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CORRECTED COPY-TEXT

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

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E.O. 12356: DECL OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PNS, PHUM, PREL, GC
SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

REFS: EMBBERLIN 8447 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT

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2. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: TWO WEEKS AGO THE GDR WAS
EASTERN EUROPE'S MOST PROMINENT HOLDOUT AGAINST
REFORM. IN DAY TWO OF THE KRENZ ERA IT IS EMBARKED ON REFORMS, BOTH OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED AND DEVELOPING SPONTANEOUSLY. THE MIX IS UNCERTAIN AND SHIFTING. THE NEW LEADERSHIP'S DEGREE OF TACTIC AND COMMITMENT UNKNOWN. IT IS GLASNOST OR TO USE THE NEW IN SLOGANS, "RENEWAL" (ERNUEHERUNG) OR A "TURN" (WENDE), BUT NOT REALLY PERESTROIKA, AT LEAST NOT YET. HOW GENUINE, CONSEQUENTIAL AND PERMANENT THESE CHANGES ARE, HOW MUCH THEY ARE HIS DOING AND HOW MUCH THEY ARE TO HIS LIKING, NO ONE CAN YET SAY, BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT KRENZ' GDR IS RAPIDLY DISTANCING ITSELF FROM HONECKER'S.

3. THE NEW LEADER USED OCTOBER 19 TO TALK CANDIDLY WITH BERLIN WORKERS ABOUT PROBLEMS — NOT LEAST THAT THE PARTY HAD NOT BEEN LISTENING TO THEIR COMPLAINTS — AND TO MEET WITH THE SENIOR GDR PROTESTANT CLERGYMAN, BISHOP LEICHT. IN AN OBVIOUS GESTURE OF RECONCILIATION MEDIA GLASNOST SPREAD. TELEVISION, ONE OF THE LAST BASTIONS OF ORTHODOXY, FELL WITH AN UNPRECEDENTED CALL-IN-YOUR-COMPLAINTS TALK SHOW DURING WHICH POLITICIANS SOUNDED NEW NOTES ON TOPICS LIKE OPPOSITION, PRICE SUPPORTS AND TRAVEL. NEUES DEUTSCHERLAND REPORTED THE DEBATE AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING WHICH DEPOSED HONECKER AND INSTALLED KRENZ. IT PORTRAYED THE REFORMERS' HOPE. DESPERATE BOSS HANS MODROW, AS FIGHTING AND LOSING TO OPEN UP THE DEBATE BUT SUCCEEDING IN MODIFYING KRENZ' SPEECH TO THE NATION.

4. MEANWHILE, INDEPENDENT ACTIVISTS WHO ARE HIGHLY SUSPICIOUS OF KRENZ' INTENTIONS, CONTINUE THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY. ESTABLISHMENT INSTITUTIONS ARE SHOWING INDEPENDENCE. AND SMALL-SCALE PEACEFUL STREET DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE MADE THEIR FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE NORTH (GREIFSWALD AND NEUBRANDENBURG). END SUMMARY AND COMMENT

KRENZ REACHES OUT TO A FORGOTTEN CONSTITUENCY...

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5. KRENZ WENT TO A BERLIN FACTORY IN EFFECT TO SHOW THAT HE COULD TALK FACE TO FACE WITH WORKERS AND TO APOLOGIZE THAT THE PARTY HAD BEEN IGNORING A FUNDAMENTAL PILLAR OF THE STATE. GDR TELEVISION CARRIED LONG SEGMENTS OF APPARENTLY SPONTANEOUS DEBATE WITH WORKERS WHO LOOKED AND SOUNDED AS IF THEY HAD NOT
6. WHAT PARTICULARLY STRUCK US, IN ADDITION TO THE
OVERALL IMPRESSION THAT THIS IS A SKILLED DEBATER
WHO BELIEVES HE HAS NO REASON TO SHY FROM UNSTRUCT-
TURED INTERACTION, AS HONECKER SO CLEARLY DID IN
HIS LAST YEARS, WERE A FEW ISOLATED MOMENTS:

