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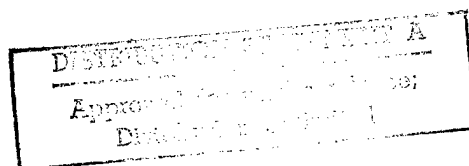
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CHRISTIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY CONGRESS ASSERTS OWN LINE IN COALITION

Minister Again Weighs Resigning

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 May 87 p 1

[Article by Carl Otto Brix and Kim Mesterton]

[Text] The proposal of the Social Democratic Party of a ban against weapons transports on Danish ships has caused Minister of Environment Chr. Christensen to weigh his participation and thus the participation of the Christian People's Party in the Four-Leaf-Clover Government.

The Government wants to vote against the proposal, but the three Folketing members of the Christian People's Party intend to abstain from voting.

As a member of the government, Chr. Christensen either has to vote with the government and thus differently than his party--or he has to leave the government.

"I am considering this matter seriously," Chr. Christensen tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. "I have to ask myself the question whether I can better promote the cause of the party in other ways by remaining in the government and thus voting with the government and differently than my party. But it is a very difficult matter, which I shall not stop considering until the decision is made."

Jens Steffensen, Folketing group chairman of the Christian People's Party, says that the party will vehemently oppose transport of weapons to belligerent countries, because it promotes distress and misery.

It would have been easier for the party to vote against the first proposal of the Social Democratic Party for a decision by the Folketing, but the proposal has now been made more moderate and has, moreover, been given the stamp by the shipowners enabling them to live with it.

"We act according to the promptings of our conscience and take as positive an attitude to the proposal as we are able to by abstaining from voting, but we realize, of course, that the ministers have to vote unanimously."

Campaign Planks Set

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 May 87 p 6

[[Text] The minister whose post the Christian People's Party has been promised after the next election will be in charge of a family ministry. The North Jutlanders are still skeptical with regard to participation in the Four-Leaf-Clover Government.

The second minister of the Christian People's Party will be a family minister, says Jens Steffensen, Folketing group chairman of the party.

"We have to set up a family ministry after the next election. And that might suitably be the second ministry of the Christian People's Party," Steffensen said in his report yesterday.

There was no doubt among the delegates participating in the national congress that it is the party's national chairman, Flemming Kofod-Svendsen, who has been nominated for the post.

It is Prime Minister Poul Schluter who has promised the party a ministerial post if the Four-Leaf-Clover Government remains in power after the election. But several of the delegates of the Christian People's Party wondered whether the party should at all participate in the Four-Leaf-Clover coalition after the election.

The condition for participating in the present government cooperation was, among other things, that the party would have important areas of its policy carried through, and Knud Glønborg from the North Jutland County was disappointed that Jens Steffensen only gave secondary consideration to this in his report.

"Was it an accident, an error, or shall we go home crying because it is bitterly serious," asked Knud Glønborg.

Glønborg is expected to become Arne Bjerregaard's successor as member of the Folketing for the North Jutland County. The North Jutlanders thus adhere to their skepticism with regard to the party's continued participation in the Four-Leaf-Clover government.

Rapprochement to Social Democratic Party

In his report, Flemming Kofod-Svendsen, national chairman, incidentally, touched on the possibility of a rapprochement to the Social Democratic Party, which was particularly welcomed by the younger participants.

Flemming Kofod-Svendsen, national chairman, was asked about the background to Arne Bjerregaard's resignation. He referred the question to Jens Steffensen, group chairman, who did not answer.

Steffensen gave the reason that the question had not reached the group and that Bjerregaard, incidentally, is a closed chapter. He only wants to deal with the future.

Cooperation with Leftist Opposition

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 May 87 p 3

[Article by Ole Dall]

[Text] A few days after it became clear that the Christian People's Party as the only coalition party did not want to vote against the Social Democratic proposal of a ban against weapons transport, the small party within the Four-Leaf-Clover Government is anew going its own way.

With the Social Democratic Party and the Radical Liberal Party, the party is coauthor of an amendment to the bill concerning the setting up of an ethics council to supervise biomedical experiments.

The said council will make proposals to the interior minister concerning the protection of human eggs, live embryos and fetuses. The proposal is to the effect that it will have to be established in advance that "there shall be no experiments with fertilized human eggs."

This proposal is supported by the Socialist People's Party as well, and there is thus a majority for the amendment--against the wish of the three government parties.

"There must always be some flexibility in a government cooperation, but the road is rather narrow. It will not be long before the government cooperation starts disintegrating, for one cannot be in the government and in the opposition at the same time," Ivar Hansen, Folketing group chairman of the Liberal Party, tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

On the two examples of the deviating positions of the Christian People's Party, he says: "For the time being, I prefer disregarding it as a couple of individual instances which do not become the general rule. The quota has now been depleted."

He adds that the Christian People's Party has not discussed the issues of weapons transport and ethics councils at ad hoc meetings of the group chairmen of the government parties.

Jens Steffensen of the Christian People's Party said in response: "I saw no need for it. Already at the first treatment of the proposal to limit weapons transports we expressed sympathy for the proposal. It has subsequently become more moderate, and that is why we can support it. In the matter of an amendment to the legislation on an ethics council, it is my understanding that the interior minister has expressed appreciation of our position."

Jens Steffensen adds that Environment Minister Chr. Christensen (Christian People's Party) will, of course, vote with the other ministers on the two issues. The weapons transport proposal will be adopted today.

SOCIALIST LEFT PARTY CONGRESS AIRS STANCE ON RED COALITION

Party Would Have Own Agenda

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 May 87 p 6

[Article by Ole Dall]

[Text] The Socialist Left Party will unconditionally support the formation of a Social Democratic minority government or a coalition comprising the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party, but the Socialist Left Party does not want to become a constant net under a Red majority. The party dissociates itself from the Shell sabotage.

"We shall give a Social Democratic government or a coalition composed of the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party a very long leash, but there may be policy items where we shall be unable to lend them our support."

This is the evaluation of Kjeld Albrechtsen, M.P. (Socialist Left Party), of the situation if the election results in a Red majority with the participation of the Socialist Left Party.

The party wants to support the idea of a Social Democratic government or a government composed of both the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party unconditionally. But if such a government presents proposals involving incomes policy issues, compulsory pension schemes and profit sharing, we shall go our separate ways, as Albrechtsen put it. In such a situation, the possibility may thus not be ruled out that the Socialist Left Party with the nonsocialist parties will overturn a Red government.

"But we shall do everything to prevent such a situation from arising, so that the workers' majority will not come to a bad end," says Kjeld Albrechtsen.

Elizabeth Bruun Olesen, M.P., said in a statement at the national congress that pressure will have to be exerted on the Social Democratic Party under a workers' majority.

"Every morning I open the papers terribly frightened to find new statements on the part of Svend Auken (Social Democratic Party). The course of the party is vacillating. The Socialist Left Party and the entire Left wing are involved in a sadomasochistic relationship, and whether we like it or not, we are the masochists. But we are at the same time tenacious and do not allow ourselves to become intimidated by the Social Democratic lust for power. We shall not stop criticizing the Social Democratic Party. We shall not address them in a nice and calm manner for fear of hurting their sensibilities," Elisabeth Bruun Olesen said.

She added that "since nobody will, in the long run, be able to make a capitalist economy work, labor politics can never become a question of responsibility."

A draft resolution was introduced at the national congress, repudiating the sabotage actions against Shell.

"They are pardonable but a reflection of political weakness, where the means instead is force," it says in the statement, requesting the labor movement to undertake strikes and boycotts against the party.

MP: Party Losing Youth

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 May 87 p 6

[Article by Ole Dall]

[Text] Steen Tinning, member of the Folketing group of the Socialist Left Party made a thundering speech to his fellow party members. He foresees serious crises within the party but was repudiated as "too old" by a colleague in the Folketing.

"A labor majority is by the vast majority of people understood as a majority comprising the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist People's Party. We are not really involved. We are at a stage where we are trying to gather strength. The ability to think along new lines has previously provided us with support, but things are not going too well, as far as that ability is concerned."

Steen Tinning, M.P. (Socialist Left Party), sounded the alarm when speaking to his fellow party members at the national congress.

The party has about 1,000 members. "The figure depends how one figures out outstanding membership fees," another member of the Folketing, Kjeld Albrechtsen explained with a smile.

In his warning, Steen Tinning pointed out, among other things, that young people are now also failing the Socialist Left Party. "In 1979, 58 percent of our voters were below the age of 30." The figure has now dropped to 18 percent," he said.

At the same time, he dissociated himself from press statements from the executive committee which pointed out that in order to achieve the labor majority, it will be necessary for the Socialist Left Party to obtain sufficient votes to gain access to the Folketing.

"That is mathematically correct but politically impossible. That is not at all the reason why people have to vote for the Socialist Left Party. For the Social Democratic Party will never base its future in the Folketing on the seats of the Socialist Left Party in the Folketing," Tinning said. He furthermore made the request that the party must advocate no increase in the rate of production of the society.

Elisabeth Bruun Olesen, M.P., does not share Tinning's view of the situation of the party:

"I am not a naive idiot stating that everything is rosy, but I believe that Steen Tinning has become too old and tired. He is marked by pessimism," she says, expressing her gratification at the sight of many new faces at the national congress.

Incidentally, Steen Tinning will not offer himself for reelection in the upcoming election.

Clearer Image Differentiation Urged

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 18 May 87 p 5

[Article by Ole Dall]

[Text] "We may have been too nice to the Socialist People's Party, but our criticism must be loving," says Kjeld Albrechtsen (Socialist Left Party) following the national congress of the Socialist Left Party, showing sensational unity and many examples that the Socialist Left Party is "different."

A baby is having its diaper changed in the room where the national congress is being held, children are playing and listening--and about 1 hour's stay at a Shell tank.

The national congress of the Socialist Left Party differs from the congresses of all other parties in the way it is being conducted, and in its political messages on the disputed labor majority, the Socialist Left Party also tries to be different from all other parties to the left of the center. The party wants to be different and hopes thereby to remain in the Folketing. The party will unconditionally support a Social Democratic government after the election, but it does not want to be a safety net under the government. The Socialist Left Party is paving the way for cooperation with the entire Left wing but at the same time warns the Socialist People's Party:

"We may have been too nice to the Socialist Left Party, but our criticism must be loving and not involve party tactics. Unless the Social Democratic Party agrees to carry through cutbacks in the defense budget, we will dissuade the

Socialist People's Party from forming a government with the Social Democratic Party. If the Socialist People's Party continues to subject itself to the Social Democratic Party, we shall not be able to achieve the unity within the Left wing that will be necessary to pressure the Social Democrats," Kjeld Albrechtsen, M.P. (Socialist Left Party) stated following the national congress.

The national congress was marked by an unusually high degree of unity. The main political speech was only commented upon by a couple of delegates.

"We have become better at carrying on discussions. The members of the Socialist Left Party used to be good at saying a lot of things very quickly without much reflection," Elisabeth Bruun Olesen, M.P., said.

"We wish to continue our cooperation with the Social Democratic Party. We merely have to recognize the fact that the cooperation is not established voluntarily. Only if the Left wing is strong after the election will it be possible to prevent the cooperation across the center," it said in the political main speech.

In a statement on the environment, the Socialist Left Party says that "large-scale efforts will have to be made in the areas of cleaner technology, re-use, ecological agriculture, the use of permanent energy sources, etc. The Socialist Left Party proposes that part of the assets of banks, insurance companies and pension funds be transferred to a number of green investment funds."

Conservative Criticizes Shell Demonstration

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 18 May 87 p 5

[Article by Ole Dall]

[Text] Hagen Hagensen (Conservative Party), chairman of the Judicial Committee, finds it "alarming" that two members of the Folketing group of the Socialist Left Party participated in the illegal demonstration and blockade of a Shell tank.

The participation of the members of the Folketing group of the Socialist Left Party in an illegal demonstration and blockade of a Shell tank in Nyborg last Saturday now causes the following reaction on the part of Hagen Hagensen (Conservative Party), chairman of the Judicial Committee:

"It gives food for thought that they defend physical blockades against Shell. It is alarming that they play with fire at a time when there have been several actions against Shell of a terrorist nature. Through their action, members of the Folketing group of the Socialist Left Party may contribute to encouraging other actions," Hagen Hagensen tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

It was Kjeld Albrechtsen and Elisabeth Bruun Olesen who together with the other participants in the national congress of the Socialist Left Party demonstrated at the entrance to the Shell tank. The Socialist Left Party dissociates itself from sabotage actions against Shell. "But the action on the part of the party was illegal. We now know what the Socialist Left Party stands for," says Hagen Hagensen.

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RADICAL LIBERALS' CHIEF ATTACKS COALITION'S DEFENSE BUDGET

Petersen: Precludes Cooperation

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 18 May 87 p 7

[Interview with Radical Liberal chairman Niels Helveg Petersen by Carl Otto Brix: "Radical Warning"; date and place not given; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] Neither a combination of the Social Democrats and the Socialist People's Party [SF] nor a cooperation between the present government parties and the Progressives can work, according to Niels Helveg Petersen (Radical Liberal). The government's desire for more defense money is preventing closer cooperation between the four-party government and the Radicals.

"Experience has shown us that neither an SDP-SF combination nor a combination of the four-party coalition and the Progressive Party is politically viable. We saw the first combination in 1981-82 and in the end Anker Jorgensen had to step down. We saw the second in 1982-83 and it led to a majority in Folketing rejecting the 1984 budget proposal. Therefore in the election campaign I intend to warn the voters against recreating either combination."

After this analysis the man who has been called the real political ruler in this country, Radical Liberal leader Niels Helveg Petersen, refused to go further and tell us what kind of government his party will recommend.

"We'll tell people that when the election date is set," he said.

Before the January 1984 election Helveg Petersen made the surprising revelation that his party wanted the nonsocialist government to continue. The election liberated the government plus the Radical Liberals from the Progressive votes. The five parties could get a majority on their own but the opinion polls indicate that this would not happen if we held an election now.

A nonsocialist government, if it can survive, will probably have to count on Progressive Party support. The alternative would be an SDP-SF government or a Social Democratic minority government.

"Opinion polls don't interest me," said Niels Helveg Petersen. "The only poll of any interest is the one that is conducted on election day."

[Question] Can we expect to see Radical cabinet ministers after the election?

[Answer] That depends on our assessment after the election. If we can best present our views as part of the government, we will step in if we are asked. If we can achieve more by staying outside the government, that's what we'll do.

[Question] Will that be a choice between the frying pan and the fire for the Radical Liberals?

[Answer] Why take such a gloomy view? As in all elections it is up to the voters to decide which way developments should go. I have no doubt that the best thing would be to strengthen the Radical Liberal Party.

[Question] One of the latest polls gave the Radicals 15 seats, immediately setting off speculations about a Radical government. Is that just a joke?

[Answer] It is not my ambition at any rate to form a government on a weak basis. What is important for us is to achieve stability in Danish politics after the very unstable decade from 1972 to 1982. Stability sounds so dull, but in reality it is a prerequisite for political progress.

[Question] Have the superpowers' arms reduction talks removed some of the differences of opinion on security policy that might prevent Radical participation in a nonsocialist government?

[Answer] The important thing about the arms control talks is not the debate among Danish politicians, of course, but the fact that an entirely new era is on the way with agreements on nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and conventional weapons. It is true that this whole complex of agreements could lead to a change in the Danish security policy debate, but Folketing's main task is to support the agreements.

[Question] And will that reduce the differences of opinion between the government parties and the Radical Liberals?

[Answer] Not at all. The differences will not be reduced if the government is really serious in thinking that the situation should be utilized to increase the buildup of conventional weapons. I think that is a totally wrong and unacceptable response. The actual figure of 800 million kroner more for Danish defense is unimportant. But the response implied in the proposal is not a sensible one.

[Question] But so far the cooperation has been a success in the economic sphere. Most recently with respect to an agreement on a profit-sharing [OD] arrangement.

[Answer] We were able to agree with the government on this proposal, which is a practical step forward, but it has nothing to do with sharing profits.

[Question] In other words, the Radicals could go and create what we might call a real OD law together with the Social Democrats and SF?

[Answer] If we can agree, yes, but so far we have not been able to do so. We will definitely go on working on the idea and we will not stop our efforts to get a compulsory profit-sharing plan.

But the debate on the issue is interesting. The Social Democrats call what we and the government agreed on a tax dodge. It is not. The Social Democrats are not opposed to giving tax breaks themselves if funds are involved. When it involves the little man, they hate the idea. The Social Democrats are always very concerned about serving the interests of the organizations, whereas we think the right place to start is with the individual.

[Question] You have been called the real prime minister. Are you proud to have that kind of power?

[Answer] That is nonsense. I am not the real prime minister and I am not proud of being given a ridiculous title.

[Question] Are you a modest person then?

[Answer] I think politicians who say they are modest and without ambition are untrustworthy. Of course I have ambitions too.

[Question] Are politicians power people by nature and necessity?

[Answer] Yes, all of them, each in his own way. You will see many different attitudes toward power, but we all relate to it because that is what it is all about. The differences are more apt to show up--and this is not determined by party affiliation--with respect to vanity. There is a difference between a vain and a nonvain attitude toward power. For me the external symbols of power are completely without interest.

[Question] If you are not interested in titles, honors or decorations, what are you interested in?

[Answer] In the work I do as a Folketing member. It is terribly interesting. I want to use power to help create a society that is in better tune with its natural surroundings and utilizes those who have been traditionally left in the lurch, those who are not well-equipped academically.

Parties' 'Profiling' Hurting Nonsocialists

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 22 May 87 p 11

[Editorial: "Premature Election Frenzy"]

[Text] It does not improve the government's chance of remaining in office after the next election that the government parties have again begun to "profile" themselves in relation to each other several months before the

election. Or at least they are trying to do so. With the result that the government is presenting showpiece proposals that do not have the slightest chance of winning approval but on the contrary are weakening cooperation with the Radical Liberals. However the Radicals should be clearly told in the same breath that it does not speak well for them that in the last few weeks of the Folketing session, when a lot of costly bills must be voted on, they appear to have completely forgotten all about economic responsibility--including fiscal responsibility on the municipal level. It does not suit group chairman Niels Helveg Petersen to act like a generous body builder--when he is well aware that this is a completely unnecessary and overdramatized discussion.

The government's old Liberal proposal to exempt farms and truck gardens from paying county property taxes is coming up for its first Folketing discussion this afternoon and everyone knows it is a showpiece bill. There may be some good arguments in its favor that have not been heard yet, but it does not have the slightest chance of being approved. However it has confused the talks between the government and the Radicals on a much more important matter, municipal budgets, and that--to put it diplomatically--is not so good.

The proposal to abolish county property taxes for farmers has given Niels Helveg Petersen a welcome alibi for breaking off the talks on measures to deal with the threat of excess municipal consumption. Welcome because the Radicals have a constant need to underline their independence. Which means that the government is going into the first discussion today without a safety net. But it did the same thing with respect to the Christmas package, the Easter package and the fall intervention. In other words it is almost a tradition that agreements are not reached before the period between the first and second debates in Folketing.

We hope that is what will happen this time too. With respect to political stability and municipal budget planning, a voluntary agreement between the government and the municipalities--with the alternative of a quick intervention in accord with the main lines of the government bill--is obviously preferable. A third possibility would be to postpone the agreement/intervention until the end of the summer. That happened in 1983 but it was and still is a poor solution. But under any circumstances it is better than a premature Folketing election.

The government parties--all four of them--plus the Radical Liberals in particular should make a wholehearted effort now to dispel the mounting election frenzy. Otherwise they will be playing into the opposition's hands.

6578

CSO: 3613/96

COUNTRY'S LEADING PAPER COMMENTS ON NEW GOVERNMENT

Meaning for Parties Analyzed

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 29 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Historic Result from Harmony Play"]

[Text] The republic's first blue-red government was put together surprisingly without a hitch. The negotiations were decisively accelerated by the fact that President Mauno Koivisto jumped over the sand pit and selected the teams for the final stretch on the basis of his powers.

Predictably, the RKP [Swedish People's Party] and the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] were pushovers for the larger parties. The SDP's and Conservative Party's final game became a harmony play, in which both parties claim to be exceptionally satisfied with the final result. Probably the satisfaction is sincere even if outwardly it appears that the SDP has turned its election defeat into a considerable victory in the distribution of ministerial portfolios as well as in the government program negotiations.

In principle, the most significant result of the government negotiations is a Conservative prime minister after that party being in opposition for 21 years. And, above all, in what kind of a government -- together with the Social Democrats. It is not even in the smallest degree a question of a transition period. Harri Holkeri's government includes the chairmen of all four ruling parties, and the foreign minister's post is held by Kalevi Sorsa, the country's most experienced foreign policy man.

The Conservative Party has had to pay a considerable price for this. The SDP has one more ministerial portfolio than the Conservative Party has, and from the point of view of the use of political power, the combined specific weight of the SDP's portfolios is clearly greater: foreign minister, finance minister, justice minister, interior minister, labor minister, environmental minister, and the second education as well as second social minister. The danger of continuously being labelled a regent party is, however, perceptibly diminished since the prime minister's post is being turned over to the former opposition.

The Conservative Party's other portfolios seem to be perceptibly lighter: trade and industry minister, foreign trade minister, tax minister, social minister, agricultural minister, and government secretarial minister. The latter-mentioned primarily provides political support and assistance to the prime minister. Because of extensive travel, the foreign trade minister is often away from government work. However, it should not be forgotten that the post guarantees sufficient publicity for the Conservative Party and entry to the prestigious positions of Eastern trade and the economic commission.

The trade and industry minister is presently a real heavyweight post. Inheriting Seppo Lindblom's post may, nevertheless, turn out to be unrewarding for Ilkka Suominen. His job will be to publicly defend the reorganization decisions expected from a "structural change government" by Outokumpu, Martinmäki, and certainly many others. Also the government's energy policy will certainly now become more of a thorn in its side since the Center Party will mount an attack from the direction of opposition against coal-fired power plants and for a decentralized energy policy.

The Social Democrats seem to have pushed through demands concerning labor reform to a surprising degree even though STK [Finnish Employers Association] Chairman Pentti Somerto severely rapped Holkeri's fingers for intruding on the preserve of the labor market organizations. The government negotiators could not even stand to wait for the completion of the work by Pekkanen's committee, which was given time until the end of the year, but are already outlining legislative guidelines in the government's program.

The interests of the Conservative Party and the Social Democrats in these questions are, indeed, not as conflicting as one would think on the basis of the ideological textbooks. The Conservative Party is increasingly more a party of white-collar workers than employers. The government program is a direct challenge to employers.

The new ruling partners did not reach a common understanding on leaving the post of parliamentary speaker to Paavo Vayrynen. It would have been in vain. With this maneuver an attempt would have been made to clip the wings of Vayrynen's opposition policy at the very beginning. The government's parliamentary base is so broad that the danger of a new weakening of parliament's voice is evident. A tough but constructive opposition policy is needed. Vayrynen may be more adroit at this than Suominen was previously.

First Task Fighting Inflation

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 30 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Structural Change as Key Word"]

[Text] The new government program will cover the 4-year election term. The economic pressures for change will be great during those years for internal as well as external reasons. Justifiably, the government program wants to deal with them in a controlled manner.

To a great degree, the program was compiled around the needs brought about by the structural change in the economy. A large group of necessary measures was identified, but their precise content has generally been left subject to interpretation and the timetable for their accomplishment was left open.

The first task is to control inflation, which in Finland is stubbornly remaining above the average level for industrial countries. The central goal of the government's economic policy is to lower this level and keep the foreign value of the markka stable. Its program includes many other goals and promises, which will not always easily be fulfilled so that the struggle against inflation will also succeed. However, it is a basic condition for the success of a good economic and employment development as well as the government's economic policy.

The new government's program promises that the growth of public expenditures will be kept "within the framework established by a stable tax scale and national economic growth". State expenditures cannot be essentially raised from the present level in the near future if the government intends to keep its promise to "permanently" refrain from increasing the share of loan funding in the state economy, as is happening this year -- and concluding from program, next year also.

The Bank of Finland has with justification called attention to the fact that the state's finance policy is now too loose, which, for its part, forces it to keep monetary policy tight and to slow down the decline in interest rates. Now that the new government is announcing that its goal is to bring down the interest rate together with the Bank of Finland, it must itself come halfway.

If more effort than before is put into some of the state's tasks in the future, cuts in expenditures will be needed in others. The government names employment, research and education, housing, and the position of families with children as well as services for senior citizens as areas of emphasis. The state economy needs its own structural change on the expenditure as well as income side so that it can be positively included in the rapid structural change of commerce and industry as well as prevent the detrimental effects it will have on employment and the labor market.

During the election term, the government program promises to carry out a comprehensive tax reform also. The principle will be the equal taxation of different kinds of income -- without changing the average tax scales of various income brackets. The content of the reform and the timetable for accomplishing it, to a great degree, remain subject to conjecture. The taxation of income from property will also be standardized. The taxation of income from dividends has undergone the most extensive planning: they will be taxed only once. Regular savings accounts will not be taxed.

The need for the reform of indirect taxation is also great, but the government promises only to clarify the problems caused by multiple taxation and opportunities to expand sales tax exemptions for small businesses. Once again a promise is being made to alleviate the position of labor-intensive

businesses by reforming the funding system of wage-based social security payments.

The capital servicing and stock savings of businesses will be promoted. On the other hand, there is a desire to place additional employment responsibility on businesses as well as to improve workers' security and opportunities to participate in the management of businesses.

The ruling parties have written a considerable number of program points to their liking into an extensive program formulated in such a way that even others have been able to approve them. The real problems of conciliation will come up as time goes by in the practical work of the government.

