82 percent, and it has already paid the first three installments.

"The construction of this hotel ensured the livelihood of hundreds of Polish workers. At the same time, it influenced favorably the exports of Vienna. I believe that this is the proper path of cooperation, abandoning the philosophy of charity in favor of benefits for all. We have nothing to give as a present; after all, we are not the big United States which is reluctant to give any gifts anyway."

Mutual benefits are also a prerequisite for a number of specific proposals which Mayor Zilk brought to Warsaw. Credit guarantees by the city of Vienna in the amount of 1 billion Austrian shillings, or about \$80 million, for exports to Poland or investment there by Viennese companies are the most important of these proposals.

"These should be projects which will be viable by themselves and will be able to pay for themselves, or else projects which can help with what at present is most significant for Poland—they should help augment the hard-currency market. These will be projects which, simply put, will generate hard currency. This embraces a wide array of various enterprises beginning with quite simple tourist facilities through significant agrotechnical complexes."

Such are the conditions set by the mayor of Vienna. The Viennese politician added further points to his offer, for example, the proposal to train catering and hotel personnel in Vienna or to send specialists in this field to Warsaw.

Agriculture is yet another sector in which the Austrians are prepared to help the Poles. This would not be the first time, however, because a similar action was carried out in the years 1982 and 1983. At that time, about 300 railway carloads of agricultural machinery were collected throughout Austria, repaired if this was necessary, and subsequently sent to southern Poland.

Helmut Schaller from the government of Stiria, the federal land of Austria which has originated aid to Poland for the second time now, stressed: "The aid we are now about to render is not a state action of some kind but an independent initiative of Austrian peasants who want to show their solidarity at this decisive moment." Helmut Schaller accompanied Vice Chancellor Riegler and Minister Busek on their trip to Poland, and upon his return to Poland assumed the responsibilities of the agricultural-aid coordinator.

"We would like to concentrate on helping the area in the south of Poland which once belonged to Austria, old Galicia. We would like to establish partnership contacts between villages, between individual peasant farms, between schools. We are also thinking about a program within the framework of which we would like to familiarize Polish peasants with Austrian know-how. We are also planning to carry out a new action of sending agricultural machinery to Poland. Finally, we hope that we will be able to offer our help in carrying out agricultural projects in the area of southern Poland."

The city of Graz which allocated 5 million shillings for these purposes made a start. The Austrians want to offer, within the framework of this solidarity aid, what the Poles need the most. This is why they talked to the [Catholic] Church, to the functionaries of the agricultural aid fund, to representatives of the Solidarity of private farmers, as well as the representatives of the Polish Ministry of Agriculture. Helmut Schaller added: "In other words, the Poles are our partners, and they have to tell us what they need from us."

On 5 November, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski arrived in Vienna for a four-day visit. As early as the following day, his Austrian opposite number was able to inform the journalists about increasing the value of food aid to Poland from 22 to 40 million shillings. In addition, to this end Austria is prepared to take part in all further endeavors of the 24 OECD countries. Chief of the Ministry of the Economy, Minister Schuessel allocated another 20 million shillings for training Polish and Hungarian managers. In mid-November, Minister of Finance Lacina will host his Polish opposite number, Leszek Balcerowicz, in order to discuss with him the issue of rescheduling debt payments or swapping them for participation by Austrian companies in Polish enterprises.

The visit by Minister Skubiszewski also resulted in an additional protocol to the Polish-Austrian agreement on cultural exchanges which envisages scholarships for Polish students wishing to study in Austria as well as an exchange of instructors between the two countries.

Austria is also interested in investing in Poland. Following a casino in Krakow and the hotel in Warsaw already referred to, to mention just a couple of the recently commissioned facilities, the Austrian industrialists are setting their sights on a new airport for Warsaw. For its part, the Siemens company would like to build in Poland a

new, digital phone network. Austrian banks are also interested in opening their branches in Poland, and so on, and so forth. The situation is all the more favorable because the opening to the West in Poland is accompanied by marked favorable trends in Austria.

Here is one more example, perhaps not the most spectacular but instructive because it shows best who the Austrian industrialists are interested in.

In mid-October, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, editor in chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, came to Vienna. He came in order to receive a fully equipped computer station for his editorial office funded by the Austrian company Agip-lan. This gift was made on the initiative of Minister of Science Erhard Busek who is known in Vienna for his interest in the issues of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The idea was born during a conversation between Minister Busek and Tadeusz Mazowiecki during his visit to Vienna in the spring of this year.

