International Economics

280 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 U.S.A.

BRIEFING NOTES ON EUROPE

William H. Overholt Vice President Political Assessment Group PAG 184/1-D 24 January 1984

DRAFT

This is a working document and is not in final form; the statements contained in it may need to be revised or corrected. It is reproduced for private circulation only, not for general distribution or publication, and it should not be cited or quoted without the permission of the author.

Drafts are reproduced at the discretion of the author, with no Bank review procedure, and thus no opinions, statements of fact, or conclusions contained in this document can be attributed to the Bank or its clients.

EUROPE'S CRISIS

I. FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES: POLITICS OF ADJUSTMENT TO:

STRINGENCY
HIGH TECH/LDC CHALLENGE
RECOVERY FROM WWII/GENERATIONAL CHANGE
U.S. LOSS OF HEGEMONY/IDEOLOGICAL AMERICA

II. MANIFESTATIONS

- A. WESTERN EUROPE
 BUDGET CRISES
 EEC CRISIS
 LOSS OF CONFIDENCE
 THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONTROVERSY
 AMBIVALENCE ON MIDDLE EAST
 SEVERE TENSIONS WITH U.S.
- B. EASTERN EUROPE

 REGIONAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

 --VIS A VIS WEST

 --VIS A VIS USSR

 POLISH EXPLOSION

 YUGOSLAV DISINTEGRATION

 ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY INDEPENDENCE
 HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC DEVIATION

WEST EUROPEAN ADJUSTMENT

THE CHALLENGE
LIMIT WELFARE COSTS
ABANDON OLD INDUSTRIES
MOVE INTO HIGH TECH

IS GERMANY LOST? Coal, steel, railways, autos

THE TRACK RECORD
FRANCE, FAR AHEAD, SABOTAGED BY MITTERAND
BRITAIN/WEST GERMANY HAVE ADJUSTED FASTEST
SOCIALIST PARTIES HAVE ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF STRINGENCY
FINANCIAL CRISIS MOSTLY AVERTED
VERY LITTLE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT YET

RISKS:

RISING PROTECTIONISM RISING SUBSIDIES ANGER AT JAPAN, US FOCUS ON EAST EUROPE, LDC MARKETS

EEC CRISIS

PROBLEMS:

BRITISH CONTRIBUTIONS

BUDGET CRISIS: LIMIT TO PROCEEDS OF 1% VAT

COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

ENLARGEMENT

--GREECE IN

--PORTUGAL/SPAIN DUE

END OF 1983 FAILED SUMMIT

PROPOSED DEAL:

BRITISH GET PARTIAL REBATE

FRENCH ACCEPT SOME REDUCTIONS OF FOOD SUBSIDIES

GERMANS AND SOME OTHERS INCREASE VAT

OLIVE OIL...NOT COVERED BY CAP

EC EXPANDED

IN FUTURE:

BRITISH-FRENCH-GERMAN CORE DIRECTORATE

RUN CAP

NEGOTIATE TRADE

CUSTOMS UNION

MUCH MORE MODEST ROLE IN:

FOREIGN POLICY

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

EMS

MODEL I: RIGID, WITH COORDINATION ON GROWTH, INFLATION

MODEL II: FLEXIBLE SNAKE

WEST GERMANY

CORE PROBLEMS

ADJUSTMENT: COAL, STEEL, RAILWAYS, AUTOS, CHEMICALS... THEATER NUCLEAR ARMS/REAGAN/NATIONALISM EAST GERMANY POLARIZATION

DEVELOPMENTS

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FAILED TO ADJUST
REAGAN TRIGGERS CRISIS OVER MILITARY POLICY
KOHL IMPLEMENTS AUSTERITY
 ACCEPTS OSTPOLITIK
 ACCEPTS MITBESTIMMUNG
 DEPLOYS WEAPONS
 BACKS GERMAN REUNIFICATION IN MOSCOW
 --COOPTS NATIONALISM
 FINANCES EAST GERMANY: \$400M
 CONTINUES PURCHASE OF EAST GERMANS @ \$35,000