Full Term Coalition Possible

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 1 May 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Path Open to Full Election Term"]

[Text] Only the future will tell how significant a domestic policy turning point the formation of Harri Holkeri's blue-red government will turn out to be. It will depend on the experiences and durability of government cooperation. In any event, the SDP and the Conservative Party have initiated government cooperation for the first time since the government of the night frost and have even accomplished this under the direction of a Conservative prime minister. Never before in the history of an independent Finland has a majority government been formed without the Center Party.

The end of red earth cooperation, which continued for five decades in majority governments and the change to a blue-red government at this point in time may seem peculiar from a historical point of view: it was preceded by the republic's longest term red earth government so far, which was able to remain in session for a whole election term. The red earth parties did not even suffer an unambiguous election defeat. The elements of cooperation disappeared for power policy and personal reasons, as President Koivisto considered relevant to point out on Thursday.

In accepting the resignation of the old government and naming the new one, Koivisto did not conceal his regret over the conclusion of the red earth term. In light of his own personal comments the President did not at all turn out to be as good a player as has appeared from the outside. On the contrary, he encountered one surprise after another according to his own assurances. One of them was the immediate accomplishment of the first alternative or blue-red cooperation. The President had prepared himself for much more multiphased government negotiations.

Koivisto's comments seem to run counter to the interpretation that Holkeri's blue-red government would have been a government model clearly pursued by the President. It is, however, in his opinion clearly better than a purely bourgeois government. According to his statements, Koivisto would have even

appointed such a government if necessary, although it would have been with great reluctance.

The President wanted to brighten his tarnished image as one who encourages parliamentarianism and the independent position of parliament in connection with recent events. He repeated his stand that the president should not have the right to dissolve a government by his own initiative or also to dissolve parliament except in connection with a serious political crisis. For his part, the newly appointed Holkeri government can remain in session beyond the next presidential elections if the ruling parties are able to agree on this.

Koivisto's statement clarifies the starting positions of the new government. The government may sit even until the next parliamentary elections if its political elements can last -- and Koivisto continues as president. The government depends on substantially strong parliamentary support. Even though the government is quite an oddity with respect to its ideological make-up, the ease of program negotiations indicates that the desire to cooperate is sufficient at least for a first start.

Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa's announcement of his resignation from the SDP's chairmanship and the exclusion of other Social Democratic politicians, lined up for the renovated party leadership, from the government does, indeed, raise questions. Is the SDP making preparations to finally liberate itself from the burden of regent by adopting a two-faced policy. Hopefully not.

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HOLKERI COMMENTS ON HIS NEW GOVERNMENT'S TASKS, GOALS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 3 May 87 p B 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Harri Holkeri by Pekka Vuoristo]

[Text] When Harri Holkeri talks about the creation of his government, everything is for the better: there was no conspiracy and the presidential elections were not even considered. He trusts in love for one's neighbor and believes that he can intervene in any issue.

"In the last few weeks, I have researched what a prime minister actually does. To my own surprise, I have observed that he has an opportunity to intervene in any possible issue. And it is strange if the prime minister's intervening does not, at least, result in a clarification of the issue."

[Question] Do you intend to exercise this right?

[Answer] Yes! And those who know me personally can say whether I am by nature slow and inefficient or something else.

This is what Harri Holkeri now sounds like. The publicly stable and serious Holkeri has acquired a new trait. He is now the machoman of politics, who has accomplished an impossible feat. The Conservative Party's first prime minister since U. J. Castren (1944) -- Paasikivi led the government as a caretaker minister -- is so pleased with his achievement that he can scarcely conceal his excitement.

Indeed, he tries. He tries to grin and wave his eyeglasses only when the photographer changes lenses -- even though the timing is not always right.

His use of language has not changed -- there is national interest, circumstances available to the people, matter of honor, constitution, a team called Finland, a path from which there is no return, basic Finnish virtue, even Christian love for one's neighbor.

But there is something new: "Don't threaten, it brings havoc," says Harri Holkeri in continuing the tradition of poetic prime ministers. There is more in the desk drawer, but these he promises to leave there.

Harri Holkeri's story of the formation of the government is just as unbelievable as President Mauno Koivisto's. There is nothing of what should be in it.

There is no conspiracy. There are no raucous cabinet meetings in which Mauno Koivisto, Kalevi Sorsa, and Holkeri would have pounded out a manuscript of government negotiations -- perhaps long before Ilkka Suominen and Paavo Vayrynen began to write their own. At the most, there are "many kinds of discussions on the possibility of this type of cooperation" -- and these have been going on for years already, especially in the last 4 years.

"It was considered whether it would be worth trying, whether there would be chances of success, what difficulties these parties would have, what will the people say. This possibility has been considered for a long time already, particularly in the large cities where cooperation must be practiced on the basis of municipal law," says Harri Holkeri.

"But I am convinced that the theoreticians will soon appear to say how all of this actually came about -- that an agreement was reached on how to act all the way down to the smallest detail and who will say what at any particular phase..."

[Question] Should the people supposedly believe that this government did not begin to become a reality until the day that the president proposed this to Holkeri?

[Answer] No, or yes, but it is a different matter when the president proposed it to me. In some of his deliberations he has referred to this possibility a long time ago already -- or should I say at a relatively early stage. I did not discuss the realization of this possibility until just a few weeks ago -- however, not when the official information was issued. I cannot, however, disclose the discussions I had with the president.

All the political "theoreticians" recall that Holkeri talked about the "rapprochement of political opponents, last October already. Holkeri laughs:

"Indeed, speeches from the numerous speeches I have given can now easily be found to suit the present situation. I do not deny that I would not have taken this position in advance, but I have had a different point of view: I have not tied this to any government solution, but my thinking has been from a social policy point of view."

[Question] Harri Holkeri suggests a "social order" in place of theory was "agreed upon".

[Answer] It has only recently become evident that there was a social order. This alternative did not actually become apparent to me until the Social Democrats had come out of the election's worst scares. An order was not actually perceived until we began to deal with the practical aspects of forming a government : it went easily, we spoke the same language.

Harri Holkeri's explanation of his dispute with the Conservative Party is also unbelievable. Ilkka Suominen did not in any case disregard the "social order" and he also did not peddle the prime minister's post to Paavo Vayrynen, the presidential candidate of the competing party. Nor did Holkeri insolently thrash Suominen with the president's support. It was merely a question of a division of labor:

"Ilkka Suominen led the Conservative Party to win the greatest number of seats in parliament in its history. In no event did he want to endanger its entry into government. In striving for a bourgeois government, he chose a sure path and acted correctly. My job was to determine whether we could make the impossible possible. This kind of risky alternative could not be nailed down in advance. Perhaps it is difficult for people to understand that taking a risk where it had to be taken did not suit Ilkka, but it suited me.

"We were compelled to discuss the marching formation since it was not immediately clear in the beginning to the Conservative Party's negotiators that it was given by the president. This was then interpreted as a personal break in relations. I have such a long-term working relationship and personal friendship with Ilkka that we do not need to damage our relations because of this.

"I, of course, gave careful consideration to whether I am now endangering the party's interests. But the president's orders were such that there was no dead end from which the Conservative Party could only go into opposition."

Holkeri says that the president's follow-up alternatives, which were not used, would also have guaranteed the interests of the Conservative Party. These Holkeri did not disclose.

"Love of Neighbor Suitable as Premise for This Government"

[Question] The whole time it has seemed incredible that the Conservatives and the Social Democrats -- the bourgeoisie and the socialists, country squires and workers -- would find a common policy. Is this now, indeed, the result of the fact that the Center Party is to the right of the Conservative Party, as the Social Democrats argue?

[Answer] Politics is not bipolar, there is no line segment by which it can be measured. When red earth was created 50 years ago, workers and peasants were the majority of the population. Now peasants and smokestack industry workers are a definite minority. This had to manifest itself at some point, and it is now seen in this kind of a political solution.

The ideologists have not died, they are still in the background. But now that there are more of these practical problems, let us talk about them. A comparison of ideologies is not the only possible political debate.

[Question] By practical problems Harri Holkeri means "the control of structural change".

[Answer] "Controlled structural change" sounds like an impressive slogan. The suspicion arises that this will become a new "comprehensive plan" or "international competitive ability" -- a magic phrase with which any solution whatsoever can be justified since the people will not understand what it is.

Holkeri becomes speechless -- the only time in this interview -- when he has to explain in layman's language what the actual meaning is of this structural change, which is now being controlled.

"The opposite of controlled structural change is uncontrolled. If this happens, the small person or average citizen is helpless, and the weaker his position, the greater his difficulties. Controlled structural change means that the basic security of life for all citizens can be safeguarded under new types of conditions also.

"But structural change...I have not had a chance to consider how it can be popularized. Those who govern and make decisions do, indeed, understand the language of the government program. Our job is in some connection to present it in such a way that the people will understand.

"It is an economic change and an information change and a cultural change, superimposed with an external inevitability, to which we must adapt. It is a path from which there is no return, and it cannot be avoided. We must invest in Finnish work and know-how since our only capital is made up of this nation's human resources, and from this team called Finland we must be able to extract a cooperation that will make us competitive with the big boys."

[Question] The sharp tongues in rural areas, in particular, have understood structural change to mean that Harri Holkeri, dressed in blue, will be prime minister, and Erkki Liikanen with a big head will be his flunkie and that together they will take money away from rural residents.

[Answer] My roots are that much tied to the countryside that, if necessary, I can spread manure too, but this is not important. In Finland, our lives and lifestyles are, to a great degree, similar in the cities and sparsely populated areas. There is hot and cold running water, there is electricity, there are transportation and communication links -- previously all this could only be found in the cities. A vast change has taken place in a short time. I am talking about an integrated nation, which lives at the same pace.

He has more important messages for the countryside: "We cannot tie people to conditions which we certainly know to be old-fashioned and in which the quality of life is declining. We must not keep false hopes alive. A person must not be ignored, but he should also be told unpleasant fact in sufficient time."

[Question] If structural change is controlled, then how will the Conservatives and the Social Democrats control those issues on which they have differing opinions? If ideologies have not disappeared, how will "Social Democratic patronage" and "bourgeois individuality" be combined in Harri Holkeri's Finland?

[Answer] Holkeri pushes such problems aside and states: The Social Democrats will certainly not merely promote patronage, and the bourgeoisie is not lacking a social point of view. I would proceed from such an old Christian principle as love for one's neighbor. This is very familiar to all Finns. Indeed, it is suitable as a premise for this government.

[Question] A comprehensive plan changes into Christian love of one's neighbor?

[Answer] They are unequal terms, the doctrine of loving one's neighbor cannot be made into a government statute, but it is a basic Finnish virtue, we strive to help one another also without direction from above.

Harri Holkeri did not linger long over where the Conservative Party should now put its country gentry, or such voters who out of principle do not approve of cooperation with the socialists.

"I do not know whether the Conservative Party has a need to appear as a party of the country gentry. Naturally, in Finland we must be the largest possible party which understands how prosperity is created, but it does not conflict with the fact that the other side is also understood.

"And I have not encountered those who would say: out of principle I cannot cooperate with that person who breathes the same air as I do in the same room. Presumably, the premise of cooperation is that we accept another person's differences and opposing ideological premises? Otherwise, there is no cooperation. There is still a certain fascination with a class struggle in which everything must be obtained through struggle, but in the final count very little is obtained by fighting. I would say that it is better not to threaten, it causes havoc."

"From the Beginning We Decided That We Would Tell the Truth For a Change"

Harri Holkeri's description of government negotiations also seems unbelievable. From the outside it seemed that the SDP wanted to be in the government and needed the Conservative Party to do so. It appeared that the SDP grabbed up the most important ministerial posts and plotted to make the government program loose so that the Conservative Party could, if necessary, be disputed and pushed to the side. It appeared that Sorsa gave up the party chairmanship so that party would not be excessively obligated to this government. A "theoretician" could call Holkeri Koivisto's and Sorsa's puppet prime minister, the Conservative Party a hostage of the government, and the whole matter a great conspiracy.

But Holkeri in all seriousness reiterates what Sorsa has already had an opportunity to praise:

"There were no lectures, there was no proselytizing, and according to my understanding there was not even any attempt to question another person's views in the government negotiations. Only the fear of being disappointed was missing from these negotiations.

"Perhaps an arm was twisted there. But the government program does not contain a single point which would be in conflict with the Conservative Party's platform. When the government program was completed, I read through the Conservative Party's platform. Naturally, the government program does not include all of the Conservative Party's platform, but then we would have a minority government of the Conservative Party.

"And it is for the Social Democrats to decide how they intend to carry their load -- the main thing is that they carry it. Sorsa will not become a second-class minister because he has resigned from his party's chairmanship."

Holkeri shakes his head at the puppet and hostage theories: "A completely impossible discussion. It could be that the country's largest party considers that it has a right to be in the government. It is very possible that it is considering with whom it can form such a union that something will come of it. I do not understand that there would be something wrong in that. And would it be more honorable to be a 'hostage' of the Center Party?

"I myself declared in the mid 1970s that when the Conservative Party goes into the government, it will enter through the parade door -- at that time there was talk that it would be an adopted son. Now the Conservative Party is going into the government, and straight to the top floor. Puppet, hostage, a victim of a conspiracy, or whatever I now am -- I should say as the columnist wrote that my name is Harri Holkeri, you will learn to know me.

"Naturally, the Social Democratic as well as the Conservative party secretaries will have to go out and explain government policy. In the parliamentary group I was asked whether we can be certain that no one will come here to say: this is what must be done since an agreement has been reached in the government. I said that no, I promise to come here many times to say just this, I know that I will have to come. I am the only one on the government team who has even the smallest experience, I was party secretary during Johannes Virolainen's government in 1965-1966, and I know what this is. I am not naive even though people may think so, and politically I am even less naive."

[Question] Of all the unbelievable matters we should even believe that personal aspirations to power were emphatically ignored in forming this government. Not even the presidential elections were considered. It was not considered whether it is prudent to allow Paavo Vayrynen to go on the rampage in opposition, it was not predicted how Holkeri can as prime minister become Mauno Koivisto's opponent.

[Answer] The presidential election is a question of a different level. It is democracy -- a direct election in which the people will say what is best. I will not disparage the Conservative Party's presidential candidacy by making the presidency a goal which must be achieved at any cost. It is a matter of honor to be at the disposal of the people on the terms of the people.

In addition, it is a question of different issues in the presidential elections than in the job of prime minister. The Code of Law defines what the government does and what the president does. And I will not go into the elections by criticizing others. It is a waste of time to place a birch log in my hand in the hope that I would go out and hit others over the head. In this respect, my position will not change anything.

Even Harri Holkeri admits that unbelievable things have accumulated in the formation of this government. He has considered why. And here is the unbelievable result of this deliberation:

"This is unbelievable perhaps for the very reason that we from the very beginning decided to tell the truth for a change. In politics there are many approaches, but there is even the possibility that the truth can be told and in the same way in all directions. Since others have in some other connection attempted to use other methods, we have used this one. At least my goal is in this way to demonstrate that politics is not as rotten as is frequently alleged. It becomes corrupt if we attempt to distribute one thing with the left hand and something else with the right. A healthy public opinion will notice this immediately.

"This sounds idealistic, but that is what it is."

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POLL EXAMINES ATTITUDES REGARDING BIAS IN FOREIGN NEWS REPORTING

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 7 Apr 87 p 12

[Article: "Many Believe That Media Embellishes Truth About Conditions in East or West"]

[Text] A minority of the Finnish people, 41--37 percent of all voting age citizens, believes that our country's media, generally speaking, gives an accurate picture of conditions and events in foreign countries.

Approximately one-third of the Finnish people considers that the Finnish press, television, and radio give a picture that is too positive about events and conditions in the so-called Western countries as well as socialist countries.

More than half as less, 14-13 percent, believes that the picture given by the media about foreign countries is too negative.

Problem of Trust Has Become Smaller

Now clearly more people than in 1978 trust in the picture of the USSR and other socialist countries given by the Finnish media.

At that time, only 26 percent believed that the picture given to Finns about events and conditions in the socialist countries was, generally speaking, accurate. Eight years later more than half (51 percent) of the Finnish people considered that our country's media gives too positive a picture of the USSR.

Now 37 percent believes the picture of socialist countries given by the Finnish media. The same amount, 36 percent, believes that the picture given is too positive.

On the other hand, the number of those who consider that the picture given of the West and the United States is too positive is nearly as great (33 percent). Eight years ago, only 22 percent thought that the picture given of the West is too positive.

The Same Questions As in 1978

At the request of HELSINGIN SANOMAT Finnish Gallup studied the views of citizens on the picture of foreign countries given by the media by posing questions which are exactly the same as those posed in comparable studies conducted in November 1978 and February 1987. The questions were as follows:

"Our country's media, thus the press, radio, and television, have sometimes been criticized for the manner in which they present events and conditions abroad.

"What is your understanding, does the media, generally speaking, give an accurate picture, too positive a picture, or too negative a picture of conditions and events in the so-called Western countries, for example, the United States?

"Generally speaking, does our country's media give an accurate picture, too positive a picture, or too negative a picture of the conditions and events in the socialist countries, for example, the Soviet Union?"

The distribution of answers in 1978 as well as in 1987 becomes apparent from the following table.

OPINIONS ON PICTURE GIVEN OF CONDITIONS ABROAD BY THE FINNISH MEDIA				
	Picture given of Western Countries		Picture given of Socialist Countries	
	1978 %	1987 %	1978 %	1987 %
Accurate picture	40	41	26	37
Too positive	22	33	51	36
Too negative	22	14	9	13
Do not know	16	12	14	14

Differences Between Population Groups

When the distribution of opinions is examined by population groups, the following can be confirmed from the results of the poll:

The ideological attitude of individuals is, in part, reflected in the opinions. Supporters of the left-wing parties and the Greens are more inclined to think that the picture presented of Western countries in the media is too positive. Supporters of the Conservative Party, the Center Party, and the Greens are more inclined to think that the picture presented of socialist countries is too positive.

Trust in the accuracy of the picture given of the East as well as of the West by the media is, on the average, greater, the higher the educational level of an individual. Only 35 percent of those who have only completed high school believes that the media gives a correct picture of conditions abroad while, on the other hand, 45 percent of those who have a university education or higher academic degree trusts in the picture given by the media of so-called Western countries and 40 percent in the picture given of socialist countries.

A full one-third (39 percent) of those with a university education or a higher academic degree thinks that the Finnish media, generally speaking, gives a picture of conditions and events in the socialist countries, such as the USSR, that is too positive. A little less than one-third (30 percent) believes that the picture given of Western countries is too positive.

The greatest "distrust percentage" is in the constituency of the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League], in which half (50 percent) believes that the Finnish media, generally speaking, gives too positive a picture of the conditions and events in the so-called Western countries, such as the United States.

Younger people believe the picture of Western countries given by the media more than older people do. Older people believe the picture given by the media of socialist countries more than the younger people do.

The questions in the poll concerned the Finnish media in general, as a totality. There was no mutual comparison of the different types of media or individual media so that one could expect considerable differences in the credibility of the picture given of foreign countries.

It can be considered that the results of the poll indicate that regardless of whether news reporting dealt with events in the socialist world or the Western world, the media is, above all, suspected of being uncritical and of making issues and conditions appear to be better than they actually are. The media is suspected of excessively emphasizing negative circumstances and painting issues in black far less often.

It is also evident that there is now clearly greater trust in the picture of foreign countries given by the Finnish media than 8 years ago and that, practically speaking, the proportion of those who consider that the picture given by the media of foreign countries is accurate is the largest in all population groups.

How Poll Was Conducted

Finnish Gallup polled the opinions of Finns on timely issues at the request of HELSINGIN SANOMAT from February 22 to 27. A total of 1,528 interviews was conducted. The method of compiling a nationwide sampling (121 communities) was a divided random sampling.

The results of the poll are considered to represent the distribution of opinions among Finland's voting age citizens outside of the Aland Islands.

The questions were exactly the same as in 1978 and the results can be considered to be completely suitable for comparison.

The results of the poll do not measure -- at least directly -- the performance of the media. They shed light on public opinion and its views on the performance of the media. From other studies it is known that when information disseminated by the media does not correspond with the people's own view of the world or positions or hopes, they readily conclude that the media is either "embellishing" or "painting the picture black".

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CONSERVATIVE NEWSPAPER ON 'SDP IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS'

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 2 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "SDP's Ideological Crisis Seen in Platform"]

[Text] The SDP's proposal for a program of principles reflects an ideological crisis. The draft was written by a regent party -- the text was edited in a new situation after the election defeat. A search for sharp conflicts would not, however, be in accordance with the interests of the SDP any more than the public.

The reform of the SDP's program of principles has been one of Chairman Kalevi Sorsa's favorite subjects. At next summer's party congress he will have to defend the draft in a politically very different situation than in which it was written.

The premise of the program was that Social Democracy is firmly in power as a leading political movement. In this position the party platform must be loose, reminiscent of ideology, but a basic source of speeches without shackling practical work.

The full 100,000-vote election defeat and ending up on the defensive and even on the threshold of opposition give the SDP's platform a completely new significance. Since it was written as an adornment to being in power, it will be read as an engine for entry to power.

A bearer of a new revival this platform is not. The reason lies simply in the fact that it does not address the average Finn. The world of the workday is just as far away from it as the week's winnings in the lotto.

Dreams are needed, but one cannot live on them. Now the SDP is offering a dream of the great past and of worldwide change, but leaves the average reader completely in the dark about his own goals in Finland, in the here and now.

The first part of the platform theorizes with "democracy" and "socialism", recalls the "counterforce of the power of the estates", and confirms the good aspects of modern society, which the movement has accomplished.

The question of the environment as a worldwide problem has been raised along side of the arms race as a major threat.

According to the draft, as far as the development of modern Finnish society is concerned, the SDP has differences in nuance and emphasis with the leading bourgeois parties, but the basic direction is pretty much the same. The SDP recognizes market forces and the decentralization of decision-making, but it also emphasizes "joint responsibility and planning".

The platform demands "capital reserves mutually controlled by workers", which is the latest twist on wage earner funds. This is in conflict with the model of individuality promoted by the bourgeoisie, though the details remain open.

It is easy to label the SDP's program draft as a collection of vague phrases. The same trait, however, can be found in the current platforms of the Conservative and Center parties. All of them are more a description of present society than a dream of the future.

Would a sharp conflict be a better alternative? The platforms reflect the true nature of the parties. Why would the SDP adorn itself with class struggle theses when this would not rouse the majority of its supporters?

Nevertheless, there will probably be a heated battle of the program draft in the present situation. It will thus not be a question of words, but the party's basic nature. Will the SDP return as a class party of a diminishing industrial labor force at which time the platform would be seasoned with rhetoric drawn from textbook radicalism? Or does the SDP see its future as the national party of the middle ranks?

Party platforms are generally forgotten and lost in the archives. A revolution was attempted during the long term existence of the Forssa platform, but a Tanner policy was also practised. Fluctuating directions have been carried out on the basis of the 1952 platform.

The process of a platform's creation is generally more important than the platform itself. From this point of view and in the SDP's present situation the draft may be a rather significant catalyst or lightning rod.

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WITH FEWER VOTES IN ELECTION, SUBSIDIES CUT TO CP, SKDL

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 7 Apr 87 p 6

[Article: "FCP and SKDL Reducing Personnel Because of Election Defeat"]

[Text] In the near future the People's Democratic movement will be forced to reorganize its activities since the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] suffered a small loss in parliamentary seats, but a major loss in party support.

Initially, it is estimated that the reorganization will result in a reduction of four or five staff members in the SKDL and the Communist Party. According to a certain estimate, the cuts will be primarily made in the Communist Party organization, which is bigger than the SKDL's machinery.

The SKDL received 16 seats in parliament or in reality it lost only one seat. Monetarily, the loss was more substantial since the SKDL and the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] was drawing a party subsidy until the end of the election term for the 10 Taistoite [Stalinist] Democratic Alternative representatives, who formed their own faction last summer. The election result will also reduce the parliamentary press subsidy received by the People's Democratic newspapers.

The SKP's majority froze the payment of the Taistoite representatives' party subsidies to the minority's district organizations a couple of years ago when the majority and the minority went their separate ways at the 1984 congress.

2.5 Million Markkas Less

The election result means that the SKDL will draw a full 2.5 million markkas less in party subsidies annually than in the last election term.

According to SKP General Secretary Esko Vainionpaa, the reorganization measures are now being clarified. He thinks that after the meeting of the Central Committee on Monday that the reduction of the party subsidy will not mean an economic catastrophe.

According to Vainionpaa, an attempt will be made to settle the matter without any actual dismissals by rationalizing overlapping organizational structures and combining jobs. This will be brought up again at the next meeting of the Central Committee.

The SKP's 21st Congress will be held in the middle of June. A total of 223 delegates will be elected or one for every 100 original members. The meeting of the Central Committee of SKP Organizations or the Taistoite party a week earlier will be attended by one delegate for every 50 original members.

The court case concerning the legality of the Taistoites' extraordinary congress of the SKP is currently being heard in Helsinki Court of Appeal, which has promised a quick hearing of the case. By a vote of 2--1 in the winter, the municipal court considered some of the decisions of the majority to be illegal. The majority appealed the decision to the court of appeal.

The SKP announced that its membership was a little less than 21,00 at the end of March. According to Vainionpaa, the number has been reduced to approximately 11,000 because of the exchange of membership cards and the expulsion of the Taistoites.

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EUROCOMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN ASSESSES PAST, UPCOMING ELECTIONS

On SKDL March Setback

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 9 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Left Wing's Time for Soul Searching"]

[Text] We have become accustomed to examining the period after the parliamentary elections as a time of an outright triumphal march and unique success for the Finnish bourgeoisie. The invasion of the bourgeois parties on a broad front into ever expanding social positions is the prevailing trait today.

When issues are examined more thoroughly, it can, however, be argued that this spring has been, above all, a time of soul searching for the Finnish left wing. This kind of an interesting and also completely correct observation was the subject at yesterday's meeting of the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] Executive Committee, which even entitled its policy statement A Time of Soul Searching for Left Wing.

