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# West Europe Report

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No. 2222

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## POLL SHOWS MAJORITY OPPOSE CRUISE MISSILES

Brussels LE SOIR in French 14 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] The majority of the Belgian population (79 percent) is against the installation of nuclear missiles in Belgium and 77 percent have come out against an increase in the nuclear arsenal in Europe according to a public opinion survey published in Brussels on Monday.

This survey was conducted in June upon request of the widely published Flemish weekly PANORAMA by the IMR [expansion unknown] market research institute and covers a sample of 1,376 persons, including 682 men and 694 women between the ages of 15 and 99 in Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels.

The Belgians who were questioned furthermore rejected any form of commitment to the effect that the number of cruise missiles to be installed be reduced from 48, as planned initially, to 32.

On the other hand, they wanted a search for a solution through negotiations for the maintenance or reorganization of the balance between the forces of the two blocs, that is, East and West, with a view to the total and mutual disarmament of the two powers (45 percent).

Those against the idea were found in all age groups but above all among women (84 percent as against 74 percent for the men) and in rural areas (81 percent as against 75 percent in urban areas).

More numerous among the workers (81 percent), they nevertheless did make up 77 percent among the white-collar employees and self-employed persons and 57 percent among civil servants, manufacturers, and professional individuals. Finally, it was above all the Dutch-speaking (84 percent) who rejected the installation of missiles on Belgian territory as against 73 percent among the French-speaking citizens, while the Belgian authorities have decided to put the missiles at Florennes, in the Walloon region.

5058

CSO: 3619/2

## OVERVIEW OF ENERGY SAVINGS FROM POWER REDUCTIONS

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 17 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Kemal Baglum]

[Text] As a result of electrical energy reductions in industry begun in June, there has been a 197 million kilowatt hour reduction in energy use each month according to a report submitted to the economic commission. Seventy-one million kwh of this total were realized in the private sector and 126 million kwh in state industrial operations. An official from the ministry of industry said that comparing the money value of the electrical energy saved with the negative impact on the national economy, our losses amounted to "one hundred billion [lira]." The same official stated that in the cutbacks, less necessary motors were taken off line and factories reduced their indoor and outdoor lighting. The official stated that with the initiation of these conservation practices in mid 1983, they were able to hold the energy problem at these levels, without it reaching even larger dimensions.

According to the report submitted to the economic commission, the reductions to industrial organizations in the private sector amounted to a 71 million kwh savings each month. In this total, monthly, 16 million kwh were cut in the private cement factories, 11.3 million kwh in the arc furnaces and 43.7 million kwh in the other industrial operations.

The following indicates the savings by industry:

Industry	Monthly Cuts (In kwh)
Cement	10.0
Steel and Iron Works	1.5
Eregli Steel and Iron Works	5.6
SEKA [Cellulose and Paper Factory]	14.9
Nitrogen Industry	4.5
Sumerbank	3.0
Chemical Industry Machine	2.5
Etibank organizations	34.5
Petrochemical operations	24.5
Private sector	71.0
TV	25.0

## ECONOMIC MINISTRY STUDY SEES ECONOMY SLOWING

Brussels LE SOIR in French 24-25 Sep 83 p 7

[Text] Industrial production flagged in Belgium during the second quarter. Domestic demand declined and only the foreign market was able to sustain economic activity, to the extent that the trade balance recovered. All of this was noted in the latest summary of economic changes published by the Ministry of Economic Affairs, which also discussed the international economic situation.

Thanks to the recovery in domestic demand, the situation in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom improved during the first quarter of 1983 according to the report. At the same time, the rate of growth of consumer spending in the United States seems to have hit a ceiling and could be followed by a slowing of economic activity. Several less favorable aspects were noted in that country in particular--a decline in retail sales, a slight decline in housing construction and a drop in orders for durable goods in the manufacturing industry. The current monetary growth standards and the sizable deficit in federal finances are keeping American interest rates at a relatively high level, thereby hindering the development of requests for credit for productive industrial investments.

In Belgium, according to the summary, the different aspects of demand have been evolving less favorably for some time. Household consumption recorded a sizable drop and the growth in investments noted in 1982 has not continued. Production is primarily dependent on foreign demand, but its growth appears to be slackening. The slight improvement in industrial production noted during the first quarter was not maintained in April and May. The end of expansion is especially visible in the sectors of semifinished products and expendable consumer goods. This shows that the stimulating effect of replenishing warehouses lasted only a few months. Automobile assembly and the production of durable consumer goods, however, have stayed at a high level and the production of investment goods has recorded noteworthy progress, which is certainly due to the improved position on foreign markets.

The rapid recovery of the trade balance, begun in 1982, continued in 1983. For the first 5 months of the year the deficit has been no more than 86.2 billion, compared to 170.2 billion during the same period of 1982. The cover ratio of imports by exports was 92.5 percent in May, compared to 84.8 percent in May 1982. This favorable change is probably due to the decline in imports these past few months, a result of the weakness of domestic demand.

#### The Decline in Trade

The VAT [value-added tax] statistics show that the turnover in retail trade declined (in constant prices) by 3.4 percent during the first half of 1983 compared to the same period of 1982. Pressured by the reduction in their purchasing power, households are delaying certain major purchases or are deciding not to buy altogether. The tendency to invest, which was strong in 1982, seems weaker since the beginning of the year. According to the monthly VAT data, the nominal growth rate in value of declared investments for industrial firms has gone from slightly positive during the first quarter (compared to the first quarter of 1982) to strongly negative during the second quarter. For all those making declarations, a growth in investments of 13.2 percent in value for the first quarter (compared to the same quarter in 1982) was followed by a slight decline (-1.4 percent) during the second quarter. The measures taken in 1982 to encourage investment seem not to be having much effect in 1983. The continued increase in unemployment is not stimulating demand either. Within 2 months' time, from the end of June to the end of August 1983, the number of individuals unemployed full-time and receiving unemployment payments increased by about 19,500. This cannot be explained solely by seasonal factors. The improvement noted in the second quarter was partially due to the fact that a certain number of individuals in the category of full-time unemployed moved to other statistical categories because they accepted part-time work.

The decline of interest rates in Belgium, both in the long and the short term, is primarily due to a decline in exports of capital, which has caused the money market to expand. Since neither individuals nor firms have made much use of this available capital, the administration could find on the domestic market, to a greater extent than last year, the means to cover the net balance of the budget needing to be financed. In this manner the state was already able to borrow close to 400 billion francs (gross) on the bond market this year. It could thereby meet one of the objectives of improving public finances, namely no longer being obliged to borrow abroad.

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CSO:3619/1

## CONTINUED UPTURN OF ECONOMY FORESEEN

West Berlin DIW WOCHENBERICHT in German 15 Sep 83 pp 459-462

/Text/ The FRG's economic development in the first half 1983 was somewhat more favorable than expected at the beginning of the year. Two closely interlinked factors were decisive: The upturn in output began earlier than envisaged, and-- against all expectations--private consumption supplied a noticeable impetus to general demand. It is due to this favorable development of consumer demand and the expansion of real equipment investments, stimulated by the investment allowance, that the real gross national product in the second quarter of this year slightly exceeded that of the equivalent period in 1982 (.7 percent as per the latest computations of the Federal Office for Statistics). When we take into account the large losses suffered in the second half 1982, losses that needed to be made good before a positive trend could be said to emerge by comparison with the previous year, we must consider this a remarkable gain. It is all the more important because goods exports continued (if anything) to slow down the development of a comprehensive economic recovery, and because continuing restrictive effects resulted from the lack-luster performance of direct public demand, in particular public consumption.

At the same time the relatively steady upturn of total economic output must not disguise the fact that it needs to be ascribed to some rather short-term influences: As disposable incomes of private households tended to develop rather unfavorably, the expansion of private consumption arose with the help of a noticeable reduction in the rate of savings, due to some extent--especially in the early months of 1983--to lower interest rates. The latter encouraged the willingness to borrow and lowered the attraction of monetary investments. Equally important for the surge in private consumption was the maturing of premium-carrying savings deposits. In June top quality and top price consumer goods benefited from advance purchases aiming to avoid the rise in the value-added tax that took effect on 1 July 1983. The ephemeral nature of this motivation for the increase in private consumption indicates that we should expect a definite slowdown in this demand sector--so crucial for economic development--, especially as there are no reasons for predicting higher disposable incomes.

In 1981 and 1982 we saw how much the mood of employers and their readiness for commitments is affected by the development of consumer demand. Any weakening in consumption might therefore act as a damper on the other elements of domestic demand. Still, this is not much of a danger in the coming months. The possible weakening of the expansion of consumption does have some counterbalances. Equipment investments are likely to continue growing, albeit less strongly than in the first half.

As for real construction investments, the expected expansive trends did appear in the second quarter. Seasonally adjusted, the rise was still tentative by comparison to the previous quarter--around 1 percent as per the latest computations. A significant speed-up must, however, be expected in the second half. The noticeably higher stock of orders for residential buildings, in particular, will be more obviously reflected in output. However, the continuing restrictive government investment policy does limit the speed-up tendency caused by housing and commercial construction from the aspect of real construction investments.<sup>1</sup>

#### Progress of Short-Term Indicators

A contribution to economic recovery seems indicated from the aspect of the development of foreign demand for products of processing industry. The order volume from abroad appears to have touched bottom in April; ever since it has risen slightly in every month and, according to the latest statistical data, definitely leaped upward in July. This trend benefited the already relatively favored sectors of processing industry, basic materials and production as well as consumer goods. For the first time in a long while the investment goods sector also enjoyed an upturn. It would be a mistake, though, to overestimate generally short-term trends of statistical indicators, especially because not much of a contribution is to be expected from the majority of West European countries. Nevertheless, a certain upward trend of demand from abroad is plausible: In conjunction with the recovery in the United States and the competitiveness of German industry in the dollar area (due to exchange rates), the expansion of exports to the United States itself as well as to some other countries stimulated by the U.S. economy appears to be specially favored. Moreover, since mid-1982 the reduced import strength of the developing countries (excluding OPEC), consequent on their international payment problems, has ceased to be evident as far as FRG exports to this group of countries are concerned. In fact exports to them have slightly increased.

Lately domestic demand has definitely slackened, due largely to the advance purchases by private households prior to the increase in the value-added tax. This seems to have affected car sales most. No doubt, though, that the July scissors movement of receipts of orders from domestic and foreign customers has been exaggerated. Especially domestic demand is likely to tend toward a further rise and to stay that way.

The net output of processing industry demonstrates the fact that the output stimuli generally due to the rise in orders are generally beneficial: In the average of June/July the output level was 6 percent above the low point of the recession, achieved late last year. The trend was even stronger in the past 3 months' rise in the construction output: Compared with the level late last year, this amounted to more than 10 percent.

The improvements in output have not left the labor market unaffected, though the decline in employment has not yet ended. In processing industry the reduction continued, albeit at a far slower pace. In the construction industry, on the other hand, employment figures rose in the summer (seasonally adjusted). While this certainly helped to relieve the labor market, it does not by itself explain the fact that the rise in the figures of registered unemployed came to a virtual stop in

mid-year. According to the Federal Institute for Labor's calculations, the August figures (seasonally adjusted) were only 8,000 higher than the July figures. Of course the various vacation periods in the summer months make a considerable difference to the development of unemployment, and we will have to wait for the coming months to show us the direction of unemployment. No doubt, though, the trend since last spring has been far less disquieting than in the 3 preceding years. The definite relative improvement may also be due to factors that involve the supply of rather than the demand for manpower. No doubt the balance of migration of foreign manpower (last year net emigration replaced net immigration) has played its part. This explanation precisely demonstrates the hopelessness of the labor market situation with respect to many job applicants. Still, we must also emphasize the rapid decline in short time in recent months--from some 1.2 million in January to only 380,000 in August (not seasonally adjusted). The increased demand for manpower recorded by some industries and firms was initially met--as expected--from this obvious manpower pool.

Heralded by reports from various Land offices for statistics, the slight rise in the inflation index of private consumption--from 2.5 percent in July to 3 percent in August--aroused fears that the price climate might worsen again. Not taken into account, though, was the fact that the rise in value-added tax rates alone was generally expected to lead to a greater surge in prices than in fact occurred in July. Obviously attempts continued in August for passing on this increased tax to the consumers. Still, the rise in the current rate is bound to be only temporary; it certainly does not indicate another speed-up in inflation. We must also remember the price increase of many imports, due to the exchange rate--in particular of oil products--and this increase, too, is going to be temporary.

#### Outlook and Economic Considerations

Backed more than hitherto by real construction investments and newly forward moving goods exports, the economic upturn will continue more strongly in the coming months. The real gross national product may be expected to grow by around 1 percent in the average of 1983, compared with the previous year. This growth is greater than predicted even a few months ago.<sup>2</sup> The advance of unemployment will be much slower this year than until spring 1983. Following the sharp drop in short hours, we may assume that at least some favored sectors of the economy will go in for additional hiring and thereby relieve the labor market. Unemployment figures (not seasonally adjusted) will probably be lower in December than earlier forecasts expected. They are likely to amount to 2.5 million. At the same point in time the inflation rate may again show the figure "2" before the decimal point.

A good deal of anxiety is caused by the strength of the U.S. dollar, especially vis-a-vis the D-mark. This strength of the dollar originates largely in the high interest rates prevalent in the United States. By way of preference for the dollar as an investment currency, these high rates have resulted in a negative flow of capital and in the renewed rise of interest rates in the Federal Republic. At the same time the higher dollar value signifies higher prices for many imports, especially oil that is invoiced in U.S. dollars. True, another rise in FRG interest rates might counteract the capital outflow and, therefore, the rise in the dollar exchange rate; however, we would also have to accept the fact that the still delicate economic recovery in the FRG might be adversely affected and, possibly, stifled

altogether. Moreover, it is entirely possible to overestimate the price increases caused by the high dollar rate. Taking into account the imports invoiced in dollars and the steady wages costs per item, even another hefty rise in the dollar rate would not necessarily result in much higher domestic prices. From this aspect, therefore, there is no reason to adopt radical monetary measures. Renewed capital outflow, on the other hand, might signify an increase in market interest rates. Still, the psychologically adverse affect on the economy would presumably be greater if the rise in interest rates were to be encouraged by an increase in Bundesbank prime rates: While firms and consumers could handle a market-related rise, an increase in the prime rate tends to be interpreted as the indication of a longer term rise in interest levels, with the corresponding repercussions on entrepreneurial expectations. The latest boost in the rate of interest for advances on securities from 5 percent to 5.5 percent must be interpreted as a compromise between highly disparate attitudes; it does not fit the market scenery.

Financial policy continues on a consolidation course. The new Federal Government has emphasized this on the spending side by cuts exceeding the proposals of the former government as well as by further tax increases. According to budget planning, federal spending is to rise by only 2 percent in 1984. Nevertheless the gross national product is expected to grow by 5.5 percent. Such a conjunction of growth rates of government spending and total economy can at best be realized in a strong recovery, fueled by private investments. As nothing like this is on the horizon, we are bound to fear that such a weak spending expansion will once again detract from total economic growth. This applies with special force in view of the fact that there are no indications of any strengthening of local investment strength. In such a situation, total government investments will fail to stimulate economic growth; indeed they are bound to obstruct it. Clamors are already arising, pleading for even stricter restraints on budget deficits. They originate with the government camp, claiming that the hoped for turn-around is thereby at last to be accomplished --on the labor market also. This flies in the face of the increasing public acknowledgment that the loss of demand caused by consolidation needs to receive greater attention than in the past, because "excessive consolidation" is liable not only to imply the abrupt end of the economic recovery but might vitiate consolidation itself.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See the detailed reasoning in "Construction Industry: Continuing South-North Gap," edited by Jochen A. Huebener, DIW WOCHENBERICHT No 34/1983.
2. See "Trends of 1983/1984 Economic Development. Federal Republic of Germany: Financial Restraints Impede Upturn," edited by study group on business cycles in the DIW. In DIW WOCHENBERICHT, No 25/1983.

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## FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER DISCUSSES USSR TRADE BALANCE

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 1 Sep 83 p-13

[Text] Maintaining the level of building exports from Finland to the Soviet Union is becoming a major problem. So said Minister of Foreign Trade Jermu Laine as he opened the Finnish building exhibit "Finntechstroi" in Leningrad on Wednesday.

Laine said: "At present, building exports are at a satisfactory level, but if we do not come up with many construction contracts in the very near future, our building and project exports may decline sharply over the next few years. This is because the big construction projects now in process are being completed."