These are just a few examples of the aid which Austria has offered to Poland.

Perhaps, it is not a lot though, as Minister Alois Mock observed, Austria now ranks first in per capita aid to Poland among all countries which give Poland such aid.

Another favorable circumstance is that in Austria, voices questioning the sense or magnitude of such aid are virtually not heard. Quite the opposite, at the press conference given by Senator Kaczynski, Minister Busek termed the size of such help "shameful" comparing the aforementioned 22 million for food aid with the planned outlay of 50 million shillings for raising from the bottom of the Indian Ocean the vessel Lucona, which is to be material evidence in the trial of Udo Proksch scheduled for the coming year (this affair is called an Austrian Watergate).

For his part, at a conference of the EFTA countries as early as June, Minister Mock called for a joint endeavor to the tune of \$6 billion by the EFTA and the EEC for Poland and Hungary.

In turn, former Minister of Finance Hannes Androsch, in his time a close collaborator of Chancellor Kreisky, referred to the need for Austrian aid going into billions of shillings for these countries.

One more point: This aid is quick, at times instantaneous, without deferring to the decisions of others.

Meanwhile, he who helps quickly...

Foreign Trade System Changes for 1990 Described

90EP0274A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 151, 19 Dec 89 pp 1-2

[Unattributed article: "New Conditions for Operations in Polish Foreign Trade"]

[Text] An outline of socioeconomic policy for 1990 has become a subject of intensive proceedings in the Sejm. The

revolution which is to occur in the system of operation of our economy also involves the sphere of cooperation with foreign countries, including areas which are quite substantive for our economy. Therefore, prior to the decisions concerning this field being made in the Sejm, we now publish the excerpts from this outline (replacing previous central annual plans) which have a direct bearing on the Polish foreign trade.

Systemic Changes in Foreign Trade

The economic program of the government calls for introducing at the beginning of 1990 a unified currency exchange rate on which the internal convertibility of the zloty will be predicated. Economic units will be obligated to sell their hard-currency proceeds in their entirety and at the same time will be given the right to purchase convertible currencies at the banks in order to meet their obligations to foreign parties. This means the elimination of hard-currency distribution in the form of auctions and administrative rationing.

The funds accumulated in the hard-currency accounts of economic units and obtained from exports prior to 1990 can be used freely until they run out.

In trade with the 1st payments zone [socialist countries], the current system of settlements with regard to most commercial exchanges will be maintained. Possible introduction of closed hard-currency clearing with regard to a segment of turnover with the USSR is envisaged. The exchange rate of the zloty against the transferable ruble will be shaped so that it keeps up with the growth of domestic prices. Therefore, it will not be set at an equilibrium level. Therefore, a corrective system in trade with the countries of the 1st payments zone will be maintained.

The introduction of internal convertibility of the zloty will be accompanied by far-reaching reductions in the list of goods the trade in which requires a license. Also, the issuance of export and import authorizations will be liberalized; this will be tied to making the customs duties and the guidelines for hard-currency settlements in foreign trade uniform.

Preferences by virtue of exports are to be eliminated due to the introduction of a unified currency rate of exchange which is set at the level of equilibrium of supply and demand.

Servicing the Debt

It is assumed that in 1990 a major reduction in debt servicing will occur due to establishing the equal treatment of all our creditors, that is, the Club of Paris, the Club of London, the USSR, and CEMA banks. The rescheduling of principal payments to the above creditors for the period after the year 2000 is assumed. Poland will begin partial servicing of interest payments on 1 January 1993.

Not only the postponement of payments, but also an effort to secure a reduction in the debt and ensure a decrease in the proposed level of servicing of interest payments, will be essentially emphasized in our debt strategy. Poland counts

on special new guidelines in this matter being applied to it. In 1990, we expect to be exempt from all payments by the Club of Paris. At the same time, we are engaging in negotiations with a view to substantially reducing the amount of interest accumulated; nonaccrual of interest on the obligations not paid with a view to reducing the rate of growth of overall debt is also at issue. We expect the Club of London to reschedule all payments falling due in 1990 with the exception of interest on current commercial credit. We also count on applying new debt reduction techniques, first of all to interest paid in the future. We proposed to the CEMA to reschedule the payments and reduce the interest rate used.

We expect the World Bank to provide opportunities to use loans for carrying out investment projects in the agricultural and food-industry complex, in the course of which in 1990 we will use US \$150 million for these purposes. At the same time, we expect to use in 1990 between US \$300 and 500 million in structural [adjustment] loans (SAL) for changes in our economy. A program of new domestic and foreign investment in Poland will be initiated in cooperation with the International Finance Corporation and the International Agency for Investment Guarantees.