From the point of view of the significance of left-wing movements, the livelihood of working citizens, and the future overall direction of national development, the kinds of conclusions left-wing forces draw from the election defeat and how they determine their mutual relations will be of primary importance.

The SKDL Executive Committee's statement is quite critical of the social policy in the preceding term. "The ideology of competitiveness and the economic policy dependent on it have resulted in the failure of the employment policy, the growth of unemployment, and also increased disparity in incomes. A critical evaluation must also be made of the development of democracy. The workers' parties will have to pay in terms of their own support and prestige for the fact that they were not able to create a credible prospect for increasing the opportunities of citizens to influence affairs," emphasizes the Executive Committee and thus also wants to subject the SKDL's own activities to a critical examination.

The SKDL's recipe for the whole left wing is to tighten left-wing cooperation in order to improve social justice, equality, and the opportunity for citizens to have an influence as well as to map out an ecologically tenable social development for the future. A radical left-wing policy presupposes the development of the traditions of the workers' movement to correspond with the conditions of modern society.

Will we succeed in tightening left-wing cooperation against a strengthened right wing? Presumably, attitudes in the various segments and factions of the workers' movement have become more sympathetic toward cooperation. Quite a lot depends on the SDP's decisions in the next few weeks, especially its approach to government cooperation with the right wing, which rather powerful forces are now trying to foist upon it.

The position of the SKDL Executive Council will in any event touch upon the most important question of today and the future.

On Koivisto's Presidential Candidacy

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 3 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "SKDL and the Presidential Elections"]

[Text] Since certain People's Democratic newspapers have initiated a new debate on the SKDL's presidential candidate, they have based their views on the thinking that Mauno Koivisto would be the joint candidate of a broader common front, for example, the left wing. Such an election alliance will not, however, come about for the reason that the SDP has decided to nominate Mauno Koivisto as the candidate for its own election alliance, in which it is also attempting to include nonaligned candidates. Thus the SKDL is faced with the question of whether it should nominate its own candidate (Kalevi Kivisto) or the same candidate as the Social Democratic Party has selected.

If the decision is made that the SKDL's election alliance nominate Koivisto for its candidate, a portion of the People's Democratic voters would not vote at all. It is known from the past that there is a large group of SKDL voters who do not under any circumstances want to vote for Mauno Koivisto, who is directly from the Social Democratic Party. There is also dissatisfaction with Koivisto's performance as president and accusations of his ineptitude.

The nomination of Koivisto as the SKDL's candidate would without question be a kind of a sign of abandonment for the people. It would be said that the SKDL is no longer such a significant political force that it can nominate its own presidential candidate. The nomination of Koivisto as candidate would also mean a complete turnabout from the policy line which the SKDL Executive Council adopted last November. This kind of bouncing back and forth in major issues does not exactly please the membership also.

As a candidate of the People's Democratic movement Kalevi Kivisto will bring -- as experience demonstrated in the previous elections -- the movement's own

political goals and the political and moral principles of the workers' movement to the election campaign and social debate. No other candidate will bring these basic values of the workers' movement to it. Left-wing and radical forces outside of the SKDL could also certainly be found as electoral candidates for Kivisto.

Naturally, it is necessary to clearly demonstrate that the SKDL's members of the Electoral College would support Mauno Koivisto in the final decision, in which he will probably be opposite the bourgeois candidate.

In the discussions held in the SKDL's leadership organs since the elections the conclusion has been reached that the November decision will remain in effect and the final decisions will be made at the May meeting of the SKDL Executive Committee.

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GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND ON FUTURE OF SOCIALISM, GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 2 May 87 pp 20-21

[Interview by Bjorn Gunnar Olsen: "Learns Something Every Day"]

[Text] "The Labor Party was begun as a poor man's movement. In a rich man's society the ideas have endured and spread. The world needs not less, but more democratic socialism. This is of course the important thing," Gro Harlem Brundtland said. "One might believe that the labor movement would be a movement of struggle as long as most people were very poor, but now we are one of the world's richest countries, and the Labor Party still has a following of about 40 percent!"

Our conversation takes place at the prime minister's office -- with a Gro who has just returned home from Rome and Dokka, by way of London, Washington, and Bergen. In Rome she delivered in her capacity as Chairman of the World Commission for Environment and Development the "Brundtland Report" for the UN Secretary General and received from de Cuellar the grade of "excellent report." After that it was home to the government conference, and later in the evening a party meeting for a packed house in Dokka. People come when Gro comes. She is on the way to becoming a greater asset for the labor movement than Trygve Bratteli could imagine when he in September 1974 called (I am being a little unfair now) "Gudmund Harlem's daughter" to his office and the following conversation took place:

Trygve Bratteli: "It is not necessary to use unnecessary words. I want to ask you to come into the government as environmental minister."

Brundtland: "I have to think about that."

Bratteli: "Yes, but not more than until the day is over."

"He was a man of few words," Gro said, and I think of something else she said to me: "No one would imagine that a politician like Trygve Bratteli was dominating. I mean nothing negative when I say that one thing is clear: he was. He was dominating because he was a leader with considerable authority. No one criticized him for that -- or would think of doing so. You cannot be a leader and have responsibility without filling the role you find important. If you are to be criticized for doing your job because you are a woman, then women cannot

fulfill this kind of job. But I have no choice. I must do what my job requires me to do."

Gro came to the meeting with ARBEIDERBLADET straight from an interview with an American television company that wanted to have her comment on the fact that in June the world's population will exceed five billion people: "I had to repeat and repeat that we have no possibility of stopping this growth up to eight billion in the course of the next century. But the figure can also be 14 billion. There is an enormous difference between eight and 14 billion mouths to feed. Our task must be to prevent the worst alternative. If we do not achieve a distribution policy that makes people believe in their own security and their children's future, they will have more children. It is necessary to create more equality and to distribute resources. This does not agree with the philosophy of the free market. It only means that without cooperation based on mutual goals, the earth will become overpopulated with poor people. And even the spokesmen of the free market powers just have to understand this."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Is there now more understanding among the 'ordinary people' that we have a joint responsibility for seeing to it that the planet we live on must not be destroyed by us? Is a greater solidarity developing?"

Brundtland: "I hope so. And I think perhaps that we now have had some ten to fifteen years with clearly reactionary, almost authoritarian currents that have given examples of this system's many weaknesses. In a way I expect that from now on the pendulum will swing the other way. In the course of the three years the Commission worked, I learned that no matter what the background we saw that we were in the same boat. When people sit together as working partners, insights are increased on both sides of the table. Each from his corner of the earth, 22 people tried to reach solutions that will serve us all."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Do we need a 'new solidarity' in the Norwegian labor movement as well?"

Brundtland: "On a common basis of ideas, thoughts, and goals in our own country we have seen that creating greater equality and more justice and using human resources have led to a better society even for the groups that were already privileged. These are experiences we must carry further to an international community. In a world with stagnating markets we are today in a dangerous situation, even purely economically. There is talk about whether we are in danger of experiencing a crash of the type we had in 1929, a real economic collapse, crisis, and new depression. For each individual it may look as if sitting and saving one's money is smart, but in total such an attitude leads to everyone's loss, to the risk of a real drop in world trade and welfare. We know who will be hit first of all: those who have been poor from the beginning."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Has it given you new insight and greater understanding to lead such an important international commission?"

Gro answers that she has learned every day in her life no matter what she has done. "If you are constantly brought into situations in which you deal with and

learn about new things, then each day gives new challenges and increased insight. But these three years have been unusual, precisely because the area of responsibility has required global thinking. Being forced to try to find answers that apply to the whole planet means you have to open yourself completely to people with an entirely different background. It is no use going to such a task with unchangeable opinions or black and white models."

Gro looks good, she even seems to be thriving in the midst of work stress that makes many wonder how she has held out. Part of the explanation is that she is stimulated by meaningful challenges. "One is asked or inspired to move the boundaries of one's own awareness."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "What drives you?"

Brundtland: "I have always had a drive inside me. If you see something that is wrong, then it is your duty to say so. This way of thinking is an expression of a lively sense of social responsibility. You must change to improve and to create more justice and equality. You expand this from the time when as a child you saw other children fighting. A big child beats up a small one, or a girl friend has holes in her stockings because she comes from a home that has no money or doesn't care. Gradually you transfer this attitude to your own society and then to an even greater perspective, because you see that ordinary justice is something that concerns the whole world community.

"Then, too, there is human and intellectual curiosity. To understand more, to deal with things I wonder about, to get new pieces to fit into a jigsaw puzzle. I always ask myself, 'What is right here? What can we do? What can be accomplished?' I always feel that I am out looking for new things to add to my own understanding of the world. When I say 'the world,' I mean what is around me. In work for the UN General Assembly, it really becomes 'the world.' Every time I have put a new piece in the puzzle, I start looking for the next piece, for there is an endless amount of human experience that I must try to get hold of. In me there is a strong drive in my wish to understand and in my attempts to change -- both parts, that is."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Socialism with a large 'S,' and solidarity are fine catchwords, I say, but should we perhaps begin to fulfill simpler concepts -- such as justice, right, and correctness?"

Brundtland: "For me, 'justice' is a very central concept. 'Justice' is giving the human being the possibility of blossoming and of developing his positive qualities. To achieve this, it is important to think about equality. Without great equality, there is not enough self-respect."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Does Ola Nordmann form a race of solidarity?"

Brundtland: "He makes for more solidarity than many others. But we have been accustomed to the fact that Norway is in a corner of the world very far from other countries where the dramatic events have taken place."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "What about sceptical attitudes toward immigrants, which, among other things, opinion polls reveal? Do we not need 'new solidarity' among Norwegians?"

Brundtland: "During some years of increasing unemployment people became uneasy. We had over 80,000 unemployed. In such a situation tolerance for others is of necessity weakened. One thinks first of caring for oneself and one's own. Now we do not have such unemployment, but at the same time there is a little uncertainty about the future and about economic developments. Norway has had a large drop in oil income. A feeling of uncertainty about our own country probably contributes to the subconscious creation of questionable attitudes toward immigrants. Not toward the individual person, but when people hear how many have arrived and that still more are waiting."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "What can the government do to ease the situation for those coming here?"

Brundtland: "Together with a crisis situation with economic belt-tightening, we received a significant increase in the number of those seeking asylum. Even before this increase the reception procedure was bad, but we made more jobs and have tried to make the best of the situation. Concrete problems had to arise. We cannot pretend they are not there. In this area there are strong feelings, not just among the people concerned. To some extent the feelings of others, who are their spokesmen, entered in. We need more information, and we are working hard to get it. The need is there. Think for example of the debate that arose when Leif Haraldseht pointed to a practical problem: When we get such an unexpected influx of people at our doorstep, we must find solutions so they can find a place to stay temporarily while we deal with their application for asylum here. That was what he said. The fact that a strong, emotionally laden debate arose on this statement illustrates how difficult it is."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "What about the lines in the hospitals, Gro? People continue to lie in the corridors, even though you in the 1985 election campaign sharply criticized such conditions."

She answers that improvements have been made, that new workers and new thinking in the Social Department have begun new initiatives and experiments and testing of more effective methods of getting rid of lines. The fact that we have been so goal-directed has had significance for the feeling that it is also possible to compete in the public sector in the effective use of resources."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "When will a stop be put to dying people in hospital corridors?"

Brundtland: "It is not easy to achieve a decisive improvement overnight. When we were to make our economic belt-tightening package in May 1986 we obviously could not cut down expenditures in the health sector. On the contrary. Here we must increase appropriations and push the education of nurses, because for a long time too few nurses were trained. Therefore we stand today with a shortage of thousands of nurses, because you cannot train nurses in less than three years."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Shall we entrust all care to the public sector?"

Brundtland: "No! The need for care is constantly increasing. First of all because we have many more elderly -- we are living longer and can be treated more extensively than before. Human contact is needed for the care and treatment that does not require expert personnel. We must not come into a situation in which we become a 'cold' welfare state where others solve all our problems. If one does not use part of one's time together with others, this in itself is something that weakens community feeling. But many families are overburdened. They cannot manage their duties to their patient alone. The question then becomes how we can combine the family role and more private participation with a flexible public system that offers various alternatives. In the labor movement we clearly saw the necessity of solving tasks together -- in other arrangements than those that were publicly financed. And our last national congress stressed that we must revive cooperative ideas in modern form."

ARBEIDERBLADET: What does the labor movement today have to offer the Norwegian people that the nonsocialist parties do not have?"

Brundtland: "First of all that we will solve problems in a way that all participate in. And create a society in which freedom is not just a right for a select number of people -- the so-called successful part of the population. Work must be rewarded. Work in every sense of the word. We take our starting point in the human being himself, human work, human effect on others. I have no doubt that it is social democracy -- democratic socialism -- that unifies and is the best thing in a world that has the problems we are struggling with. Because social democracy is built on the premise that we live in a partnership. Whether I look at the global planet or I think nationally, I come to the same analyses both of the connection between things and how they can be solved. For what is freedom in a world in which all people are hit by destruction of the atmosphere? In such a world no one is free! For this is a real threat: People can destroy the atmosphere -- either by the accumulation of carbon dioxide or as a result of a hole in the ozone layer in the air that allows cancer-causing solar radiation to come right through."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "This is just as dangerous as nuclear weapons?"

Brundtland: "Yes, if this type of environmental effect is allowed to continue with an energy consumption that reaches the same levels in other parts of the world -- then it is impossible to imagine that the atmosphere will be able to bear the total effect. All energy consumption leads to one or another form of environmental damage. If we do not find new energy sources and methods of producing energy, the sum of the burden will become too great in the course of about 50 years."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "If we want to survive we must cooperate?"

Brundtland: "Today it is still possible to do something if the nations take strong measures and invest in research to find new forms of energy and develop a series of solutions that cause the sum of this pollution to decline. The

world must have energy. Otherwise we cannot bring the world out of poverty."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "In the end this becomes a question of the human drive to self-preservation -- we simply must do such and such together if we want..."

Gro answers: "As long as human beings just think of themselves and their own lives in the coming twenty to thirty years, most people will feel that 'it will last my time.' The hope is that people have just as much and perhaps more concern for their children's future as for their own. This is what provides the chance that people will plan for the long run. For our children's sake we must work together, globally. With a destroyed atmosphere 'caused by spraycans' humanity has come to the outermost limit. At many other stages one can buy oneself out of problems, achieve freedom for oneself because one has enough money -- while others live in poverty, bondage, and environmental problems that they have no possibility of buying themselves out of. But at the outermost limit there is no other salvation than a distribution of resources, and the assurance with a system of a minimum of freedom for all. People must cooperate and distribute. This is social democratic thinking and solidarity on the deepest level -- solidarity with coming generations. Cooperate and distribute, I say."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Norway is not even a member of the European Community. Is the EC debate buried now and forever in the Labor Party, from and with the plebiscite night of 25 September 1972?"

Gro does not think so. "We have gotten a large number of new EC countries. After a while Norway may be the only West European country that is outside of EC. Therefore it is clear that the EC debate is not a debate we can simply put behind us once and for all. The Europe report we will soon present does not contain any proposal to reevaluate the idea of membership itself, but it gives an important description of how much has happened in Europe and the world economy and in foreign economic cooperation since the plebiscite. I believe that most Norwegians to an even greater degree than fifteen years ago consider Norway to be an obvious part of Europe. Nevertheless, we will probably not experience the same agonizing discussion. In the Labor Party we have been occupied with Norway's place in Europe and with European cooperation. In our program we have angled sharply for what the European Security Conference can mean for a relaxation of tensions in Europe."

Gro Harlem Brundtland has been mentioned as the possible new president of the Socialist International, after Willy Brandt. She has also been drawn in in speculations about the UN's next secretary-general -- and in recent days we have seen how she masters an international role. She prefers not to comment on such speculations, but says that Willy Brandt has done much to build up international recognition for the thoughts and ideas the Socialist International stands for. "Therefore it would be a loss if the Socialist International lost its influence, because we would not find good solutions to the problems of the 1990's."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "Are you a proletarian now," I said to Gro. "By proletarian I do not mean whether you have a sailboat or not.

She seemed a little surprised before she answered with: "What does that mean in Norway today? This is probably a concept that most Norwegians identify with the propertyless. Those who have nothing."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "What I am actually asking is: Are you an ordinary person, a worker in society, even if you are not a laborer, but the prime minister? You do your best in the job you have. It is natural for you to talk, listen, and be together with all kinds of people. You probably became used to this in the Labor Party home you grew up in."

Brundtland: "I entered Sentrum Framlag when I was seven years old, under Werna Gerhardsen's leadership. This helped to form me."

ARBEIDERBLADET: "And so you have the same privilege as Einar Gerhardsen. You are not just the prime minister who holds sway at the King's table. You are also the leader of the Labor Party and the spokesman for the pensioner who comes to the party meeting!"

"That is a great resource," Gro answers. "You do not get direct contact with the individual person's experience if you do not regularly receive concrete 'human examples,' so that you yourself as prime minister can speak to an individual and ask, 'Why is it that yours truly has fallen between several stools in the bureaucracy? What can we do to correct this?'" Gro talks about the meeting at Dokka and the party in Hov i Land. At the previous district election it got 69.1 percent of the votes, and Gro was promised just as good and perhaps better results this fall.

"It really is a miracle," Gro said, "that the Labor Party that began as a struggle movement 100 years ago continues to be a driving force in the development of society. The nonsocialists constantly try to say that we steal their ideas. But what has happened is that they have not been able to avoid bearing the stamp of social democratic influence and culture."

And concerning the report that now lies on the UN secretary general's desk, Gro can say, "Again it is as it proved to be in our country, that when those who have little begin to join forces in constructive tasks and become effective, there are better conditions for everyone. So it is, and so it will be if we get the economic development going in a reasonable way. With just distribution, economic growth will increase as it must. Not with more and more energy and pollution, but in the form of goods and services that people need. The Social Democratic Party has much to give, because we need each other."

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NONSOCIALIST OPPOSITION BUOYED BY BAD ECONOMIC NEWS

Presthus: Government Shift Realistic

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 30 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Lars Hellberg]

[Text] "What has happened recently give a much more realistic basis for the expectations of a shift in government than was the case a short time ago," Conservative Party Chairman Rolf Presthus said at a press conference yesterday.

As far as the polls are concerned, which indicate that there are more who want a Labor Party government than a new nonsocialist three-party government, Presthus pointed out that one must distinguish between the voters' wishes and their expectations.

"Every government stands out as a realistic alternative. On the other hand there has been a good bit of uncertainty about the nonsocialist alternative. When a concrete alternative to the government is ready, the situation will be quite different," he said.

New Top Meeting

The group that is clearing up the question of adjustments to the Willoch government's long-range program has recently had several meetings. The non-socialist party leaders were in contact with each other as late as yesterday. They will probably come together for a top meeting with Center Party's Johan J. Jakobsen as host, today.

Presthus did not want to say anything about plans for the negotiations yesterday. But together with the party's first vice chairman, Kaci Kullmann Five, he stressed that the nonsocialist parties have a majority behind them and therefore have the duty to work for a nonsocialist government and a different policy than the one now being followed.

For the Conservative Party's national congress in Tromso next weekend there is no doubt that the party will unanimously demand progress in the negotiations with the Christian People's Party and the Center Party. The uncertainty about Presthus as a prime minister candidate that has been expressed by some voters

in various polls has no basis in the Conservative Party organization or among the party's publicly elected members.

Assure a Shift

On the contrary there is no doubt that the Conservative national congress will send a clear message that Presthus is the party's prime minister candidate and that one is making every effort to assure a shift in government this spring. The belief that it will be successful has been strengthened after the Christian People's Party's national congress last weekend.

Bondevik: Government Causing Inflation

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 5 May 87 p 5

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen: "Frontal Attack Against The Government"]

[Text] The Christian People's Party's Kjell Magne Bondevik made a frontal attack against the government's economic policy in Trondheim yesterday: price increases have speeded up. High inflation is unsocial. It hits the weakest first of all.

In a lecture Bondevik also said that his party's top priority is improvement of the environment for children to grow up in. "Such measures will be among our main demands in the governmental discussions with the Conservative and Center parties," he said.

Social Struggle

The Christian People's Party's leader stressed that high inflation will after a while put companies and jobs in danger. "The struggle against price increases is a social struggle and must be given priority in the future," Bondevik said. He did not hide where he places the blame: "The Labor Party government's policy has again speeded up the rise in prices."

Families with Children

Children's environment to grow up in was central in Bondevik's lecture. "Thirty weeks of pregnancy leave and birth money for those working at home joined to Wage Level 1 in the state will cost. But in the long run it will cost society more if we do not use the money to improve the situation of families with children. We put children before an increase of the general living standard. And a possible new government must pay attention to this, was the clear message to the negotiating partners in the Conservative and Center parties.

"Children today have many possibilities previous generations did not have. But at the same time we have frightening figures on failure to care for children, mistreatment of children, and incest. Declining birth rates also show that we must take measures that give more women the courage to have children."

Abortion

Bondevik strongly attacked today's abortion law and reminded the audience that the party vice-chairman, Solveig Sollie, is presenting a parliamentary question in the Storting today to the Minister of Social Affairs to reduce the number of abortions.

"I hope that we, across the dividing line of previous abortion debates, seriously can discuss what we can do to change the situation. Last year over 15,000 unborn lives were denied the right to live," Bondevik pointed out. He also reported that his party has also introduced a parliamentary question on the increase in social measures to prevent abortion.

Kindergartens

In his lecture, the Christian People's Party's leader said that there was no use in waving fine value banners in the election campaign if nothing is done to transmit these values and norms to new generations. "The real value choice is between those who say no to Christian value foundations, for example to kindergartens, and those who say yes to this obligatory framework in the transmission of our cultural heritage and Christian values."

Bondevik said that the Christian People's Party will not be satisfied with a paragraph of purpose. "It must also have consequences in practice."

Jakobsen Urges Greater Austerity

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 May 87 p 3

[Article by Lars Hellberg: "Center Party Assures New Government is Aim"]

[Text] The Center Party will do its part to lay a solid foundation for a new nonsocialist three-party government. The party's chairman, Johan J. Jakobsen, said this at a press conference yesterday. The Executive Committee gave its full support Monday to the goal-directed negotiations to clarify the remaining political problems between the Conservative Party, the Center Party, and the Christian People's Party.

He expressed himself carefully on the outlook for reaching unity. But he stressed that "We have good experience that the three former governing parties are able to formulate a common policy." The distance between the three parties was explained by saying that the Center Party, like all others, seeks support where it can find it in such a situation.

Good Basis

Jakobsen called the election manifesto he presented at the press conference as a good basis to clarify the prerequisites for a new three-party government. In answer to a direct question on whether the Center Party will accept having its

programs shaved down in the aggressive negotiations, Jakobsen answered: "We have previously conducted an election campaign in the governing position. This time, too, we will conduct an election campaign on the basis of our main political goals, and we assume that others will do the same.

Total Picture

Jakobsen gave a clear message that the Center Party is not entering the decisive negotiations with absolute demands. "For us it is important that the total picture of a possible new government's district policy confirms that one has the political will to preserve the main elements in the settlement pattern," the Center Party leader said.

He did not want to make predictions on the result of the negotiations, but he stressed several times that he is an optimist on the basis of the progress that already has been made. "The results will partially depend upon the clarification process we are now in, but also upon the content of the proposal the government presents," he explained.

Somewhat drastic

He called the Conservative Party's initiative on a reduction of billions in the national budget's expenditures somewhat drastic. But he also stressed the need for new, real belt-tightening. Several places in the election manifesto the Center Party points out that increased efforts in individual areas presuppose a redistribution of resources.

At the same time it is stated without reservation that there "is not room for new, expensive reforms for healthy people capable of working in this Storting period."

In the political manifesto the Center Party puts decisive stress on getting a better clarification of the connection between the problems of pressure and inflation, and in this connection what "price people and society must pay for decentralization."

"The developments in the districts and the areas of pressure must be seen as one. Every realistic policy of decentralization must aim at softening the pressure on the largest cities and at the same time stimulating expansion in the districts," the manifesto says. The manifesto, together with the resolutions in the Conservative and Christian People's Party's national congresses, will form the basis for the negotiations between the three parties.

Presthus Approves Center's 'Manifesto'

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 May 87 p 3

[Text] Rolf Presthus, as the chairman of the Conservative Party and prime minister candidate, is well-satisfied with the result of the Center Party's Central Committee meeting. "The Center Party's political manifesto is in all essential matters a positive contribution to the negotiations in progress," he said to AFTENPOSTEN.

In The Same Direction

According to Presthus it is clear that both the Center Party and the Conservative Party have moved in the same direction in the formation of their new district policy. The key idea is greater effort toward personal initiative, research, and education.

Good Basis

"Obviously we still have different positions on individual questions, but the differences are at any rate not larger than before. The Center Party's manifesto and the Conservative Party's district policy program give a good basis for the formation of a common, strong, and effective policy," Presthus said. He agrees with Jakobsen that the Center Party's contribution to the necessary clarification "should not create any extra problem."

9124

CSO: 3639/53

APRIL GALLUP POLL INDICATES SLIGHT GAIN FOR CONSERVATIVES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 2 May 87 p 3

[Article by Kjell Hanssen: "Mild Conservative Breeze In Spring Poll"]

[Text] No news is good news. After several weak opinion polls for the Conservative Party the party chairman, Rolf Presthus, can look with satisfaction at the latest reading of voter temperatures. In today's opinion poll from Norwegian Gallup, Inc., the Conservative Party advanced from 31.2 to 31.7 percent. In this case the meaning is stability on a high level.

The Gallup Institute took its interviews during the last two weeks before Easter, at a time when the ongoing governmental negotiations had made a good start. This may have raised the stock for the largest of the three former governing parties.