The countries have already held talks on new projects, among them the port in Tallinn, the cellulose plant in Arda, modernization of the cellulose plant in Vyborg, and continuing construction work in Svetogorsk.

## New Areas

During President Mauno Koivisto's visit to the Soviet Union, a protocol on cooperation in foodstuffs was signed. This protocol provides new opportunities for offering know-how on facilities in agriculture for the production of staple items and in the area of food storage, transportation, packaging, and distribution.

Since trade between Finland and the Soviet Union has been increasing sharply, there is now reason to try to keep the annual value of trade under 5 million rubles. This requires joint efforts by various agencies and organizations in both countries, said Laine.

"This year, the value of projects being carried out in the Soviet Union totals just over 10 percent of the total value of all deliveries to that country. The kinds of projects that Finland carries out from start to finish have become a permanent part of Finland's deliveries," noted Laine.

In their trade exchange protocol covering building exports this year, the countries established a working quota. Normal building exports will be allowed up to a maximum value of between 380 and 400 million rubles. In addition, building construction, factories, and housing communities have been assigned a quota of 180 million rubles.

Laine feels that the exhibit that has now opened in Leningrad provides an extraordinary opportunity to tell about the new technology in construction and building materials.

Laine pointed out: "How those export possibilities can be taken advantage of will depend on whether counterbalancing imports are large enough in the future."

The Finntechstroi exhibit includes building contract work; construction planning; the reconstruction of old housing; wood, concrete, and other structural components; construction machinery and installations; production lines and technology in the construction industry; structural and interior panels; building materials and equipment for the carpentry industry; heating, water, and sanitation facilities; electrical layouts; and electrical construction.

The exhibit is being sponsored by the Finnish Foreign Trade Association and the Finnish Fair in cooperation with the V/O Expocenter of the Soviet Chamber of Trade and Industry.

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CSO: 3650/290

## FIRM BUILDING RAILROAD CARS FOR USSR SEES FIRST UNIT IN 1985

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Aug 83 p 12

[Text] (FNB)--Construction work on Rautaruukki's special railroad car factory began in Otanmaki on Friday. The factory will be ready in the summer of 1985, and the first railroad cars will roll out its doors at the end of the same year.

The factory will manufacture about 2,500 special cars per year. Their production is expected to employ about 600 workers in Otanmaki. Approximately 300 people are employed in building and outfitting the factory.

The railroad car factory itself is being built in Otanmaki. A machine shop to produce components for the cars is being erected in Taivalkoski. The mining sector in Mustavaara will also be used to produce components for the cars. Construction work on the machine shop will begin before the end of this year. Railroad car production has required a total investment of 450 million marks.

## Challenge

Mining Counselor Helge Haavisto, who spoke in connection with the festivities on Friday, described the production of special railroad cars as a big challenge for the company and for factory personnel.

Haavisto maintained that from its very beginning, the activity should be based on efficiency, and it must be economically profitable. The factory will use advanced technology, and its activity is planned to ensure the highest possible performance based on today's know-how, he said.

## Karjalainen: First Big Joint Project

Dr Ahti Karjalainen, who spoke as the representative of Rautaruukki's board of directors, said that railroad car production is the first sizable joint production project between Finland and the Soviet Union. The components to be supplied for the cars by the Soviet Union will increase our imports from the East, while Rautaruukki's production will increase our own exports to the Soviet Union, explained Karjalainen.

He does not rule the possibility that at a later stage, the cars may be produced for a third country, either by Finland alone or in cooperation with the USSR.

### Long-Term Contract

Production of the special railroad cars is based on a long-term contract reached between Rautaruukki and the Soviet Union's ENERGOEXPORT in December 1982. According to the contract, production will be a matter of cooperation. Wheels, bogies, and brake devices will be supplied by the Soviet Union, while the special railroad cars themselves will be produced by Rautaruukki.

The factory in Otanmaki will be the main unit for railroad car production. Components for the cars will be manufactured there, and that is also where the special cars will be assembled.

The factory building, which will be built of steel, will cover an area of about 47,000 square meters.

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## MAJOR TOPICS OF MINISTERIAL, GUBERNATORIAL WORK AGENDA

Madrid YA in Spanish 8 Sep 83 pp 3-4

[Text] The budget bill for 1984 will receive final approval at the next Council of Ministers, according to government spokesman Eduardo Sotillos, speaking during a press conference after yesterday's meeting of the ministers. There will be another meeting next Saturday, similar to last Saturday's to put the final touches on the bill. The government spokesman declined to give details about the bill's content, although he said that consideration of it had occupied a substantial part of the long council, which lasted until nearly 1600 hours. He also said that the part on income and fiscal measures is basically finished, and while the major figures published up to the present time, among them the reduction of the deficit to 5.5 percent of the Gross Domestic Product "are about correct," there are sections that might be modified at the last minute. What has not yet been outlined is the method for decreasing public expenditure and its distribution.

Aside from supplying this information on the budgets, Eduardo Sotillos announced that today will be the first meeting of the interministerial commission created in the Urgent Measures decree to handle the situation created by the flooding. In this meeting, which will have the participation of a Basque government delegation headed by its vice president Mario Fernandez, it will be possible to move surely ahead in evaluating property damage, information that is not available as yet, since, for example, there are many businesses that do not know yet if the machinery buried by mud is recoverable.

#### Payment for Damage To Be Facilitated

Regarding specific actions to aid those affected by the flooding, the council has approved authorization of a plan of special action for the Insurance Payments Consortium in the Basque nation, Cantabria, Asturias, Burgos and Navarra, to take charge of direct payment of damages when they exceed 10 million pesetas or to delegate someone for payments of lesser amounts. This measure will avoid delays to be expected when payments are made through one of the insurance companies, and this will be complemented by allowance for overtime and even the hiring of temporary help to speed handling of the forms and payment through the account that will be opened at the Bank of Spain in Madrid and its branches in the affected districts. In addition, farmers whose crops have suffered catastrophic damages are given moratoriums of up to 2 years on all credit payments granted through the Iryda or the SENPA.

## Analysis of Citizen Security

Eduardo Sotillos also reported on a meeting to be held in Madrid on 16 and 17 September for all the civilian governors to study the situation of public safety. On this subject, he said that various measures will be taken, such as increasing police presence in the streets, and they will also consider new actions in the judicial area to halt the rise in crime. Independent of this, the interior minister will hold talks with some of the most affected sectors (gas stations, banks, business in general) to achieve an improvement in security conditions. With respect to gas stations, he said that police mobile patrols will definitely be intensified, since guards are impractical due to the number of establishments. Night closings cannot be decided unilaterally in any case by the businessmen, but must be submitted for approval by the government delegate in CAMPSA. On the other hand, this company some time ago expressed willingness to negotiate on the subject, with the understanding that a minimum of 25 percent of all gas stations would have to remain open to assure that there would also be service at night.

During his speech, the government spokesman referred to a royal decree making possible access by chiefs and officers of the Civil Guard to courses leading to a diploma from the Army General Staff. When he was asked whether this decree was a recognition of the military nature of the Civil Guard, instead of what the PSOE proposed in their electoral program, he replied, "adhering to the letter of the decree, in effect it confirms its military character."

In addition, in reply to another question, he said that there is a continuing investigation of document leaks, which apparently have been occurring in some police offices, and he noted that the Penal Code classifies such actions by officers as a crime.

Other matters discussed by Eduardo Sotillos, nearly all of them in answer to previously submitted questions from reporters, included the situation in the Andalusia countryside--"The situation is not alarming, but the government will in no case permit illegal acts like the occupation of farms or blocking highways"--the alleged death of Sgt. Miko--"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs neither confirms nor denies the matter"--negotiation of wage increases for officials--"The matter is under consideration"--or the increased price of gasoline, which he declared is not a question presently under discussion, "although it is always considered."

Finally, the government spokesman stated that participation by Alfonso Guerra or any other member of the government in the demonstration against the Chilean regime on 11 September will be exclusively personal, "although the government considers the restoration of democracy essential," and he stressed that the debate in parliament on the state of the nation will have four essential parts: socioeconomic policy, autonomies and territorial administration, citizen security and terrorism, and foreign policy.

## Elaboration on the Council of Ministers

Prominent among the subjects considered at the Council of Ministers yesterday was the approval of a plan for agrarian insurance, and the regulation developed by the law on agrarian contracts, the simplification of paperwork for inactive non-commissioned officers, the approval of overtime, the authorization of foreign investments, the investment of 1,132,000 pesetas to cushion the effect of the drought, and the 3,062,000 peseta budget for hydraulic projects.

The combined agrarian insurance plan for 1984 is to consolidate the present lines of insurance, while broadening coverage for some considered experimental until now, and introducing new crops in the subsidy program for farmers so that they insure their harvests.

The total cost of the plan for next year is expected to be around 13,276,000 pesetas--compared with 9,890,000 pesetas in this year's plan--and the subsidy for premium payments which the administration will grant through the Government Agrarian Insurance Organization (ENESA) in 1984 will be 6,600,000 pesetas, 34 percent more than in the previous plan.

## Low on Agrarian Contracts

At the proposal of the ministers of agriculture, fishing, and food; and economy and finance, a royal decree was approved on the regulation regarding contracts for agricultural products which determines three different kinds of contracts: interprofessional agreements, which have the nature of an agreement and for the application of which sales contracts would be necessary; collective agreements, with the same conditions as the previous kind; and contracts of sale.

Among the kinds of assistance available are governmental campaign credits given to industrialists or businessmen so that they can give advances to the agrarian businesses to establish the contract. The amount might be up to 30 percent of the total contract in the case of collective agreements, and 40 percent in the case of interprofessional agreements.

## Inactive Non-commissioned Officers

On the proposal of the Ministry of the Presidency, a royal decree was approved for simplification of the paperwork for applications from inactive non-commissioned officers by officials of the government civil administration. This royal decree establishes the procedure by official letter and not by petition for the retirement of any non-commissioned officer, with the sole document required for certification granted by the personnel department of whatever corps the retiree belongs to. Moreover, the decree shortens the periods to send the certifications to the General Directorate of the Treasury and Financial Policy and to check them officially.

#### Extra Overtime

At the proposal of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security it was agreed to resolve the proceedings started because of a charge made by the office of Labor Inspection in Santa Cruz de Tenerife on 11 May 1983 against the Union Electric Company of Canaries, S.A. A fine of 2,624,000 pesetas was imposed for having had 3523 hours of overtime above the monthly maximum between May and November of 1982.

#### Money for the Drought

The Ministry of Public Works and City Planning reported on the investment of 1,131,800 million pesetas by its General Directorate of Water Projects for the emergency system in 30 provinces for small projects to alleviate the effects of the drought, in accordance with a ministerial order on 29 July 1983.

In the middle term, to solve the problem of short supplies and irrigation that causes the drought situation, the Ministry of Public Works and City Planning has planned projects worth 30 billion pesetas.

8587

CSO: 3548/501

## EGOTXEAGA ON BASQUE AREA STEEL INDUSTRY, RECONVERSION

Guipuzcoa EGIN in Spanish 17 Sep 83 p 9

[Text] Bilbao--A surplus of personnel amounting to 3,413 of the 11,744 workers currently employed in the special steels sector, "compulsory" mergers of the 12 existing companies into two or three large groups, and an overall investment of around 60 billion pesetas are the main features of the information released yesterday in the press conference given by Javier Garcia Egotxeaga. He is a former councillor, former councillor of industry and at present the president of the Aceriales public corporation. The plan takes the position that this sector of production must be thoroughly reorganized, made competitive, and organized along the lines of prevailing models in key countries, and, in short, the health of the companies devoted to this production must be improved.

The plants of the majority of these companies are located in the Basque Country, where 90 percent of the production takes place, which in 1982 came to 972,000 metric tons. The plan foresees the production of 1,074,000 metric tons in 1986, after the completion of the reconversion plan, on which negotiations were begun yesterday after first contact was made with the majority unions. These negotiations, according to Garcia Egotxeaga, should be completed in exactly one month, since on 15 October Inseriales, the engineering association of the group, in which Aceriales and Sener take part, will set the wheels in motion to contract for the new plants as regards real investments. The total amount of these investments will reach 22.986 billion pesetas. The flood will not change anything.

The recent floods will not bring about any substantial changes in the Aceriales Plan approved last 21 July, even though two of the foremost companies in the sector, S.A. Echevarria and Aceros de Llodio, between them have suffered damage estimated at a total of 5.659 billion. "We already told the minister this some days ago," Egotxeaga commented, "and we added that the subject of the floods must not be overemphasized. In the course of this month production will return to normal, and at the end of next month the companies which were most affected will do so. The flood is an episode which is of minor importance compared to the main problem, which is the appropriate and inevitable reconversion of the sector." The central priorities, then, are to rapidly define which of the groups should be merged, as well as the decision-making centers, which, like the products, are too numerous and too disorganized," he said. "Each one

purchases and sells in small quantities, and in this way the final product is too costly, and cannot compete with other countries."

During this process of reconversion, which is expected to be completed in 1986, there are plans to alleviate the serious drop in employment by the formulas which are already known as the Fund for the Promotion of Employment, setting up an association (DEMAC) for the "development of new activities," through which they will seek to stimulate the recycling of personnel who will not retire in advance. Thus, of the 3,413 jobs which are destined to disappear, one-third will enter retirement or otherwise drop out, and will not be replaced; and the remaining two-thirds will go to the fund. According to the plan, by 1986 only a few hundred workers would remain in the fund, since the rest, they said, would be being progressively reabsorbed. After that year "the sector would again generate employment." Garcia Egotxeaga promised that until that time supplementary social measures will be directed toward improving the functioning of this fund, "taking into account the capacities of existing human resources, and effectively resolving the problems presented by the workers."

#### European Model

The following groupings are proposed in the merger: first, a Guipuzcoa team made up of Aceriales and Forjas de Azcoitia, Aceros de Irura and Fundiciones Echevarria, which would be called "Aceguisa." A second grouping (Acenor) made up of S.A. Echevarria, Aceros de Lodio and Orbegozo. And, thirdly, a group of independent companies will remain, "some of them very important," which according to the plan "have made a preliminary appeal to keep their resources outside of any integration into either of the already mentioned groups." In this regard he alluded to the case of Forjas Alavesas, which apparently still is very reluctant to join hands with unhealthy companies. This was responded to by the president of Aceriales with the phrase: "Any company that does not want to undergo reconversion will not see one penny of the money earmarked for this plan," and he quickly added, that this was the exact viewpoint of the central administration.

In emulating the European model, a Spanish style "ECSC" [European Coal and Steel Community] will be created, a sectorial body which on the European continent determines procedures, market quotas, prices, export quotas, and which also possesses its own financial mechanisms and the legal capacity to impose sanctions on those who break the rules of the game. This Spanish ECSC must initially be financed by the central administration with 5 billion; and later pay for itself by means of a .3 percent of the value of the product, until Spain finally joins this community organization.

8131

CSO: 3548/2

## TURK-IS' YILMAZ ON WORKERS' DECLINING ECONOMIC STATUS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 17 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] Turk-Is Secretary General Sevket Yilmaz, observing that real purchasing power has gradually been eroded, remarked, "We are adamant that additional money be obtained for our workers. I hope to be able to discuss this and other issues with the prime minister in the near future."

Sevket Yilmaz drew attention to his meeting day before yesterday with President Kenan Evren at the Cankaya Palace and he added, "I gave our president some wide-ranging information on the laboring life. As always he demonstrated a keen interest in the workers' problems."

## Socio-economic Conditions

Turk-Is Secretary General Sevket Yilmaz said that the socio-economic situation was not very encouraging and he responded to our questions as follows:

"In today's new order, important steps have been taken in a number of areas, compared with the situation 3 years ago. The flawless progression in step with the timetable for returning to democracy carries great significance for our country's present and future. Also during this period we have seen an end to the anarchy and terror that brought turmoil and upheaval to the country. In this connection, we have enjoyed the delight of celebrating the bayram in a patriotic, peaceful and secure atmosphere."

Despite all this, Turk-Is Secretary General Yilmaz said, certain social and economic matters are now very important. Briefly he stressed the following:

"We haven't solved the unemployment problem which grows worse every day. If we add the cost of living matter to unemployment, we cannot say that the economic situation is very encouraging. Furthermore, there should be a balance between wages and prices as real purchasing power has gradually been eroded. There must be the justice expected in the division of the national wealth."