-- A WORKER TOLD KRENZ THAT MANY FLED THE GDR IN
RECENT MONTHS BECAUSE THEY HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT
NO ONE IN THE PARTY WAS PAYING ATTENTION TO THEIR
PROBLEMS, OR EVEN THAT THE PRESS TALKED ABOUT THEM.
THIS HAS BEGIN TO CHANGE, HASN'T IT, ASKED KRENZ,
AND THE WORKER AGREED THAT IT APPEARED TO BE DOING
SO IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS.

-- TO KRENZ' PLEA THAT SURELY THERE WERE COMMON
INTERESTS BETWEEN WORKERS AND PARTY LEADERS, CAME
THE ANSWER THAT THE POLITBURO DIDN'T KNOW WHAT IT
WAS LIKE TO RUN ABOUT TRYING TO FIND SPARE PARTS
FOR THE CAR AFTER WORK.

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7. Perhaps the day's biggest news was that Krenz put discussion with the church leadership so high on his agenda. In doing so, he seemed to be saying that the party, which had shunned dialogue for two years, was now eager to use the bishops to help it communicate with the discontented activists who are a growing political factor.

8. The meeting with Bishop Leich and his lay deputy, Manfred Stolpe, our contacts say, was a surprise. A previously requested meeting with Honecker to discuss the church's view of the looming crisis had been firmed up only last week. The church leadership was convinced that it would be cancelled or postponed. Instead, they were told that the new leader would be happy to keep the appointment.

9. The 30-minute session at a hunting lodge near Berlin produced little specific, but Krenz went out of his way to be open and forthcoming. Leich said that Krenz had spoken clearly and effectively in the small circle and was a better communicator than his
WOODEN TV-APEARANCES WOULD INDICATE. (COMMENT: THIS MATCHES OUR IMPRESSION AS WELL. FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH KRENZ END COMMENT.)

10. THE CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES URGED KRENZ TO TAKE CAREFUL NOTE OF THE CHURCH’S POSITION ON SOCIETAL PROBLEMS. THE CHURCH WAS NOT A FLATTERER OR KNOW-IT-ALL, BUT A RESPONSIBLE ENTITY. IT URGED QUICK CLEAR SIGNALS OF A NEW BEGINNING. KRENZ HAD AGREED THAT TO REDUCE TENSIONS IT WAS NECESSARY TO GET THINGS MOVING. HE CLAIMED THAT HE HAD GONE PERSONALLY TO LEIPZIG OCTOBER 9 TO PREVENT A POLICE-DEMONSTRATOR CONFRONTATION.

11. THE BISHOP STRESSED THE NEED FOR OPEN DIALOGUE WITH EVERYONE – INCLUDING UNOFFICIAL GROUPS. A DISCUSSION OF THEIR PLATFORM IN GOVERNMENT-PROVIDED FACILITIES WOULD REDUCE PRESSURE FOR PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS. KRENZ NEITHER AGREED NOR DISAGREED. THE CHURCH LEADERS ALSO URGED TRAVEL EXPANSION, INCLUDING ISSUANCE OF A PASSPORT TO EVERYONE; CLEAR ELECTORAL PROCEDURES; DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS AND DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. ALSO, THEY SAID, SIMPLE PROCEDURES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED TO REINTEGRATE ANY RETURNING EMIGRES. KRENZ TOOK CAREFUL NOTES BUT GAVE NO PROMISES.

12. CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES TOLD US, HOWEVER.
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 06 EMBEBERLIN 08466

VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL

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E.O. 12335. DECL-ADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINIS, PHUM, PREL, GC
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THAT THEY BELIEVED THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS
SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING CHANGES, INCLUDING
EXPANSION OF THE SYSTEM OF LAWS (RECHTSTAATLICHKEIT).