Stability

But it is first and foremost stability that characterizes the party barometer for April. All of the changes in the poll lie within the statistical margins of error that are operated with. The Progressive Party has the greatest decline with 1.0 percent. The Center Party has the greatest gain with 0.6 percent.

Bottom and Top?

If one compares the latest polls from the four institutes with one another, it may seem as if the two large parties have reached a top and a bottom respectively. Well helped by dissention and indecision in the nonsocialist camp, the Labor Party increased its support in the course of the winter. But the progress seems to stop around 40 percent. The Conservative Party for its part has experienced a weakening, but two of the last three polls indicate that the party is now holding its position.

Much has been said on increasing distance between the three former (and coming?) governmental parties, particularly on the distance between the Conservative Party on the one hand and the Christian People's and Center parties on the other. When Gallup asks for the "next best party," it turns out that more Christian People's Party voters name the Conservative Party (32 percent) than the Center Party (25). Correspondingly, more Center Party voters would go to the Conservative Party (28 percent) than to the Christian People's Party (20), if they should shift parties. Of the Conservative Party voters, 14 percent

Storting-valget (1)		1985	1986								1987			
		%	April	May	June	Aug.	Sept.	Okt.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mars	April
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Ap. ... (2)	40.8	43.9	41.2	39.9	35.5	36.0	39.6	38.0	39.2	37.6	39.2	40.0	40.1	
DLF ... (3)	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.4	
Fr.p. ... (4)	3.7	3.3	3.6	3.5	2.5	3.2	3.1	3.6	4.1	5.0	4.2	5.1	4.1	
H. (5)	30.4	28.8	31.0	32.1	35.5	34.5	33.5	31.9	30.5	31.8	31.4	31.2	31.7	
Kr.F. ... (6)	8.3	7.3	6.9	8.4	8.4	7.7	8.2	9.6	8.1	8.1	7.9	8.2	7.6	
NKP ... (7)	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.3	
RV ... (8)	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.8	1.1	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.3	
Sp. (9)	6.6	5.8	7.4	6.7	6.7	7.3	6.1	6.8	6.7	7.2	7.0	6.0	6.6	
SV ... (10)	5.5	6.6	5.9	5.8	7.2	6.9	5.7	6.2	6.0	6.6	5.9	5.5	5.5	
V ... (11)	3.1	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.3	2.1	2.5	2.3	3.4	2.8	3.0	2.7	3.0	
Andre ... (12)	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.3	
Sum	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.2	100.0	99.9	100.0	
Ap. + SV	46.3	50.5	47.1	45.7	42.7	42.9	45.3	44.2	45.2	44.2	45.1	45.5	45.6	
H + Kr.F.														
+ Sp.	45.3	41.9	45.3	47.2	50.6	49.5	47.8	48.3	45.3	47.1	46.3	45.4	45.9	
H + Kr.F.														
Sp. + Fr.p.	49.0	45.2	48.9	50.7	53.1	52.7	50.9	51.9	49.4	52.1	50.5	50.5	50.0	

Tallene angir hvor mange som ville stemme ved et eventuelt stortingsvalg imorgen, av dem som helt sikkert ville stemme. Det er også spurt hvilket parti man stemte på ved stortingsvalget i 1985. Forskjellene mellom de enkelte partiers oppslutning på dette spørsmål og faktisk valgresultat i 1985 er benyttet som viefaktor.

Intervjuene ble foretatt i tiden 4.—15. april 1987.

Norsk Gallup Institutt A/S

(13)

Key:

1. Storting Election 1985
2. Labor Party
3. New People's Party
4. Progressive Party
5. Conservative Party
6. Christian People's Party
7. Norwegian Communist Party
8. Radical Left Party
9. Center Party
10. Socialist Left Party
11. Liberal Party
12. Other parties
13. The figures show how many would vote in a possible Storting election tomorrow, of those who quite definitely would vote. They were also asked what party they voted for in the Storting election in 1985. The differences between the individual parties' support in this question and the actual election result in 1985 are used as a weighting factor. The interviews were undertaken 4-15 April 1987. Norwegian Gallup Institute, Inc.

go with the Center Party, eight percent with the Christian People's Party.

The Two Large Ones

But in absolute figures, in the number of voters, the Conservative Party can gain more from the Labor Party, and the Labor Party from the Conservative Party. Proportionately, too, they can make great conquests from each other. If they shifted party, ten percent of Conservative Party voters would prefer the Labor Party, while eight percent of the Labor Party's would go to the Conservative Party.

There is little more than four months now to the year's county and community elections. If one thinks of today's poll as an election result and compares it to the local elections in 1983, election night in September would give the following results:

Labor Party	+ 1.0
Conservative Party	+ 5.3
Christian People's Party	- 1.2
Center Party	- 0.6
Progressive Party	- 2.2
Liberal Party	- 1.4
Socialist Left Party	+ 0.2

9124

CSO: 3639/55

FORMER PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL ON DEMOCRACY, SECULARISM

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 4-5 Jan 87

[Interview with former Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel by Yalcin Dogan on the occasion of the New Year; place not given]

[4 Jan 87 p 6]

[Text] Ankara--We had a friendly chat with Suleyman Demirel on democracy and politics at the beginning of a new year. Admittedly, Demirel has voiced his thoughts on these subjects frequently, but there has been widespread comment that these statements featured "elements that raised further questions." So we went to see him. This is exactly how our interview with Demirel went:

Question: Dear Mr Suleyman Demirel, you have been saying that democracy has not been working properly for more than 6 years. Is it your view that to make democracy work today it is necessary only to change provisional article 4 of the constitution, or does your concept of democracy extend to other points besides provisional article 4?

Answer: I am not saying that provisional article 4 of the constitution should be abolished. I am saying that if Turkey needs this article, then let it stay put for a thousand years. You must get my meaning right. It would be extremely wrong to make it appear that provisional article 4 of the constitution is of interest to me alone, or that this is the only aim I am pursuing. I must say some people are very anxious to paint such a picture. What I want is a free and democratic Turkey.

Question: How is that to be achieved?

Answer: A free and democratic Turkey. Democracy is not something we have just invented: it has its rules. The words democracy, republic, and freedom have long been familiar to mankind. Their form does not vary much from one country to another, in my view. I say I am a democrat. I say I want a free and democratic Turkey. The answer to your question as to how this is to be achieved is as follows: free and democratic Turkey will be free, and will have justice, will have equality and those who govern the country will obtain the authority to do so from the free will of the people. In other words, the will of the nation will be paramount. The materialization of the paramount

will in an environment of freedom will be safeguarded. If this can be achieved, the sum total of its consequences will be an articulate Turkey. It will be a Turkey where everybody engages in the work of his choice, goes where he wants, says what he chooses to say, believes as he wishes. This will be a Turkey where it is up to independent courts and independent judges to decide what constitutes a crime and what the penalty for it should be. And that is not all. It is also a Turkey with a free parliament, free elections, a free press, and a free machinery of justice.

Question: Are you saying, then, that these elements--that is, a free press, free elections, and an independent judiciary--are lacking now?

Answer: No, I am not saying that, either. What I am saying is this: when I say a free and democratic Turkey, what lies at the root of it is the supremacy of the will of the nation. If what is at the root of it is not the will of the nation, its supremacy, than you cannot speak either of a free press, free trade union rights, a free judiciary, or of free scientific establishments.

Question: Are you saying the national will is absent?

Answer: I will come to that. I am not making a black and white synthesis. You have to understand my meaning correctly. I am looking at one of the various facets of a prism. The existence of the various things that I say must be present is important. But, if for instance, many of these are available but one is missing, you cannot call it democracy. It would be entirely wrong to speak of a free parliament where there are not free elections, and--where there is no free parliament--of a free press, free scientific establishments and even of a free judicial system. What am I trying to say, then? What I am talking about mainly concerns the 6 November regime. It has been manifested repeatedly over the past 3 years that the 6 November 1983 regime is a guided regime. As it is a guided regime, it cannot be called democratic; if it cannot be called democratic, you will be making a major blunder if you regard it as democratic. After all, if you call this democratic, what will you call a true democracy if you achieve it? When you say democracy, it goes with free elections. Free elections are elections that are open to one and all. Then again, there is the provision in the constitution that "parties may be freely formed." Six parties were founded. Conditions were imposed on them, the sole satisfaction of which would allow them to enter the elections. Three of these parties met these conditions to enter the elections, the other three were barred. The elections were held under martial law. And then there was a veto imposed against the administrative councils of these parties, allowing them to retain only some 30 out of 88 or 90 of the members. Finally, there was a veto against some of the nominees, entering the elections as candidates for parliament--that is, the authority we call the Cankaya authority exercised a veto against them.

Question: You are summing up the conditions under which the elections were held

Answer: Then the elections were held. The nation was asked to make a choice not from among those it wanted, but from those the authority wanted. In other

words, the nation was not given a choice. To elect means to choose whom ever you want. In this case, the nation was deprived of its right to make its own choice. It was told to choose one of those it had been presented with. Not only told to, but forced to choose. If a voter did not vote, he faced a fine. So, he had to go to the polls not only to avoid a fine but because of the fear of oppression by the state, especially in the smaller electoral units. What did he do at the polls? He was in the position of a person who has to choose one of three dishes he has been presented with: what if he does not want to eat any of them? Can you call such elections proper elections? You cannot; and that is the starting point of what is wrong. That is what is going on; where is it leading?

Question: You are linking what is wrong with the system and the lack of democracy to the 6 November elections

Answer: Look, I am not concerned with personalities when considering the 6 November 1983 elections. My concern is for the system. I am saying "let us create the system." The system is impersonal. The individual does not figure in it. The system is a mechanism. One has first to set up the mechanism and then impart a personality to it. If the mechanism is wrong to start with, imparting a personality to it is meaningless. It could not be done right, anyway. We did say from the beginning that this regime is askew. Let us take a look at what has happened, at the way this regime has been. This is the cause of what is ailing Turkey today. As Turkey embarks on 1987, its first problem is not the economy or anything like that. Its first problem is political; its first problem is its political regime, which is what everything depends on; the economy and the social issues depend on it--not that you can separate economics and politics, anyway.

Question: You are linking the distribution of deputies among the parties in parliament and the composition of the parties to 6 November

Answer: Take a look at the National Assembly of 3 years ago, and take a look at it now. The composition has changed. The 28 September by-elections were held some 2.5 years, nearly 3 years, after the first elections. The party in power obtained 32 percent of the votes cast in the 28 September [1986] elections, despite exploiting all the power of the state, despite the state almost being entered in the electoral contest. You cannot wield power on the basis of 32 percent of the votes. This shows one thing: there is an actual Turkey, and there is also a Turkey that is sitting on top of it. The actual Turkey and those who administer the Turkey that sits on top of it are two different things.

Question: The actual Turkey do you mean the opposition?

Answer: No, the nation. There is an administration in the sentiments of the nation, in the heart of the nation. This administration, that is to say, the administration in the sentiments and in the hearts of the nation, is not the same as the administration that is in the National Assembly today. They are two different things. How can there be an administration on the basis of 32 percent electoral support? After all, the remainder amounts to 68 percent.

If anyone says that one can be the administration on the basis of 32 percent of the electoral votes, then one has to point out that that leaves out two lots of 32 percent, plus a third lot of 4 percent. That means that two further lots will be able to say that they are entitled to be the administration. Just as there cannot be three administrations in a country, it is also absurd to claim that one can be the administration on the basis of 32 percent of the votes; to say so would leave more outside than inside the administration.

Question: Does that mean that the present administration should immediately go to the polls?

Answer: Let it go where it will. The issue is not where it should go; the issue is that the present administration is not the same as the administration that is in the nation's heart and mind. That is what I am telling you. It is up to them to decide where the remedy lies.

Question: Where do you think the remedy lies?

Answer: I believe it lies in elections.

Question: Early elections?

Answer: Look, "the main condition for democracy," I have said, "is for those who govern the country to derive their powers from the nation: In my opinion, those who govern the country today do not have sufficient power from the nation to do so. Can you call that democracy? As a matter of fact, such a political organization would have disintegrated before any of the others of it had not been in power. Now it is necessary for this unnatural situation to change. This is what we call democratization and civilianization. Turkey has taken not one step in the direction of democratization and civilianization. This is why Turkey is uneasy today. Those who govern Turkey may be at ease; that does not mean that the people, the nation, are at ease. Would you not say that there would be a difference between a regime that was congenitally defective--along with the administration that derived from it--and another administration that was a democratic administration suffering no congenital defect?

Question: You have linked the congenital defectiveness and the distortions of the system largely to the elections, to the 6 November elections. Are there other distortions besides these that derive from the constitution--distortions that prevent the emergence of the free, democratic articulate Turkey that you constantly emphasize?

Answer: In my view, the issue in Turkey is more of a question of playing the game according to the rules than of a constitutional issue. If the game had been played according to the rules and the result had been more appropriate composition of the parliament, that is to say, a parliament elected by the free will of the people in an environment of freedom, then that parliament would get together and straighten out the distortions in the constitution.

Question: Are these distortions arising from the constitution?

Answer: There are many distortions in the constitution. It is like the story about the camel. Someone said to him: "Your neck is crooked." And he replied: "So is the rest of me." As long as we do not overcome the first distortion, there is no sense in debating the rest. After all, what is the yardstick by which one disapproves amendments in the constitution or is the parts in the constitution that one dislikes? By the yardstick of whether they are democratic or not. This quality itself is compromised in this National Assembly and in this government.

Question: In the 10 years that you were prime minister, were there obstacles in the way of Turkey being a free, democratic, and articulate Turkey?

Answer: Now, look, the Turkey we governed was a difficult one to govern.

Question] Why difficult?

Answer: The military coup that followed the 1950-1960 era was a full-fledged coup. This is to say, it did not come from the command level, but from the junior officer level. We came to power through elections in the wake of that coup, and those who carried out the revolution [Turkish: ihtilal], the coup, outside the command level denigrated the philosophy we represented.

Question: What is the difference from 12 September?

Answer: There is a great difference.

Question: In what way? Can one not say that the civilian administration that followed the 12 September coup also came after a military administration?

Answer: No. The difference is this: the 27 May [1960] coup was against only one party and its government. The 12 September coup, in contrast, was against the regime. That is to say against the parliament, the political parties, and all politicians

Question: All right. Let us come back to the issue in question, that the Turkey you governed was a difficult proposition

Answer: It was a difficult Turkey in the following sense. In the 1950-1960 period, particularly toward the end of the 1950's, there were complaints that Turkey was moving toward dictatorship. The claim that "the constitution is being violated" was the justification given for the coup, for the revolution of the time. Whether one agrees with this view or not is another matter. Besides, I cannot see that there can be a valid justification for any coup. Because a coup against an administration that has come to power through elections is a coup against the votes of the nation. This is the reason for our failure so far to get of our poverty, to get rid of various ills: we have not yet managed to settle the problem of supreme authority; that is the reason. Look, our failure to manage to solve the problem of supreme authority is so patently obvious that there has been talk for years on end on the

question of active [Turkish: zindeli] forces. One can even point out that there is a sentence in President Evren's New Year's message to the effect that "Republican forces will protect the republic in even of danger."

Question: What sort of link is there between the president's New Year's message and your statement that "the Turkey that we took over was a difficult Turkey to govern"?

[Answer] Look. President Evren says in his New Year's message: "Those who wish and aspire to take our nation back once again and thus to serve their interests will find themselves, as always, up against the laws of the republic and the Ataturkist forces of this nation." Now, nobody can defend those who want to take our nation back. But who are the latter? If such acts are defined as offenses under the laws of the Turkish Republic, why is it that it is not enough for the state to tackle them with its laws and forces and references is made to certain forces described as "the Ataturkist forces of the nation," whose identity remains unrevealed? Are the Ataturkist forces of the nation the same as those who at one time used to be referred to frequently as the active forces? According to the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, "No person or agency shall exercise any State authority which does not emanate from the Constitution," If the forces described as "ataturkist forces" are the lawful forces of the state, then there is no need for them to be described in this manner. But if they are not, or if they are something other than the lawful forces of the state, then it must be stated who or what they are, what is the source of the authority they are to use, who shall they act against, and what they will do to whom and on whose orders? I consider that statement to be a regrettable exposition. In constitutional regimes based on the supremacy of the law, there are powers and responsibilities apportioned by legislation to various institutions. To make conjectures that there are forces above and beyond these, or to address certain words that may imply the same to the nation on the occasion of the New Year, tends to raise doubts about the regime based on the rule of law rather than to inspire confidence. The Turkish Republic has no need for forces outside those that are part of the state, and the Turkish Republic has the power to defend itself. It is a source of regret to me to witness that, instead of inspiring hope, words implying fear and threat have been used as means of helping achieve tranquillity and calm.

Question: To come back to "the difficult Turkey" that you governed

Answer: The 1961 constitution was a delicate constitution. Its authority had been destroyed [Turkish: tahrip] because there had been complaints against authority. A new and delicate constitution had placed checks on the government. It was almost as if the supremacy of the will of the nation had been abolished, as if the nation's will had been partitioned. It had been spread out among institutions. There was, in some ways, more than one state. The technique of running the state had been upset. As for the 1980 constitution, it sets out in the oppositen direction--with a vengeance. We stood for freedom in the post-1965 period, and we had to duty to do so. We have been champions of freedom for 25 years.

Question: At the time you were prime minister, there was a particular criticism directed against you, that articles 141, 142, and 163 [of the penal code] hampered democracy in Turkey. You say: "I want a free and democratic Turkey." Do articles 141, 142, and 143 not hamper a "free and democratic Turkey?" What is more, these articles were in force when you were the prime minister

Question: I am a republican. But being a republican is not a self-explanatory term. I am a democratic republican who relies on the supremacy of the law. I am a republican of the socially minded kind. I am a republican of the secular state persuasion. But let us not take secularism to mean irreligious. I am a republican who wants all the rights under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be available in my country and to be used by my people.

Question: To get back to articles 141, 142, and 163

Answer: Now, there are limits to being a republican. I am not a republican who draws no limits. I am against any fragmentation of Turkey. I am against any harm to Turkey's integrity. I am against discrimination on the basis of religion, language, or race in Turkey. I am for having all of these above and beyond debate. I am an anticommunist, an antifascist, and antimilitarist. Being an anticommunist, an antifascist, and an antimilitarist one; I am also against the parties which some people may want to set up to achieve their goals. Are there any who favor these? Is there anybody who wants the establishment of a communist or fascist party? Let us assume that there are. What I say is that whoever is for the establishment of a communist party in Turkey will no doubt come forward and say: "Dear people, if you vote for us, we will allow the formation of a communist party." I shall, in turn, get up and say: "No, do not do that, it would be a very wrong thing to do." After all, are we not supposed to be on top of things, and are we not saying that we do not all have to think alike?

Question: How will there be a free and democratic Turkey while these articles continue to feature in the penal code?

Answer: But I am for the freedom for anybody to present himself to the people and ask for the abolition of these articles. I respect this freedom. But I agree to nobody's right to demand from me that a communist party should be established. What I am saying is this: Let anybody, whoever he may be, come forward and put the case for the establishment of a communist party; I shall, in turn, oppose him. Otherwise, how can we have a pluralist system? But a lot of people want me to propose the abolition of articles 141, 142, 163 You do it. I say: I cannot do that; please do it yourself. If you succeed, then you become the government. I stand before the nation as the opponent of such people.

Question: You are saying: "Let whoever wants the establishment of a communist party come forward and put the case for it; if the nation votes for

it, then let him do it." Even this and similar statements of yours are touching off comments in certain right-wing circles to the effect that "Demirel is winking to the Left."

Answer: Now, look. There is one thing everybody should know in Turkey. If there is no democratic regime, then you can have neither right nor left. If someone has come and fitted Turkey with a regime and immobilized it, then nobody is allowed to say to another "I am a leftist" or "I am a rightist." Both the leftist and the rightist in Turkey are the children of the same country. It would be a delusion and aberration to expect such persons to betray Turkey. Will there never be traitors? There will be traitors in every country. But, overall, nothing can be achieved by sitting on some dead-end theories. To be able to be leftist or rightist are both conditional on one thing.

Question: On what?

Answer: On the existence of democracy. And the existence of democracy, in turn, depends on free elections--in my opinion, on the supremacy of the will of the people. Everybody, leftist or rightist without discrimination, must agree to this common denominator. If this idea has not sunk in during the past 6 years, then Turkey will never achieve democracy.

Question: Why, then, is there an impression on the Right that "Demirel is winking to the Left?"

Answer: Such critics as may be will understand, in time, what I am trying to convey. Whether they are on the Right or on the Left What I am saying goes beyond the Right or the Left. That is if you can achieve it. It would be very wrong if those of a right-wing or left-wing persuasion in Turkey, irrespective of who they are, to let the competition between them--I am not calling it a fight, I am calling it a competition, a struggle--lead to taking refuge under the right wing of the armed strength of the state as a shortcut to power or as a way to get the other side crushed, or to getting behind the armed forces of the state to exploit it.

Question: One of the criticisms directed at you is that when you were in power in the pre-1987 period, some circles intent on taking over power through undemocratic means were made partners in the government. What is your comment?

Answer: God knows, that does not hold water. Why? If you have in mind the 1975-1976 coalitions, there is an easy answer. If the question concerns the NAP or the NSP, then the answer is easy. We did have a coalition with them. We also had one with the RRP [Republican Reliance Party]. Now think back to March 1973 [date as published]. Turkey and its parliament had failed to produce a government for 4 months. The regime was proving unable to produce a government. It was a parliament endowed with legal parties. The NSP had been a partner in an earlier coalition with the RPP [Republican People's Party]. That is to say, no one had looked questioningly at a coalition with the NSP before. All three parties in the coalition, including the NAP and the RPP,

were legal. If the Justice Party came to an agreement with the other parties on the basis of a protocol, there is no reason for indulging in certain allegations. And let me tell you why not.

We formed a government in December 1977 - January 1978. The RPP formed a government with the participation of 11 deputies whom it snatched from our party and with the help of a number of independent deputies. This government, from time to time, made accusations against the NAP. But when it made these accusations, it was in power. Perhaps it had previous knowledge but now it was in power as well. It had all the archives at its disposal. True, a government does not have the power to close down a party. But it can get the chief prosecutor to act to bring a case to the Constitutional Court under the prevailing law on political parties. Now I ask you: why did it not do so? This was not done during 22 months of RPP rule. You know the government of 1980. We were a minority government. Nevertheless, these parties [NSP, NAP] gave us their support. On 22 July 1980, I wrote a memorandum to Lt Gen Nihat Ozer, martial law commander in Ankara, saying "Collar anybody who has committed an offense." The NAP was taken to court after 1980. This case has been going on in the courts for 6 years. There has been no accusation against us. These being the facts, what sort of additional evidence do we have to prove the futility and senselessness of these arguments and criticisms?

Question: Let us move closer to the present. What are your thoughts on the sentences in regard to the DISK?

Answer: The Supreme Court of Appeals has not ruled on the case yet.

Question: What do you think of the sentences?

Answer: I am not a judge. I cannot have any opinions concerning sentences. If there is an offense, or if there is an offender, it cannot be the executive and those who govern the country that judge it. The decision should be made by independent courts and by independent justices. There has to be an act somewhere; there is no offense without an act. If there has been an act and if it constitutes an offense, then it is up to the courts to determine the appropriate sentence. My complaint is against the handing down of a sentence where there is no offense and where there has been no recourse to a court. This is why I am taking up the case of provisional article 4 of the constitution. This article does not concern me. [sentence as published] Provisional article 4 deals with punishment, not crime. If the people punished under article 4 were guilty of committing a crime, they should have been tried. The NSP was prosecuted--and what happened? It served as the justification for the revolution. Some of the acts of the NSP were put on trial--and what did that achieve? And what would trying the JP have served? Why was the JP not put on trial? Was anyone acting to avert this? What on earth could the JP have been put on trial for--a party that stood for the flag, for the faith, for the fatherland, for the nation, for all-out action to put out the fires? But the imposition of article 4 in regard to the JP leaders--and what I say applies not only for the Justice Party but also for

the RPP--and the punishment that the article metes out amounts to imposition of punishment without a crime. Punishment without a crime is unconstitutional.

[5 Jan 87 p 6]

[Text] Question: Another current subject of debate is that of secularism. The 1982 constitution made religious instruction classes a constitutional requirement. And recently there have been a series of related developments that you have been following. How can one have compulsory classes in religion in a secular state?

Answer: These debates are all wrong. In the first place, was not Ataturk the founder of the republic? Ataturk did not found a secular republic. Look what Ataturk said--and I am reading this from his speech--in a statement dated 21 April 1920, before opening the Turkish Grand National Assembly:

"By deciding to inaugurate the Grand National Assembly--which is called upon to fulfil such important and vital tasks as the salvation of the independence of the country and the exalted offices of the caliphate and the Sultanate--on Friday, we will benefit by this auspicious coincidence to attend Frudat prayers together with all the honorable deputies at the Haci Bayram-i Veli mosque, to be blessed with the munificence of the Koran and the prayers. After the prayers, there will be a procession whereby the hairs of the Prophet's beard and the Prophet's noble flag will be carried to the special chamber. There will be a prayer and animals will be sacrificed before entering the depository."

Now, if one is to say that the foundation of the state of the Turkish Republic was wrong, than that is another matter. The Turkish Republic is a religious republic from its inception. The constitution that was in force until 1928 says that "the religion of the state is Islam." In 1928, the passage "the religion is Islam" was abolished, but the term secular did not appear. The phrase "is secular" came some 14 years later in 1937. The term "secular" features in the 1924 [year as published], 1961, and 1982 constitutions. If, where religion is mentioned, secular means something to the effect that the secular are to be ruled by religion, then that constitution is not secular. [sentence as published] The Turkish Republic is not secular because article 24 of the constitution makes religious instruction compulsory. Besides, the Religious Affairs Chairmanship also comes under the rule of the state. It is a functionary of the state. One must assess the Turkish Republic's relationship with religion properly. If one is to say that where religion is mentioned, secularism is violated, then the Turkish Republic is not secular.