## We Insist on Additional Pay

Although we have demanded additional money in workers' paychecks for the near future and have continued to insist on it, our demand has not yet been met. However, we are adamant that our workers be given additional pay. As you know, I have asked to meet with the prime minister. I hope to be able to have that discussion in the near future.

## CVP STUDY CENTER ON FUTURE ROLE OF PARTY

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 14 Sep 83 pp 26-28

[Report on interview with Director and Manager of the Institute for Political Education (IPOVO) Luc Martens by Johan Struye and Kris Lelievre-Damit: "The CVP (Social Christian Party) is Not a Center Party."]

[Text] The study center of the CVP has drawn up a document which is to give the impetus for a re-inspiration of the party. The Institute for Political Education (IPOVO), the study center of the Social Christian Party (CVP), has existed for 10 years. That is naturally celebrated with a number of academic sessions nationwide, but apart from that IPOVO is also coming out with /a document which is to give the impetus for a profound realignment of the christian democratic way of thinking/. The man behind this noteworthy publication is undoubtedly Luc Martens (37), director and manager of the institute. According to Martens the document intends to offer the party something of substance, especially now that the idea of progress of the last decade is increasingly being questioned, as is the political system in which the CVP has almost continuously had government responsibility since World War II. Admittedly, this is a somewhat pessimistic impetus for what should become the basic document of the party for the coming years. A discussion with Luc Martens.

Luc Martens: First and primarily I want to say: we are certainly not the conduit for the top of the party to spread its ideas. We are not the extension of a propaganda machine, even though we are clearly working from the same basic principles and from a very great loyalty with respect to the party. Also, because of the educational work, we are not directly involved in the daily problems of politics. We are not sitting at the conference table to discuss an acute political problem.

But that doesn't remove the fact that our document can be useful in actual practice. In active politics, namely, one is continuously confronted with pressing matters which demand an urgent answer. Therefore one succeeds insufficiently at that level in developing a vision on the longer term, no matter how much one desires to do so.

But if one mentions a vision on the longer term for the CVP, then that amounts to the question: what exactly keeps us together in that party? Thus it is not only

the intention to state within the narrow structure of the party apparatus how we commit ourselves to each other, but to also state so readily and clearly to the various social organizations. In other words, the general social demand for clear agreements, a demand which since the seventies has carried more and more weight.

The seventies were characterized by very many doubts in numerous areas, not only in the economic one. That call for clarity started to become important to the CVP specifically at the beginning of the eighties. That is the first idea.

A second given, related to the first one, is that a growing number of questions present themselves which can no longer be answered with classic opinions. They are questions which are given a dimension we never knew before. For example, international politics and the problem of the arms race. Armament also existed previously, but certainly not as a given in domestic policy. In the fifties one did not ask questions of the minister of foreign affairs with respect to foreign problems and tensions.

I could quote further examples. Think of the enormous quantity of new technologies which have rushed at us lately. The threat of privacy, databanks, etc. Genetic manipulation is another problem like that. Science has made great progress in that area, but how far can and may it go? Is what can be done ethically justified? Those are all questions which trouble us greatly. And if we as christian democrats want to pretend to be a policy party, we have to search for an answer.

#### Key Questions

[Question] What do you believe to be the most important key questions for the CVP?

Martens: In our document we have listed a series of questions. First and primarily, respect for the individual, giving attention to ethical problems such as abortion, euthanasia, organ treatment, eugenics and those sort of things. Then there are the problems concerning what we have called vulnerable forms of life. Just think of our reflex action in removing the ill and aged from our field of vision and accommodating them in special institutions.

A third series of key questions concern the family. The family has come under enormous pressure since the sixties. Previously a great family tie existed, a spontaneous form of solidarity through which a number of questions and problems could be solved. That has disappeared now. On top of that, in the last few years a number of different opinions have come into being with respect to the forming of relationships, such as cohabitation, outside employment of women. All are elements which indicate that the family is clearly in movement today.

The fourth key question concerns solidarity with the enormous group of people who find themselves at the margin of society these days. Sure, we have built up a system of social security which is probably one of the best in Western Europe, but a number of changes are urgently needed, without however having them affect the essential principles. That is an essential task, and certainly not only for the sake of budgetary repercussions. People who are in danger of driving off the road have to be brought back on the track.

[Question] In your document you speak of solidarity toward the outside.

Martens: Indeed. The development policy is also a key question. In the seventies everyone thought that if the West continued to grow economically, the developing countries would gradually overcome their economic inferiority. Nothing proved to be less true. The economic crisis strikes the third world much harder than us. We complain about giving up our second car, but that is not really a drama. Nothing really essential is lost with that. In developing countries, however, it is continuously a matter of life or death. Another big question concerns one's sense of being useful in society. In other words, the demand for work and distribution of work. But there is more to it than that; the content of work is important too. Namely, it would be a missed opportunity only to make sure that everyone can work his number of hours. All the side aspects of the concept of work deserve our attention as well.

Next there are the environmental problems which have clearly come out in political thought since the 1970 municipal council elections. A person does not only have responsibility with respect to his fellow human beings, but also with respect to his spatial environment. Previously the philosophy dominated that we stood above and apart from the creation and that we had to control nature. We are, however, an essential component of it. And finally, there are the problems in connection with peace and security. There is widespread fear among the people that our security is threatened. Nuclear war, nuclear energy. But, in addition, one's individual physical security is sometimes threatened in one's own immediate environment.

[Question] Isn't that a boat the CVP almost missed? For that matter, the CVP does not excel in giving clear answers for all the other key questions you have mentioned, does it?

Martens: Many questions often did get a partial answer, but afterward they were not followed up well enough. I have the impression, however, that the CVP is seriously reviewing itself on all these points. Take the peace question, for example. The desire for peace has always been very clearly present in the party, but we still have not succeeded well enough in adequately informing the public of the moral torment connected to that for the christian democrats.

Center

That torment lies in the fact that from one's evangelical inspiration any form of armament should be disapproved, but on the other hand one has the duty and responsibility to create security. That is an area of tension one must try to conquer, even though the party under the presidency of Frank Swaelen already has taken a clear step in that direction. As to those other key questions, the fact that we have almost always been a government party since World War II is again valid. He who does not carry government responsibility does not experience that virtual tension. He who is in the opposition is not troubled by that at all. He can let himself be guided completely by his moral and ideological views. In the government, however, one always carries a double responsibility: on the one hand that with respect to one's main objectives and on the other hand the question of how to realize those objectives. Which roads should we follow to reach our objectives?

[Question] What is striking in your document is the explicit reference to the gospel. A few years ago many wondered if the "C" in "CVP should not be left out. Is it a conscious choice to make the CVP into a real catholic party again?

Martens: It is not our intention to make a confessional party of the CVP. But I do know that many of the members today have the desire to give the term /christian/ its full meaning again. I want to give full weight to that factor, but that is very different from wanting to reshape our party into a confessional party. And it is certainly not because the ethics of our party have inspiration in the gospel that we can't at the same time be open to non-believers who come up for the same humane values as those we find in the gospel.

In the Christmas program of the CVP just after World War II the question is clearly asked, however, why we are Christian. The answer at the time was: because we depend on the great value of the Western culture which historically was introduced by christendom. But this pronouncement was made in 1945, in a society where the religious community was clearly situated. At that moment that was clear to everyone. If one says today that we depend on the values introduced by christendom, that is no longer clear to many people.

Why? Because this approach can be used by almost everyone. All parties today can say that they depend on the great values of Western culture. Every party can go back to this great-culture-stuff. As christian democratic party we thus have to find something to align ourselves more clearly. But that demands an active stake, namely continually proving that our ethics came from the gospel. That does not mean in any way that one must look directly in the gospel for recipes or answers to problems encountered in daily politics, but that one is able to create a clear profile from within this higher standard, the gospel.

I admit again that precisely for that reason we are saddled with many incomplete answers on many points. As a christian democrat one succeeds so little in attaining those high ideals we set for ourselves. But the population and party don't reproach us for that. What they do reproach parties for, on the other hand, is their lack of leadership, or their ending up in a sort of cattle trade where things are combined which actually cannot be combined.

[Question] Thus it is not as much the tension between the norm and reality as the tension between the various positions within the CVP?

Martens: I find that that problem is continually pointed out to us, but tensions certainly are not the monopoly of the christian democrats alone. Other parties also know internal contradictions. But it is true that the various factions have a great input in our party, for example in forming the candidates' list. Yet that input often occurs with the conviction that consensus will be achieved afterward. For that matter, it is not exactly a disgrace to come from a certain organization. Real problems occur only if one makes the interests of that party absolute and is unwilling to put them in perspective.

[Question] A christian democratic identity?

Martens: This text deals precisely with that. Through a series of key questions we want to submit a form of consensus to the social.christian organizations.

We want to make it visible to everyone that in spite of everything a basis of dialogue does exist. The question: "on which basis can we enter a real dialogue with each other again?" And then right away say clearly where we stand. For that too is a negative tendency in society. The idea that one wants to do something on the condition that . . . In that way no one knows to what extent the partner wants to participate. Loyalty with respect to each other must be made clear again. At the same time we must once and for all think differently from left-right. We are christian democrats and that has nothing to do with half-left or half-right.

[Question] A center party, thus?

Martens: No, we are not a center party either. It is very well possible that we regularly will take a standpoint which is in the center if it is drawn in one dimension. I admit, the distinction is subtle, but it is very important to me. One does not vote to be able to stand in the center. One votes for one's own alternative.

Reinspiration

[Question] This IPOVO document has become very extensive and is not easy to read either.

Martens: If we reflect on the christian democracy, we want to do so in a scientifically justified language. Similar basic documents are also well-formulated in other parties. If we want to confront other parties with study centers or scientific centers, we must have a basic text which expresses a number of ideas in depth, even if one then inevitably ends up with culture-sociologic language. But we also want to open up the text. Therefore there will shortly be a shortened version for the regular membership of the party, as well as a videotaped version.

[Question] After which probably a number of changes will be made?

Martens: Of course the text will be open to discussion and changes with respect to all members of the party. But the final text will very certainly also have to be supplemented with a number of resolutions which will be voted on at our large ideologic congress in 1985. Thus that text is the first big preparation for the ideologic congress of the party in 1985. That's precisely why I expect a lot from the discussions which will take place on this text in the coming months.

[Question] Thus that will be the third reinspiration of the CVP since World War II?

Martens: Indeed, right after the war we knew the Christmas program. Subsequently, at the beginning of the seventies, some people under Wilfried Martens, Jean-Luc Dehaene, Carl Bevernage and others were very actively engaged in a new direction, even though it did not end in an actual congress at the time. And with this, the third great rethinking is starting, one which originally was the groundwork of IPOVO, but on which ultimately the entire party will have to give an opinion. This is not a solo-number of a small service which wants to get into the press through that.

## U.S. BLAMED FOR SHORT-SIGHTED FOREIGN POLICY

Nicosia I SIMERINI in Greek 2 Sep 83 p 9

Text The communists always apply an orthodox Stalinist method of distortion and falsification of documents. This method was followed by Titos Fandis in his article in KHARAVGI last Wednesday in response to SIMERINI's leading article on 20 August.

The SIMERINI article which had Fandis moaning, analyzed the way the American funds are being utilized by the communists. The article clearly pointed to the failure of the United States in their foreign policy. Therefore, only a sick and distorting imagination could claim that SIMERINI took over the defense of the Americans. SIMERINI publishes again today the 20 August article as well as the text of Titos Fandis. KHARAVGI is asked to do the same, if it really wants to keep its readers informed.

"The Americans give the money. The Russians intervene and use the American funds to promote Russian ideas. The Americans, for example, give a university as a gift to a developing country. The Russians do not have money to compete. What do they do? They place their friends on the faculty and try to dominate the student organizations. As a result, the university which was established with American funds comes under communist control, and it produces communists!"

A group of American officials came 2 days ago to Cyprus. Their objective is to audit the use of American financial aid to Cyprus. We do not know what the American officials will find, nor what impressions they will take with them. There are, however, certain facts which show that the American behavior remains unrepentant. Their behavior in the last analysis means that with their unwise positions on international issues they pay their money for the production of communists.

But what is happening today in Cyprus? For example, funds were given here to construct a modern hospital in Larnaca. There is no doubt that the government physicians if they are not already, soon will be in their majority graduates of eastern communist universities. A hospital staffed with such graduates will certainly be a valuable and sensitive communist outpost. The Americans paid for the hospital. The Russians will direct and manage the medical services in their familiar, effective way. We will not speak about the settlements. We see the same thing happening there. The settlements were constructed with American money but the majority of their residents

speaking with anti-American mania! Of course nobody can blame Moscow and AKEL because they exploit and utilize the American funds. They take advantage for their own good. And they do so very effectively. Those who are for the birds are the American benefactors. They make grants to gain friends and instead they secure for themselves hatred and insults!

One could say that the Americans give to our planet more in 1 year than Moscow has given in the last 30... Yet, communism is spreading at the expense of American influence and at the expense of American interests and friends. The reason is simple. The Americans think that money buys everything. But money buys very little nowadays. The lesson of Vietnam should be devastating. Neither the unlimited funds nor the tremendous military superiority of the Americans averted their defeat.

Vietnam is not the only case. Throughout the planet the Americans give aid and grants and in the end gain anathemas and systematic anti-Americanism. Therefore, it is imperative that they understand that the reason for this is very simple. The reason is their inability to honor by their deeds their great proclamations. They cannot speak about principles and be believable in Cyprus, for example, when the Cypriots know that they did nothing to block the Turkish invasion--Attila and that they do nothing to remove the Turkish troops.

The Americans have real democracy in their country and they are entitled to be proud of it. But for the others, the small, the weak, the oppressed, what do they do? In some cases they side with the oppressors, in other cases they close their eyes, in others they support rotten regimes, in others they close their ears. But such a foreign policy will lead in the long run to their decline, and as long as they continue to have such an immature policy they will give their money and they will produce communists! We hope that the American overseers of American aid who came to this country will grasp this reality. And we hope that when they go back they will state that Cyprus wants freedom and justice. The money was never a priority for a nation that wants to live in freedom!

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CSO: 3521/447

## PLEA TO POLITICAL SPECTRUM ON U.S. ASSISTANCE

Nicosia I SIMERINI in Greek 23 Sep 83 p 1

Text The leadership of AKEL chose a sound course this time: support for the Cuellar initiative. We do not know for how long it will support this course because, simply, we do not know what Moscow may dictate later. In any event, the AKEL leadership moves with realism. It appears to be free, at least temporarily, from the familiar slogans of the "many years of struggle..."

However, the AKEL leadership cannot tone down its anti-American mania. We understand that the anti-Americanism and the anti-imperialism is a profession for the communists. They are required by their job description to direct the holy fire of their passion against the Americans. But this understanding does not mean that it is impossible to have a respite to see how we can survive together on this island. These Americans have the tremendous power either to help us survive or to decide our disappearance! Why, then, such anti-American mania at this very moment when Greece and Cyprus seek American support? The AKEL leadership repeats that the Turkish invasion used NATO weapons and that the Turkish occupation continues with NATO arms. And the Cypriot question and the disputes between Greeks and Turks are caused by imperialism.

In other words, on our side we made no mistakes! It's all the work of the imperialists. The political ineptitude, the stupidities, the amateurish handling and the incompetence of our leadership for 25 years are not at all to blame! But let us assume for the moment that imperialism destroyed us and that it has the power to complete our destruction. Who can prevent this imperialist "monster" from destroying us altogether if and when it decides to do so? Nobody. But these savage imperialists have destroyed and can complete our destruction at will allowing Attila to move on without restraint. Then we are at their mercy. But if we are at their mercy, if our very existence depends on their whims, why do we provoke, why do we kick this..."monster?"

The very dialectic thinking of the AKEL leadership leads effortlessly to this clearcut conclusion. If the Americans, this "hard core of imperialism," have the power to obliterate us they must also have the power to help us survive. To help us we must first call for their help. To show that we want

it and that we call for it. But what do we do here? Day and night we stupidly provoke this all-powerful "imperialism." The leadership of AKEL wants to plunge the knife into the heart of the imperialist Dracula who soaks up the blood of the people... This tragi-comic hysteria must stop if AKEL truly wants Cyprus to survive. Because Cyprus has no knife. It has no power. And because the heart of this "imperialism" is too strong to be hurt by the Cypriot communist anti-imperialist shouts.