Economic Relations With Foreign Countries

In economic relations with the Western countries, the government will strive to further improve access to foreign markets for our goods and will work to ensure a direct influx of foreign capital to Poland.

Eliminating or reducing tariff and nontariff obstacles still used against Polish goods is particularly essential. The removal of import restrictions amounts to a very important condition for the rapid growth of exports from Poland which is necessary for economic development and servicing the debt.

The government will strive to have Polish goods covered by the General System of Preferences (GSP) granted by the Western countries to developing countries. Further interstate agreements will be negotiated on mutual protection of investment and abolishing dual taxation.

Access to guaranteed loans on a bilateral basis will be an important factor determining the import potential of Poland. Some Western countries have stated their willingness to open access to credit guarantees.

Economic relations with the CEMA countries will be developed. Work is under way to introduce a system adapted to the economic transformations occurring in the CEMA countries. A radical change in the system of cooperation will occur after 1990 due to long-range agreements in effect until 1990 on the deliveries of goods and the manner of settlement between the partners.

In 1990, trade based on existing principles will dominate. Nonetheless, the exchange of goods within the framework of trade protocols which amount to mandatory, guaranteed government agreements will be restricted to goods of fundamental significance for the economy. The scope of trade exchanges carried out directly by the enterprises will be increased.

BULGARIA

Head of Government Hospital for Leaders Interviewed

90EB0238A Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in
Bulgarian 3 Dec 89 p 2

[Interview with Prof. Dr. Mladen Grigorov, chief of the Lozenets Base of the Military Medical Academy, by Margit Terziradeva: "Behind the Barrier of the Lozenets Clinical Base"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are RABOTNICHESKO DELO introduction]

[Text]

Recipients and Nature of Services of Former Government Hospital

Last November, for the first time we began to mention outloud many things which, for decades, bothered our awareness, frequently confusing our concepts of social justice, and triggering questions which, to say the least, were considered out of place and, therefore, remained hidden behind the heavy curtain of silence. It was no accident that one of the first resolutions of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, after the memorable 10 November, was to widely open to the working people the gates of the representative housing which had been built for the "elect," and to return to their natural inhabitants and owners the hundreds of thousands of decares of forests and meadows of the special hunting farms. It was only 2 days ago that, for the first time, the salaries of the high party and state leaders were made public. Some of them were even surprised and found it difficult to believe that their own salaries were higher than those of ministers....

And once again, for God knows what time, we are commenting on the smaller or greater advantages and conveniences the value of which is difficult to assess, but the lack of which makes the people's lives more difficult and less orderly, as is the case with millions of Bulgarians. What is unusual today is that the long unfulfilled journalistic intentions of raising somewhat the barrier of the known governmental hospital, for example, this time were assisted by the initiative of Prof. Dr. Mladen Grigorov, chief of the Lozenets base of the Military Medical Academy: "Come, look! I am prepared to answer all questions!" Let us immediately explain to the reader that as early as the end of February of 1989 the Politburo had decided that the hospital would be transferred under the jurisdiction of the Higher Military Medical Institute. Today it is the Lozenets clinical base of the VMA [Military Medical Academy].

"Did this action make a substantial change in the status of the hospital?" was our natural and first question addressed to Prof. Grigorov.

[Grigorov] Other than that some of the leading personnel were militarized, the hospital was restructured as a clinic

in order to be consistent with the nature of an academic institution. This enabled the cadres to obtain academic degrees. All officials over the specific age limit were retired. This was a process which had long been forgotten in the former governmental hospital, where people who had reached retirement age 10 years were still being employed...

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] So far you have mentioned only changes relative to the structure and the personnel of the Lozenets base. In the minds of the people, however, it remains inaccessible, 'elitist'...

[Grigorov] There is no country in the world in which a certain governmental contingent is not treated and, respectively, kept under medical observation under special conditions. The question is rather one of the size of this group. In the case of our hospital, today it consists of some 5,500 people. In addition to the high echelon of the party and state leadership, we treat all members and all candidate members and a large percentage of the apparatus of the BCP Central Committee, the leaderships of the BZNS, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the trade unions and the Komsomol, the secretaries of the oblast BCP committees and chairmen of oblast people's councils, the first secretaries of the municipal BCP committees in Sofia, Bulgarian ambassadors abroad, and foreign diplomats from the socialist countries accredited to Sofia. We provide health care to Bulgarian academicians, chairmen of creative associations, retired honored workers of science, culture, and the arts, ministers and deputy ministers. We are about to reassess whether all such people are the true governmental contingent and whether they should be treated under special conditions. In any case, this assessment must be made not by a single individual, least of all by myself. In our first internal ward, we treat members and candidate members of the Politburo, the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, the secretary of the BZNS, and the chairman of the Central Control-Auditing Commission. Generally speaking, this ward is consistent with the concept and requirements of a governmental medical sector in a number of Western countries, including the fact that it has limited access and guaranteed security.