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INCREASING PARLIAMENTARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR DRAFTING LEGISLATION, AND RELAXING TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS. KRENZ TOLD THEM THAT, CONTRARY TO RUMOIRS, THE 1998 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS WERE NOT GOING TO BE ADVANCED. THE CHURCH PEOPLE TOOK THAT AS A POSITIVE SIGN THAT THE TIME WOULD BE USED TO DRAFT NEW ELECTORAL REGULATIONS AND PREPARE A DIALOGUE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS ON THE LOCAL LEVELS -- COUNTY AND TOWN.

13. CHURCH LEADERS DO NOT TILT TOWARD EUPHORIA AND HAVE MORE THAN ENOUGH REASONS TO HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT KRENZ. HOWEVER, THEIR OPINION IS THAT KRENZ IS SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN GETTING THE GDR OUT OF A CRISIS THROUGH MANAGED CHANGE. THERE IS, OF COURSE, A POSSIBILITY THAT HE MAY PUT OUT VERBIAGE AND LITTLE ELSE, CHURCH CONTACTS SAY, BUT FOR THE TIME BEING THEY ARE WILLING TO GIVE HIM THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT.

GLASNOST COMES TO NEUES DEUTSCHLAND...

14. KRENZ SIGNALLED IN HIS SPEECH THAT EVEN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND HAD TO BECOME WORTH READING, AND THE PARTY DAILY Began TO COMPLY OCTOBER 20 WITH A REPORT THAT MADE CLEAR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLenum HAD SOME CONTROVERSY DESPITE THE "UNANIMOUS" DECISION TO RETIRE HONRUCKER.

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15. MANFRED EWALD, THE EX-SENIOR SPORTS FUNCTIONARY, CRITICIZED THAT THE PARTY WAS NOT PREPARED TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN TELLING PEOPLE IMMEDIATELY ITS PLANS TO DEVELOP CONCRETE NEW POLICIES. HE SAID IT WAS TIME FOR THE SED TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE AND NOT LEAVE THIS TO THE BLOC PARTIES IF IT WAS TO REGAIN LOST CONFIDENCE.

16. HANS MODROW, THE DRESDEN MODERATE WHO HAS SO LONG BEEN TREATED AS A BLACK SHEEP BY THE POLITIBURO INNER CIRCLE, NEXT CALLED FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO HOLD
A REAL DEBATE, THE CULTURE MINISTER MODROW SAID, "MUST BE SEARCHED FOR IN DIALOGUE AND NOT PROCLAIMED FROM ABOVE."

17. MODROW'S PROPOSAL TO EXPAND THE DEBATE WAS BLOCKED FIRST BY THE CULTURE MINISTER, HOFFMANN, WHO SAID "WE HAVE NO TIME. EGON KRENZ MUST GO BEFORE THE CAMERAS." THEN BY PUTATIVE KRENZ RIVAL AND BERLIN BOSS SCHRÖDER WHO SUPPORTED THE MOTION TO BREAK OFF THE DEBATE BUT CLAIMED THAT HE FAVORED IT BEING RESUMED SOON.

18. MOST INTRIGUING, FOR WHAT IT SUGGESTS ABOUT MODROW'S POTENTIAL SUPPORT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IF NOT THE KOLIBURO. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REPORTED THAT HE PROPOSED THAT THE TEXT OF KRENZ'S SPEECH TO THE NATION (A FORM OF THE REPORT WHICH HE HAD JUST READ TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE) BE EXPANDED TO DEAL MORE WITH CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM. ADV. THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY IS RUNNING TODAY A SPECIAL NOTE TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS AMENDMENT WAS IN FACT ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
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E.O. 12356: DECL-LOAD
TAGS: PGOV, PINLS, PHUM, PREL, GC
SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS. THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

19) NEUES DEUTSCHLAND ALSO SOUGHT TO UNDERLINE CHANGE IN AN EDITORIAL WHICH CONTAINED SCARCELY VEILED SHARP CRITICISM OF HONECKER: "THE PARTY IS INITIATING A CONFIDENTIAL