Leaving aside the terrible and inexcusable mistakes committed by American foreign policy and regardless of whether the Americans may give the money while the Russians benefit, the reality is this: They all take money and financial blood from the "heart of imperialism"--Poland, even the Soviet Union! That heart cannot be hit with the ridiculous knives of the AKEL leadership. The only thing that can happen is to get mad at us! The Americans once again say they want to help us. If we are to reject their offer again "proudly," let all of us lament the final ruins which will pile up on this unhappy land.

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GSO: 3521/447

## ARCHBISHOP CENSORED FOR POLITICAL STATEMENT

## Church's Views

Nicosia I SIMERINI in Greek 3 Sep 83 p 3

Text Speaking at the annual conference of the central councils of the world federation of overseas Cypriots, Archbishop Khrysostomos called the Cuellar proposals "partitionist."

The archbishop said in part: "For this reason the church considers it to be its duty to resist with all its power suggestions which do not lead to the unity but to the partition of our island and the removal of our people from their traditional homes."

According to the archbishop, then, Cuellar's suggestions "lead" to partition. From the archbishop's phraseology emerges a way of thinking, a reasoning, which is in evident conflict with reality. According to this reasoning, the partition is a new situation to which we may be "led" if we do not adopt a sound policy; something which does not exist and we try to avert. This reasoning insists on ignoring the evident truth that the partition is an existing situation; it is the status quo. Therefore, our effort, our struggle if you wish, does not aim at preventing something which does not exist now but is designed to overturn the existing situation, what we may call "an accomplished fact." If the partition does not exist, why then do the residents of Nicosia drive on weekends only toward Limassol, Larnaca, Agia Napa or toward the mountain resorts and not toward the shores of Kyrenia?

Thus, this is not a question of preventing but overturning the partition. This overturning may be partial or total. The total overturning requires the complete imposition of the will of the Greek Cypriot community on the Turkish Cypriot community. Common sense tells us that such a thing cannot be achieved at the negotiating table, and especially under the present balance of military power between the two communities.

The total overturning of the existing partition is possible only after a victorious military confrontation; only by imposing militarily the will of the Greek Cypriots on the Turkish Cypriot community. Cypriot Hellenism without the military support of the Greek nation as a whole cannot confront

on the battlefield the Turkish occupation forces and the Turkish military machine in general. Our nation as a whole appears to be too weak for such a military confrontation. Therefore, the total overturning of the existing partition--which we all "wish"--is an impossibility. Negotiation means "give and take," it means mutual concessions from maximum goals, it means compromise.

The only remaining visible prospect is the partial overturning of the existing partition. This partial overturning of the status quo can take two forms: a) an independent, federated bi-zonal and bi-communal state, demilitarized and with the best possible international guarantees; b) double union with considerable territorial concessions to the Greek side, a fact which will allow the return of a large number of Greek Cypriot refugees to their homes and the permanent security of Cypriot Hellenism since it will be incorporated formally and structurally into the defense perimeter of a country with 9 million people, a member of the United Europe and NATO--although this second solution is unpopular for the same reasons the total union was unpopular in the 1964-67 period, and which cannot be analyzed at this moment.

The Greek Cypriot leadership with the support of all post-dictatorial Greek governments and opposition parties has chosen the first of the two alternatives of a partial overturning of the existing partition, and signed for this purpose two summit agreements. But such a solution inevitably will contain elements generally called "partitionist" and are regarded as anathema. But this is the visible prospect provided we seek a solution with one peaceful means.

Those who advocate policies expecting either a unified state or a "return to the 1974 status quo" while ruling out the military alternative, must have obtained a divorce from reality. One of those thinking along those lines appears to be the archbishop. Also those who defend the so-called "rapprochement" do not understand that if it takes place it must first take place at the negotiating table, and in reality they put the cart before the horse.

We must also say that the perpetuation of the Cypriot problem freezes the existing partitionist status quo and leads toward a de facto double union which will not be accompanied by even a minimum of territorial concessions, with the result that no refugees will return to their homes. We must learn a lesson from the problem of the Middle East where the existence of the state of Israel is recognized as a fact internationally.

In the last analysis those who do not follow a policy of conciliation, like the archbishop, render a very poor service to Cypriot Hellenism in spite of their good intentions. This is a case when "the road to hell is paved with good intentions," as they say.

#### Church, State Roles Distinct

Nicosia O FILELEVTHEROS in Greek 1 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] The government functions within the limits imposed by the potentialities of the state it represents, and plans according to circumstances and its short-term and long-term goals.

By contrast, the church functions on the basis of spiritual principles and dogmas and national visions, regardless of the existing realities and conditions of each era.

It is only natural that their views on a specific subject may be different. This is the case with the Cypriot problem on which government and church have different assessments and views in the last few years--at least in terms of handling.

But the problem is not these differences of opinion--which can be explained--but their frequent repetition to the people. This intensifies the confusion and dispute which were already increased during the electoral campaign.

We believe that the archbishop has every right and obligation to keep the principles of the church uncompromised by the actions imposed by the prevailing conditions at a given moment. But the contrast it often attempts between the "line of faith" and the "line of the possible"--which is followed by a government--is aimless and dangerous. The people selected their hierarchs for the church and the political leaders for the government. Their roles are specific and separate.

The church is entitled to and must have its views on the national question, but the government has the responsibility for conducting the political struggle, especially in today's world whose laws are power, maneuver and interest--elements unrelated to the laws of the church.

7520

CSO: 3521/449

## BRIEFS

CZECH COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT DELEGATION--An official four-member mission representing Czechoslovakia's cooperative movement and headed by the chairman of the Central Council of that country's cooperatives Zakhtratnik, arrived in Cyprus at the invitation of the governor of the Cooperative Development, the Nicosia SEKAL [expansion unknown] and the Limassol ESEL [expansion unknown]. As is known, there is close cooperation between the cooperative movements of the two countries. Czechoslovakia is a traditional large and steady market for farm products such as fruits, wine products and fruit juices, while the Cyprus and the Cyprus market in general carry Czech products. The mission will meet with Trade and Industry Minister G. Andreou, will visit various cooperative institutions and will hold talks with their officers. Today, the mission members will meet with Cooperative Development Governor Er. Khlorakiotis to discuss with him ways for further development of the trade relations and the cooperation between the cooperative movements of Cyprus and Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Nicosia KHARAVGI in Greek 2 Sep 83 p 7] 7520

DELEGATION TO HUNGARY--Deputy Khambis Mikhailidis, secretary general of the Union of Cypriot Farmers [EKA] visited Hungary from 16 August to 2 September 1983 at the invitation of the Central Council of Farm Cooperatives [TOT] of the Hungarian People's Republic. On 1 September 1983 the EKA and TOT general secretaries met at the latter's headquarters and renewed the agreement of cooperation between the two organizations. The agreement calls for the full development of their relations, for support of the Cypriot people's struggle for a unitary and independent Cyprus and for coordination of the cooperation of the two organizations on a national and international scale for the defense of peace. [Text] [Nicosia O FILELEVETHEROS in Greek 4 Sep 83 p 12] 7520

CSO: 3521/447

## PRIME MINISTER SORSA DISCUSSES CP, ECONOMY, U.S. ELECTION

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Aug 83 p 7

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa by Jan-Anders Ekstrom and Lars Erik Haggman; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Obviously, it is a matter of saying no just to be saying no--a kind of repudiation of all responsibility."

That is how severely Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa judges the Conservative Party's new policy of sharper opposition. According to Sorsa, a change in policy must be reflected in a new kind of talk.

Nor does he hold his fire when it comes to the Left. Concerning the Finnish People's Democratic League [SKDL], he says:

"Naturally, they too can draw erroneous conclusions and resort to strikes and old-established communist methods."

The prime minister recalls that Kajanoja has already come up with "undermining statements."

Kalevi Sorsa has only good things to say so far about cooperation in the government. Peace reigns in the cabinet. On the other hand, the prime minister seems worried by a new climate in society. It is characterized by a general readiness to embrace common principles. But to cause problems when one's own turf is involved.

[Question] Who was really behind the idea of bringing the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] into the government?

[Answer] Actually, the idea arose by itself. There were two reasons: the party's election victory and the fact that the SMP solved the knotty problem of power relationships.

[Question] Thirteen years ago such a thing was not possible. Times have changed.

[Answer] Personal relations between the man who appointed governments and the SMP's leaders at the time had deteriorated too far.

Besides, the SMP has changed. It has moved in a more objective direction.

[Question] Have things worked out all right?

[Answer] The SMP has been behaving like any other coalition party. It has chosen a slightly different line outwardly, but that has not been reflected in government work at all.

#### Test of Maturity

Sorsa mentioned the approaching budget process, calling it a test of maturity for the SMP--and for the entire government.

[Question] Has the SMP taken over the SKDL's role in government politics?

[Answer] It is true that there are similarities in its public behavior, but the SMP has not asked for special privileges, either in the government or in Parliament.

[Question] What about the SKDL? SKP [Finnish Communist Party] boss Jouko Kajanoja has had some harsh things to say about the Social Democrats.

[Answer] That sounds a little like an attempt to drag his comrades down into a swamp.

[Question] What's this about a shift to the right?

[Answer] There are no objective grounds for that kind of criticism.

Sorsa talked about the attempts to interfere in the SDP's [Social Democratic Party's] work on its program:

#### Don't Know Themselves

[Sorsa] They are trying to frighten people with some alleged new thing, when the fact is that we ourselves don't know how we want to word it.

All of that is more a reflection of the situation in the party in question--not of the situation in the SDP.

[Question] But what about the talk that the SDP has become a "universal party"?

[Answer] It is clear that we have a different kind of voter today than we did 50 years ago or in 1952, when our current program was written.

[Question] How do you currently view the alternative of a popular front, which Kajanoja has condemned?

[Answer] In principle, nothing has happened to change our attitude. In practice, it's just that work in the previous government showed that the Communists have internal problems that are too great. They affected everything.

According to Sorsa, the SKDL can again become an effective partner in government once its own problems have been analyzed and overcome.

Yardstick

[Question] What about relations with your old adversary, the Center Party [KP]?

[Answer] They are better than they have been in a long time. But we must remember that we have not been faced with any emotionally charged issues.

Sorsa explained that the budget, the future agricultural policy, and perhaps the future forestry policy will be a kind of yardstick.

[Sorsa] So far I have noted serious efforts in the Center Party to emphasize factors that strengthen the possibilities for cooperation between the KP and the SDP.

[Question] Is it perhaps easier because both doctors are out?

[Answer] Oh now, I don't associate this with that matter.

And Vayrynen is probably getting prepared to argue about it.

[Question] How are things with foreign policy and the triangle that people talked about during the time of the previous government?

[Answer] Everything has been done as a group. I am not aware of any triangle drama.

No Antagonisms

[Question] So everything is really all right within the cabinet?

[Answer] As a matter of fact, I cannot recall any antagonisms.

[Question] What about the budget? You have expressed support for Pekkala's austerity line. The SDP group is talking again about a KP-dominated budget.

[Answer] I imagine that the most important thing for the minister of finance is the framework--that we be able to hold on to the economic effect. I share that view.

After that, nailing down the content of the budget becomes a political question. It has no economic significance, so it is no longer the minister of finance's concern.

According to Sorsa, the political issues are resolved during the budget process, and that is how it should be. He admits that there is probably an impression to some extent that such a suggestion shows "a little more concern for tending the livestock than for taking care of the children," but....

#### Political Balance

[Sorsa] It is clear that things get difficult when it is necessary to cut back as severely as we are being forced to do now. That is why political balance is inescapable.

[Question] Which issues will cause the most trouble?

[Answer] All I really know so far is what the SDP considers essential: housing, social policy, pensions, and family policy.

According to Sorsa, it is a point of honor to see to it that the shortcomings that appeared in the previous pension changes are corrected.

[Question] So what will happen to the timetable for further reform?

Sorsa answered by producing a priority list of criteria that should be observed when the budget's content is established:

1. Social justice.
2. Political balance.
3. Continuity in action--that is, appropriations that are found to be useful will be continued unless the government decides otherwise for special reasons.
4. In the case of new benefits, priority will go to those for which there are binding agreements.
5. Reforms that are included in the government program.

#### Earlier Shortcomings Corrected First

[Question] What does this list mean for pensioners?

[Answer] It means that earlier shortcomings will be corrected first. New extensions of benefits will come after that.

[Question] How do you view the committee report on the previous phase of the pension reform?

Sorsa hastened to say that he had not yet had time for a detailed study, but that the report is undeniably surprising.

[Sorsa] The picture presented in the report stands in glaring contrast to the picture presented before the parliamentary elections.

It comes as a big surprise to me that the loss of income between December and February hit those who are better off.

#### Correspondence Gives Different Picture

The prime minister said that his correspondence on the subject produced an entirely different picture. Sorsa said, however, that it ought to be possible to trust the report.

[Sorsa] The issue will be decided during the budget process.

[Question] Summer has provided us with a great deal of criticism of the government by the opposition. The Conservative Party in particular has also been making a fuss about pensions.

[Answer] I was a little surprised by that. A change in policy must be reflected in a new kind of talk, of course.

Obviously, it is a matter of saying no just to be saying no--a kind of repudiation of all responsibility.

Sorsa thinks he has also noticed a more general strengthening of that tendency in society. He drew attention to possible cooperation between the Conservative Party and the SKDL:

[Sorsa] That would mean a further strain in relations between the government and the opposition.

#### No Difference

Sorsa seems especially surprised by the SKDL's attitude. He sees a conflict between its refusal on grounds of principle to cooperate with the Conservatives in the government and the step it is ready to take now.

[Sorsa] I see no difference in principle between cooperating in the government and cooperating in the opposition.

The prime minister hopes that it is all nothing but summertime chatter and filler material for the newspapers.

[Sorsa] I hope that autumn brings a recovery.

[Question] How much serious trouble can the opposition cause the government if it cooperates?

[Answer] Well, all the bills for saving money could be stopped. That could cause a pretty big hole.

Sorsa feels that people in the opposition should be required to show where the money will come from if they carry out their plans. But he does not believe that it will happen.

[Sorsa] We in the government will no doubt have to do a little fingernail chewing.

[Question] Could there be repercussions on the economic course of action?

[Answer] I won't venture to say. I don't know whether the minister of finance has completed any calculations.

#### New Attitude

[Question] What if we add the labor market to the intensified opposition policy? What if the labor market does not accept the austerity plans?

[Answer] Yes, the problems exist all right.

All of this is a matter of adopting a new outlook--a new attitude.

Sorsa says that everyone is willing to support the principles involved--the outline. The problems arise when someone's own turf is involved.

According to Sorsa, the secret behind the success of the policy for stimulating the economy in the late 1970's was that everyone was pulling in the same direction. Now the tune has changed.

[Question] You have made it a practice to use a warning tone in your economic speeches. Do you feel that this has produced the desired result?

[Answer] In the 1970's it did. But not over the past few years, because a new attitude has manifested itself.

[Question] Does this indicate a trend toward disunity?

[Answer] To a great extent, it probably reflects the fact that not everyone really understands what the situation requires. When they do, I think that things can start moving again.

#### "Hard To Say"

[Question] Are those attitudes due to the recent economic news from the United States?

[Answer] It may be that too much faith is being placed in the strength of that upturn. And also in some pace-setting in Europe.

[Question] All the same, the upturn looks fairly strong, does it not?

[Answer] It is hard to say. Some U.S. experts are talking about a downturn as early as next winter. So no one knows what the effect will be here, if there is any at all.

Sorsa says he will conduct talks with the Economic Council both before and after the budget process.

But back to the opposition, which seems to be giving the prime minister headaches.

[Sorsa] Actually, one could say that there is a certain logic to what the Conservatives are doing. The Conservative Party observed that its position had been stolen by the SMP.

The Conservative Party's tacticians seem to be reasoning that if they act like the SMP in the opposition, they will get it back.

But Sorsa does not believe that their reasoning holds water. He points to the Conservative Party's voters, saying he does not believe they will go along with the game:

Gander and Goose

[Sorsa] What's sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose.

The prime minister appears to be most concerned about the effects on decisionmaking, which he says requires sensible discussion between the government and the opposition.

[Sorsa] Measured by international standards, our economic successes are very dependent on those relations.

[Question] So how do you view the left flank? The problems at the party level must be very small.

[Answer] Even though the SDP is the government and the SKDL is the opposition, even though industry is operating below capacity, and even though unemployment is increasing--despite all that, the left flank seems completely confident politically.

This shows how weak the SKDL is.

[Question] What do you expect from that direction?