Naturally, the contingent we service in the first internal ward includes their families, based on the "family physician" principle.

In the other countries (except for the socialist), government contingents are treated either in military hospitals (United States, France) or in other highly skilled civilian hospitals. It is a well-known fact that in the socialist countries there were different numbers of government hospitals, some of which of late have converted to the ordinary status of a civilian hospital.

Until recently, few changes had been made in our country in this respect. In the past year the hospital had helped many patients outside its own contingent, supplying them with medicines, equipment, and special examinations in the case of technical difficulties. We

also accepted many gravely ill patients from other health care institutions. We have passed on to various organizations, military units, and health institutions equipment worth in excess of 200,000 leva. At the military sanatorium in Bankya we created the only intensive sector with contemporary equipment in the country, which makes it possible to optimize the rehabilitation of patients after a heart attack. We gave the pediatric clinic of the Medical Academy an apparatus for monitoring blood sugar in children suffering from diabetes. Nonetheless, in my view, our latest decisions are particularly valuable: 20 percent of the hospital beds will be put at the disposal of citizens suffering from grave illnesses, based on an agreement with the corresponding worker hospital; one team specializing in cardiology and another specializing in reanimation, with the proper reanimation motor vehicle and medicines, will be assigned to the first-aid service in Sofia. These teams will include, as cardiologists, all physicians who treat the members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo; I issued a special order according to which, starting with the past few days, the hospital will use exclusively Bulgarian medicines or medicines the import of which is permitted; exceptions will be allowed only on the basis of vital signs and in the case of medicines which are uniquely suitable for a given condition.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] How long will this last?

[Grigorov] We would like this to be a permanent condition. However, it is also related to our domestic pharmaceutical production and the efforts of importing organizations.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Does the hospital have one of a kind medical or other equipment or instruments not to be found elsewhere in our country?

[Grigorov] Not specifically. Sofia has four scanners and the fifth is in our hospital and it is by no means the latest. The remaining equipment is not superior in the least to the one available in other well-equipped medical establishments. About 50 to 60 percent of our instruments are physically and morally obsolete, having been imported some 5, 10 or more years ago. The fact that the existing equipment, with few exceptions, was not used at full capacity so far is a different matter. This is one reserve in Sofia's health care facilities.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Nonetheless, what makes this hospital different from other?

[Grigorov] The particular features include the cleanliness, orderliness, and conveniences in the hospital rooms. Each room has two beds and a toilet. Conversely, our reanimation facility is very crowded and less well-organized compared to many other civilian hospitals. There are no substantial differences in the surgical wards. Therefore, that which is decisive in terms of medical support: the competence and professionalism of the personnel, reanimation, and intensive therapy are

not substantially different from the leading health establishments in our country. Our leadership abandoned the idea of building a new hospital some 6 months ago.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What are the wages of the personnel at the Lozenets clinical base?

[Grigorov] In our clinical base a physician earns between 400 and 450 leva; a registered nurse, from 240 to 270 and an orderly, from 175 to 190 leva. Unquestionably, these salaries are substantially higher than those paid at the Medical Academy. However, this is partly due to the latest raise which we were able to achieve as a result of labor intensification and saving on the wage fund (our table of organization calls for 1,009 employees but for the past year we were able to abolish 22 positions and by the end of next year we are planning to eliminate yet another 70). Conversely, starting with deputy chief of clinic and up, our wages are below those of the physicians in the Medical Academy by about 150 leva. The chief of the clinic of the Lozenets clinical base earns for his position (basic salary) 550 leva plus the supplement for his military rank of colonel. About 3.5 percent of the hospital's personnel is military. No other special supplements are paid to our hospital personnel other than those provided everywhere else: a percentage for seniority, scientific degree, overtime, etc.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What is the load of the medical personnel in your hospital compared to other health care establishments?