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TURN IT HAS BEGUN THEREBY TO ASSESS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT REALISTICALLY AND TO DRAW FROM THAT CONCLUSIONS THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT IN ORDER FOR PROBLEMS IN THE FUTURE TO BE RECOGNIZED IN A TIMELY WAY AND ERRORS TO BE AVOIDED. OUR PARTY IS SHOWING ITS COURAGE TO FACE TRUTH. IT IS MAKING AN END TO OPTIMISTIC WHITEWASHES AND BRAGADOUGO."

... AND TO TELEVISION...

20) THE EVENING NEWS HAD JUST FINISHED KRENZ AT THE FACTORY WHEN IT MOVED TO FULLY NEW TERRITORY. IT OFFERED FOR NEARLY AN HOUR A ROW OF SENIOR POLITICAL AND INSTITUTE LEADERS WHO SAID THEY WERE WILLING TO ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM LISTENERS. THE MEN ON THE HOT SEAT Included OTTO REINHOLD, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IDEOLOGUE WHO HAD BECOME SOMETHING OF A POINT MAN IN DEFENDING HONECKER POLICIES IN THE PAST YEAR, MAYOR BERGHOFER, THE 46-YEAR OLD MODROW PROTEGE WHO HAS TURNED INTO AN OVERNIGHT NATIONAL FIGURE BY ENTERING INTO AN INCREASINGLY PUBLICIZED DIALOGUE WITH YOUNG ACTIVISTS, AND MAX SCHMIDT, THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE’S INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS. KARL-EDUARD VON SCHNETZLER, FOR DECADES A NOTORIOUS TELEVISION PROPAGANDIST, WAS THERE BUT SAID SCAPELY A WORD. THE EVENING BELONGED TO THOSE WITH A CHANCE OF ESTABLISHING CREDIBILITY IN THE AUDIENCE.
21. REINHOLD SET OFF ON A TOUR OF IMPORTANT TELEVISION APPEARANCES IN WHICH HE SAID, HE HAD TO DEFEND POLICIES ON INSTRUCTION HE LATER MADE CONFIDENTIAL.

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HEADLINES BY INDICATING THAT THE NEW TRAVEL LAW WHICH KRENZ SAYS IS BEING CONSIDERED, MAY AUTHORIZE EVERY GDR CITIZEN TO HAVE A PASSPORT AS A MATTER OF RIGHT. HE MUDGIRED THE WATERS, HOWEVER, WITH THE ADDED THAT THEY WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO APPLY FOR VISAS. IF HE MEANT EXIT VISAS, THE MERE POSSESSION OF A PASSPORT WOULD ADD LITTLE TO THE EXISTING SITUATION. THOSE INCLUDING CHURCH CONTACTS WHO BELIEVE THAT KRENZ INTENDS AN EARLY DRAMATIC GESTURE ON TRAVEL BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME CONSIDERABLE LIBERALIZATION WILL BE INVOLVED.

22. THE SPEAKERS TOOK A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ABOUT PRICE SUBSIDIES, UNTIL NOW A HOLY COW. BERGHOFER, AN IMPRESSIVE, HANDSOME, SELF-POSSESSED YOUNG-GENERATION POLITICIAN WHO OBVIOUSLY FEELS COMFORTABLE IN FRONT OF A CAMERA, SAID THAT DRESDEN HAD MORE APARTMENTS THAN IT NEEDED — BUT MANY WERE UNLIVABLE, AND THE CITY COULD NOT AFFORD TO RENOVATE THEM WITH THE RENT INCOME AVAILABLE. IF RENTS WENT UP, HE SAID, LIVING CONDITIONS WOULD IMPROVE.