[Answer] Naturally, they too can draw erroneous conclusions and resort to strikes and old-established communist methods.

Sorsa recalls that Kajanoja has already come up with "undermining statements."

#### That Time Is Past

[Sorsa] That is precisely the same basic error that the Conservative Party is guilty of. You can't go back 30 years. Times have changed, and so have people.

Sorsa does not believe in that tactic. He strongly doubts that the Communists can regain their strength in that way.

[Sorsa] That time is definitely past.

Over the past few weeks, the prime minister has managed to come out with a surprising number of statements. He says he wants to return to a more restrictive practice.

But one of his statements attracting the most attention among Swedish-speaking Finns was his official declaration that the coastal TV channel was dead.

He was referring to the broadcast network.

[Sorsa] I only wanted to express my satisfaction at the unity that is being achieved.

[Question] But how is it possible that space is suddenly available on the existing channels? Has the outlook on language changed?

#### Insight into Realities

[Answer] Perhaps one could also ask whether the insight into economic realities has not created pressure in the other direction and resulted in a toning down of demands.

The prime minister is very concerned about the current international situation.

[Sorsa] It is more or less like a balancing act on the edge of a knife. Before this year is over, the direction of international politics for the entire decade will have been decided.

According to Sorsa, an agreement in Geneva would bring favorable developments in very vast sectors. The talks in Vienna could obviously go further, and the disarmament conference could do its work in an entirely different atmosphere.

[Sorsa] The general atmosphere would then lend itself to the promotion of extensive cooperation.

Sorsa is afraid that in the opposite situation, things will grow worse all down the line.

[Question] Despite everything, recent events have provided cautious indications, have they not?

[Answer] Perhaps one could point to the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] in Madrid and the grain deals between the United States and the Soviet Union as signs that a positive development is possible.

#### Hard Core

Sorsa adds, however, that so far it has only been a matter of quite marginal issues.

[Sorsa] The core is still as hard as flint.

Sorsa does not want to make any direct assessment of what would be most advantageous for Ronald Reagan from the standpoint of the next presidential election.

[Sorsa] Obviously, the tacticians are sitting in Washington and weighing the pros and cons of a tough line as opposed to advantageous agreements.

[Question] How do you view Scandinavia in this connection?

[Answer] This time we are well away from the prime areas of tension. But it is clear that we will be affected.

[Question] So what about Finland's elbow room. Will it become smaller?

[Answer] We have already seen that freedom of action for all neutral countries has been restricted. The importance of the "N + N" group is less than it used to be.

Sorsa believes that this trend will grow stronger if there are no conclusive results in Geneva.

[Question] What about relations among the Nordic countries? And the nuclear-free zone? How will they be affected?

[Answer] We also have our own problems with countries that are allies of one of the main parties. But all the same, everything indicates that we can avoid increased tension in Scandinavia.

#### Separate Incident

According to Sorsa, there may be limited effects but no substantial changes.

[Question] Would you say that the dispute between Denmark and Sweden is a sign of the times?

[Answer] I would view the whole thing as a separate incident with no particular connection with the world situation.

Drifting on to the subject of the nuclear-free zone, Sorsa said he preferred to see it in the light of the climate of public opinion and the way that climate has developed:

[Sorsa] In our kind of society, no government can let opinions go unheeded. That is shown by the 20 years of debate that we have had and by Sweden's attitude today.

This process will continue--that is certain beyond question. No government can ignore it.

[Question] No government? Not even Willoch in Norway?

Sorsa asserted: "There is no government in Scandinavia that can stop the course of this process."

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CSO: 3650/290

## SDP'S NEW PARTY PROGRAM TO WIDEN DISTANCE FROM MARXISTS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 30 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial by Jan-Magnus Jansson: "From Forssa to Sorsa"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party's new signals, sent up by Kalevi Sorsa at the meeting in Forssa over the weekend, make the boundary between the Social Democrats and the non-socialist parties even more blurry, writes Jan-Magnus Jansson. This editorial also includes an evaluation of the Social Democratic Party's place in our history and in present-day politics.

Last weekend, in the spirit of the promises of renewal, the Social Democratic Party [SDP] celebrated the memory of the so-called Forssa Program adopted in 1903--80 years ago. The Forssa Program occupies a prominent place in Finland's history of ideas. It was in Forssa that the party--founded in 1899--first established its Marxist view of life and embraced the ideology of class struggle. It was also in that connection that it first adopted the Social Democratic name. Characteristic of the then-prevailing belief in a universal historical scheme of things was the fact that in its discussion of principles, the program was to all intents and purposes a copy of the program that Austria's Social Democrats had approved a couple of years earlier.

The Forssa Program remained official right up until 1952, but by then it was more a venerable monument to the past than anything else. The section concerning its philosophy of society had become considerably moth-eaten, and most of the short-term demands attached to the program had long since either been met or lost their topicality. What else can one say about the demand for universal and equal suffrage or for an 8-hour workday?

Naturally, there is a chasm between the Social Democrats alive to class struggle who met in Forssa in 1903 and the gathering of well-known or at least well-fed citizens who have now met at the same place to celebrate the anniversary. But that observation can be supplemented with the statement that to a not insignificant extent, the change is a consequence precisely of the Social Democratic Party's work on behalf of greater security and equality.

The recent meeting in Forssa and the reassessments made there shed interesting light on the SDP's position in present-day society. First, however, one can establish a historical perspective of the SDP's path to its current positions.

The first thing one can note is the speed with which the party became a powerful political factor and how it has maintained its position despite dramatic peaks and valleys. In 1907, when the first elections for a single-chamber Parliament were held, it took 80 of the single-chamber's seats. In 1916 it won a majority of 103 seats in Parliament--a unique achievement in the Europe of that time. Then came its precipitous decline during the rebellion and, after that, its defeat. But the party was back up to 80 seats in 1919. That number declined when a specifically communist party was formed, but in 1939, in the Finland of the welfare state and the "red-earth" government, it climbed back up to 85. Since World War II, the party's representation in Parliament--except during times of party splits--has never dropped below 50, but neither has it gone as high as 60.

Attention can also be drawn to the way in which the SDP's positions have come to play a decisive role in Finland's crucial periods. This applies to the big strike of 1905, which resulted in the single-chamber Parliament and universal suffrage, as well as to the 1918 rebellion. In 1919 the Social Democrats supported Stahlberg and the republic, and in 1930 they combated the Lapua nationalist movement. The SDP's firm support of the policy being pursued enabled Finland to fight through the war, and its negative attitude toward communism since 1945 has unquestionably helped preserve our Nordic democracy. But the party's uncertain attitude toward our foreign policy drove it into the political wilderness in the late 1950's. Since 1966, the SDP has increasingly assumed the position of a leading party in our practical politics.

The presidential election of 1982 brought a definite advance in the level of Social Democratic influence. Perhaps it is going too far to talk about SDP hegemony throughout society, considering that the business sector escapes its influence, but one can certainly talk about the SDP's political hegemony. The Social Democratic Party has been a master at splitting the nonsocialist forces, with the result that the nonsocialist majority in Parliament ordinarily appears quite powerless. This reached its peak in the superb operation in which Sorsa brought the Finnish Rural Party into his government and at the same time expressly left the Conservative Party out, while about all the middle parties could do was stand and gape.

But the original Forssa meeting was concerned above all with ideology, and ideology was also in the foreground at the meeting last weekend. Sights are now set on a new program of principles to replace that of 1952. The Social Democratic Party's shift in a moderate direction--or, if you will, its transformation into a nonsocialist party--is, of course, a process that has been going on for decades, obviously with the complete approval of the voters. It can be said that the statements made at the recent Forssa meeting made the boundary between the SDP and the nonsocialist parties a shade more blurred.

Among other things, Sorsa said that the concept of socialism must be adjusted in the direction of self-government and of opportunities for the citizens to exert

direct influence on decisions. He also had strong criticism for the idea that the Social Democratic view of society is tied to a concentration of power in the government and its agencies.

"We can build a planned economy on general planning or by using the market forces" was a characteristic sentence in his speech. The issue of nationalizations was completely soft-pedaled, and the question of a Finnish equivalent to Sweden's wage earner funds was dealt with very cautiously. A measure of how unpopular "strong government"--once a Social Democratic slogan--is today can be seen in the fact that Sorsa scored points by pointing out that the Social Democrats are by no means the only ones to have helped strengthen the government's role--the nonsocialists also do their bit.

Concerning the outline presented by Sorsa--naturally, it contained other elements as well--one can say that while it was all well and good, it did not differ much from what we are also hearing these days from the middle parties and even the Conservative Party as well as from SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] socialists. But from the standpoint of practical politics, Sorsa's--and therefore the party's--position is special in many ways. Whereas most socialist leaders in Europe are involved in confrontation with strong conservative parties, Sorsa is able, as the leader of a broadly based government, to appropriate much of the nonsocialist and even conservative-tinged criticism of the welfare state that now hangs in the air and assume the conciliating position of a father of his country.

The history of the Social Democrats in Finland sometimes leads one to think of the Roman saying that "it is not far from the Capitolium to the Tarpeian cliff" (in other words, the road from power to a precipitous fall is a short one). Stable and smooth development in consultation with other parties is surely, however, the best alternative not only for the Social Democrats but also for the entire country.

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CSO: 3650/290

## SKDL DECIDES TO SUPPORT POPULAR ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Aug 83 p 13

[Article by L.H.: "Popular Election Is All Right:"]

[Text] The Finnish People's Democratic League [SKDL] decided during yesterday's meeting by its executive committee to support the Hallberg Committee's proposal concerning a new way of electing the president. Only a minority in the party stuck to the old demand that the President be elected by Parliament.

According to Kalevi Kivisto, the SKDL's chairman, the SKDL regards the institution of the presidency as basic. According to the SKDL, it should be under Parliament's control.

But since that will not be possible within the foreseeable future, the SKDL decided to support the committee's proposal for a direct popular vote in the first round. This means that if no candidate wins an absolute majority of the popular vote, the election will be decided by electors chosen at the same time.

#### Public Record of Vote

The SKDL emphasizes in its formal report that one condition for a new election method is that at least the amendments to the president's powers as recommended by the committee be adopted at the same time. It also wants the votes in the Electoral College to be public.

The SKDL also considers it important that the committee's recommendations concerning greater budget powers for Parliament and Parliament's opportunities for concerning itself with the conclusion of important treaties and the declaration of war be examined without delay.

The SKDL feels that the most vital part of the constitutional revision is the restoration of basic citizens' rights.

The SKDL expresses clear disappointment with the fact that the changes are so insignificant. But the party says that they are a step in the right direction even if they are inadequate.

## Union Activity

The SKDL also goes along with the proposed changes in the rules concerning majorities and minorities. At the same time, however, it emphasizes that union activity is not to be circumscribed by enabling acts.

The Finnish Communist Party [SKP] has also discussed the proposed revisions to the constitution and reached decisions corresponding to those of the SKDL, although the tone of the SKP's report is more critical.

On the whole, the SKP considers the committee's proposals insignificant. The party says it is sticking to its basic attitude that Parliament should elect the president.

In today's situation, however, the SKP sees no obstacle to supporting the proposed amendments as presented.

Both the SKP and the SKDL took a vote on two issues: the mode of election and the enabling acts.

Party chairman Jouko Kajanoja explained yesterday that he does not believe the vote will have any effect. He also pointed out that the summer months had made sufficiently careful preparatory work impossible. He said that this had prevented a unanimous vote on the subject.

## Foreign Policy

In yesterday's issue of TIEDONANTAJA, however, Taisto Sinisalo used harsh words against the decision. He said that it may indicate a drift away from the movement's old-established principles.

Sinisalo also suggested foreign policy reasons for opposing a new mode of election.

Both the SKP and the SKDL also take a favorable view of consultative referendums although they are described as not especially significant in comparison with such things as democratic reforms in production.

The SKDL wants further studies, however, concerning the possibility of introducing binding referendums as an alternative way of instituting laws in accordance with constitutional requirements.

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## WESTERBERG SEES JAN-ERIK WIKSTROM AS LIBERALS GROUP LEADER

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by Magdalena Ribbing: "'Wikstrom Is Best As Group Leader'"]

[Text] New Liberal Party leader Bengt Westerberg wants to have Jan-Erik Wikstrom as the chairman of the party's group in the Riksdag and as the Liberal Party's representative on the Foreign Affairs Committee. Bengt Westerberg himself has to wait until the next election to get into the Riksdag. He is being nominated for membership by the Liberal Party and is getting an office on Luntmakargatan.

Bengt Westerberg thinks that it is not good to have the party chairman outside the Riksdag and another leader for the party's Riksdag members, but he has discussed the possibility of getting himself involved in the Riksdag "in advance" and has decided not to choose to take that path. Instead, he is going to go out and travel through the country.

"There is optimism in the party now," Bengt Westerberg says. "We are starting from a bad initial position, but we certainly are going to manage to reverse our decline. Many people surely left the party very unwillingly, and they may come back if they see that we are pursuing a consistent policy with which they feel comfortable."

"The Liberal Party has had too much movement hither and thither in its policies," the new party leader thinks. He is to be designated as chairman formally on 1 October. Now there is to be a change in that.

Bengt Westerberg admits that there are gaps in his knowledge--where foreign policy is concerned, for example. But the party still has Ola Ullsten in the Riksdag, and he will instruct his successor, the latter hopes.

"One should never have the ambition to be able to do everything," he says. "A party chairman must be able to surround himself with knowledgeable helpers."

But Bengt Westerberg is clear in regard to his views on Swedish security policy. He says:

"All the territorial violations by submarines are very serious, and it is important for us to act in a way that will make the Soviet Union and others--if there are others--understand that we will not accept that. Defense against submarines must be strengthened, but that is not a question that will break up parties."

It is necessary to review the 1982 defense act, Bengt Westerberg thinks. Additional resources can be made available by making the government more efficient--by discontinuing several regiments, for example.

"The central, decisive point is for us to have a defense organization that can protect our external borders," he says. Bengt Westerberg was asked what he thinks at present about the tax agreement drawn up by the parties of the mid-political spectrum and the Social Democrats in 1981.

"I was one of those who worked to bring about that agreement--the outline was clear when we solved the technical problems that were involved in the Chancellery. When the act has been passed, it will go into force. The tax scale should be firmly set, and so should the amounts withheld, but when we set up the agreement we regarded it as a commitment with a 5.5 percent rate of inflation, and the government has changed that by devaluating the currency last year, among other things. The only way to handle that is to give the tax scale complete protection against inflation.

"But the government gets a 'no' from the Liberal Party where it wants to have a 'yes' on further tax increases of 1.5 billion kronor to pay for another step in the process of tax readjustment.

"We will not agree to that," Westerberg says. "We also have different ideas in regard to what that next step would cost. But the Social Democrats have already increased the tax burden by 10 billion kronor, and that is enough to pay for the tax readjustment several times over," he says very quickly.

"An appropriate way for the government to handle its financing problems would be to do away with the law authorizing the withholding of union dues that was just introduced," Bengt Westerberg says. "It would be much more suitable to give non-profit-making organizations withholding rights," he said in the same breath.

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## WESTERBERG DISCUSSES NEW JOB AS LIBERAL PARTY CHAIRMAN

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by Magdalena Ribbing: "The Liberal Party's New Cover Boy Hopes To Hold the Position Longer Than His Predecessor"]

[Text] Along the edge of the route leading to Bengt Westerberg's room are large plastic bags full of campaign material against the wage-earner funds. However, nothing of all those buttons and pamphlets is to be seen in his own cool office. Instead, a cornflower stands very decoratively on the desk there. And he got that from the newspaper VECKANS AFFARER. "That was for a magazine-cover picture of me, in color," Bengt Westerberg says of the cornflower. He has willingly shouldered the burden of the most popular target of the mass media at the present time, and he says quite plainly that he wants to be seen. "The Liberal Party's message needs to be presented skillfully," he says.

The mass media are the most important means of accomplishing that mission, and the mass media have meant a great deal in connection with the election of Bengt Westerberg as the new chairman of the Liberal Party. He does well on television and he talks rapidly and effectively on the radio. And he knows that he was elected to his new job for that reason, among others, saying:

"I regard it as the election of an individual, if one can contrast the election of an individual with a political election."

Promoted

"But," Bengt Westerberg says, "I didn't go around thinking that I would be a good party chairman; I have been promoted by the Liberal Party."

"Why does he want to be the chairman of the Liberal Party?" he was asked. "Well--" he says, and then he is silent for a long time, but finally the following well-considered answer comes:

"Actually, because I know that many people think I can do it. They asked me and I said 'yes.' I am ready to take the job.