Question: What is your view on the fact that religious instruction has been made compulsory?

Answer: Do not ask me to comment on that. You know which official sources of the Turkish State say that secularism is being violated; you go and ask them. Now, one must also define secularism. There is no definition of it anywhere in the constitution. Only article 163 of the Penal Code refers to it in

passing. Those acting in contravention of secularism, those who want to establish a state based on religious foundations . . . Every military intervention is preceded by claims of reaction and violation of secularism. That includes 1980. As nothing of a criminal nature has been established in the case of the meeting in Konya on 6 September 1980, can it be said that the act of the 12 September coup was justified? I keep coming back to the same subject. The revolutionary declaration issued on 12 September 1980 cited the meeting in question as the grounds for the revolution. Nobody is guilty of a crime until proven guilty, until then, he is merely accused. In Turkey, therefore, there are imputations of crime before a crime has been proven. There cannot be more than a handful of people sentenced under article 163 or articles regarding the violation of secularism as a result of court martial investigations and trials in 1960, 1971, and 1980. How will establishing religious foundations be implemented? Will it not have a program? What form will a state based on religious foundations take? Will it not have a constitution, a program, a system of cadres? In the past 6 years, certain people have become a target every time these matters have been discussed. Well, friend, if you are going to establish a state based on religious principles, what sort of state will that be? There is no model for it, not in the whole world. The Ottoman Empire could have converted everybody under its rule to Islam. And, in fact, when Yavuz Sultan Selim made an attempt to convert the inhabitants of Anatolia to Islam, to convert the Alevis [Shi'ites] to Sunnis, he found himself faced with Zembilli Ali Efendi. So I say, why all this barking up the wrong tree? Secularism has been violated--is that what is being claimed? And what on earth is that claim based on? Let us say on the headcover issue. But the headcover has nothing to do with secularism. It is a question of a dress. To draw conclusions as to what goes on inside somebody's head by looking at the way he is dressed These are futile issues. No judge or anybody else will consider this a crime. Nobody at all will do so.

Question: Can the way one dresses not be the symbol of one's thinking?

Answer: Now, look. While it is demanded that nobody should be punished for his thoughts, there is no sense in punishing somebody for his alleged thoughts judged on the basis of his dress. Don't we want a free and democratic Turkey? How can we first say let everybody think what they will, and then turn around to stop a man dressing the way he wants? In fact, how about the practice of wearing baggy trousers, caps? Some say: reform laws have been violated." Now I say the following, not in defense of anyone in particular, but in a general sense and for the whole country. When were these reforms introduced? Some 50-60 years ago. How long will Turkey have to have these reforms protected by legislation? When will it say: "these revolutions are now well-established; these laws are no longer needed." For goodness sake, how can there be a revolution that has not become well-established after 50-60 years? In my opinion, the Turkish intellectual must put on his thinking cap and ponder these questions. I know this is not the right environment in which to say these things. People will say: Demirel has articulated them; tomorrow a host of people will attack me. But I have done what was incumbent on me. My friend, I have done what was incumbent on me as an intellectual, an educated man, as a politician. I am neither against the [Atatürkist]

revolution, nor its laws. Nor could I ever be. What I am doing is raising a question: How long will Turkey have to protect by legislation revolutions that were carried out 50-60 years ago? That is the real question. If conservatism is the issue, then this is where true conservatism lies.

Question: There is a certain rumor at present in political circles: it is being said that MR Ekrem Ceyhun is acting as an occasional go-between, carrying messages between you and Prime Minister Ozal.

Answer: Mr Ceyhun is an exceptionally close colleague of mine. He is not only a colleague at an intellectual level, but also part of my family as close as a brother. He is a colleague and a friend of many years' standing. He has worked with me. He has also worked with Mr Turgut Ozal. He and Mr Ozal have known each other a long time. Mr Ceyhun's relations are confined to a social level. He neither brings nor takes messages.

Question: Mr Ceyhun aside, do you have any other form of communication with the prime minister?

Answer: No, not a single one. I challenge anybody to say otherwise. I speak with utmost openness. Whatever I have to say, I am saying it to the nation. I have never asked a postrevolutionary regime for any favors, and I am not asking the present one either. I am a man with a cause. I am the guardian of a banner, of an idea. I am free and democratic. I want a Turkey based on equality, social justice, development, prosperity, and the supremacy of the national will. In pursuing this quest, I shall not engage in anything that will compromise me.

Question: Let us say that elections were held in 1988 under conditions that you have mentioned. Let us also assume that the CWP, the MP, the SDPP and the DLP did win seats in the parliament, but none got an absolute majority. And let us also assume that such a combination arose that to form a government, everybody had to take part in a coalition. What, in your opinion, would be the preferences of the CWP in such a situation?

Answer: You are assuming that this takes place in a Turkey in which the prohibitions as well as the bans on certain persons have been lifted?

Question: Yes.

Answer: Then, such a need would not arise.

Question: Are you saying that in such a case the CWP would come to power on its own?

Answer: Look, I am not saying that I have learned everything there is to know in the course of 25 years, but I know a thing or two. I can feel the pulse of the people.

Question: You said: "The need would not arise." Let us assume for a moment--for argument's sake--that it does arise. Would the CWP seek a coalition first with the MP or with the democratic left?

Answer: Judgments based on assumptions serve no purpose.

Question: You want a "free and democratic Turkey." Everybody wants the same. What else been the topic of debate in Turkey in the past 6 years?

Answer: Whatever was the topic of debate in 1980, it is almost the same now. Inflation was a topic in 1982; it is again a topic now. Then, there was the topic of the debt; it is still with us now. As for anarchy

The suspension of the regime and the suppression of anarchy by the all-out use of armed force is not the doing of the present administration. Yet, unfortunately, nearly 500 citizens have lost their lives in the past 2 years in our southern and southeastern provinces alone. Of this number, 119 were martyrs--officers, noncommissioned officers, privates, and policemen who died on duty. Some 30 were innocent citizens caught between the forces of the state and bandits. Some 250 were terrorists. In no other period in the history of the republic have so many officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates been martyred. The present government is covering up the facts and dares to claim that "everything is fine in the rose garden." Moreover, it is known that 6,000 died before 1980 and another after 1980. Who killed them and what has happened to their killers has not been fully clarified.

Question: We did in fact discuss this earlier, but do you not think that secularism is being discussed rather a lot?

Answer: Now, it is being said that the right exists but pressure is being applied to stop people exercising it on the grounds that its use may cause harm in practice. Secularism is fine. But it is necessary to collar anybody who misuses it. There are competent legal authorities to do that. It is essential not to seek any authority outside the legal authority, such as citing "active forces, Ataturkist forces," and so forth. We are defending the state based on the rule of law. Now it is truly necessary to have a proper definition of secularism. This is why I am claiming that an incorrect definition is being given. I also think it extremely wrong that as soon as such debates begin, people should begin acting on the basis of preconceptions that this or that man is committed to one particular thing or another.

Question: What is your definition of secularism?

Answer: Secularism? In actual fact, secularism as a term is not indigenous to our country; it is a European term. Europe has the church. The latter has been a pain in the neck to the state for many years. By that I mean it has dominated the administration of the state. The church and the state have been at odds in Europe. Secularism is the process of the state shaking off the domination of the church; nor is it a process that has been fully accomplished. There are, for instance, christian democratic parties in Europe. We must get rid of the habit of using the expression "secularism is

being violated" whenever religion or religiousness are discussed. I see secularism, in the first place, as a lack of pressure on religion; in the second place, there are no organized clergymen in Turkey. They are simply not organized It is not possible for them to exert pressure on the state. Turkey has to get rid of the fear of Dervis Vahdeti and Dervis Mehmeti. It has to get rid of the fear that religion and religiousness can be a source of danger. If religion is a source of danger, one should remember that 99.9 percent of the nation are Muslims, and 60 percent are practicing ones. Can one have a state which fears its own citizens? It is necessary to get rid of these phobias. I know what I am saying. I am saying very forward [Turkish: ileri] things. I know that these will cause various debates. But I am saying that you will all come to the same conclusion eventually, however far and wide the debate may range. I come back to the same thing: the fear that some bearded, baggy-trousered men with prayer-beads may get together and destroy the state by shouting that religion is being wrested away is a misplaced fear. I make this claim because the record of the last 60 years shows that such incidents have been confined to isolated cases. And I say with greater openness that no information has reached the state in the past 60 years that there has been any movement to destroy the state in order to establish a state based on religious principles, or to have a particular program, a particular set of cadres, to achieve this end. If such information were received, it would be judged on its merits. What I am saying is this: let us place this whole matter on a legal basis.

Question: Do the foundations of legality not arise from the constitution?

Answer: The way the assembly has been constituted prevents doing anything about this constitution. The parties are patronized [Turkish: himayeli]. The people who have entered this assembly are patronized, almost. This is not the fault of the individuals, but due to the times. I do not mean to offend anybody. But if a constitutional issue is to be raised in Turkey, it can be settled only by an assembly which has been ushered in as a free and freely elected assembly. As Turkey has not reached that stage, to debate the constitution at this stage would merely be speculation.

Question: You are saying that "this constitutional issue will be debated when the time comes"

Answer: Of course. That is what I am saying. And we want a constitution that is in keeping with human rights. But, look, this is what all our discomformts stem from: both the 1961 constitutions--and its amendments in 1971--and the 1981 constitution are constitutions that were drawn up and approved under martial law and without debate. One wishes a "yes" or "no" debate had been held on the 1982 constitution in the open before the nation. We keep being told that this constitution has obtained a 92 percent vote for approval. My dear sir, does not everybody know how that vote was obtained? To say "yes" was compulsory; to say "no" was prohibited. If you said "no" you would be fined, you would go to jail. What sort of referendum is that? If an issue put to a referendum receives 92 percent of the votes in a country, then there is something definitely amiss there. There is no way any country will produce a 92-percent majority vote. A 92-percent vote is what was cast both

for the colonels' constitution in Greece and for the Marcos constitution, and the Husni Mubarak and Khomeyni constitutions obtained a 99-percent vote in referendums. Not much reliance should be placed on this 92-percent vote. That 92-percent vote is not the outcome of the true will of the people.

Question: Where there no steps at all toward democratization in the last 3 yers, that is since the elections?

Answer: Those who hold the reins of the power of the state in their hand are saying anything they want. When you attempt to get up and say anything against them, you find yourself facing a court case. Yes, some people were able to address public meetings in the run-up to the 28 September [1986] elections. I was one of them. But when I did, I was not speaking on the basis of utilizing rights that exist in Turkey. I spoke as a human being, as a citizen, as a man of this country, on the thesis that certain things were mine as of right. And 40 court cases were brought against me. Others in the same position are also facing some 40 or so cases each. In other words, some people are free to speak as they wish, while others, if they speak, find that they have to face a court for their action. Can you call that democracy? There is nothing in what I said that constitutes an offense. Anyway, the court cases are brought not for what I say but because it is I who says it. What sort of even-handedness is this? What sort of democracy is this?

Question: Do you not at all share the prime minister's statement that "there is democracy in Turkey?"

Answer: Just take a look at the state radio and televison. The process of conditioning the country in a partisan way continues, and the Turkish citizen is being deprives of the chance to learn the truth. Almost half of the news on the state radio and television consists of government news. Turkish citizens should not have been reduced to the point of having to ascertain the facts from foreign radios. The state radio and televsion continue to maintain hostility toward the pre-12 September [1980] administrations, as if martial law were still in force and as if the 12 September administration were still in place. Its programs and the explanations concerning development are all based on denial.

13184/13104
CSO: 3554/171

NATO CLOSELY OBSERVING EXPERIENCES WITH FEMALE COMBAT TROOPS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 9 Apr 87 p 27

[Article: "Denmark's Women Soldiers on Front Line Also"]

[Text] Copenhagen (REUTER)--Denmark's armed forces are extending equality between the sexes to the "battlefield" also by offering women an opportunity to participate in frontline combat duties.

This year 50 female volunteers in the army and 32 in the air force will participate in a service experiment. The navy has already concluded a 4-year test period involving 77 women. Several have remained in the service, and additional women are being recruited.

The female soldiers are operating artillery in tanks and motorized troop transport vehicles as well as field artillery and anti-aircraft weapons. Women in the air force are not flying combat aircraft or firing missiles, but they are working in missile batteries and defense units.

They are all volunteers since military service in Denmark is obligatory for men only.

The director of the experiment, Major Ejnar Pederson, stated that the reasons for the experiment are partly political: the women's liberation movement and political parties have demanded an equal opportunity for both sexes to participate in all jobs.

Other NATO-member countries have kept a close eye on the experiment partly for the reason that the birth rates in the NATO countries along with Denmark are on the decline and it is difficult to maintain the strength of frontline regiments with man power alone, added Pedersen.

No special height, weight, or strength requirements have been established for women entering the armed forces. Suitability for duty is determined in a normal medical examination.

In the navy, women have worked in key positions in, among other places, ships protecting the fishing fleet, minelayers as well as in patrol and missile

boats. The functional capability of mixed personnel and the reaction of women to ocean conditions were tested in this way.

Women have not been accepted for submarine duty, as divers, and for long-term inspection tours in the North Atlantic.

10576

CSO: 3617/79

EXPECTED SUPERPOWERS ARMS DEAL CATALYST FOR DEFENSE AGREEMENT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 7 May 87 p 1

[Article by Carl Otto Brix: "Social Democratic Party and Government on Speaking Terms Regarding Security Policy"]

[Text] After five years of being on bad terms, the government and the Social Democratic Party are again at the point of hitting it off concerning security policy. The backdrop is the expected agreement between the superpowers concerning the scrapping of nuclear weapons.

The broad majority in the Folketing concerning security policy is at the point of being reestablished. This is taking place in light of the expected agreements between the superpowers concerning the phasing out or abolition of nuclear weapons in Europe.

The government and Social Democratic Party share the view that Europe must now take its fate into its own hands and not base its security exclusively on a partnership with the USA. This recognition opens the door for new Danish common viewpoints.

Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Liberal Party) hinted at a meeting in Frederiksberg yesterday that he would like to see Denmark as a member of the West European Union, but that the participating countries will hardly invite the footnote country of Denmark to join the union. The West European Union consists of the old EC countries plus England. It was established in 1946 but has actually been languishing since NATO was established in 1949. Now it is getting a new role.

Ellemann-Jensen thinks that the European Political Partnership (EPS), which is part of the EC package, can therefore also become a forum for security policy discussions. But it was emphasized in the referendum last spring that security policy discussions are to take place in NATO.

The Social Democratic Party's security policy spokesman, Lasse Budtz, largely speaking agrees with the foreign affairs minister. Budtz says to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that now the European countries themselves have to look after Europe's security. In his and the party's opinion, Denmark's contribution must consist in deploying forces in all fields. The European part of the NATO alliance must be strengthened first and foremost. But this is not enough. Denmark must not refuse to become a member of the West European Union, to which other European NATO members also want to be admitted. As a third point, the Social Democratic Party is prepared to use the EPS as a security policy debate forum.

DEFENSE MINISTER ENGELL AUTHORS BOOK ON SECURITY POLICY

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 13 May 87 p 8

[Article by Nils Eric Boesgaard: "Minister Writes Book About His Defense"]

[Text] Defense Minister Hans Engell is making his debut as an author. "Ja, var der ingen fare" [Yes, There Was No Danger] is the title of the debate book about Danish defense, security policy, NATO criticism and political opponents. The book is also about the supporters who out of misunderstood loyalty are not coming to the defense of defense.

"Interest in and sympathy for Danish defense is too scanty," Defense Minister Hans Engell said yesterday as justification for that fact that he is bringing out a new debate book on defense on 18 May from Kontrast Publishers.

"I sent signed copies to Social Democrats Knud Damgaard, Karl Hjortnaes and Poul Sogaard," the minister added.

At a press conference in connection with the publication, the minister emphasized that recent developments in the nuclear problem area and the prospects for the removal of nuclear missiles in Central Europe in his opinion have not changed anything fundamental in Danish security policy.

"I utilized the opportunity to draw up the main problems as I see them," Hans Engell added, who hopes that the book will rouse the defense-friendly forces in the Danish debate:

"The few who support defense are too withdrawn and passive in their aimed-at non-partisanship and should manifest themselves somewhat more strongly," the minister said, who remonstrates strongly with the Social Democratic proposal for a so-called nonaggressive defense--"the municipal antitank force"--which will make Denmark's already difficult position in the NATO alliance even more difficult.

Hans Engell has called the book "Ja, var der ingen fare", with a quotation from Peter Faber's soldier's song from the defense-enthusiastic days of the Three Year War, "Den gang jeg drog afsted" [Then I Set Out]. He has a hard time finding enthusiasm in our time's Denmark and he attributes it primarily to "the declining percentage of the people who have a personal attitude toward defense because they have not experienced war and occupation, and because they never had the opportunity to do compulsory military service."

STUDY CLAIMS WOMEN'S MOVEMENT POSING THREAT TO DEFENSE WILL

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 14 Apr 87 p 6

[Article by Peter Bergen: "First Lieutenant Sounds Alarm: Aware Women Threatening Defense"]

[Text] Copenhagen. The new women's awareness is a threat to defense that we have underestimated to a really grotesque extent.

This alarm to Danish officers comes from Reserve First Lieutenant Carl-Henrik Hall. As a political science student, he studied "younger aware women's" massive opposition to the armed forces and NATO. He is publishing the results in MILITAERT TIDSSKRIFT [MILITARY JOURNAL] in an attempt to open the armed forces' eyes to the threat from the country's own female citizens.

"Opposition to defense and security policy is quite simply one of the strongest characteristics of all concerning the new women's awareness. In recent years young women have turned massively against the armed forces."

Whereas before women were generally a little more conservative than men, or perhaps rather more apolitical, today they are characteristically farther to the left than the opposite sex. This applies especially to the youngest women.

While young men are distributed somewhat evenly to the right and left, two out of three younger women vote for the left (Social Democratic Party, Socialist People's Party, Socialist Left Party, etc.). This figure applies to 18- to 29-year-olds in the last general election.

As far as the armed forces and security policy are concerned, younger women are even more to the left. A large majority is against NATO. A completely different attitude than among young men, where NATO supporters dominate. In 1985 a whole three out of four young women thought that Denmark should advocate a Nordic nuclear-free zone. Even if it meant a break with NATO. And in 1982 one fifth of younger women advocated more money for the armed forces. While almost two thirds wanted to cut back the military's budget.

Carl-Henrik Hall: "The heart of the matter is that women's political power is now growing rapidly, and that defense is very far down on their list of priorities and on top of their list for cutbacks."

Therefore, the armed forces' staff must discuss "the reasons for this massive and growing animosity, which ominously enough is manifesting itself especially among young, highly educated women."

He himself has no doubts that the armed forces themselves are to blame for a great part of the women threat. Because they are still almost closed to women, in contrast to other formerly male-dominated professions.

"The armed forces have let themselves be overtaken by developments and today are an equality policy dinosaur."

This has resulted in ignorance and hostility.

"Seen by a feminist's eyes, the armed forces are patriarchal and sexist. With this, it is believed that they are a man's world, where the men help one another in keeping women out and subsidiarily down. And also, women are considered as objects, chiefly sex objects, and not as subjects, i.e., as equal and energetic individuals."

"In women's research work, the armed forces are pointed out time after time as one of the most extreme and sexist subcultures."

"At the same time, the armed forces are a channel to power, prestige and authority which is almost closed to women. If they perceive them in this way, it is rational political conduct to turn against the armed forces and seek to weaken them."

In Carl-Henrik Hall's opinion, the solution is to open all duties to women and to place the same demands on both sexes.

8831

CSO: 3613/89

DEFENSE MINISTRY STUDYING PERSONNEL, MANPOWER ISSUES

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 16 Apr 87 p 12

[Article: "Defense Forces Adjusted Personnel Requirements"]

[Text] The General Staff has revised the skeleton plan for the development of the personnel organization and has submitted a proposal to the Defense Ministry for the organization's first development measures.

The revision of the original skeleton plan is a result of the Finance Ministry's statement, according to which there are no opportunities for an essential increase in resources. The ministry intends to include the revised development program in its operational and economic plan for the years 1989-93.

The ministry considers the revision of the training system, which concerns all personnel groups, to be the first most significant development measure. The goal of the system is to reorganize officer training to correspond with the requirements of the college-level educational system as well as to adapt the training of warrant officers to general intermediate education.

Also the intent is to improve the training and position of specialized officers, enlisted personnel, and civilian personnel of the Defense Forces.

10576

CSO: 3617/91

AUSTERITY PLAN GIVEN CREDIT FOR IMPROVED PAYMENTS BALANCE

First Quarter Imports Drop

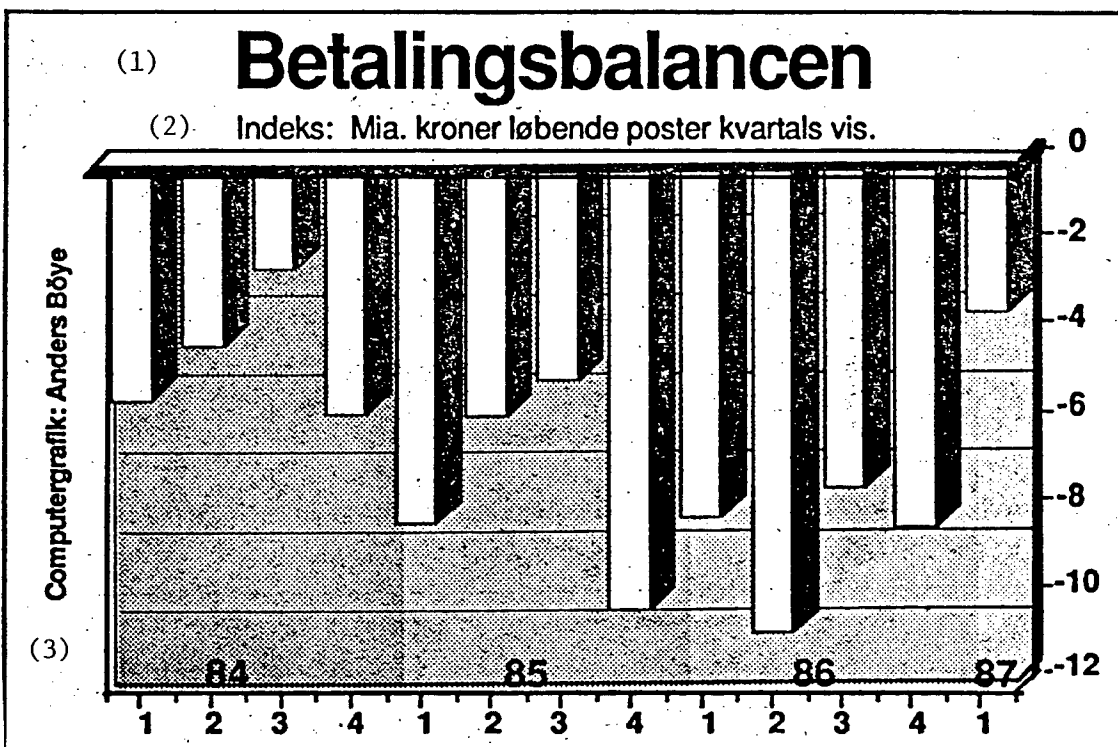
Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 May 87 Sect III pp 1, 13

[Article by Hugo Gården]

[Text] Economic stagnation and rigid measures of economic intervention have had a beneficial effect. The balance of payments deficit has become markedly improved, even to a far greater extent than was expected by everybody. During the first quarter of the year, the deficit was more than halved in relation to the first quarters of the last 2 years.

That means that there has been much less borrowing abroad than during the last few years, but a surplus is needed in order for the debt to be eliminated.

The surprising trend of a deficit of 3.5 billion kroner as against 8.1 billion kroner the previous year resulted in an increase in prices at the Stock Exchange of approximately 0.5 point--even if, later in the day, the trend was less positive. The reason probably is that nobody gave expression to any particular optimism, including Minister of Economic Affairs Anders Andersen (Liberal Party). For the problem is that the export rate did not increase from the first quarter of last year to this year. It is the lower import rate that has created the improvement, and that is not enough to ensure a lasting and marked improvement of the economy.



The graph shows a marked improvement in the balance of payments. It is the first time since 1983 that there has been a major reversal during a single quarter.

Key: (1) Balance of payments
 (2) Index. Billion kroner current items per quarter
 (3) Computer graph: Anders Boye

Imports Declining by 10 Percent and Exports Stagnating

The balance of payments deficit was more than halved during the first quarter of the year. This was, in particular, due to the surprisingly favorable trade figures.

The improvement in the balance of payments during the first quarter was far greater than expected. The immediate effect was an increase in prices at the Stock Exchange of about 0.5 point, thus a modest drop in prices.

However, since the improvement is basically due to the fact that we are well on our way into an economic stagnation, comments on the improvement are rather restrained. This applies to comments from the government, from the opposition and from chief economists.

A month ago, a number of economists in banks expected the deficit during the first quarter to amount to approximately 5-6 billion kroner. However, it became 3.5 billion kroner. This is primarily due to the fact that the trade balance in March became far better than generally expected. The first quarter showed a trade surplus, and it was the first time in 4 years that the trade balance showed a surplus.

Improvement in Imports

It is the rate of import that has led to an improvement. The rate of import dropped drastically, not least as a result of the measures of intervention last year. Imports declined by approximately 4.5 billion kroner to 40.4 billion kroner in the first quarter in relation to the first quarter of 1986.