23. REINHOLD, WHO HAD BRUSHED OFF A SIMILAR SUGGESTION LAST MAY WHEN IT WAS MADE TO HIM IN A SEMINAR ATTENDED BY EMBASSY OFFICERS, SPOKE POSITIVELY OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SAVING ENERGY AND GAINING NEW FUNDS FOR THE STATE BY HIKING HEAVILY SUBSIDIZED ELECTRICITY PRICES.

24. THE MODERATOR SAID THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF CALLS HAD BEEN RECEIVED ABOUT THE "OPPOSITION." THE TYPICAL QUESTION, HE SAID, WAS "SHOULD WE NOT LEGALIZE OPPOSITION PARTIES BECAUSE THEY WOULD HELP US ACCOMPLISH OUR REFORMS QUICKER BY DRAWING ATTENTION TO PROB-

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VIENNA ALSO FOR CSBMS DEL
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR TEXT)

E.O. 12356 DECL OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, RHUM, PREL, GC
SUBJECT: GDR CRISIS: THE HONECKER ERA FADES QUICKLY

LEMS:"NO ONE ON THE PANEL WENT THAT FAR. BUT REINHOLD INSISTED THAT NO INDIVIDUALS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE DIALOGUE, AND THE DRESDEN MAYOR SAID THAT THE
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QUESTION WOULD BECOME SUPERFLUOUS, BUT ONLY IF THE
SED SOLVED THE REAL PROBLEMS THAT CRITICS WERE INDIGNI-
FYING.

25. AT THE END THE MODERATOR APOLOGIZED FOR THE
SOMewhat DISORGANIZED NATURE OF THE PROGRAM. IT
WAS A FIRST TRY, HE SAID, BUT IT WOULD BECOME A
REGULAR FEATURE, EVERY SECOND WEEK, WITH ADDITIONAL
POLITICIANS BEING DRAWN IN.

INDEPENDENT ACTIVISM

26. AN ESTIMATED 6,000 STUDENTS INVITED BY THE FDJ
(PARTY YOUTH ORGANIZATION) SPILLED OVER INTO NINE
AUDITORIUMS AT BERLIN'S HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY OCTOBER 17
TO DISCUSS THE LEGITIMACY OF THE FDJ AS STUDENT
REPRESENTATIVES AND CONSIDER THE ROLE THE STUDENTS
WANT TO PLAY WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY.

27. WE TALKED WITH A FACULTY MEMBER AND A STUDENT
WHO BELONGS TO AN INDEPENDENT ENVIRONMENTAL GROUP.
THEY SAID THE MOST HEATED DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON
THE FDJ's LEGITIMACY AS STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES
AND WHETHER THE STUDENTS SHOULD FORM AN INDEPENDENT
ORGANIZATION. NO DECISIONS WERE REACHED BUT ACTIVITY
CONTINUES. OTHER ITEMS RAISED INCLUDED: SHOULD
THE UNIVERSITY BE "OFF LIMITS" TO POLICE, MAKING
IT A PLACE WHERE ALL CAN COME AND SPEAK THEIR MIND,
OPENING THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES FOR FULL RESEARCH,
A STUDENT VOICE IN THE CURRICULA: ALTERING THE STRUCTURE
OF MARXISM/LENINISM TEACHING AND REDUCING THE WEIGHT
ACCORDED IT IN AWARDING MERIT SCHOLARSHIPS. INSUFFICIENT
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28. REPORTEDLY THE STUDENTS IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS
HAVE UNTIL OCTOBER 26 TO COLLECT SUGGESTIONS, AND A
DECISION ON THE FORM OF REPRESENTATION WILL BE MADE
BY OCTOBER 31. THE UNIVERSITY'S VICE PRESIDENT ALSO
OFFERED TO MEET WITH ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
VARIOUS FACULTIES TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION.