"It is important for the Liberal Party to survive," Bengt Westerberg says. "One objective of the party's efforts is to become the natural alternative to the Social Democrats in Swedish politics."

"As in Bertil Ohlin's time?" he was asked.

"If we were as successful as he was, I wouldn't have anything against it, but I hope the Liberal Party will move forward and upward slowly instead of making a sudden spurt right at the beginning. Genuine political support is not something one gains by short-term, spectacular measures."

In connection with the shift in the party's leadership, great hopes are placed in the person who is entrusted with the task of leading the party. Bengt Westerberg is concerned about that.

"It can be difficult to satisfy big expectations. Leaders of the Liberal Party have suffered reverses before," he says.

#### Enduring

Bengt Westerberg's predecessor, after Bertil Ohlin, held the position for four years, which is the average. His own ambition is to be more enduring in the position, he says.

Critics regard him as technocratic, as a specialist in economic matters and as a man who does not listen enough. He does not agree at all, saying:

"I naturally have a tremendous amount to learn, but I have not put my whole self on display in the past. The criticism that I have only been concerned with economics is exaggerated. I have done a lot of other things. And I listen--a lot.

"Politicians should be models," Bengt Westerberg said when he was asked a question regarding his views on equality of the sexes. "The big decision on the equality of the sexes has already been made," he thinks, "and especially through individual taxation and the law on equality of the sexes.

"But that does not mean that politicians do not have any responsibility any longer. That is particularly true of the molding of public opinion. I myself live on a basis of equality with my wife. At home, we divide all the practical housework between us, and the chores are not divided between us on the basis of sex."

#### Short-Sighted

During the years of nonsocialist government in Sweden, Bengt Westerberg first worked as a coordinator, and then later as an undersecretary of state, in the Chancellery. He says that he learned a lot about politics then.

"I would like for politicians to limit their efforts to solve problems, as in the cases where governments move in when there is an economic crisis and spend many, many hours on the chance of perhaps saving some jobs, but it turns out that, after a few years, that was the wrong decision to make. In the spring, the government made an unfortunate decision regarding shipbuilding, and the

support for Eiser was a mistake. What guides policy in the making of such decisions is short-sighted consideration of matters concerned with employment. It only becomes troublesome over the longer term. The present severe unemployment reflects, in part, such an employment policy in the 1970s," he said.

As the leader of the Liberal Party, Bengt Westerberg would like to be a member of the government. "Having governmental power is a political party's goal," he says. Now he is going to work for a nonsocialist majority. In that way, he will get to see gradually, what cooperation will look like.

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## PAPER COMMENTS ON REPORTS PALME WAS 'SECURITY RISK'

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 13 Sep 83 p 2

[Editorial: "A Security Risk?"]

[Text] Was Olof Palme, who was the minister of education at that time--or the entire Erlander government--in the years before 1970, such a serious security risk that certain documents quite simply could not be entrusted to him?

Let us say, first of all, that no proof of this has been produced. It is hard to differentiate between gossip and actuality, but there is a lot that indicates that what we are finding out now is an afterbirth of the antagonism between the government and the security police at that time.

The reason why Palme was regarded as a security risk allegedly was his sympathy for the FNL [National Liberation Front] and North Vietnam. Naturally, that is not a sufficient reason for suspicion. Nevertheless, one can understand why County Governor Ragnar Lassinantti, a principal witness, became deeply concerned when he heard people talking about suspicions--at that time, in fact, Palme had practically been designated Erlander's successor and consequently a future prime minister.

Well, Erlander did not have any confidence in the accusations. However, he says something that seems to come close to the heart of the matter--that it was preposterous to have a chief of the security police who suspected a member of the cabinet, not to mention the government. The chief of the security police, Per-Gunnar Vinge, actually left not long after that. Vinge denies categorically that he suspected Palme and the government. "Skillful gossip" is his comment.

Behind Lassinantti's action, however, one can perceive the old duel between central and local police power and the weakened position the county government board got. But, as I said before, that is an entirely different story that is well worth being discussed seriously in another connection.

Naturally, unambiguous proof is required if the accusations we are talking about are to be believed. It also cannot be helped that the information is surrounded by an odor of mustiness. Unfortunately, Olof Palme is not contributing anything that might bring a breath of fresher air into the exchange of

views. It is really too easy to begin tossing around accusations of "rightist twisting" inside the security police.

In a statement, Palme says, in regard to Vinge, that his "judgements showed a sharp rightist emphasis." But, in the security police which was built up under Social Democratic governments, there probably also were people with what one would be able to call "judgements showing a Social Democratic emphasis," weren't there? In a country like Sweden, it is probable that various democratic views will be advocated in the security service.

The statement Palme made on the "Noon Echo" radio program on Monday was even stranger. According to Palme, there are groups in the security police that still bore the stamp of the Cold War concept of the world at the end of the 1960s and who did not understand the popular liberation movements or decolonization. According to Palme, a "rightist twisting" prevails in the security police.

To a great extent, the government is responsible for a country's security service. From this it follows that the security police was a Social Democratic creation. That is quite natural since the long period during which the Social Democratic Party held the power was not broken off until 1976. It is also the government that bears the responsibility for seeing to it that the security service--as one of the government's instruments--functions well. Now Palme hopes--still according to what he said on the radio--that the security service is more "popularly-oriented"--whatever that may be worth as a criterion of effectiveness.

In reality, with such a statement, Palme is directing very harsh criticism at the security service for which Social Democratic governments are responsible. There is no proof at all that Palme was a security risk, but Palme would have done himself and this country a service with more precise answers to questions instead of disagreeably blaming everything on rightist twisting!

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## SODEP, DYP PROTEST LOCAL ELECTION BANNING MOTION

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 8 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] Cezmi Kartay, chairman of SODEP, and Yildirim Avci, chairman of DYP, criticized the motion proposing to preclude those parties which are not able to participate in the November 6 elections from entering the local elections as well. Kartay said: "The objective is to prevent SODEP from participating in the local elections." Avci, on the other hand, declared: "There are innumerable benefits in abstaining from actions which might cast a shadow over local elections and which may initiate persistent and penetrating questioning as to their democratic status."

Cezmi Kartay, chairman of SODEP, articulated the following views in a written statement issued yesterday:

"The intent of the motion which requires that political parties participate in the November 6 parliamentary elections in order to qualify as contestants in the local elections is plainly obvious.

The intent is to ban the Social Democracy Party from entering the local elections just as it was banned from the November 6 elections by a decree of the Supreme Election Boards, this despite the fulfillment of the legal requirements and having put into place a nation-wide organization.

Our great nation will see this intent for what it is and will pass judgment accordingly.

First, I want to clarify one point. And that is, the admission as to the necessity of obtaining the approval of the Consultative Assembly (CA) in order to amend the Electoral Law.

This was one of the legal premises when our party appealed to the Supreme Election Board that we "have a right to participate in the elections." That our view, rejected by the Supreme Election Board, has proved correct is confirmed by the attitude mentioned above. I would like to draw attention to this outcome in full public view, particularly the attention of the distinguished members of the Supreme Election Board who did not view our party fit to participate in the elections, the rationale being the "requirements and particular aspects of administering the country."

On the other hand, the preamble of the Constitution stipulates the absolute primacy of national will, that sovereignty unconditionally belongs to the Turkish nation and that no person or organization which has been authorized to use this power on behalf of the nation may transgress the legal order, which is an extension of democracy and its attendant rules that are enunciated in the Constitution." Kartay noted that "it is difficult to make sense of the motion from the viewpoint of these principles" and continued:

"It is difficult to make sense of the motion in the light of these principles, in fact, it is well-nigh impossible.

The motion reflects a situation we cannot comprehend. We cannot understand it because if the parties which enter the November 6 elections were sufficiently strong, then it is natural that they should also be successful in the local elections, due to take place shortly after, to the extent of their strength. In that case, the desired harmony between the government and local administrations would automatically follow suit.

But if it is feared that the parties which are banned from the November 6 elections might be successful in the subsequent local elections, then doesn't this call for an explanation of the present situation?

In the face of these realities and Constitutional clauses, those parties whose participation in the November 6 election has been announced would have to explain to the Turkish people how they manage to reconcile the Constitution with these special conditions obtaining after November 6. Our nation has a right to know this. The sine qua non of democratic political life is not just some of the parties, but all political parties."

#### Avci's Remarks

Yildirim Avci, chairman of DYP, was explaining his views concerning the motion presented to the chair of CA by Admiral Nejat Tumer, member of NSC and commander of naval forces, proposing that "only those parties which can participate in the November 6 elections should contest the local elections" when he said that this motion, if passed, would have the effect of preventing the DYP from entering the mayoral races and elections for municipal and provincial councils. Avci continued: "I believe it is necessary to direct constructive criticism against the potential drawbacks in the case of this motion becoming law and this should be done right now before the apple cart is overturned. I view this as a duty and responsibility.

If the rationale of the motion in question is to ensure harmony between the administration that is to emerge after November 6 and the local administrations, this will give rise to an important drawback: The administration-to-be, which is yet to assume power, would henceforth be confronted with the charge of partisanship and would be out of sync with a considerable section of the populace. In the past, there have been bitter experiences arising from such charges, accusations and the atmosphere thus created.

## Search for Harmony

As we know, local administrations are the cornerstone and the primary echelon of the democratic parliamentary regime. There would be no democracy without them. There are innumerable benefits in abstaining from actions which might cast a shadow over local elections and which might initiate persistent and penetrating questioning as to their democratic status.

Moreover, we should also consider why the search for harmony has been deferred to after the November 6 elections."

Concluding his remarks, Avci dwelled on the years of transition to democracy. He said: "It is to be hoped and expected that the CA will take due notice of the fact that in 1946 National Development Party was able to enter local elections, that the citizen was free to vote for any party he wished and that all the drawbacks so far alluded to might be prevented before it is too late."

## Tumer's Motion

The motion presented by Admiral Nejat Tumer, member of NSC and commander of naval forces, proposing that parties not participating in the November 6 elections not to enter the local elections either, is to be discussed at the Constitutional Commission of the CA on Monday, September 12.

The chair of the Constitutional Commission sent a note to the Speaker's Council of the CA concerning the motion (which has previously been sent to the commissions of National Defense, Interior and External Affairs). In the note it was maintained that since the Law Concerning Political Parties is being prepared by the Constitutional Commission, the commission would be the proper venue for discussing the motion in question. The CA Speaker's Council has deemed this request as proper and decided to send the motion to the Constitutional Commission.

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## BARLAS COUNSELS COMPETITION OVER CONFLICT IN POLITICS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 8 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial by Mehmet Barlas]

[Text] "Infighting" which has become a chronic ailment within Turkish political life can, in fact, be cured more easily when compared to conflicts in other countries.

Looked at from this angle, the political conflict in Turkey does not spring from group differentiations that have their basis in the social structure.

In a post-colonial African country, the conflict takes the form of a struggle between sectors deriving support from internal and external sources. In a country which has been undergoing an industrial revolution amidst social disturbances since the previous century, the conflict takes place among entrenched classes and/or their parties. In a country which has effected a transition from monarchy to a republican regime, there is the conflict on which the feudal and clerical elements take part.

In Turkey's case, these stages have either been superseded and remain in the distant past or have never been on the political agenda.

Turkey having secured its full independence and having chosen the republican regime in 1923 attained the goals of secular education, women's rights and a civil legal order through the Ataturk reforms. Furthermore, since 1946, it has engaged in experiments in pluralist democracy, the main tenet of which is participation.

Turkey's problem is not an inter-class tension. On the contrary, the problem in Turkey is to establish industry and to expand the labor sector...

Turkey's problem is to encompass agricultural and forestry workers within the social security scheme and to bring them up to the status of wage earners.

In Turkey, the objective of both the right and the left should be investment, development and prosperity. In a country which has not been able to make full use of its under and above ground resources as yet, the objective is to mobilize the full potential... The principle of "balanced development in a framework of social justice" is the joint property of both the right and the left.

In Turkey the political struggle can be declared against backwardness, poverty and sluggishness. One would be hard-pressed to find the seeds of class struggle here, if at all...

If so, how do we explain the conflict that has led all the experiments in democracy to deadends?

In our opinion, this conflict is a power struggle amongst a bunch of individuals. A political competition which could have been carried on in a relatively low-key manner, resorting to dialogue and compromise has instead been carried on, perhaps because of our character or maybe because it is easier that way, in the form of infighting.

It should be known to us, that the Turk is not the enemy of the Turk. The threat to the state and the nation does not come from the old or new cadres... However, due to an inability in establishing dialogue among individuals or cadres, an infighting which does not originate from the society at large has kept dragging on.

If we could somehow manage to adopt the ways of dialogue, tolerance and compromise, we can then, starting tomorrow, unite in a single front instead of infighting and engage in the real struggle against our common enemies - anarchy, terror, poverty and threats with outside origins.

The defining quality of our political relations would then be "competition", not "infighting".

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## MDP RELEASES MULTI-FACETED ELECTION PLATFORM

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 8 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] The election platform of the Nationalist Democracy Party has taken final shape. In the platform it is stated: "We will energetically respond to any unilateral act by the Greek government." Having pointed out that the free enterprise system will be re-organized within the framework of the plan, the platform states: "We believe it is necessary to develop procedures that would prevent strikes and lock-outs being used in a manner contrary to tacit rules of goodwill."

In the economic views section of the platform it was announced that "general and special deductions in taxes will be revised in accordance with present day economic conditions." It was noted that there will be a legal reform in industry aimed at effective encouragement of the private sector and that the free market economy will be reconstructed within the framework of the plan. It was also announced that an export credit system would be established and that income levels of farmers would be increased.

#### Differentials

In the social services and social policy section of the platform it was stated: "We will take necessary measures to reduce wage differentials that arise out of being a worker or state employee, working in public or private sector, in different industries and regions, and which exceed reasonable proportions, so as to achieve a balanced wage structure."

On the issue of trade unions, it was maintained that "a vigorous union movement which accords due primacy to national interests would strengthen democracy" while the following views were articulated on the subject of strikes and lock-outs.

"We believe that it is necessary to develop procedures which would prevent the right to strike and lock-out being used in a way contrary to tacit rules of goodwill or that would harm society and workers themselves entailing the destruction of national wealth." It was pointed out that "means of reducing insurance premiums would be sought and incentives will be given to public and private organizations to perform social services so that these services are not performed by the state alone."

Dwelling on the unemployment problem, the platform envisioned supportive measures enabling those who arrive in towns from villages to engage in activities such as operating guest houses, animal husbandry, fishing, and also that provision would be made for them to secure credit with ease. While it was said that the employment office would be rendered more effective it was stated: "We will try to reduce disguised unemployment to minimal levels."

In the 'justice policy' section, in the final chapter, the following views were articulated:

"We will start, as soon as possible, working on those aspects of the 1983 constitution which requires revision before they can be put into operation. We will enable the State Security Courts to be active. We are of the opinion that a justice system that is slow hinders justice itself. We will establish courts at an intermediate level between simple courts and the Superior Court, which is supposed to establish precedent. Courts will be converted into specialty courts; training academies will be founded; colleges of justices will be opened. We will take measures to improve relations among inmates and also their relations with prison administrations; to offer more privileges to inmates with good behavior; to provide incentives towards good behavior in prisons."

#### Fighting Capacity

In the section devoted to national defense policy it is said: "Our main goal is to maintain the fighting capacity of our armed forces at the highest level and to continually develop this capacity." These were the views articulated with regards to national defense policy:

"Our national defense policy is not premised upon aggression but oriented towards a legitimate defense. Our party which gives special consideration to regional threats believes in the necessity of our armed forces having a balanced force structure. We will show extreme care and consideration to the matter of compatibility between the strategy required for the defense of Turkey and the strategy of alliance. We will try to make sure that a national armaments industry replaces the foreign sources. Furthermore, among our goals will be to establish the national armaments industry in such a way as to serve civilian purposes too."

#### Outside the Realm of Political Discussion

In the platform, it is stated the MDP's efforts to bring solutions to the problems of Turkish Armed Forces personnel will be continued. It is said: "Our fundamental objective is to isolate our armed forces from all manner of political discussion."