Exports, on the other hand, have stagnated, indeed, there is a minor decline to 42.5 billion kroner. And this is a major reason for the not very optimistic evaluation of the balance of payments, nor from Minister of Economic Affairs Anders Andersen (Liberal Party). As long as there is no marked improvement in the rate of export, there will be no prospects of any marked improvement of the basic economic problems. It is the export trade that will have to provide a foreign exchange surplus to be used to pay back the large foreign debt.

Imports have declined, partly due to the restraints on the private consumption, partly due to a lower rate of investments within the business sector. But even if the rate of consumption has been reduced, there continues to be a large consumption of foreign travel. During the first quarter, the expenditure on foreign travel was approximately 800 million kroner higher than during the first quarter of 1986.

While services (for example banking operation abroad) used to contribute well to the balance of payments, there has been a decline in both income and the net result. The income dropped by 900 million kroner to 3.5 billion kroner, and the surplus in the services balance has dropped to 700 million kroner.

The level of net interest expenditures on the foreign debt was largely as expected, nearly 6 billion kroner.

Main Figures

A couple of main figures: the total incomes: 60.8 billion kroner (as against 61.6 billion kroner) and the total expenditures 64.4 billion kroner (as against 69.7 billion kroner).

The deficit: 3.5 billion kroner as against 8.1 billion kroner in the first quarter of 1986 and 8.2 billion kroner in the first quarter of 1985.

1987-Deficit

The government as well as economists in the financial institutions expect a marked improvement in the deficit for the entire year of 1987. In 1986 it reached the record-high level of 34.5 billion kroner, and in 1985 it became 29.1 billion kroner.

Most evaluations are within the range of 20-25 billion kroner, a few go as low as to 15 billion kroner.

What may cause things to change markedly are the consumption, the exports and the general economic activity.

There has not yet been any sign of a consumption boom like the one in 1986 despite the large wage increases, and this is largely due to the fact that the wage increase for the individual worker is not as large as the wage expenditures for the enterprises, and, in addition, it has become more difficult to finance the consumption via borrowing, because the prices of real estate and securities have not increased as much as previously.

If a stagnation in the export markets occurs, this will affect Danish exports, but, in addition, even an unchanged growth rate abroad of about 2-3 percent may be poor consolation if the new, high cost level of Danish enterprises causes Danish goods to become less competitive.

We are on our way into a period with a zero growth rate. This is particularly felt within the construction sector and in retail sales as well as in the jobless rate. However, the declines so far in the rate of activity within the construction sector and in the employment rate have been smaller than predicted by many economists and members of the Independent Economic Council at the end of last year. However, an increase in the jobless rate is expected at the end of the year from the present jobless rate of about 250,000 persons. The extent of the decline, therefore, will also have a large impact on the balance of payments situation.

Economic Restructuring Still Needed

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 May 87 p 14

[Editorial: "Better Balance"]

[Text] The report on the small balance of payments deficit during the first quarter of the year was pleasant news on top of the long series of unpleasant facts throughout 1986 and the gloomy predictions for the future.

The government's ministers of economic affairs have often pointed out that the trend in this area as well had been reversed, but developments in 1986 did not provide any clear proofs of any such improvement. The low rate of inflation as well as a too rapid nominal wage development caused a far too sharp increase in the private consumption rate. And the increase in the private consumption has a most detrimental effect on the balance of payments on account of the large, direct or indirect import implications.

However, there have now been visible indications that the trend toward a reduction of the deficit is a reality. The explanation may, first and foremost, be sought in the effects of the Easter package and the Potato Diet with their strong incitements to restrain the consumption for the benefit of increased savings. The effects of these measures of intervention are expected to become even greater once the tax on private interest expenditures is reflected in the state of liquidity of many people. It is to be hoped that this will provide the basis for a lasting higher savings rate among Danes.

There is almost tradition for news of favorable economic developments to check all the disasters, which may conceivably take place in the future. That is not very difficult, for there are always uncertainties when looking ahead. However, the favorable period now experienced continues to slow down the trend toward the rather famous or infamous abyss. And it confirms to the population that it is reports of this nature on the economic development that the present government seeks to achieve, and which it has been aiming at through its many measures of intervention and a tight public expenditure policy.

The background to the balance of payments deficit is a wrong structure of the economy with too many people employed to cover the consumption of the domestic market, whether it be production of goods or public services in schools or hospitals. A shift in the structure is a long process, requiring more enterprises, a larger production, the development of markets, etc. Historically, there have been several tentative efforts to bring about such a reversal. But the political support on the part of the majority has been too brief to achieve the objective.

A change in the structure of the Danish economy requires a government which directly makes a balance of payments equilibrium its most important political goal. That is what the Four-Leaf-Clover Government has done.

7262

CSO: 3613/92

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS: KEEP TIGHT REIN ON ECONOMY

Reduced Consumption Satisfies Government

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 20 May 87 Sec III pp 1, 6

[Article by Hugo Garden: "Consumption Now Declining"; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] In spite of the big wage increases the Economic Affairs Ministry is anticipating an actual decline in consumption in the current year. Economic Affairs Minister Anders Andersen (Liberal) concedes that National Bank director Erik Hoffmeyer's warnings about consumption developments were correct.

Although hourly wages are rising by over 8 percent this year, private consumption will not increase in the view of the Economic Affairs Ministry economists. They feel that the strong interventions last year have effectively checked consumption. Following consumption increases of 4-5 percent in the last 2 years, they anticipate an actual decline of half a percent this year.

Economic Affairs Minister Anders Andersen (Liberal) said at a press conference yesterday that the psychological effects of interventions like the one last fall have more impact than more traditional economic interventions like the Easter package.

Anders Andersen admitted that National Bank director Erik Hoffmeyer was right to warn about the consumption trend in 1985. Hoffmeyer has been calling for steps to moderate consumption growth since the spring of 1985. But now the politicians have become aware of the problem and today they are willing to react more quickly to a future increase in consumption, Erik Hoffmeyer said yesterday at a meeting with economic reporters.

According to the government economists and the National Bank, the strong level of consumption in 1985 and 1986 was the main thing that upset economic development. After a sharp upturn the economy shifted abruptly and economic stagnation is expected for both this year and next year. But even if a slowdown is justified, "zero growth for 2 years is unlikely," Hoffmeyer said. However he was unable to point to any specific patent remedies.

Economic Slowdown Was Expected

Just what we expected. That is the actual conclusion of the Economic Affairs Ministry's survey of the economy this year and next. Last October ministry economists predicted that growth this year would be only 3/4 of 1 percent. Since then all the economists have agreed that there will be an economic pause this year, as Finance Minister Palle Simonsen (Conservative) put it.

At a meeting with economic reporters yesterday National Bank director Erik Hoffmeyer said there is more agreement this year on economic assessments than there was before. The Economic Affairs Ministry now expects an actual decline in growth of a quarter of a percent this year and a positive growth of a quarter of a percent next year. That is due to the abrupt slowdown in the economy as a result of last year's economic interventions and weak growth abroad. That places restrictions on export opportunities.

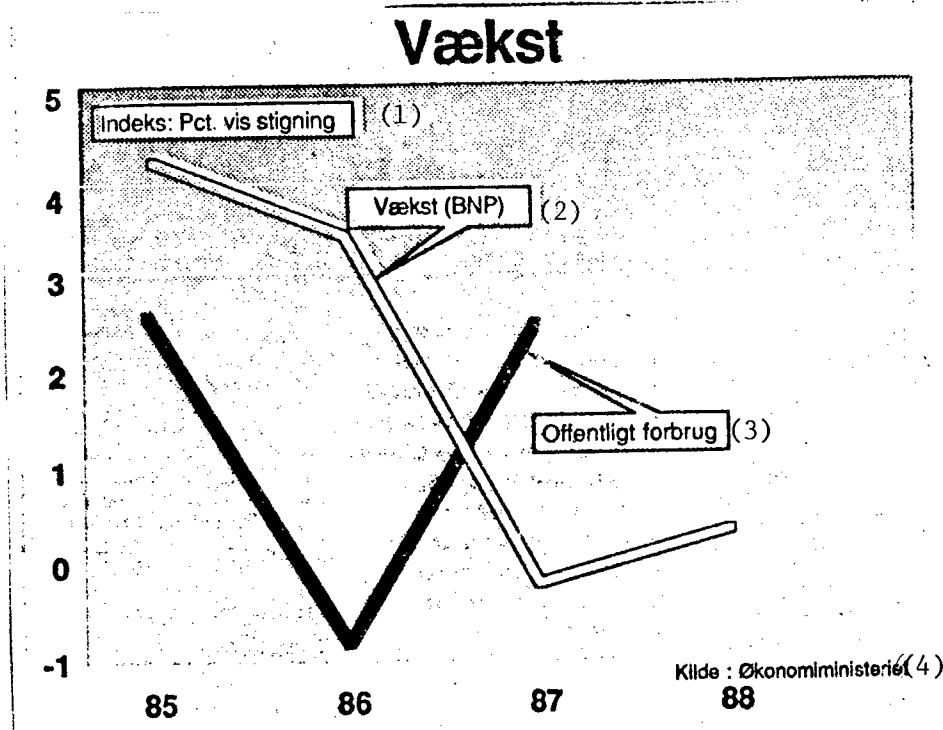


Figure 1. Growth

Private consumption is expected to decline sharply this year. That is a major reason for an improvement in the balance of payments. However public consumption will rise next year.

Key:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Index: increase in percentages | 3. Public consumption |
| 2. Growth (GNP) | 4. Source: Economic Affairs Ministry |

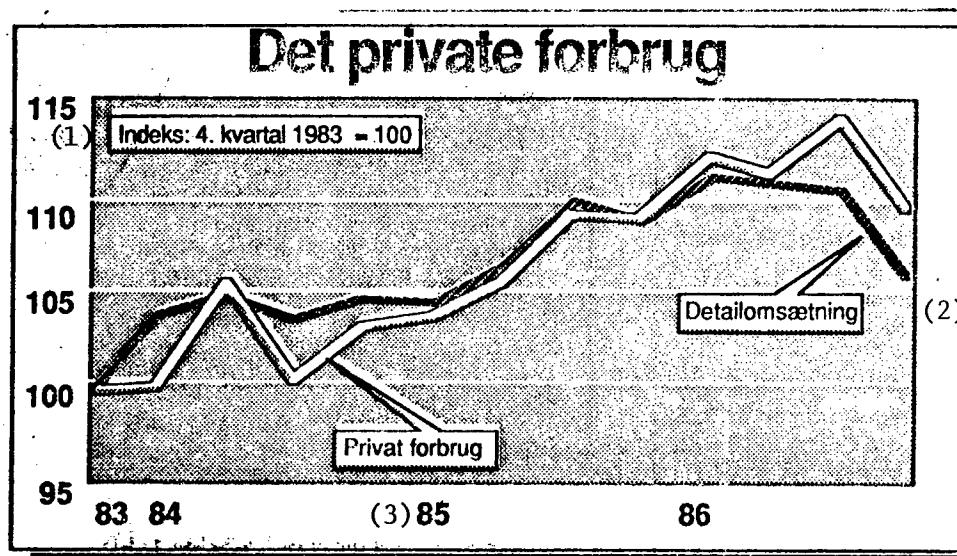


Figure 2. Private consumption

Private consumption has increased sharply in recent years.

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Index: 4th quarter of 1983 = 100 | 3. Private consumption |
| 2. Retail sales | |

But the slowdown is producing a marked improvement in the balance of payments, especially as a result of a big decline in imports. The decline this year is expected to be around 13 billion kroner with a deficit of 21.5 billion kroner (the October forecast called for a deficit of 22 billion kroner).

In spite of the big wage increases ministry economists do not expect a consumption increase this year; instead they predict a decline of half a percent. An exception to the downward tendency is consumption in the public sector. Here a small decline is expected this year but an increase is predicted for next year. The municipal sector plays a large part in this.

Unemployment is expected to rise by around 15,000 to reach 235,000 this year. Employment will also rise, but because the addition to the job market will outweigh this, unemployment will increase too. Unemployment will increase further in 1988. The ministry acknowledges that if developments this year and next are more unfavorable it will have a negative impact on unemployment in particular and to a lesser extent on the balance of payments. That is due to the nature of the economic development.

However ministry economists stress that the economic evaluations for this year and next are extremely uncertain and that the most important elements of uncertainty are foreign ones. There is a risk that the international economy will take a downward turn. In this country the uncertainty is

especially great with respect to evaluating the effect the change in the economy will have on households (consumption and savings) and on business firms (investments). It is an uncertain factor that the slowdown in 1986 is first having a real impact now. In addition the loss of competitiveness resulting from the big wage increases will not be significantly improved next year, in the view of the economists. Therefore they do not expect exports to give the economy a more dynamic tendency.

Table 1. Growth in major areas, shown in percentages

<u>Area</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>
Growth of GNP	3.5	- .25	.25
Private consumption	4.25	- .5	
Public consumption	- .75	2.5	
Business investments	19.5	-5.25	
Exports	.5	1	
Imports	6.5	-2.75	
Hourly wages in Federation of Trade Unions/Danish Employers' Federation	5.25	8.25	5.5
Consumer prices	3.5	4	3
Unemployment	7.75	8.25	9.5
Balance of payments, % of GNP	5.25	3	2.5

Economic Advisers Issue Warning

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 22 May 87 p 1, Sec III p 12

[Article by Hugo Garden; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] The Council of Economic Advisers was unusually sharp in its criticism of politicians, the government and the factions on the labor market. It is not the time to give big wage increases and create doubt about economic policy, the advisers say.

The new report from the Council of Economic Advisers contains unusually sharp criticism of politicians, the government and the factions on the labor market. They are all responsible for the fact that we have run into an economic stagnation where it is difficult to export our way out of the problem and where unemployment is rising.

There are two main reasons:

1. The contract negotiations will lead to a deterioration in competitiveness of 15 percent over 3 years and this is happening at a time when there is little growth abroad. But everyone was well aware of that, the economic advisers say. This will automatically lead to increased unemployment and a weak development in real wages for workers.

2. The government intervention came too late last year. It created uncertainty about the fixed exchange rate policy for the krone and it imposed big costs on firms prior to the contract negotiations.

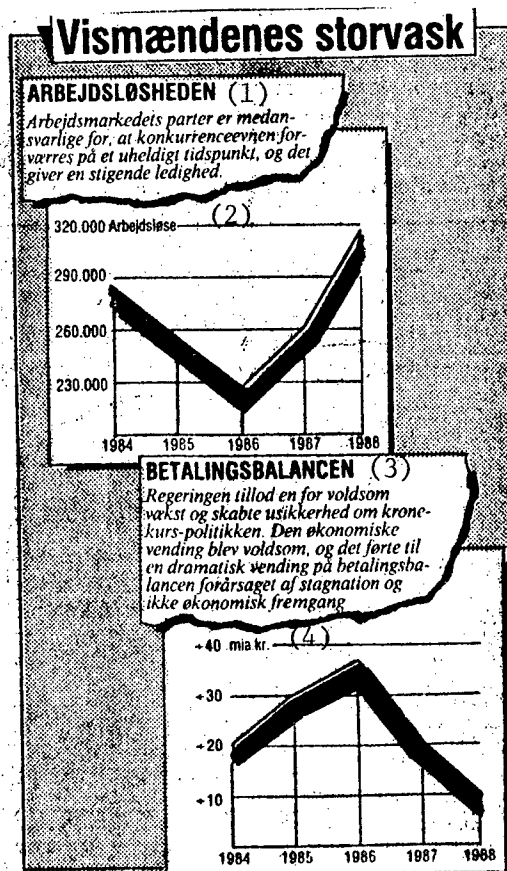


Figure 3. Problem Areas Pinpointed by Economic Advisers

The Council of Economic Advisers criticized both the labor market factions and the politicians.

Key:

1. Unemployment: The labor market factions share the responsibility for the deterioration of competitiveness at an unfortunate time and this will lead to a rise in unemployment.
2. Unemployment figures
3. Balance of payments: The government allowed growth to proceed too rapidly and created uncertainty about the krone exchange rate policy. The economic shift was violent and this led to a dramatic change in the balance of payments situation, caused by stagnation and not economic gains.
4. In billions of kroner

Developments in different areas of the economy, such as wages and the exchange rate of the krone, have not been mutually adjusted. "One must go back to the oil crisis in 1973-74 to find developments that were more poorly adapted to each other," according to the economic advisers' report.

The way things have developed, the problem of unemployment and the balance of payments deficit cannot be solved simultaneously.

Demands on economic policy have intensified, the advisers say, but they do not recommend a devaluation. However they stress that the policy that is selected should be pursued consistently and smoothly. That has not been done enough in the last few years, the advisers say.

The economic advisers predict that the balance of payments will improve significantly. The deficit will be 17-18 billion kroner this year and 8-9 billion next year. Unemployment will rise sharply to 250,000 this year and up to 310,000 next year.

Economy Takes Sharp Turn

The economic trend has already changed. This occurred around the first of the year, the economic advisers say in their latest semiannual report.

The executive committee of the Council of Economic Advisers predicts a big improvement in the balance of payments and a sharp rise in unemployment.

They are predicting a balance of payments deficit of 17-18 billion kroner in 1987 and a deficit of 8-9 billion kroner in 1988. The deficit in 1986 was 34.2 billion kroner.

The price of the improvement in the balance of payments is higher unemployment. Unemployment will rise to 250,000 this year and to around 310,000 in 1988. Last year unemployment was under 220,000.

The predictions are made in the semiannual report from the Council of Economic Advisers, a summary of which was available on Thursday. The predictions in the report are similar to those in the last report, issued in November, but the advisers are more pessimistic about employment. In November the economic advisers estimated that unemployment would reach 245,000 this year and 290,000 next year.

Change

The background for the economic advisers' assessment includes the slowdown in domestic demand around the beginning of this year, which was partly a result of the government's economic interventions.

In the view of the economic advisers, competitiveness will decline by 8-9 percent this year and by 2 percent in 1988. There will be a 15 percent decline over 3 years. The background is a combination of the contract renewals, the shortening of work hours in December, the increase in the

effective exchange rate of the krone and the elimination of subsidies to reduce direct wage costs. The economic advisers point out that competitiveness declined by around 4 percent in 1986.

The decline in competitiveness combined with a weak development of the international economy will lead to a decline in industrial exports, according to the advisers. The foreign development is described as very disappointing and there is a risk that the period of low growth will be an extended one. External conditions affecting the Danish economy "will deteriorate significantly in the years ahead."

At the same time the value of agricultural exports will decline due to the adjustment to the EC agricultural policy. And finally housing construction is also expected to fall off.

Thus all the major elements in private sector demand indicate stagnation or a downturn from 1986 to 1987, the economic advisers note. The declining tendency will continue or intensify.

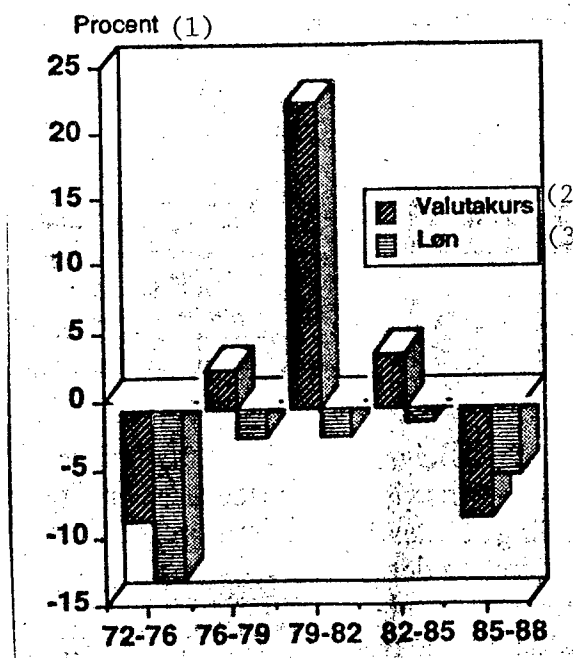


Figure 4. Competitiveness: Factors Contributing to Change Since 1972

This is how the exchange rate and wage developments have helped or hurt competitiveness. In 1985-88 both factors weakened competitiveness nearly as much as they did in 1972-76, the period that included the oil crisis.

Key: 1. Percentage 3. Wages
2. Exchange rate

Employment

The rising unemployment will especially affect metal workers, skilled construction workers and unskilled workers, in the view of the economic advisers. They have analyzed developments on the labor market in recent years. Almost the entire employment gain of around 200,000 jobs occurred in the private sector; over half the gains since 1982 occurred in the service branches, while industrial gains corresponded to overall gains; the gains benefitted men in particular; investment gains have occurred in the private service branch in particular, while industry's [as published]

Thus the economic upturn is based on the service sector, not on the basic industrial sector.

Criticism

The economic advisers sharply criticize the politicians and the labor market factions. They have not adopted a policy that pays adequate attention to the problems of balance and the very weak foreign economy. In spite of warnings, according to the economic advisers.

"The composition of the Danish balance problem will certainly change in the future in the direction of rising unemployment and declining balance of payments deficits. But we have not moved any closer to a unified solution," they point out.

This intensifies the demands on economic policy. There is a need to control economic demand and improve competitiveness.

The economic advisers criticize the economic policy that has been pursued because wage developments, indirect wage costs and the effective exchange rate of the krone "have not been adjusted to each other." The economic advisers stress that the responsibility for the "undesirable development in the area of competitiveness" does not rest solely with the labor market factions or with Folketing and the government.

Duty of Economic Advisers

With the remark about "adjustment" the economic advisers are not just being critical. They are lecturing us about their task. They are actually obliged to criticize if economic policy is out of balance. The legislation concerning the Council of Economic Advisers states that the council and its executive committee should "contribute to economic coordination in Denmark." Their task is not simply to analyze the situation but to make proposals that will ensure better coordination as well.

Some people will ask why their advice was not given before the contract settlements. That criticism was raised after the fall report. But the answer of the economic advisers then and now is that the advice was offered last spring and for the last 25 years, in fact. Namely that the economy should be consistent.

Devaluation

The new report stresses this under a "discussion" of the fixed exchange rate policy--which means that the krone will not undergo devaluation but remain fixed in relation to the currencies in the European Monetary System (EMS).

If the government wants to keep the exchange rate of the krone fixed it must also make sure that wage developments remain calm. If this is not the case the government can prevent a decline in competitiveness by resorting to a devaluation that neutralizes the wage increases.

If the fixed exchange rate policy is to be maintained it imposes very narrow limits on increasing employment even for a short period of time. (Employment rose too sharply in 1985-86, partly because domestic demand was too high.) But, and this is the important thing, the economic advisers do not feel one can say with certainty whether a fixed exchange rate policy or a policy that promotes employment will produce the best overall results. No matter which policy is chosen it cannot automatically solve both the employment and the balance of payments problems in the space of a few years. What is important is to pursue the policy selected wholeheartedly and without wavering.

If a fixed exchange rate policy is to be pursued and inflation kept low, one must keep wage increases and overheating of the economy under strict control and this was not done in 1985 and 1986. If there is a devaluation it must be a "substantial" one and it must be followed up with a tough policy that neutralizes the undesirable effects.

In their somewhat involved way the economic advisers put it like this: "There have been somewhat unclear signals from economic policy in relation to the policy pursued, including the decision to shorten the work week in December 1986 and the elimination of employer subsidies. As a result of the developments in the balance of payments and in domestic demand some doubt was also created about how firmly demand was being controlled."

General Business Policy No Good

Business subsidies should concentrate on research, capital and exports. Danish firms produce products that are too simple and thus too cheap, according to the economic advisers.

The economic advisers dismiss the idea of a general business policy with general business subsidies. That will not work.

"With the present severity of the balance problems it is unrealistic to think they can be solved through business policy alone," according to the new report from the economic advisers, which analyzes business policy.

These words show that the economic advisers do not think much of the Social Democrats' business policy plan and they are also critical of certain aspects of the government's business policy. The economic advisers say it is "very

problematical" whether it is possible to shape a business policy that will make production in the export branches more profitable, for example. In the long run it can also be very expensive to base business development on state selection of "future winners" instead of allowing market mechanisms to operate. All subsidy systems involve a "certain amount of wasted resources." The possibility of simultaneously improving employment and the balance of payments through business policy is very slight. Finally EC prohibits subsidy arrangements that are aimed at the export sector, for example.

The economic advisers also analyze developments in the business sector and reach a bleak conclusion: In the period 1978-85 Denmark's share of the OECD market increased 15 percent in terms of volume but declined 10 percent in terms of value. Price developments have been 20 percent poorer for typical Danish products than for the average of all OECD products. This really means that Danish exports gave 40 billion kroner less than they should have in 1985. In other words, if we had exported products that were able to keep up with the normal OECD price development we would have a surplus in our balance of payments.

Denmark systematically exports products with a weaker price development than the OECD average, in other words products that are a little too "primitive." The volume increase led to increased employment but in the long run the lower earnings will have a negative effect on workers' real wage developments. It is not that the Danish cost level has been too high. The products have not been sufficiently advanced to command higher prices.

Therefore the advisers say a strong emphasis should be placed on changing production to more advanced products; not necessarily just high-tech products--this could also involve something like more expensive furniture that is in greater demand. The focus should not necessarily be on distant markets; markets closer to home are important for small Danish exporters and besides it is in these markets that the Japanese firms are expanding!

Business Policy

And here business policy enters the picture again. The subsidies provided should be directed toward research and development, guaranteeing cheap capital for new firms and export assistance for new exporters. The policy should remove barriers for the small and medium-size firms that are typical of the Danish business sector.

Little Maneuvering Room

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 22 May 87 Sec I p 12

[Editorial: "Course More Important Than Tempo"]

[Text] It is the peak season for reports on the Danish economy now and in the coming year. All of them contain a somewhat similar evaluation of the prospects and a repetition of the classic problem of balancing employment and foreign payments. It is a simple and popular political matter to create

growth and employment through increased private and public consumption, but it places a heavy burden on the balance of payments. It is unpopular to give top priority to balancing foreign payments at the expense of higher unemployment. And the very worst is to try to maintain such a course over a period of many years and have to win an election once in a while.