[Grigorov] Unquestionably, our physicians and nurses carry a lighter load. A physician in the clinic, acting as the "family physician" services no more than 450 people compared to the outside, where a section physician services about 3,000. In the clinic there are seven to eight hospital beds per physician, compared to 15-20 in the other health establishments. The ratio of treating physician and nurse to patient is, I think, optimal in our case. This particularly applies to reanimation. As to the guards at the entrance, I believe that the security services are desirable in any health institution with a view to maintaining order and ensuring the tranquillity and safety of the patients. [End of interview]

Cleanliness, tranquillity, proper attention, and safety for those who treat and for the patients are the most characteristic features of the Lozenets clinical base. The base has a swimming pool, a tennis court, and a spacious park. Should this not be an absolute necessity for our entire health care service? This is an optimal model, which is so vastly different from the reality in many parts of the country today....

Selected Statistics on Alcoholism Published

22000001 Sofia OTECHSTVO in Bulgarian
12 Dec 89 pp 10-13

[Article by Dr. Fani Tsurakova: "The Bulgarian and the Alcoholic"]

[Excerpt]

[Passage omitted] From 1962 to 1985, the industrial production of alcoholic beverages in Bulgaria increased: for beer—about four times; for hard liquor (vodka, whiskey, liqueurs, rum)—68.7 percent; for brandies—18.1 percent; for grape wines—3.7 percent. The use of alcoholic beverages grew by 53.4 percent.

The most frequently consumed is wine; hard liquor is in second place, and beer is third. The growth in consumption is primarily due to beer and hard liquor. The use of wine fell slightly.

According to forecasts, per capita consumption of pure alcohol (100 percent) will continue to increase by about 0.2 liters annually. This means that for 1990, about 7.6 liters per person will be consumed, during 1995 about 7.8 liters, and for the year 2000 eight liters per person will be consumed.

From 1962 to 1985 the number of registered alcoholic patients increased already by 13 times. The average annual growth is 1,153. In 1980 1,060 women were treated for alcohol problems, and during 1985 2,047 were treated. In 1962 the percentage of alcoholic patients (compared with the remaining mental illnesses) was 2.58 percent. In 1985 their percentage was 13.93. The ratio of men to women is continuously changing. In 1962 it was 54:1, in 1983 32:1, and in 1985 14:1.

The largest number of registered alcoholic patients is in the former Pernishki okrug, and the smallest number is in the Kurdzhaliyski.

The data are provided by Professor Todor Stankushev, chief republic specialist on the problems of alcoholism and drug addiction. [passage omitted]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Social Structure Blamed for Stress, Health Problems

90EG0129A Neubrandenburg FREIE ERDE in German
16 Nov 89 p 5

[Article by Wolf-Diethard Pietruschka, M.D., medical director of the MR Bezirk hospital: "Preprogrammed Psychosocial Conflicts?"]

[Text] Health policy concepts aimed solely at curing illnesses have not had satisfactory results with regard to the health situation of the population. Questions of resources to maintain and promote health and general well-being are therefore gaining importance. This basic concern was taken into consideration by the Health Conference of the GDR in September. Regretably, the spirit of this conference has only found little response in the form of practical results in our territory so far. But I believe that, in addition to the necessary short-term goals, policy objectives required for the medium and long term must also be embedded, among all the other

problems currently needing solutions, in an action program for a renewal of our society and of the health service.

I base my reflections on the socialist concept of society, that there is an active social and biological individual inside each human. This individual not only perceives influences from society and environment but also has the capability of controlling and deliberately influencing his surroundings. From such a viewpoint health, in its widest sense, relates not only to the present condition but always includes the possibility of overcoming factors which are negative or must be promoted.

It is repeatedly pointed out in health policy documents that the responsibility for promoting health includes all sociopolitical areas and not just the health system or the individual.

Did Not Touch on the Essence

In practical society, however, things have looked different until now. For misguided behavior such as unhealthy alcohol consumption, smoking, excessive eating, physical inactivity, and increasing psychological stress on the nerves, there is usually the well-intentioned advice to ban these health-endangering factors from one's life. Good health would then return. We are thus skirting the essence and not looking for the reasons why people are leading an unhealthy life. We are satisfied to fight the manifestations and not the causes.

There has been insufficient success in building a bridge from the sociological laws of development in our society to the rules of conduct of the individual beings of our members of society. Critical remarks by experts were occasionally listened to but usually ignored and found too little recognition in the corresponding development concepts. In order to forge ahead we need more urgently than ever a well-developed social psychology in our country. That way we would be able to learn more about the motives for the way people behave, their manner of acting and thinking and, furthermore, not only in the interest of promoting health. When you actually know the way people think and their motives for acting, it is possible to make sociopolitical decisions for the future. Then you don't need, as the reality of political practice in our country even these last weeks has unfortunately shown, to try to catch up with the will of the people in your decisions.