In foreign policy it is stated: "We will energetically respond to any unilateral act by the Greek government." The platform declares that friendly relations will be established and maintained with all countries adding that, "It is our sincere wish that declarations of friendship do not remain as

mere words and that relations depend upon real trust." Other views articulated with regard to foreign policy are as follows:

#### Our Place In NATO

"Our relations with the western countries and organizations will continue to be regarded as important as ever. We will try and strengthen our position in NATO which has proved its value with regards to the security of its members and as a defensive alliance."

#### Full Membership TO EEC

"We will streamline our relations with the EEC in the direction of full membership. The agreements that founded the independent state of Cyprus have at their basis the equality of the two communitites. The bitter experience of fourteen years has shown that the peaceful and secure existence of the Turkish Cypriot community has been secured through a system of two separate regions. As MDP, we subscribe to a solution in Cyprus that accords with these premises and reject any method apart from the views the two communities in question."

We favor the resolution of those claims, which contravene the agreements regarding the Aegean Sea, by discussing them at the negotiation table, in accordance with the principles of law.

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## REPORTAGE ON 25 APRIL ASSOCIATION CELEBRATIONS

## Founders' List

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 9 Sep 83 p 4

[Excerpts] As part of the celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of 25 April [1974], the 25 April Association is sponsoring a formal meeting at its headquarters in Fort Bom Sucesso, next to the Tower of Belem, beginning at 2100 hours tonight. Those invited to attend include the president of the republic and the speaker of the Assembly of the Republic, who have already accepted the invitation, and the prime minister, who as of this writing has not yet confirmed that he will attend.

## Association's 27 Founders

The 25 April Association (with the familiar red carnation as its emblem) was formally established for cultural purposes on 21 October 1982 at Lisbon's Notary Public Office No 10. It currently includes a significant number of officers (especially majors and captains) on the active roster, particularly in the army.

Its founding committee is headed by Vasco Lourenco, while Pezarat Correia heads the general assembly. The committee's other members are Vitor Crespo, Costa Neves, Martins Guerreiro, Aniceto Afonso, and Barbosa Pereira.

The document establishing the new association was signed by 27 military men who, without exception, either played a decisive role in the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] or were constantly associated with it.

They are the following: Vasco Lourenco, Vitor Crespo, Costa Neves, Vitor Alves, Marques Junior, Pezarat Correia, Franco Charais, Melo Antunes, Martins Guerreiro (all members of the Council of the Revolution until it was abolished), Salgueiro Maia, Pinto Soares, Garrido Borges (a navy captain who until very recently was chairman of the Navy Club), Rangel Lima (air force general), Aniceto Afonso (a major and an instructor at the Military Academy, he was in Mozambique on 25 April), Flavio Baptista (air force colonel), Rogerio Simoes (a major in RALIS [Artillery Regiment of Lisbon] in the days of 25 April and one of the two most important figures; along with Carlos Camilo, he has always maintained discreet silence), Almada Contreiras (Alvaro Guerra's contact, approved by Melo

Antunes, for sending the signal out over the air on the night of the 25th), Maia Balaco (an air force lieutenant colonel who was brevet general when he was deputy commander of the Military Academy, whose commander was Pinto Soares, then a brevet general), Falcao de Sousa (air force lieutenant colonel), Moreira de Azevedo (a colonel in the military administration and one of the MFA's most active members, he was a member of the MFA Coordinating Committee from the time of the meeting in Obidos to 25 April and is currently assigned to the Wards of the Army), Mario Brandao (a major in Army General Services, he has always been very active in the MFA; he was in Coimbra on 25 April and is currently assigned to headquarters in Porto), Barbosa Pereira (an air force captain who has always been very active in the MFA, he was reportedly passed over in promotions in his branch), Daniel Rodrigues (navy captain and instructor at the Navy School), Graca Cunha (former air force captain), Pedroso Lima (a colonel in the Signal Corps who has always been linked with the MFA), and Bras da Costa (an infantry major and one of those most active in the MFA, he was in Mozambique on 25 April).

#### Tito de Moraes Absence

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 10 Sep 83 p 7

[Excerpt] "The promises of April are an expression of the national will, and because of that, they are still valid today after being confirmed and legitimized by the Portuguese in every election without exception." So said General Ramalho Eanes, president of the republic, as he spoke yesterday at the formal opening session of the series of commemorations marking the 10th anniversary of 25 April. The session was held at Fort Bom Sucesso under the sponsorship of the 25 April Association.

Hundreds of military--almost without exception, all the most outstanding men associated with April were there--completely filled Fort Bom Sucesso's assembly hall, which was framed with countless red carnations. They heard and applauded speeches by Major Vasco Lourenco (chairman of the association's founding committee), Fischer Lopes Pires (a lieutenant colonel in the Engineers who is now in the reserve), and General Ramalho Eanes. They reaffirmed the ideals of April and their confidence in the future of this country of ours. But their indignation had no limit when they learned at the start of the meeting that on orders from Mario Soares and Mota Pinto as leaders of the PS [Socialist Party] and the PSD [Social Democratic Party], Tito de Moraes, speaker of the Assembly of the Republic, "was unable" to appear even though he had said previously that he would attend. He sent a personal telegram in which he greeted and congratulated the April military.

#### Indignation Expressed

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 10 Sep 83 p 7

[Commentary by Ribeiro Cardoso]

[Text] The incredible happened yesterday at Fort Bom Sucesso. The military and civilians who had gathered there to participate in the start of commemorations marking the 10th anniversary of 25 April were confronted with something truly

extraordinary and unspeakable. The speaker of the Assembly of the Republic--the number two man in the government hierarchy--was prevented (and that is the correct word) from attending. By whom? By the leaders of the PS and the PSD, who had "advised" him--get ready!--that it was their parliamentary groups which had elected him and that as a direct consequence, they would not authorize him to represent them at the ceremony in question.

We do not know what the deputies will have to say about that. But we do know that boundless indignation took possession of the hundreds of civilians and military present at Fort Bom Sucesso yesterday--military who had carried out the revolution of 25 April and who had given Soares a helping hand in the summer of 1975: military who have been repeatedly chagrined by the man who owes them so much. Last night, next to the Tower of Belem, I heard many military give vent to their hurt feelings by saying that they would tell everything they knew. I heard military men express profound contempt for a prime minister who "is nothing but a bungler," "a despot," and "a man who stops at nothing to achieve his goals."

And I also heard the exclamations of perplexity at the sorry role accepted by the speaker of the Assembly of the Republic.

How is it possible, they asked, that in the Portugal that exists in the spirit of April or in any country that is not some banana republic, the number two man in the government should feel himself a prisoner of partisan leaders who regard themselves as the masters of everything and everybody?

Was not the speaker of the Assembly elected by the deputies in their capacity as representatives of the people? Is not the speaker of Parliament an honorable and independent person? How can he justify his refusal to be present at a ceremony commemorating the events of April and one presided over by the president of the republic?

What country is this?

#### Military, Political Rifts Seen

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 15 Sep 83 p 16

[Article by Handel de Oliveira]

[Excerpts] It cannot be said that the official opening of the headquarters of the 25 April Association was a brilliant one, even though the ceremony was presided over by the president of the republic. And it was not brilliant because it was shunned by many political figures whose presence was desired by the sponsors and who had been expressly invited (examples being Mario Soares as head of the government and Tito de Moraes as representative of the Assembly of the Republic). Their absence was abundantly announced and commented on, incidentally. But even more important was the absence of many military men who had taken part in the revolution of 25 April and played decisive roles in its organization and execution, but who have since become disgruntled and disillusioned and withdrawn from the Armed Forces Movement. Like the absence of the politicians, the absence

of those military men--who were also "April captains"--is a significant reflection of the divisions that have been occurring over the past 10 years among those who shared the same objective in 1974.

The only ones present at Fort Bom Sucesso were those who had contributed most directly to the so-called "Document of the Nine," for which Melo Antunes was the adviser and which revealed the opposition to Goncalves.

On the other hand, those not present at Fort Bom Sucesso included such military men as Antonio de Spínola, Manuel Monge, Almeida Bruno, Casanova Ferreira, and Armando Ramos, as well as such others as Rosa Coutinho, Oteló Saraiva de Carvalho, and Costa Martins, to mention only a few.

#### Many Military Have Left

Incidentally, the 25 April Association is itself an example of the divisions existing among the April captains. It should be noted that about 140 officers attended the meeting in Monte Sobral 10 years ago. It would be interesting to know how many of those officers are among the 1,520 members of the new association, which was formally established in October 1982 with 27 founders, 7 of whom constitute its founding committee. The association is headed by Vasco Lourenço, its general assembly is headed by Pezarat Correia, and the other members of the founding committee are Vitor Crespo, Costa Neves, Martins Guerreiro, Aniceto Afonso, and Barbosa Pereira.

In the opinion of many people, "the association diverges from the military sphere and military ethics, since it has a somewhat political look, as was well illustrated at the meetings held in preparation for its organization." And it is true that at the time, the mass media reported the attempts that were being made, specifically by the Communists, to politicize the association and give it a partisan tone. Those attempts were unsuccessful thanks to intervention and vigorous opposition by two military men: Vasco Lourenço and Pezarat Correia.

But in any case, those disputes probably helped to discourage many of those who had been involved in the events of 25 April--and who were already disillusioned by the course of the revolution's politicomilitary events--from joining, their fear being that what had been prevented for now might come to pass in the future.

#### Criticism of Absent Politicians

Many civilians, especially those of the political class, probably had the same reaction. The result was that with the exception of the "Eanist" line and the "Melo Antunist" line (we call it that to simplify matters), which was predominant at Fort Bom Sucesso, only the Communist Party was significantly represented in partisan political terms. The absence of the others naturally brought sharp criticism from those present.

The criticism of those absent--especially Mario Soares, the PS, and the PSD for not even allowing Tito de Morais to attend--is based on the undeniable fact that today's politicians, today's political parties, and today's system in Portuguese society would not exist if the April captains had not carried out the revolution.

Backing up that argument is the fact that the PS felt obliged to issue a communique making common cause with the April captains.

"What Were the Politicians Doing?"

One of the speakers at the opening session was Lt Col Fischer Lopes Pires of the Engineers, an outstanding member of the MFA who later belonged to the Council of the Revolution and who entered the reserve several years ago (in protest against the situation being experienced at the time). In his address, he reviewed the reasons leading to the formation of the MFA. He admitted that the military had made mistakes and that there had been shortcomings, naiveness, and a lack of political experience among the April officers.

But he firmly rejected the idea "that they should blame us for everything bad that has happened in our country" and then commented:

"Our response to those accusations is to ask what the politicians were doing all those years."

Fischer Lopes Pires also emphasized:

"We do not expect thanks or honors; we only want to continue being the April captains. But we are hurt by the ingratitude."

#### Association's Goals

What are the 25 April Association's goals beyond the publicly stated formal objectives forming the basis for its existence? They can be determined by analyzing the speeches that were delivered.

As Fischer Lopes Pires rightly pointed out, there was a revolution carried out by the military, and "for the first time in the history of the world, the military kept their promise to return power to civilians quickly." It has happened, he said, and (as the military have said before) if the transfer of power was delayed longer than it might have been, the fault was that of the politicians. It is good to remember that it was not only (and is not only) the military who made mistakes.

Through the 25 April Association, they are going to try to hold on, in fact, to the power of political and social intervention that they had on the Council of the Revolution. And as they have already told the political caste on several occasions, they will remain attentive to the course of events. If necessary, they will intervene to defend the "ideals of April."

In the brief address he delivered at the meeting at Fort Bom Sucesso, the first speaker, Vasco Lourenco, was very clear about those intentions when he mentioned the desire to see hope reborn and April's unfinished work accomplished:

"The people can count on us."

For his part, Luis Albuquerque, professor at the School of Sciences at Coimbra University and the first civilian governor of that district immediately after

25 April--and the only civilian to speak at the ceremony--also appealed for a convergence of wills to bring about what 25 April had not yet accomplished, and he insisted that that date be always present in our minds so that "new dawnings of promises" will appear.

11798

CSO: 3542/222

## NEW DORNIER DO 228 SHORT RANGE AIRPLANE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Sep 83 p 35

[Article by Emil Brezing: "Dornier Hurling Skyward With Modern Technology"]

[Text] Do 228--Sturdy, Comfortable, Highly Economical Short-Haul Aircraft

While the aircraft of the so-called business class are designed quickly and comfortably to transport business travelers over longer distances, the Do 228 is a passenger (or cargo) aircraft for short and medium distances. Solving this transportation problem as cheaply as possible was the factor that determined its design. The market for 15-seat to 20-seat small aircraft is hotly contested.

This gives us the general framework: The aircraft must be cheaper in terms of procurement and maintenance than the competition, it must have shorter ground times and longer inspection and maintenance intervals. At a price tag of 1.6 million, the Do 228--compared to the competition--is considered very interesting although Dornier cannot offer the kind of financing with which competitors, especially from South America, Canada, and Great Britain, can come up because of the way the aircraft industry is subsidized in those countries.

An order from India for 150 aircraft is therefore much more due to the Do 228's three outstanding features: It needs only a short runway which can also be unimproved; it establishes little in the way of requirements for the pilot; and it is able to cope with any kind of rough duty because it is easy to maintain and because it is sturdy.

The white aircraft stood on the apron of the Oberpfaffenhofen factory airfield, surrounded by men in orange-colored overalls. "With the landing gear down, this aircraft reminds you of a primeval bird which is about to grasp its prey," remarked the lady secretary when the first photos were received in the factory--and she was not entirely wrong. Beauty of line, and even certain aerodynamic fine points were sacrificed for the sake of the utilization purpose and cheap production. The aircraft is entered from the left, and through the center aisle one reaches the "front office" where the pilots squeeze into their seats over the console in the middle. Any man who is 1.80 meter tall or taller will not be particularly comfortable as he sits there and even the adjustable rudder pedals change little on that.

The takeoff run with this 16.5-meter long aircraft, which has a wing span of 17 meters, is probably the most difficult part of the entire flight. To be able to turn on short, narrow runways (in the Third World, taxiways running parallel to the runway are unknown), the nose wheel can be rotated up to an angle of about 45 degrees by pushing a button. Driving the aircraft on the ground--something which, in contrast to a car, is done with the feet--at this angle of attack establishes high requirements for the pilot's power of imagination and requires much practice.

"You can push the power stick all the way forward because the automatic system makes sure that the engines will not be overloaded," says Dieter Thomas, chief of the Dornier test division, as we got clearance for takeoff from the tower. The powerful thrust forces us back against the cushions and at full power we hurtle skyward through patches of clouds at 2,500 feet per minute. During routine operation, it will be impossible to use this climbing performance because ordinary passengers cannot be expected to put up with this angle of climb.

At 50 percent power, D-ICDO attains a speed of 180 knots and each engine consumes about 150 liters kerosine per hour. After 10 minutes of familiarization, one can fly the 228 like an amateur aircraft; only the very high aileron forces remind us that the 228 weighs five times more. The impression of easy handling is increased as we land; once the 228 has been lined up for the glide path, all you need is the proverbial little finger in order to put it down hard on the runway--no pilot error but rather the consequence of a short, powerful stump landing gear.

After the customary obligatory exercises, single-engine flight, and steep curves, Dieter Thomas performs the final trick: After touching down, he brakes the aircraft through full use of wheel brakes and reverse thrust in such a manner that it comes to a halt after 120 meters, he backs up (with reverse thrust) as if pulling into a parking slot and turns the aircraft on the 20-meter wide runway--and if you have not seen this for yourself, you would not believe it! The outstanding slow-flight properties are due to the newly engineered wings which definitely deviates from the wings used until now in terms of shape and profile. For short-haul flights, the share of climbing and descending flight is considerably greater compared to horizontal flight and because turbo-engines are uneconomical especially at low altitudes, it is necessary to keep the time for climbing or descending as short as possible by means of the high buoyancy values of the wings. Compared to a conventionally designed wing, the TNT wing yields a consumption saving of 20-30 percent over a given distance and because of the high climbing performance it also reduces the overall flying time. This might make it seem possible that, in combination with the short ground times, the Do 228--as against comparable aircraft--can make one or perhaps even two flights per day more and can thus earn the enterprise more cash.

For these distances, passenger comfort is more than adequate: with an inside cabin height of 1.55 meters, the passengers can reach the 50-centimeter wide seats along the center aisle in a slightly bent-forward position. The passengers can sit rather upright, which gives more room at the knee. The

interior decorator, who designed the cabin of the Airbus also worked on the 228; the cabin reveals good color coordination and, because of the skillful lighting effect creates the impression of being much bigger than it actually is (and can be). The noise level is astonishingly low and this is to a great extent due to the low-revolving, four-bladed propellers. These hard-cell steel propellers in the future are to be replaced with glued wooden propellers with the TNT profile; they are currently being developed by Hoffmann in Rosenheim. On top of additional thrust or a further reduction in fuel consumption, these propellers save 30 kilogram in weight.