RESULTS: KOHL GOVERNMENT CONSOLIDATED ECONOMY GROWING SDP MOVES LEFT, WEAKENED

KEY DOMESTIC ISSUES:
35 HOUR WEEK
INTERNAL SECURITY
BUDGET DEFICIT
LAMBSDORFF AND KIESSLING SCANDALS

EASTERN EUROPE

CORE PROBLEMS
ADJUSTMENT
NATIONALISM
WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS
NET BURDEN TO USSR

OVERALL PATTERN: COMMUNIST POLITICAL POWER SQUEEZES IMPORTS LIMITED ADJUSTMENT

POLAND
TECHNOLOGICAL FAILURE
WORKERS MOVEMENT
TOO BIG, TOUGH TO INVADE

YUGOSLAVIA
FINANCIAL CRISIS: FLIGHT OF CAPITAL
LOSS OF TITO, "THE ONLY YUGOSLAV"
FAILURE OF ROTATING LEADERSHIP
KOSOVO

HUNGARY

I. POLITICAL

MOST STABLE POLITY IN EASTERN EUROPE BASIC STRATEGY SINCE 1956: JANOS KADAR BOW TO RUSSIANS IN FOREIGN POLICY COOPT THE REVOLUTIONARIES GREATEST CULTURAL FREEDOM IN SOVIET BLOC GREATEST ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN SOVIET BLOC

II. ECONOMIC

MOST MARKET-ORIENTED BLOC ECONOMY

PRIVATE COMPANIES CAN HAVE UP TO 30 EMPLOYEES
BIG PUBLIC COMPANIES ARE BEING SPLIT UP

PRIVATE GROUPS CAN RENT PUBLIC COMPANIES FOR OWN ACCOUNT

MOST OPEN ECONOMY IN BLOC
PRIVATE FIRMS CAN TRADE ABROAD

MOST DYNAMIC AGRICULTURE IN BLOC
COLLECTIVIZED IN 1950s, BUT:
SELL IN SEMI-OPEN MARKET
ONLY FOOD EXPORTER IN BLOC
PROFITS CAN BE INVESTED IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY
SOME FARMERS EXPORT FLOWERS IN PRIVATE PLANES FROM PRIVATE AIRPORTS

III. MAJOR CONTROVERSIES/PROBLEMS

REGAINING BANKS' CONFIDENCE INEQUALITY DEGREE OF: PRIVATIZATION

DECENTRALIZATION CULTURAL FREEDOM OPENING TO WEST

REFORM PROPOSALS:

NEW FORMS OF OWNERSHIP LARGE EXPORTERS SET OWN PRICES SOME FIRMS CHOOSE OWN MANAGERS COMMERCIAL BANKING MULTIPLE POLITICAL CANDIDATES

DECLINES IN:

LABOR FORCE TERMS OF TRADE

AUSTRIA

CENTRAL CHARACTERISTICS

STABLE DEMOCRACY

SOCIALIST PARTY DOMINANCE --POLITICAL

--CIVIL SERVICE

--TIED TO UNIONS

BENIGN UNION/MANAGEMENT RELATIONS (SOZIALPARTNERSCHAFT) WESTERN LEANING NEUTRALITY

ISSUES

BUDGET/OVERSTAFFING "CORRUPTION" LEADERSHIP

APRIL 24 ELECTIONS

KREISKY DIDN'T GET ABSOLUTE MAJORITY KREISKY RESIGNED SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FORMED COALITION WITH FREEDOM PARTY FREEDOM PARTY HAS VICE CHANCELLOR, 3 MINISTRIES

ECONOMY	1983 (est.)	1984 (proj.)
UNEMPLOYMENT	4.5%	5.2%
INFLATION	3.7%	5.3%
GROWTH	0.5%	1.5%