Style of Living and Standard of Living

In past years, many physicians referred constantly to the unsatisfactory development of the state of health of the population. But it really is worrisome when, measured by the indicators of the WHO, the state of health in our country ranks behind that of all the developed capitalist nations. With respect to the life expectancy of citizens of both sexes in comparison with 33 countries, our country thus finds itself in 26th place. Our situation does not look much better regarding the frequency of cardiac and circulatory illnesses and the risk factors for these diseases

including high blood pressure. Within our republic the Neubrandenburg Bezirk shows one of the worst developments. Many scientific studies concerning the reasons for this have been undertaken, and the resulting conclusions are available. But from my point of view they insufficiently take into account the active influence of social conditions. In the last few years we have worked out a good standard of living but not created the preconditions for development of a healthy life style. For me, the existing sociopolitical conditions represent a major example of psychoemotional stress phenomena acting on the people, and the resulting effects create demands on the mental and physical areas. Uniformity was prescribed in sociopolitical thinking; individuality was not desirable and required courage. In many people this led to insufferable psychoemotional burdens and to stress as a result of the limited sociopolitical scope for action. Numerous scientific observations indicate that precisely such situations can promote the incidence of various diseases such as high blood pressure, other cardiac and circulatory diseases or psychological/nervous illnesses. According to the available studies, it is the middle-aged groups which run particular health risks in our country. That is to say people who are in the most active phase of directly helping to shape our society. This is in contrast to the findings in highly developed capitalist nations.

The parameters which form the basis for health consultation also provide food for thought. Except for the considerable unevenness in general medical care and other professional fields in the Bezirk, the Kreis hospitals, as well as the ambulatory health care, in our region are insufficiently equipped with materials and technology, measured by international standards, not to mention the building assets encountered in some parts. The increase in personnel which is not commensurate with the growing demands has considerable impact on the efficiency, particularly in the stationary facilities.

Problem Case: Satellite Cities

With regard to shaping the socioeconomic conditions for promoting health, there are factors which are cause for worry. A complex of problems, whose explosiveness will become more and more apparent, are the satellite cities and newly constructed regions within the framework of the apartment construction program. We know that in such housing areas cardiac and circulatory diseases or psychological/nervous illnesses occur much more frequently than in the historically developed cities. Measures to counteract this, such as assuring that there is a complex infrastructure from shopping opportunities to intellectual and cultural centers and sports facilities, are usually lacking. Housing areas such as Datzeberg or Reitbahnweg are eloquent examples for us Neubrandenburger. Here, everything that can contribute to social

well-being was either not conceived at all or was red-pencilled. Psychosocial conflicts were thus unscrupulously preprogrammed and short-term effects given priority over long-term well-being. To me, the question of the continued situation in Neubrandenburg is also connected with the new Rostocker Strasse construction area. Are the old mechanisms still at work here, or is one really building in the interest of our grandchildren as well?

WHO Project for Health Cities

Solutions are urgently required. One possibility offered our bezirk city would be participation in the "Healthy City Project" created in 1986 by the WHO. This project does not assume that all is in the clean in the participating cities and that no factors endangering health are present.

It indicates the following points of emphasis, among others:

1. It stresses the participation and cooperation of the population in shaping the living conditions of their city.
2. It aims for joint altering of the health conditions in the sphere of life by way of the living conditions in order to improve the quality of life, and is aimed at causes and not symptoms.
3. It regards health as a comprehensive process and does not single out individual health risks.
4. It emphasizes life and a zest for living as essential preconditions for health.
5. It does not avoid conflicts between health and other interests.
6. It calls for improvements in the opportunities for health, in particular for handicapped and poorer population groups and in general wants to
7. lead to the development of a health-promoting comprehensive policy.

This means that all the social forces existing in our city, whether ecologists, representatives of industry, trade, public education, traffic and city planners, representatives of the intellectual-cultural field, the health and social system, in order to mention just a few, should feel committed to this overall goal. This underlines that the subject of health is not a medical-therapeutic subject but a sociopolitical subject, which does not deal solely with "creeping poisoning" and "ecological time bombs," with stress and noise, social isolation and unhealthy working conditions. No, health is also the expression of positive ideas, love of life, desires, and longings of the people. This must be taken into account by all who are politically responsible!

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