The Do 228 has a superdimensioned deicing system, which enables it to serve also in northern Scandinavia. After the positive experiments in Greenland, the 228 will be used as a transport aircraft by the German Antarctic Expedition next winter to carry scientists and equipment far into the interior of the Antarctic. Equipped with skids, the 228 can also take off from and land on ice and snow, away from improved runways.

By 1 August 1983, 11 aircraft had been delivered, firm orders had been signed for 30 aircraft, and there were 50 options. Almost all aircraft are being shipped to the inhospitable regions of the world, two shortly going to Japan as feeder aircraft. The big order from India has brought about not only the breakthrough of this aircraft on the international market but also assures jobs at Dornier where a dry spell had been feared because the Alpha Jet contract was about to run out--but the Do 228 has now captured the sky.

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CSO: 3620/466

## BMW HEAD ON EFFECTS ON AUTO EMISSION STANDARDS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Sep 83 pp 75-79

[Interview with Eberhard von Kuenheim, managing director of BMW, by Wolfgang Kaden and Joachim Preuss, editors from DER SPIEGEL, in Munich; date not specified]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Beginning in 1986, the government has decided, only cars that can drive on lead-free gasoline and with a catalytic converter are to be allowed to be registered. The automobile companies were not asked. It appears that, of all things, a CDU government has run over the automobile industry.

Kuenheim: I don't want to say run over, but rather, surprised. At the end of April the automobile industry and the petroleum industry had a discussion with Minister of the Interior Zimmermann and the secretaries of state from the Ministry for Economics and the Ministry for Transport. We had agreed to meet again in October with possible solutions to the task confronting us.

SPIEGEL: What was the nature of your assignments?

Kuenheim: We were to state the ways the automobile and petroleum industries see to reducing toxic emissions from cars.

SPIEGEL: It has been our impression that the minister of the interior surprised the automobile industry managers so completely that they have not been able yet to gather themselves on a unified position. You from BMW have shown understanding. Your colleagues from VW and Ford, for instance, reject the catalytic converter.

Kuenheim: I do not think that the automobile industry is quite so scattered. We are of the common opinion that expense and benefit for every new regulation must bear some healthy relationship to one another. But we are also of the common opinion that it is ultimately a political decision; the automobile industry can only bring technical expertise into the discussion.

SPIEGEL: Your colleague Hahn from VW says that the precise causes of dying forests have not been analyzed clearly yet. So one could continue to detoxify exhaust gases gradually, as has been done. You, on the other hand, appear to have more understanding for the Bavarian Zimmermann. Do you really not see a difference of opinion there?

Kuenheim: We really do not know where the causes of the damage to the forests lie. There are ultimately only conjectures with a greater or lesser probability. We do not know if the nitrous oxides from automobiles are really contributing to it. The nitrous oxides caused by man constitute worldwide only a small percentage of the total nitrous oxide content of the air.

SPIEGEL: Experts at the Juelich nuclear research plant claim that it is 85 percent.

Kuenheim: The figure is disputable.

SPIEGEL: What is not disputable is that half of the nitrous oxides caused by man comes from automobile exhausts.

Kuenheim: But it is also well known that nitrous oxides disperse relatively quickly in the immediate environment; damage to the forests occurs principally in areas which are far away from high-density population centers.

SPIEGEL: On whom can the government rely, if not on the Federal Office for the Environment? It claims the automobile is partially responsible for the dying forests.

Kuenheim: Even the Office for the Environment has not clarified anything in this respect.

SPIEGEL: You are giving the impression of being against the catalytic converter. Don't you want to leave VW head Hahn out in the rain by himself?

Kuenheim: No, no.

SPIEGEL: Doesn't something have to be done to stop the forests dying, or can everything continue unchanged?

Kuenheim: I am too closely tied to the country and the forest not to recognize the forest problem clearly . . .

SPIEGEL: . . . so it would be interesting to know if you think that lead-free gasoline and the converter are correct.

Kuenheim: The converter is correct if the EEC intends to tighten the existing strict exhaust emissions regulations considerably more.

SPIEGEL: That's too formal an argument for us, we would like to have a substantive answer.

Kuenheim: So far we have not heard the substantive justification from Bonn; so far we have only a declaration of intent from the government.

SPIEGEL: We would like your personal opinion.

Kuenheim: I myself consider this step to be hasty.

SPIEGEL: But then you should be opposed to the decision in Bonn to force the catalytic converter on German automobile manufacturers and drivers beginning in 1986.

Kuenheim: No, I am opposed to the government prescribed such concrete technical solutions.

SPIEGEL: If you were minister of the interior, would you then be in favor of the solution that Bonn is aiming for?

Kuenheim: No, quite unambiguously not.

SPIEGEL: That surprises us, after what you said earlier.

Kuenheim: No, that is not at all surprising, because, let me repeat myself--the government should establish objectives and not prescribe solutions. But if the minister of the interior, so to speak as the incarnation of the political world . . .

SPIEGEL: . . . particularly of this one . . .

Kuenheim: . . . and if the public demand a particular solution from the automobile industry, we will not allow ourselves to be put up against a wall, but will act accordingly.

SPIEGEL: Wouldn't it be nice if the social-liberals were in power now? Then you could lash out quite differently at the green world reformers.

Kuenheim: It has nothing to do with governments of different colors. The differences are not very great in many aspects of daily politics.

SPIEGEL: Suddenly.

Kuenheim: At least we have not seen anything different so far.

SPIEGEL: We cannot find any supplemental reasons why you are so resistant to the catalytic converter. The automobile, says the Office for the Environment, is environmental problem number one. Especially in high-density population areas, automobile exhaust gases are endangering people, plants and animals. In our view there is nothing to mince words about, and a few more years cannot be wasted with tests.

Kuenheim: First, on the subject of the converter: This is a system which has been tested over the course of long years but which is expensive and results in higher fuel consumption. So it cannot be considered an ideal solution. Now to the matter of the time frame: Sometimes a situation exists when--because it has been neglected earlier--no more time can be lost. Then something has to be done, even at the risk of its having very little effect or that we will perhaps know

in 10 years that it was almost superfluous. Only, if we decide to reduce exhaust emission level further as a preventive measure, without knowing whether we will achieve the effect we really want--then that has to be borne by everyone politically, then the population has to know that it will cost something.

SPIEGEL: According to all the opinion polls, the citizens of this country know that and are prepared to pay.

Kuenheim: What one says in an opinion poll is one thing. What one is really prepared to do is another thing. Besides, a great deal has already been done in the last few years without the catalytic converter, primarily in the FRG. In Turin the carbon monoxide content of the air has been reduced by about one-half since 1971. In Frankfurt, where the figures at that time were not much better, the same stuff has been reduced to 20 percent. That means that a great deal has been achieved.

SPIEGEL: But the dirt from yesteryear can't be the soap today. The Japanese are much more concerned about their air. Anyone who traveled to Tokyo a few years ago almost died in this city with its insane traffic and dirt. Today . . .

Kuenheim: . . . you can once more see Fujiyama from Tokio, which was impossible 7 or 8 years ago.

SPIEGEL: And all of this and primarily because the Japanese send their exhaust gases through catalytic converters.

Kuenheim: From right here in my city, from Munich, we can see the Alps now on many more days than, for instance, 10 years ago. We have brought about a great deal without the converter.

SPIEGEL: Whether you, Herr von Kuenheim, want the converter or not, is not important in the final analysis. Starting on 1 January 1986, the government wants it. Can it be done?

Kuenheim: For a number of reasons we do not consider the deadline realistic. We are assuming that the machinery of the law will require until the summer of next year to determine the emissions levels. That means: We cannot begin our constructive work until such time as we know what levels are being prescribed. That is one of the reasons.

SPIEGEL: But you do know how to build a catalytic converter.

Kuenheim: It is not just a question of a catalytic converter, but also of the fuel system and the combustion process. Depending on how the permissible exhaust emissions levels are finally set, different changes will have to be made on the various engines. Then we will have to see whether the drawing-board conditions are equal to reality. We will have to conduct tests, in extreme winter and summer temperatures, in northern Sweden and Africa.

SPIEGEL: How long will that take?

Kuenheim: Altogether at least 2 years. And then things become complicated. The Federal Vehicles Office has to recertify the automobile. From all our experience model testing takes another year.

SPIEGEL: So the deadline could still be met?

Kuenheim: Not if you count up the number of years I mentioned, no. Besides, we have about 350 certified models in Germany. They all have to be recertified. Your calculation does not take into account that setbacks can occur and that testing can take longer.

SPIEGEL: At least the cars that you are now selling in the United States could appear on the German market with a catalytic converter.

Kuenheim: Yes, if the government were to adopt the U.S. regulations, and if the models certified in the United States can be admitted here without additional testing.

SPIEGEL: But in theory you could sell your U.S. automobiles here in Germany just as they are?

Kuenheim: Yes. But we all offer only a very limited range of models in the United States. Every automobile company that exports to the United States, sends only 3 or 4 of its 10, 20 or 30 different models to the United States.

SPIEGEL: Would you be personally in favor of adopting the entire American approach with respect to exhaust emissions legislation?

Kuenheim: I do not believe that we have to adopt it over the long term. We have our own test procedures here in Europe which we can retain.

SPIEGEL: What would be the earliest date that it would be possible for the automobile industry to adjust and to modify its vehicles if Bonn sets its own levels and procedures?

Kuenheim: In my opinion, the fall of 1987 would be the earliest deadline, with the condition that the limits still to be established are not less than those of the U.S. limits. No suitable technology exists for that.

SPIEGEL: So you are talking about almost 2 years later than what Zimmermann foresees.

Kuenheim: Yes. We can discuss 2 or 3 months earlier or later. But I think anything else is an illusion.

SPIEGEL: What would happen if the government simply does not care what the automobile industry says and you are forced to introduce the catalytic converter starting in 1986?

Kuenheim: That is very simple. In 1984 and 1985 we will have the biggest automobile boom of all time. For the public there will be the fine, old automobile

which has good performance and is cheaper to operate. In 1986 we will be able to offer only very few automobiles. There are companies that will be able to sell one or two models more than others . . .

SPIEGEL: . . . how many could BMW offer?

Kuenheim: About five or six models, if the U.S. models are permitted. I could imagine that individual manufacturers would not be able to offer any models for a period of time.

SPIEGEL: You mean Ford and Opel?

Kuenheim: I do not like to talk about other companies. In any case, we will have an employment problem in 1986-1987. We have seen that in the United States. To be sure, there are many causes and reasons for the economic problems in which the U.S. automobile industry has entangled itself over the years; but one reason was certainly the exhaust emissions regulations which brought about customer reluctance to buy.

SPIEGEL: The difficulties experienced by the U.S. auto industry in those years, 1974 and 1975, are much more a result of the first oil crisis, of gasoline prices rising by leaps and bounds and of less expensive and better imported cars.

Kuenheim: Not only that.

SPIEGEL: There would be a simply remedy for the boom in 1984 and 1985 that you are prophesying and the subsequent slump: The government could raise the price of leaded gasoline drastically after the cut-off date.

Kuenheim: What is drastically? It would have to be a difference of 50 pfennig in order to balance what would come due in higher purchase prices and higher fuel consumption after the converter is introduced. Ten or 15 pfennig will not provide this stimulus.

SPIEGEL: It is still open whether our European partners will go along with us.

Kuenheim: We are confronted by an uncertain situation, whether the government's intentions on the one hand, and EEC law on the other hand are not in conflict with each other. This has to be clarified so that we know where we are.

SPIEGEL: Bonn apparently does not intend to bother about the other Europeans and, as the forerunner, wants to force its EEC partners to go along.

Kuenheim: I consider it unthinkable for the government to break EEC laws deliberately. We must be prepared for manufacturers in some countries, particularly in France and Italy, interpreting the isolated introduction of exhaust emissions regulations within an EEC country as a non-tariff trade barrier and for them to react accordingly. They have even fewer U.S. models in their program. Their exports to Germany would decline significantly.

SPIEGEL: To sum up: Once again things have reached a point where the automobile industry is facing a catastrophe.

Kuenheim: No, there will not be a catastrophe right away, but it will be a heavy burden on the industry.

SPIEGEL: These are familiar sounds. When the lead content of gasoline was reduced in the mid-1970s, we could hear the same kind of thing. Isn't the expedient of complaining a little worn out?

Kuenheim: What we said at that time was warranted on the basis of the knowledge that we had about the gasoline of the future for its time. The fuel that was available at this preparatory stage would have caused engine damage. The petroleum industry continued to work on the composition of gasoline. So the possible damage that we pointed out did not occur.

SPIEGEL: For the observer the situations are astonishingly similar.

Kuenheim: No. I stick by what I said: If Bonn does not change the timetable, it will have serious effects for several years. Therefore, it is my opinion that the government also has to tell us which transitional regulations they will permit. That means, for example, that it states: All automobiles that have type certification before an introductory deadline may be offered for sale, as has been the practice in the case of similar changes before, for a certain time--about 3 years. A practical set of transitional regulations has to be drawn up.

SPIEGEL: You emphatically dislike what has come out of Bonn so far?

Kuenheim: There has been an impetus. But an impetus should not be interpreted as a law that has been passed.

SPIEGEL: Herr von Kuenheim, thank you for this conversation.

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CSO: 3620/1

## POLAR RESEARCH SHIP HEADS FOR ANTARCTICA

Bonn DIE WELT in German 27 Sep 83 p 20

[Article by Dieter Thierbach: "'Polarstern's' Second Voyage to Eternal Ice"]

[Text] Bonn—The German polar research and supply ship "Polarstern" (Polaris) has left the port of Bremerhaven on its second expedition to Antarctica. "We have our hands full," says expedition coordinator Professor Dieter Fuetterer in referring to the roughly 150 German and foreign researchers taking part in this year's project. Fuetterer, a geologist from the Alfred Wegener Institute for Polar Research in Bremerhaven, one of the major research institutions in Germany, is in charge of the two most important stages of the expedition.

The research vessel which was commissioned in December 1982 is a truly superlative construction. It is 118 meters long and 25 meters wide and having cost some DM 200 million to build, the 10,878 ton ship is the most expensive "tub" in the FRG. The "Polarstern" is built to withstand a lot. 20,000 HP diesel motors "push" the vessel through the ice. Temperatures down to -55 degrees centigrade can be dealt with from a technical point of view. The hull has double walls of special steel which are more than 5 centimeters thick in spots. "Polarstern" will hold a maximum of 106 passengers and has well equipped laboratories for 40 scientists.

The winter voyage of the blue-white-and-orange research vessel has been divided up into five scientific segments. Until the time the ship reaches Rio de Janeiro on 12 October 10 scientists will be busy primarily with the collection of weather and atmospheric chemistry data. The second stage will see 25 biologists and geologists at work on fishery biology in the seas around the South Shetland Islands. They will be devoting particular attention to plankton and kelp. The logistic base of the expedition is located in Punta Arenas (in Tierra del Fuego in the south of Chile). Prior to the third stage, there will be a changing of the guards there. Professor Fuetterer will join the expedition as its leader at that point. Over the next 5 weeks, the 35-man scientific crew will concentrate on ocean geology (such as sedimentation analysis and formation of minerals).

The supply trip to the permanently staffed German Georg von Neumayer research station on the Eckstroem shelf ice is scheduled to take 7 weeks with the projected date of arrival there set for 5 January 1984. Supplies will be unloaded; the crew which is to spend the winter will disembark and scientific equipment will be set up. The next goal of the "Polarstern," about 1,500 kilometers from the Georg von Neumayer station and about 20 kilometers off the coast, is the German "summer station" located on the Filchner ice shelf. In this area, the Arctic "summer" lasts from January to March; the temperatures being almost bearable then. "The temperature rarely goes down below -10 degrees," Dieter Fuetterer says. "In the winter, when the average temperature is -50 degrees, it is somewhat more uncomfortable."

Eight "summer guests"—who are referred to jokingly as "tourists" by the team—will be taken in at the station; nine of the scientists will stay behind at the base station. A cook, a radio operator, technicians and engineers will make life halfway bearable for the subsequent several months spent in total isolation. Arrival in Cape Town is set for 9 March and by the end of April the "Polarstern" is expected back in Bremerhaven.

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