But today's reports on the national economic temperature are a reiteration of this classic dilemma. The Danish economy is too dominated by domestic occupations while Danes have an insatiable appetite for foreign products and southern sunshine. If the cry of wolf is heard too many times, it falls on deaf ears. Things probably won't be that bad anyway and history has confirmed this opinion. One is tempted to say, unfortunately.

In the current situation the four-party coalition has a historic chance with regard to the Danish economy. It is an indisputable fact that in the period this government has been in office better balance has been created as a result of more growth in the various private business sector rather than in the public sector. But not nearly enough in relation to the size of the balance of payments problem. Therefore unemployment cannot be reduced further in the short run. More business enterprises are needed for that. Of the right kind. Admit that. And be frank in saying that it will take many years to build this up. Fancy words like high technology and research won't do it. Many years go by between mathematical formulas and payment for the first export orders.

Utilizing the opportunity to continue to build up a better structure also calls for not getting nervous about developments in the public sector. It must not be expanded, it should be made more efficient. That too will take time but a background is gradually being created that will allow this to be done. Therefore it must be maintained, which in the current situation means keeping a tight lid on municipal and county spending. The budget report strongly emphasized the need to do this.

The economic reports confirm once more how tight the maneuvering space is in the Danish economic sector. But that is no excuse for not using the opportunities that exist to maintain a course that is aimed at achieving better balance. Even if the rate of growth has to be reduced.

6578

CSO: 3613/95

FALL IN IMPORTS PROVIDES RARE SURPLUS IN MONTHLY TRADE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 30 Apr 87 Sec III p 4

[Article by Hugo Garden; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] The first quarter showed a surplus in the trade balance for the first time in 4 years. Imports fell sharply while exports did not rise.

The cold shower from last year's interventions led to such a marked decline in imports that there was a trade balance surplus in the first quarter of this year. It is the first time in 4 years that foreign trade has shown a surplus.

The result led to an immediate gain of about a point in the price of listed stocks.

As usual with trade figures there are also "minuses," including the fact that exports did not rise compared to the first quarter of last year and that the figures for March are not too positive in view of the fact that it was a "whole" month, because Easter fell in April this year.

Balance

The trade balance showed a surplus in January and March--660 million kroner in March (seasonally adjusted to 1.2 billion). This was much better than economists had predicted. Bank economists had forecast a deficit of around half a billion kroner in March. Economists at Jyske Bank and Provinsbanken admit they were fooled. They based their forecasts on a low industrial order backlog. Part of the reason why exports were unexpectedly high, 1 billion kroner more than in February, may be that production was stepped up in anticipation of labor conflicts.

Imports

In actual figures imports fell by 4.7 billion kroner to 41.6 billion kroner compared to the first quarter of last year. Seasonally-adjusted imports declined by 4.4 billion kroner.

Business imports declined by 2 billion kroner in this quarter. Energy imports fell by over 1 1/2 billion and imports of consumer goods also declined by around 1 1/2 billion kroner.

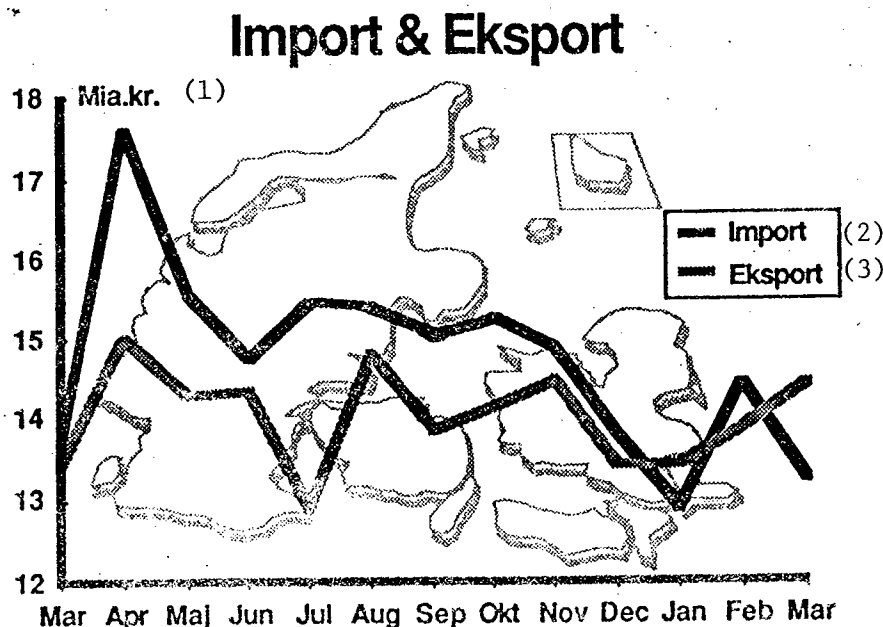
However consumer imports rose by around 400 million kroner in March compared to February and to last March. Thus the question is whether this is an isolated increase or whether it represents a tendency toward a higher rate of increase.

Exports have not risen since the first quarter of last year, on the contrary they have declined by 300 million kroner to 42.4 billion kroner in actual figures. Seasonally-adjusted exports were the same in both quarters.

Agricultural exports have declined by around half a billion kroner while industrial exports have increased by 300 million kroner. North Sea energy exports have declined by half a billion kroner.

Industrial exports rose by over a billion kroner in March compared to February and to last March. Again the question here is whether this is a single swallow--or a whole "summer."

The Industrial Council warns against overrating the export increase: "There has been a slight tendency toward export improvement, but that is all," said the next head of the economic policy division, Soren Krohn. "The fact that Easter did not fall in March this year may have pushed exports up."



Imports and Exports

There has been a marked change in foreign trade in recent months, shown here in seasonally-adjusted figures. This has ended the big deficit and there is a trend toward balance or a surplus.

Key: 1. Billions of kroner 3. Exports
 2. Imports

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CSO: 3613/78

LEADERS WELCOME NEW TRADE FIGURES SHOWING SURPLUS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 30 Apr 87 Sec III p 4

[Article by Per Lyngby; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] The Social Democrats and the government are happy about the new trade figures. If the trend continues we will avoid a new economic intervention, according to the economic affairs minister.

Even the Social Democrats must concede the fine trade figures in March. The party's fiscal policy spokesman, Mogens Camre, finds it "positive" that the trade surplus is partly due to increased exports.

But Mogens Camre raised his index finger a trifle even so:

"There is reason for continued concern over the fact that total exports in the first quarter of 1987 are lower than in the first quarter of 1986 although the preliminary March figures give hope for an improvement."

There is unconditional joy in the government about the trade figures. Economic Affairs Minister Anders Andersen (Liberal) pointed out that we must go back a long way to find figures as good as those we had in the first 3 months of this year.

"This does not mean we will avoid a deficit in the balance of payments, due to the continued high interest burden," said Anders Andersen. "But if the positive tendency continues for the rest of the year I anticipate that the balance of payments deficit can be cut at least in half and then we will be able to avoid a new economic intervention."

Prime Minister Poul Schluter (Conservative) has also had his optimism restored. He said that the Easter package and the fall intervention have now really started to take effect. And he noted that industrial exports appear to be on the way up.

"I regard this as a very positive thing. The task now is to maintain consumption restraints and intensify the export increase in the years ahead," the prime minister stated.

The national chairman of the Christian People's Party, Flemming Kofod-Svendsen, was also pleased about the trade surplus.

"But the trade figures should not lull us to sleep. They should inspire increased investments and exports," he stressed.

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CSO: 3613/78

LOW UNEMPLOYMENT TREND INCREASING PRESSURE ON WAGE STABILITY

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 30 Apr 87 Sec III p 12

[Commentary by Frank Dahlgaard: "Wage Earners Have Triumphed"; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] The real economic front line no longer lies between wage earners and employers but between different groups of wage earners.

May Day, the symbol of the workers' struggle, is no longer what it used to be. The former mood around the waving red flags is gone.

The reason is that the "wage slaves" have long since won the battle against the "capitalists." Denmark has become a country where workers have power. Nine out of 10 employed Danish voters are wage earners. Employers are in a hopeless minority and the balance of strength is becoming more and more lopsided. In Folketing today only four out of 179 elected representatives are employers.

It is the wage earners who decide matters. Politicians who do not look after the interests of wage earners do not have a long life as elected representatives.

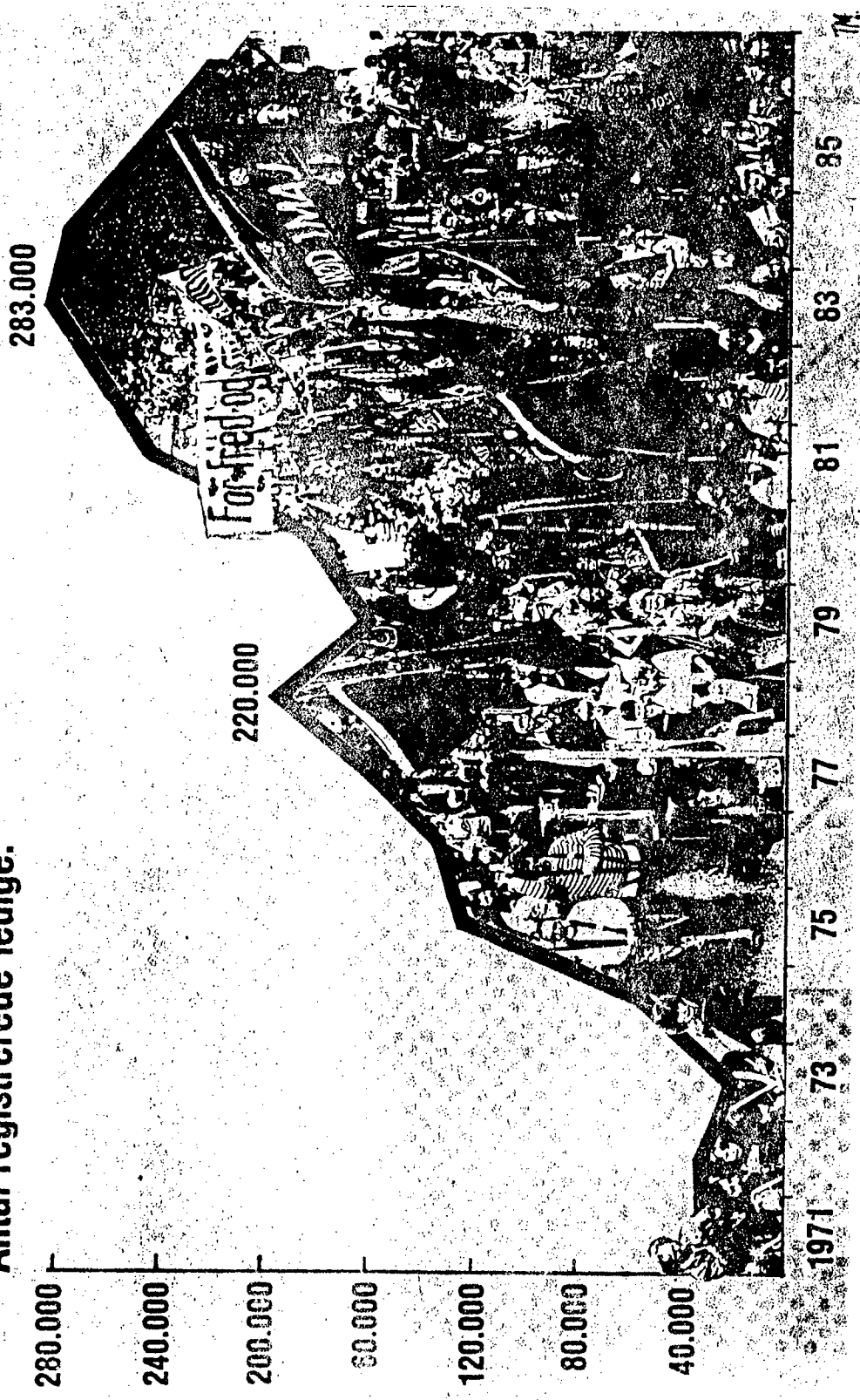
The former chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions [LO], Thomas Nielsen, put it like this in his well-known outspoken way when he made his farewell address to the Danish community in February 1982: "We have won one hell of a victory."

With this remark Thomas Nielsen was not thinking of a quarter of a million unemployed people or the big foreign debt. It referred to the broad majority of wage earners with jobs who experienced increased prosperity during his 15 years as chairman.

Victories

In this year's May Day festivities it can be noted that the victory of the wage earners is more complete than ever before.

Antal registrerede ledige.



Official Unemployment Figures

In 1979 unemployment was reduced artificially by introducing the early retirement system. Unemployment did not really decline until the four-party coalition government took office. Today we have the lowest unemployment level in 6 years. Source: Danish Bureau of Statistics

It is an irony of fate that the labor movement has had so many of its wishes and demands fulfilled while a nonsocialist government was in office:

Employment has increased dramatically. In the last 12 months a good 55,000 new jobs have been created and in the entire period the four-party coalition has been in power the number of employed wage earners grew by 205,000.

Unemployment has fallen sharply. However in the past year unemployment leveled off because of the big addition of people to the labor market. But there are now 65,000 fewer people registered as unemployed than there were when unemployment peaked in 1983 and today we have the lowest unemployment figures in 6 years, as shown in the graph.

In recent years real wages have risen for the vast majority of wage earners and under the new contracts public employees also have clear opportunities to increase their consumption. They received 7 percent wage increases as of 1 April.

At the beginning of the year work hours per week were reduced to 39 hours and in the fall they will be cut even further to 38 1/2 hours for a large part of the work force. By the end of the current contract period the work week will be down to 37 hours.

Benefit waiting periods were eliminated starting 1 January and the special 2.5 billion kroner state subsidy for employers that was introduced in 1985 has now come to an end.

Investments in the private sector have increased by 50 percent in fixed prices during the last 3 years, an incredibly strong showing. That is one of the reasons why there are so many new jobs.

The union movement should rejoice over the results that have been achieved.

Everything Has a Price

However, in the words of Thomas Nielsen, the wage earners' victory is "one hell of a triumph."

The growth in employment and the decline in unemployment have occurred at the expense of a rapid increase in the balance of payments deficit. Furthermore work hours have been cut at the expense of competitiveness in the private sector and real wages have risen at the expense of both competitiveness and the balance of payments.

All of this means that the improvements that have been made can hardly be maintained.

The whole wage comedy was revealed to the public when Retail Business and Clerical Workers Union [HK] economist Steen Johansen freely admitted a month ago that the contract settlement was too expensive. He told the HK membership paper for state employees: "The government has placed partisan gains

ahead of consideration for [as published] treated the Danish public very shabbily. The contracts were too expensive and when the government wins the election, there will be an economic intervention."

An astonished reporter asked the HK economist on the TV news show (27 March) if he shouldn't have expressed these views before the wage contracts were signed. And he was asked what he thought the contracts should have looked like.

The answer was: "It is not my job to make pronouncements of this kind--but one has the right to philosophize a little."

It is obvious that the HK economist is disappointed that the government would not play its assigned role as employer. However if Finance Minister Palle Simonsen had done so in the wage negotiations with public employees the government would not have the slightest chance of winning the upcoming Folketing election.

For it is wage earners who have the power in Denmark--especially the well-educated and articulate university graduates who are employed in the public sector.

New Front Lines

May Day has become a tame affair because many wage earners have gradually begun to realize that the opponent is not their employer. Today the front lines in the economic struggle are drawn between various groups of wage earners.

There is conflict in particular between public employees and wage earners in the private sector. The more people are hired by the state and municipalities--and the more they are paid--the higher the tax burden on the private business sector and its employees.

This new front is now clearly discernible between the so-called labor parties in Folketing. The Socialist People's Party [SF] has clearly chosen to take care of the interests of public employees even when this is done at the expense of workers employed in the private sector.

Thus SF chairman Gert Petersen recently proposed that a hypothetical future labor majority should introduce a 35-hour week immediately even if the contracts did not run out before 1991.

That is cynical class politics. A shorter work week will lead to more employees in the public sector, while the opposite will be the case in the private sector. There competitiveness plays a decisive role.

It is obvious that SF is trying to steal the votes of all the public employees from the Social Democrats. It is clear from the May Day rallies that war is now raging between the two parties:

For the first time in many years neither the leader of the Social Democratic Party nor the LO chairman will speak at City Common Park in Copenhagen this May Day. That is because the so-called "joint organization" (of Copenhagen labor unions) wanted the City Common Park May Day rally to cut across political lines this year and include SF people, Left-Socialists and Communists.

The Social Democratic monopoly on the union movement has definitely been broken. The party has never had a monopoly on wage earners. Hundreds of thousands of workers, especially salaried employees, vote for the four non-socialist coalition parties because that is where their interests lie.

The current angling for votes does not provide good conditions for the national economy. The wage earners have truly won "one hell of a victory."

6578

CSO: 3613/78

SLOWER ECONOMIC GROWTH PROMOTING LOWER CONSUMPTION

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 8 May 87 Sect III pp 1, 6

[Article by Hugo Garden]

[Text] The stagnation of the economy has persisted, and at the same time there are signs of a fairly stable interest rate at the present level.

The expected stagnation of the economy has persisted. With the present economic trends, the growth rate this year will be close to the zero point.

But at the same time there has been a stability that has been rather rare in recent years. The interest rate appears to become relatively stable in the area around 12-12.5 percent, while there have been very large fluctuations during the last year. The stability is due to the fact that there has been a major clarification of the economic development and the political situation.

The stagnation has led to an improvement in the balance of payments because of the sharp decline in the import rate. The unemployment rate has not yet started increasing as sharply as expected, but since the high rate of activity in new construction is ebbing away, a considerable increase in the unemployment rate is expected. The consumption rate is some kind of driving force in the economy, but there has been no indication as yet of any further increase in the rate of consumption. This is primarily due to the fact that real estate prices have dropped or have come to a standstill. During the past year, there were no increases in real estate values on the basis of which loans could be raised, and that puts a brake on the consumption financed through loans.

Nothing New from the Economic Front

The economic upswing is coming to a standstill, but that is entirely in accordance with the predictions of, for example, the Independent Economic Council last fall. The interest rate is expected to remain fairly stable at its present high level as a result of the political stability prevailing until the election activities get into full swing in the fall.

The zero growth rate or the pause in growth has occurred. Everything has largely gone as predicted by several economic experts in the fall. Even the interest rate is more stable than for long periods of time, at around 12.5 percent.

The economic reports may actually be referred to as: Nothing new from the economic front. But that is also important news. For there have been indications during the last couple of weeks of a rate of economic stability rarely experienced during the last few years, also as far as the interest rate is concerned, and there is much to indicate that the stability will last throughout the summer months. Only with the start of the election activities in the fall will major fluctuations occur at the Stock Exchange and in the interest rate, depending upon the opinion polls.

During the past year, the interest rate has fluctuated enormously. It dropped as low as to 9 percent well over 12 months ago and reached 13 percent a couple of months ago. Apart from fluctuations, the interest rate has ranged between 11 and 13 percent since last summer. But the fluctuations now seem to become smaller, ranging between 12 and 12.5 percent.

Political Stability

The Credit Association BRF recently asked nine economists about interest developments for the coming 6 months. The question was tied to a concrete issue: Would it be a good idea to obtain an interest rate contract to ensure the interest rate of the loan to be raised in 6 months? Eight answered Yes, but the chief economist of the Commercial Bank, Per Bendix, answered No, for he expects a lower interest rate in 6 months.

There is Political Stability

Stock brokers and economists with whom BERLINGSKE TIDENDE has discussed the matter believe in a certain amount of stability in the interest rate. There is political stability. The environmental dispute is over, and an agreement has been reached on profit sharing. There is at least no sign of any major tension in conjunction with the defense and security policies. And since the spring election did not occur, there will hardly be any major political complications in the next 6 months.

Basis for Lower Interest Rate

"There is economic basis for a lower interest rate, but we shall probably not see any drastic decline for the reason, among others, that the trend toward an improvement in the balance of payments may be reversed and a deterioration may set in later in the year, and that may lead to an economic adjustment, for example in the area of pensions," says Peter Wendt, chief economist, Hafnia.

However, he expects fairly favorable trade figures in the coming months.

"The theory that the booming domestic market swallowed the production which otherwise ought to have been exported seems to hold true," says Peter Wendt with reference to the increase in exports in March.

He also finds that there are comforting data coming from abroad, where the United States is making more deliberate efforts to stabilize the dollar rate of exchange in cooperation with the other strong industrialized countries.

Central Bank

The reason why the interest rate is fairly stable now, and at a fairly high level, is associated with the fact that the Central Bank is applying the interest rate weapon more deliberately and actively than last year, according to several financial experts.

Central Bank Director Erik Hoffmeyer has admitted that the Central Bank might have been a little too restrained last year, but since the exchange crisis the Central Bank has deliberately availed itself of the short money market interest rate to influence the interest rate level.

Will Prevent Unhampered Lending

The Central Bank will ensure currency in the treasury of the bank, but at the same time the Central Bank wants to prevent the banks from engaging in unhampered lending for purposes of consumption.

And since the loans granted remain large, the Central Bank will hardly carry through any major reduction of the short interest rate, since this may signal a general interest rate decline and a new consumption boom financed by way of loans.

Torben Nielsen, stock broker, Aage Philip, says that the Central Bank has sought to recapture its earlier strong role in monetary policy matters.

Downturn

Last fall the Independent Economic Council predicted a sharp economic decline this year, indeed, their prediction was actually made as early as in May of last year. The government's economists, too, predicted an economic stagnation last fall. Minister of Finance Palle Simonsen sought to take a positive position on the downward trend by talking about a growth pause.

"And the downturn and the stagnation occurred exactly as predicted. There is a downward trend in retail sales and car sales. The rate of housing construction remains high, but that is due to a shift in time. Much new construction activity was started last year, and those projects will have to be completed before we shall be able to notice a marked decline in building activities," says Jacob Brochner Madsen, economist, the Jutland Bank. He expects a considerable increase in the jobless rate at the end of the year, approaching 300,000 jobs.

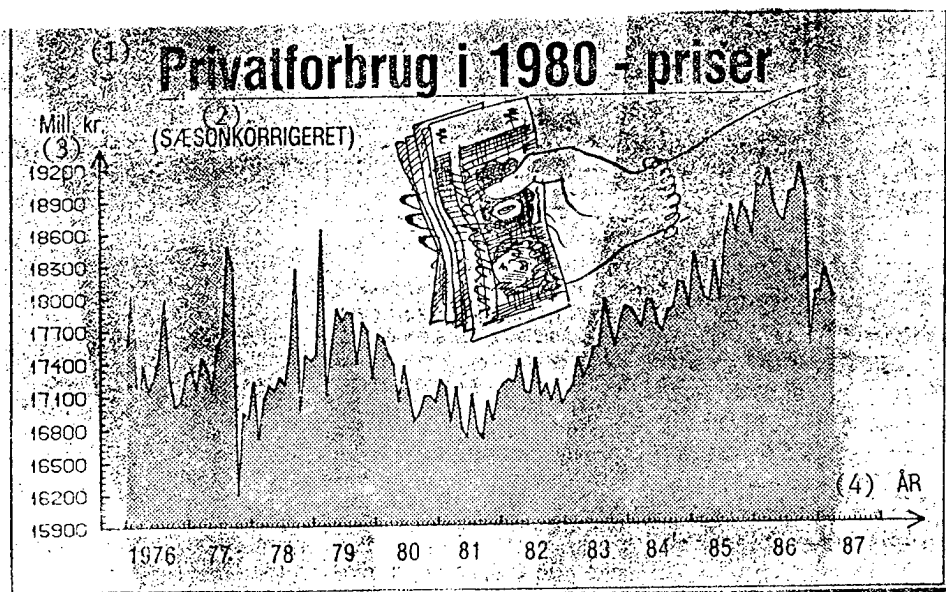
Prices of Homes

Activities within the business sector in general show a downward trend, both as far as turnover and investments are concerned.

If there are no signs of an increase in the rate of consumption, despite the increases in wages, this is, no doubt, associated with the fact that prices of homes have not increased; on the contrary, there has been a major decline in

relation to the culmination in mid-1986. It was largely the big increases in real estate values in 1984-86 that provided the basis for the consumption financed by way of loans, through the mortgaging of the free increases in the value of homes.

The intervention last year, including the potato diet, has caused a decline in the purchasing power, and the effects are felt strongly this year. But at the same time the potato diet has put a ceiling on the prices of homes, and that has probably had a far greater effect on the economy than was initially expected.



Key:

- (1) Private consumption in 1980-prices
- (2) Seasonally adjusted
- (3) Million kroner
- (4) Year

7262

CSO: 3613/93

OECD WARNS OF ECONOMIC DOWNTURN WITH COMPETITIVENESS DECLINE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 13 May 87 p 1

[Article by Kermit Nørlund]

[Text] The Danish economy is deteriorating because the entire economic basis for the competitiveness of Danish products has become poorer. The low Danish unemployment figures create surprise within the OECD.

The economic downturn for Denmark has begun. Confidential calculations within the OECD, the cooperation organization of the industrialized countries, show that Denmark's possibility of solving the problems by way of exports is becoming increasingly smaller on account of the continued decline in the Danish competitiveness.

Jørgen Elmeskov, economist, who is responsible for the "grade reports" of Denmark, declines to comment on the calculations, which, as far as BERLINGSKE TIDENDE has learned, will be published in the next semiannual report of the OECD. Elmeskov does not conceal the fact that things are going in the wrong direction for the Danish economy:

"The very development in exchange rates with the stronger krone means a further deterioration of the Danish competitiveness compared with the situation in December of last year," says Jørgen Elmeskov.