30. ON A DIFFERENT FRONT, THE ARTISTS ASSOCIATION HAS APPLIED FOR PERMISSION TO DEMONSTRATE IN BERLIN NOVEMBER 19 FOR PRESS FREEDOM (30 DAYS ADVANCE APPLICATION IS REQUIRED BY THE LAW). JOURNALISTS, ESPECIALLY AT THE LIBERAL PARTY PAPER DER MORGEN, ARE AGITATING FOR THEIR ASSOCIATION TO JOIN. NOW THAT KRENZ HAS ANNOUNCED THAT AT LEAST A MORE OPEN PRESS IS OFFICIAL POLICY, THE CHANCES OF THE DEMONSTRATION BEING APPROVED HAVE GONE UP, BUT WE DO NOT KNOW A FINAL DECISION.

31. SOME ACTIVISTS ARE TRYING TO TAKE THE PRESS ISSUE INTO THEIR OWN HANDS IN OTHER WAYS. HOWEVER, THE ENVIRONMENTAL LIBRARY, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS ALREADY PUBLISHED SEVERAL ISSUES OF A NEWSLETTER CALLED “TELEGRAPH,” INTENDED TO REACT QUICKLY TO EVENTS. THE MOST RECENT 10-PAGE ISSUE WAS PUT TO BED AT MIDNIGHT OCTOBER 18 WITH SKEPTICAL REACTION TO THE LEADERSHIP CHANGE AND KRENZ’ SPEECH, AS WELL AS REPORTS ON THE STUDENT MEETINGS AT THE UNIVERSITY, THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND A FEW SMALL WILDCAT STRIKES.

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32. THE LARGEST OF THE NEW INDEPENDENT GROUPS, NEUES FORUM, WHICH CLAIMS THAT ITS MEMBERSHIP HAS PASSED CONFIDENTIAL.

33. DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUE ON A SMALL SCALE. FIRST WORD OF STREET ACTIVITY IN THE HITHERTO QUIET NORTH HAS COME IN IN NEUBRANDENBURG AND GREIFSWALD, WITH 1500 IN THE LATTER CALLING FOR REFORM. DISCUSSION BETWEEN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMONSTRATORS IS BEING INCREASINGLY INSTITUTIONALIZED IN DRESDEN AND LEIPZIG. IN THE FORMER, THE MAYOR HAS PROPOSED THAT WORKING GROUPS BE ESTABLISHED THAT WOULD MAKE USE OF THE EXISTING TOWN COUNCIL COMMITTEE STRUCTURE.

34. SIMILAR CONTACTS ARE ALSO BEING DEVELOPED IN HALLE, NEUBRANDENBURG AND POSTDAM. IN THE LATTER CITY, NEUES FORUM REPRESENTATIVES HAVE TAKEN PART AND EVEN SAID THEY WOULD CONSIDER A SUGGESTION FROM
A LOCAL PARTY OFFICIAL TO JOIN IN THE DISTRICT'S
NATIONAL FRONT ORGANIZATION, NEUES FORUM LEADERS
IN BERLIN. ON THE OTHER HAND, SAY THEY WILL NOT
JOIN CHURCH AND OTHER ACTIVISTS' TALKS WITH THE
MAYOR UNTIL THEY ARE ASSURED THAT ALL THOSE
ARRESTED IN RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS -- INCLUDING
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POLICEMEN WHO REFUSED ORDERS TO ATTACK PROTESTORS --
ARE OUT OF JAIL.

COMMENT

35. KRENZ HAS A LONG WAY TO GO TO ESTABLISH CREDIBILITY
OUTSIDE OF THE NARROW PARTY CIRCLE THAT SELECTED HIM.
AND GDR REFORM HAS A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE ITS CONTOURS
CAN BE DETERMINED MUCH LESS BEFORE IT CAN BE CONSIDERED
IRREVERSIBLE. BUT FOR NOW AT LEAST, HE IS MAKING
GESTURES TO BLUR HIS HARD LINE IMAGE, AND EACH DAY'S
KALEIDOSCOPE OF EVENTS IS CHALLENGING THE OLD
ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THIS SOCIETY'S PASSIVITY.

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