It was pointed out in the December report from the OECD that only Japan had experienced a sharper decline in competitiveness than Denmark.

As far as BERLINGSKE TIDENDE has learned, nearly all of the important economic factors for our competitiveness have deteriorated. Wage increases are greater than expected by the OECD, the trend of exchange rates more unfavorable for the competitiveness and the possibilities of marketing have declined further.

The coming grade report will show, however, that the government's policy of reducing the balance of payments deficit will show results this year simultaneously with a continued rather favorable development in the employment rate despite a very low economic growth rate. The continued low unemployment rate has caused some surprise within the OECD.

FAEROES' ECONOMIC BOOM COULD END IN SUDDEN CRASH

Copenhagen BORSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN in Danish 12 Apr 87 pp 1, 44-46

[Article by Erik Bjerager: "Faeroes on the Brink"]

[Excerpt] The economy of the Faeroe Islands is now heated up to the point where the Faeroes' foreign debt has become one of the largest in the world. A new report on the Faeroese economy shows that the debt at the end of 1986 represented 67 percent of gross national product compared to the Danish figure of 39 percent.

That conclusion was reached by the prime minister's committee on the Faeroe Islands in its latest report which was completed early this week. The inhabitants of the Faeroes have become some of the richest people in the world but there is no economic support for their high standard of living, according to the committee.

"The situation in the Faeroes is much worse than it is here at home," said national statistician Niels Verner Skak-Nielsen, chairman of the committee. "The people of the Faeroes are heading into a morass from which it will be difficult to return."

The committee wrote in its report that the Faeroese fishing industry is much too precarious to sustain the violent economic growth and the very high standard of living on the islands. Faeroese fisheries get a lot of public subsidies and the industry has become so efficient that overfishing is taking place in the ocean around the Faeroes.

Faeroes' Economy Seething

The people of the Faeroe Islands are among the richest in the world. Their material standard of living is at the very top--higher than it is in Denmark and Sweden, for example. But the economic boom could very easily end in a crash. The wealth of the islands is based on borrowed money and the foreign debt per capita is the highest in the world.

Only a third of the 45,000 Faeroese live in Thorshavn. Therefore the local government has pumped billions of kroner in recent years into expanding the

ferry connections between the islands, extending the road network and drilling long and very expensive tunnels through the hillsides. There are 121 people living on Karlsoy, for example, but two tunnels a kilometer long have been drilled there to provide better communications between the small communities.

In Thorshavn Aksel Larsen, a middle-aged, gray-haired Faeroese native, walks restlessly around his fillet plant. "It is completely crazy today," he says, shaking his head. Outside in the sunshine trawlers unload fish for the plant and inside women in white smocks cut the cleaned fish into fillets. Every third place at the long work table is empty. "It is simply impossible to get people," says Aksel Larsen. "We are almost 50 people short. This economy is insane."

The Bacalao fillet plant, the largest in Thorshavn, is not the only Faeroese company that has a shortage of workers. "We came close to being unable to send our trawlers out last week, but at the last minute we got the manpower from Iceland," said Signar Dam, a doctor and shipowner who lives in Tvaera on the island of Suderoy--the southernmost of the 18 islands in the Atlantic. "Everyone up here agrees that things are going too fast," he said and looked out over Trogisvagar Fjord where some of the former fishermen were working on the construction of a new ferry harbor.

The Faeroese are among the richest people in the world but they are also the most indebted. Last year the average income of island residents exceeded the Danish average and their material standard of living is now at the very top. Higher than the standard of living in Denmark, Sweden and Japan.

The foreign debt per capita is definitely the highest in the world. Each Faeroese inhabitant owes around 80,000 kroner to Denmark and other countries. In Denmark the corresponding figure is only half that amount. The total foreign debt is now 3.6 billion kroner--an amount that has tripled in 5 years.

Many Faeroese families have two cars. New Volvos, Toyotas and Saabs stand in front of the well-kept wooden houses in even the smallest villages and a video repairman in Thorshavn estimated that three out of four families have video machines. "Maybe we are rich," said Jongerd Purkhus, the cabinet member in charge of the economy--the Faeroese equivalent of the finance minister. "But if we live comfortably it is because we don't go out. There is nowhere for us to go."

There are no apartment blocks on the island and almost everyone lives in his own house. Prosperity has pushed prices skyhigh and in Thorshavn a house costs between 1 and 1.5 million kroner. The price of a building lot is around 500,000 kroner. There is a big housing shortage and rents are very high. A young lawyer who returned to the Faeroes after studying in Denmark was recently offered a small room in Thorshavn for 3000 kroner a month. "It's crazy," he said.

But there is plenty of money. The Faeroese have a tax ceiling of 50 percent and there are no taxes on real property or other assets.

Boom Could turn to Bust

The economy of the Faeroes is seething. There are construction projects everywhere on the islands. New roads, new tunnels through the massive rocky slopes, new harbors, new cutters, new trawlers, larger fish plants, an enormous hydroelectric plant, new nursing homes, schools and colorful new private homes. Danes, Norwegians and Icelanders are streaming to the 18 islands in the middle of the Atlantic to get jobs. All the inhabitants of the Faeroes are employed. Some have more than one job. A banker in the small town of Toftir sells hot dogs in the harbor after the bank closes. A young bus driver in Thorshavn works as a carpenter in the evening and works for a contractor on the weekend. "One can earn a lot of money here," he said one evening when dried cod and whale blubber were being served at the local YMCA.

The 45,000 Faeroese are not only enterprising but daring as well and the economic boom on the Faeroes could end in a crash as it has in the debt-ridden countries of Latin America, among others. The island wealth is based on borrowed money, big subsidies from the Danish state (the Faeroese do not pay taxes to Denmark) and a fundamental belief that Denmark will step in if everything falls apart. "That is in the back of everyone's mind up here," said Jogvan Sundstein, chairman of the People's Party [a conservative pro-independence party].

The Faeroese became autonomous in 1948 and since then the Danish supremacy has totally disappeared. The islands have declared themselves a nuclear-free zone and they are not members of EC. Today the Faeroese receive a fixed block grant from Denmark which covers around a third of the country's state expenditures--in 1986 the amount was 760 million kroner.

While other island dwellers have fled from the British islands in the Atlantic--the Shetlands, the Orkneys and the Hebrides--the trend is the opposite on the Faeroes. "Deep in the hearts of all Faeroese is a desire to be home," said a sunburned middle-aged woman who had just landed on the plane after a trip to a sunny southern spot. But another explanation is that the treasury has pumped several billion kroner into the building of road and tunnel networks. There is regular ferry service between the islands and the enormous investments have halted emigration. The service level is high. The only school child on the island of Mykernes has a teacher flown over every other week. "Everyone has a right to an education," explained Jongerd Purkhus. "It is vital to offer services so that people will stay. We have had to spend all this money to make it pleasant to be here."

The economy of the Faeroes is also special in that the state and the municipalities are involved in almost all aspects of business life. The public sector has been the driving force behind economic growth. In Tvaera on Suderoy, for example, the town of around 2000 inhabitants owns part of the shipyard, part of the fillet plant, shares in three trawlers and the town's

new fitness center, which cost 2 million kroner. "If we didn't provide money the community would be dead and every day would be like Sunday," explained mayor Daniel av Rana.

The subsidies for fishing, the most important business on the Faeroes and almost the only one, are also large. Each year several hundred million kroner are pumped into numerous subsidy arrangements and although fish is practically all the islands sell, very few ships in the growing and ultra-modern fishing fleet operate at a profit.

In recent years the government has gradually placed a bomb under the public economy by issuing guarantees to almost anyone who wanted to build trawlers or freighters or was interested in initiating other projects. These guarantees now threaten to shake the entire economy.

Jogvan Sundstein of the People's Party is afraid that this could cost the national treasury up to half a billion kroner. "It would not ruin our economy, but it would be a terrible blow."

Everyone Knows Each Other

The 18 rocky islands in the Atlantic make up a small and closed society. Everyone knows each other and scandals are hushed up. "Things interlock here and this makes it impossible to criticize," said a banker who wished to remain anonymous. Author Roi Patursson added: "We need a really critical debate."

6578

CSO: 3613/78

COMMISSION SENT FROM COPENHAGEN TO WARN FAROESE ON ECONOMY

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 11-12 Apr 87 p 6

[Article by Jens Holme]

[Text] Amid the sadness about the bankruptcy-prone Danish economy, it may be some kind of consolation that things are considerably worse in other places.

Without hitherto having met with much response, the Advisory Commission on the Faroes of the Prime Minister's Office last Friday for the 5th year in succession issued a sharp warning regarding the economic developments in the North Atlantic islands.

In 1986 the balance of payments deficit of the Faroes amounted to 9 percent of the gross national product, while the Danish deficit--which in an international context is extremely high--was 5 percent. The total net foreign debt of the Faroes at the end of 1986 was 67 percent of the GNP. The corresponding figure for Denmark was 37 percent.

The Advisory Commission, the chairman of which is N.V. Skak-Nielsen, director-general of statistics, predicts a further deterioration of the economy this year. Unless the Faroese representative council and local government make an effort to carry through really drastic measures of intervention which will check the growth rate of the private as well as the public demand.

Guest Workers

The economy is now so overheated that the Faroe Islands, to a large extent, has had to import foreign labor, which, in turn, has caused wages to soar.

Like the Danish government, the Faroese have been unable to take advantage of the decline in energy prices to improve their balance of payments. On the contrary, a very sharp increase in the private consumption has contributed to an increase in the deficit. Despite subsidies from Denmark of 850 million kroner, the result was a deficit of 500 million kroner--or well over 100 million kroner more than in 1985.

Intervention

Last October, Landstyret--the Faroese government--adopted a tax package with an estimated revenue of 180 million kroner on an annual basis.

"But without a supplementary drastic measure of intervention in the economic activity, it will not remedy the fundamental lack of balance in the Faroese economy," the report of the Advisory Commission states.

The Commission points out that it is the very structure of the Faroese economy that is wrong. The undoubtedly main industry of the Faroe Islands, the fishing industry, is undergoing a crisis. The catches of coalfish and cod are still far beyond the volume considered warranted by biologists. A more optimum fishing industry presupposes a considerable reduction of fishing over a number of years. Nevertheless, new, modern fishing vessels continue to be put into operation on account of large subsidies and very favorable terms of payment.

The subsidies to the fishing industry and the considerable public investment are associated with the fact that it is difficult finding alternative employment possibilities. The Commission doubts that it may be possible to further process the products of the fishing industry. For compared to the rate of productivity, the wage level in the Faroes is very high. And the Faroese furthermore have difficulties competing with the Danish fishing industry, among others, on account of the EC customs barriers.

The Commission is unable to recommend any other solution than that the Faroese simply accept to make major cutbacks in their rate of consumption. There simply is no economic basis for maintaining the high rate of living with a disposable per capita income that is 20 percent higher than the Danish level.

7262

CSO: 3613/93

ELECTRIC POWER FIRM ANNOUNCES INVESTMENT PLANS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 8 May 87 Sect III p 11

[Article by RB: "ELSAM to Invest 13 Billion Kroner by Turn of Century"]

[Text] Old power plants will be replaced and new ones constructed as a result of the increasing power consumption. The 13 billion kroner will only suffice if no further environmental requirements are made with regard to the old plants. A total of 600 million kroner will be invested in wind power plants.

ELSAM--the Organization for Coordination of Electric Power in Jutland and Funen--will invest a total of 13 billion kroner in new power plants by the year 2000, it appears from the new expansion plan of ELSAM.

Fredericia

ELSAM will build five new power plant blocs, the location of two of which has long been known, viz., one at Fynsværket and one at Vestkraft in Esbjerg.

Last Thursday the board of ELSAM decided to build the three other combined power and heating plants at Skærbækværket near Fredericia, at Vendsysselværket near Ålborg and at Enstedværket near Åbenrå. The five units with a total capacity of 2,000 megawatts will cost 9.3 billion kroner, including the required environmental-protection equipment.

ELSAM will, furthermore, build a number of fairly small combined power and heating plants for a total of approximately 3 billion kroner and will spend 600 million kroner on windmills in the course of the next 12 years.

The additional power requirements are expected to be of the magnitude of approximately 2,300 megawatts, and the expansion plan will cover the needs, provided no further environmental requirements be made of old power plants.

Unexpected Activity

It is furthermore assumed that there will be no unexpected, increased activity within the society, that it will also in the future be possible to obtain power from abroad in case of breakdowns, and that the upcoming campaign for cutbacks in power requirements will have a positive effect.

It will become necessary to build additional combined power and heating plants if merely one of these requirements is not met. The new plants will partly replace old worn-out plants, partly cover the increase in the power consumption, ELSAM states.

INCREASED INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION INVESTMENT REPORTED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 May 87 Sect III p 13

[Article by RB]

[Text] It is estimated by the Federation of Danish Industries that the construction rate of administrative buildings as well as farm buildings in agriculture dropped in early 1987 and that this trend will continue into 1988.

At the same time, the Federation of Danish Industries states that, for the fourth in succession, the volume of construction starts within the industrial sector increased in 1986 to twice the level of the early eighties.

As far as the industrial sector is concerned, the slowdown in the construction rate is due to the declining profits of enterprises before taxes and the increased company tax, as well as prospects of a merely modest increase in the production rate in the next couple of years.

The Federation of Danish Industries expects that the competitiveness of Danish industry abroad this year will deteriorate on account of exchange rate shifts, increases in employers' contributions, reduced working hours, as well as the outcome of the collective bargaining.

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CSO: 3613/92

TURKEY

ECONOMIC

BRIEFS

AFSIN-ELBISTAN POWER PLANT--The first unit of the Afsin-Elbistan power plant, which has a capacity of 344 megawatts, has begun operation with a reduced capacity of 230 megawatts. The third unit is to begin operating within 10 days, and the fourth may be operational by September. However, the second unit is still being repaired after developing faults in March and April. [Summary] [Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 28 May 87 p 3 NC] /12624

CSO: 3554/251

EVREN STATEMENT REPORTEDLY DISTORTED IN PUBLICATION

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 4 Jan 87 pp 1, 12

[Article by Ugur Mumcu: "Sema writing..."]

[Text] President Evren is reported to have made a speech on the occasion of "Teachers Day" on 24 November 1984. This speech has been printed in 500 copies and sent out to primary and secondary education bodies on the instructions of the Publications Department chairmanship of the Ministry of Education.

Let us quote one paragraph from this speech as it appears in the booklet that the ministry entitles "Messages of Congratulations on Teachers Day, Ankara".

"I recognize and appreciate the valuable efforts and contributions of selfless Turkish teachers, now as in the past, in the task of disseminating Ataturk's reforms, in particular in stamping out ignorance by campaigning for literacy and sema writing..."

"Sema" is a sectarian term. It means whirling to the accompaniment of religious music and singing hymns. Mevlevi ceremonies are held in accordance with sema principles. Sema is divided into three categories: "divine, spiritual, and natural."

"Divine sema" refers to leading members of the sect experiencing divine mysteries during sema ceremonies. "Spiritual sema" means the understanding of divine mysteries by believers who have achieved maturity in mysticism. Finally, "natural sema" is religious music which moves the participants of the ceremony to glee and ecstasy.

What does "sema" have to do with Ataturkism?

Nothing, of course...

On reading these lines, President Evren will say: "I did not make such a speech."

He will be quite right to say so.

There is, in fact, no passage on "sema writing" in Evren's speech. This passage has been inserted in the speech by a crafty official of the Publications Department chairmanship of the Ministry of Education!

It is possible that a correction may have been sent out in recognition of the kind of reaction that this might provoke. But the text that is being read in all our schools at the moment is that which says that our president has asked the teachers to promote "sema writing" as a means of firmly establishing Ataturkist principles.

The authentic text of the speech in question is featured in a book published by the Press Office of the Office of the Presidency entitled "Speeches and Statements by President of the Turkish Republic Kenan Evren, 9 November 1984 to 9 November 1985."

The following is how the relevant passage of President Evren's speech goes.

"In disseminating Ataturk's reforms, particularly in stamping out ignorance by campaigning for literacy and "sema writing..."

Some official with excessive zeal for religious ceremonies and "semas" has cleverly inserted the words "sema writing" into this passage of the president's speech.

This cannot be mistaken for a typographical error.

Typographical errors generally occur in the case of similar words. The words "sema writing," which do not occur anywhere in the speech, have been cleverly imported and fitted into a precise point in the sentence that begins "In disseminating Ataturk's reforms, particularly in stamping out ignorance by campaigning for literacy."

Even a speech by the president is being flagrantly distorted.

This is just a sample. Who knows what else is being taught in classes of religious instruction and what indoctrination is being inculcated in the name of religion!

Are we certain that religious sentiments and various concepts held sacred by religion are not being exploited to political ends in classes of religious instruction?

On the one hand, there are associations that--under the title "Turkish-Islamic synthesis"--have established sovereign rights within the structure of the state.... On the other, charitable trusts for religious education, backed with Saudi capital...

And then Ataturkism!

Goodness knows what those who manage to distort President Evren's words and then send it to the schools are capable of when it comes to classes in religious instruction!

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CSO: 3554/184

HEADCOVER BAN SAID PUSHING BELIEVERS TO RADICALISM

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 6 Jan 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by Taha Akyol: "Turban, 'Religious Edict' and Democracy"]

[Text] In the same way that the ban on the former politicians has ceased to have any point and has become "a disgrace for democracy," so, too, the efforts to expel some students from universities for wearing a turban is a blot on human rights.

If so much pressure had not been brought to bear on students wearing the turban, the problem would not have grown to such proportions and threatened to polarize the public. If any signal, including the turban, were to be considered an "ideological act," then it would be necessary to place a ban on students reading any rightist or leftist paper or periodical or buying such publications!

Once entered, there is no way out of the tunnel of prohibitions.

The solution lies in democracy, in human rights.

Naturally, a democratic and secular state does not operate on a "religious edicts." But a democratic and secular state, in taking measures that concern citizens, may also obtain the views of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship or theologians as to whether a particular subject is of a religious nature--that is, whether it is connected with the individual's freedom of worship and conscience--just as was done in the case of birth control.

It is a fact that when Ataturk decided to bring reform to religion--during the period of radical changes--he conferred with clergymen, and an "Assembly of Professors" was established. Serafettin Yaltkaya, a member of this assembly and chairman of religious affairs, objected to this reform initiative, and later Ataturk came to regard reform in religion unnecessary and he abandoned it. (There is extensive information on this in volume 5 of Osman Ergin's work entitled "History of Turkish Education".)

In the period following the 12 September 1980 military coup, too, when the country was under a regime extraordinarily sensitive where Ataturkist principles were involved, the Ministry of Education sought the views of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship on the subject of headcover, and the Supreme

Council of Religious Affairs conveyed its decision number 77 dated 30 December 1980 to the Ministry of Education through the Ministry of State.

The secular state, too, will usually inquire whether a particular subject involves religion, that is, whether it is connected with citizens' freedom of worship and conscience, and the Religious Affairs Chairmanship is a "consultative" organ in any case. The difference between a theocratic state and a secular one lies not in the seeking of views on matters of religion but in whether the state is bound by a "religious edict." The secular state is not bound by a "religious edict." If a secular state is democratic, then it is respectful of the rights of its citizens, but the legitimacy of its decisions derives not from "religious edicts" but from the national will and the laws that arise therefrom.

In the turban issue, its being a religious requirement, shows that it is a matter that is in the realm of the freedom of conscience. It is admissible to seek the views of the Religious Affairs Chairmanship on it, not as a means of "acting on the basis of religious edicts," but to establish whether the headcover issue lies in the realm of the freedom of worship and conscience, just as was done under the 12 September regime. The connection of the issue of headcover with the freedom of conscience is not a matter that rests solely with the Constitution and the democratic definition of secularism: the Council of State also has jurisdiction on this matter.

Department 5 of the Council of State issued the following decision in its ruling (number 976/3651) in the case of a woman student who won first place in the admission examinations for the post of assistant professor but whose appointment did not go through solely on the grounds that she wore a headcover:

"There is no legal basis for the refusal to appoint the plaintiff, whose scientific competence has been determined by the outcome of examinations, to the post of assistant professor solely due to the subjective assessment of the fact that she wears a headcover."

Admittedly, Department 10 of the Council of State issued a ruling to the opposite effect recently. In any case, there may be opinions one way or another in legal thinking on the subject of the turban, but what democracy and human rights require is that women should not be deprived of a scientific education on the grounds of a head covering.

Let us once again ask the officials of the Yok [the Higher Education Council]: head as their conscience dictates to seek their right to live in accordance with their beliefs? Who gives you the right to push believers to radicalism? Would it not be better to achieve acceptance of democracy by everybody through the use of its blessings?

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SDPP STANCE ON HEADCOVER ISSUE EXAMINED

Istanbul COMHURIYET in Turkish 4 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Ali Sirmen: "The Turban and the SDPP"]

[Text] The turban controversy is escalating rapidly and is becoming topic one among our country's problems. This escalation and development is not without cause. The turban has become the symbol of the pro-sharia movement and of antiseccularism in our day. A classic method is at work. Prosharia circles are striving on the one hand to make their views untouchable behind a cover of freedom for hallowed beliefs and religious taboos and, on the other, are adopting an attitude of indifference toward all the values and freedoms that constitute the basis of democracy. Nor do they need to make too much of an effort to oppose these values. The 1982 constitution and the forces that have emerged under its cover, the administration in power--in all its segments--and the circles that back the pro-sharia forces are all opposed to these freedoms already.

"More tragic and grave than all these circumstances and conditions," some of our intellectuals are so incredibly heedless as to say--in a society like ours where the organization of trade unions, associations, and parties is banned and where there are a thousand and one obstacles in the way of the freedom of thought--that the fact that religious sects are getting organized may be a good thing as far as democracy is concerned, as this constitutes a civilian organizational process separate from the state. If you add to these the Khomeyni admirers, the middle-aged women who begin covering themselves up, and the Baylan School stalwarts who conduct an anti-intellectual campaign with a malodorous populism under the banner of a Turkish-Islamic synthesis integrated with Anatolia, what you get is a thoroughly depressing picture.

These, then, are the circumstances under which the turban controversy, which was touched off by a speech by President Evren, is developing, and the prosharia wing of the MP is supporting the pro-turban lobby. In fact, speaking to pro-turban students the other day, Mehmet Kececiler, deputy leader of the MP, backed these students and said that legal changes may be made if necessary to enable them to go to school wearing a turban. Kececiler told the pro-turban students: "We, the MP, will give you every assistance. Don't worry." In view of the fact that the prime minister has also made statements in the same vein, the pro-turban lobby has won the support of the MP entirely.

If you follow the interview our colleague Yalcin Dogan had with Suleyman Demirel, you will find out the latter's views on secularism and will see that his approach on the subject is not in the least different from that of the MP.

The picture is depressing. The principles of the republic are being shaken to the foundations. The principles of the republic are disappearing day by day, mowed down in a systematic and purposeful campaign begun since 1980.

There may be people who will claim that to make this observation is to issue an invitation to certain circles. To such erroneous assumptions I wish to reply that we have no such intention. The reason we have no such intention is due not only to our devotion to democracy but to the fact that through the experience of the events we have undergone we have seen that the safeguards for the basic principles of the republic henceforth are civilian ones.

Until recently, it was assumed that the greatest guarantee for secularism in Turkey lay in the transitional administrations. A look at the last 150 year segment of our history will evince developments that confirm this viewpoint. The Turkish Armed Forces may in fact be seen as the combined focus-product-defender of renovation and progress at a particular period of our history. Without going too far into such topics as how much of this appearance is actually true and the role of the military-civilian mutual support in this defense, we would like to confine ourselves to emphasizing that those who carried out and guided the 12 September operation have found new alliances and new roles and they have not refrained from embarking on initiatives in this direction.

The situation in which we find ourselves today is a result of the initiatives knowingly and willingly embarked upon in 1980.

If President Evren had the sincere sensitivity he now evinces on the subject of secularism in the days when his word was almost law, then we might perhaps not be confronting the situation we are facing now.

With the situation being what it is, we can see that it is essential for secularism along with all basic principles of the republic in Turkey to be armed with civilian safeguards. It should be remembered that the youth to which Ataturk entrusted the republic are not uniformed, but civilian. SDPP--which is the continuation of the Union and Progress-Republican People's Party line that has been the defender of novel ideas, progress, and independence since the end of Ottoman rule--proved by its action the day before yesterday that it is the force that will constitute the civilians safeguard of secularism. SDPP leaders demonstrated 2 days ago that they will champion secularism, something that nobody is championing in the political arena, and champion it they will in the most democratic way. In their reply to pro-turban students who had asked for their support, SDPP leaders showed the courage and sincerity to tell the students clearly that while they respected the students' rights and freedoms, they found that their behavior was sliding toward the borderline of exploitation of religion for political purposes and that the SDPP leaders are opposed to religion ruling the country.

On the other hand, the SDPP leaders have also shown that they do not have much sympathy for the populist appeals of the turbaned students that "they are derived right from the heart of Anatolia."

We congratulate the SDPP leaders for courageously and clearly stating their stand on secularism, without the least failing to emphasize their respect for the freedom of conscience and their sensitivity on the subject, at a time when people thoroughly confust populism and democracy, at a time when nobody in the political arena besides President Evren dares to speak up on secularism, and when agitation for sharia law is running wild, during a period when the sects are swarming all over the place; we greet with joy the signs exhibited by this organization of the consciousness to stand up for the basic principles of the republic.

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TURKEY

SOCIAL

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL PURIFICATION--A total of 470 industrial establishments in Denizli have been warned against contaminating the environment. The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Village Affairs has instructed them to build needed purification facilities by 27 November. Establishments which fail to install such facilities will be closed down and fined. [Summary] [Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 28 May 87 p 12 NC] /12624

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