

C z e ś ć II

PRZEMIANY W FUNKCJONOWANIU GOSPODARKI
(NIEMCY, ZSRR)

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GERMAN REUNIFIKATION - HOPES AND PROBLEMS

1. INTRODUCTION

Since last summer the economic and political developments in Eastern Germany have taken a turn that hardly anybody would have expected.

The East German's dissatisfaction with the situation in their country had constantly been increasing. It culminated in the "occupation" of West German embassies in other Eastern European countries in order to force the right to emigrate from the GDR government. An enormous wave of emigration started when Hungary opened up its borders to the West so that East German holidaymakers could simply by-pass their own frontier controls.

Later on last year an opposition established itself that - to a large extent - did not want to leave the country but to change it. Many thousands of people joined the demonstrations throughout the GDR - and especially in Leipzig - calling for reforms.

On the 9th of November 1989 the government could not longer resist the pressure of the people: The Berlin wall was opened up and everybody was free to cross the border to West Germany. Moreover, the authorities agreed to changes within the country. In the following period various different proposals for reform were developed none of which lasted very long. The decision for a Western-type society was more or less taken in the first free elections in

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March 1990 when those parties that favoured transition to a market economy got the majority. On July 1st 1990 a treaty on monetary, economic and social union came into force establishing West Germany's "social market economy" as the norm for all Germany.

The complete reunification of the two states will most probably take place before the end of this year.

For the East Germans these recent developments mean that their hopes for political freedom and an amelioration of their economic situation are no longer just utopian.

2. REASONS FOR THE CHANGES¹

2.1. Defects of the Economic System

One of the main reasons for the dissatisfaction of the East German population was the badly functioning economy. The command economy was not able to ensure the supply of goods according to the consumers' needs. On the one hand there was a shortage of products which were urgently demanded or the produced qualities did not meet the consumers wishes whereas on the other hand the production plans included things that nobody wanted.

Just to illustrate how low the standard of living in the GDR is in comparison with the FRG here are some examples: In 1988 97% of West German households had at least one car, in the East the corresponding figure was 52% - not to mention the technological standard of the Eastern models. In the GDR there are about half as many color TVs as in West Germany. Only 10% in the East own a modern washing machine as opposed to 76% in the West².

Production in the GDR economy is not only insufficient, it is also inefficient. There are no incentives for workers or management to increase their efforts and minimize costs. Due to central planning and to a lack of competition hardly any new products or production techniques are developed.

Prices were determined by central institutions so that they did not reflect the scarcity of a good. Money lost its function as a medium of exchange.

¹ See: A. B o h n e t, *Thesenpapier*, Ramb, 1990, "The Economist", 30 June 1990, p. 6.

² See: Table in: "The Economist", 30 June 1990, p.6.

Furthermore East German's isolation from the world market and its one-sided orientation towards the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) resulted in distortions of the production structure.

Even though the GDR's economic performance could not be called very good it is still much better than that in other Eastern European countries so that you should expect the Eastern German's to be quite satisfied with their situation. However, they have never been as they do not compare their living standard with that of their neighbours in the East but with the West German conditions.

2.2. Lack of political freedom

The political system in the GDR could not be called democratic; there were no truly free elections but the country was ruled by the Communist Party. There was no freedom of speech and any political opposition was obstructed. East Germans had no right to travel to the West (apart from certain exemptions) and the inhuman frontier fortifications kept them from fleeing. Furthermore, the government and the Party held the population in extreme tutelage. From the cradle to the grave people were told what to do, which organizations to join and what to think.

It is understandable that there were not only economic reasons for dissatisfaction but also urgent calls for democratic reforms.

3. AIMS OF THE REFORMS

The reform movement aimed at ameliorating the above mentioned conditions. People hoped for political freedom, for free and democratic elections in a multi-party system, and for the right to determine their own lives.

In the economic field they wanted a better supply with consumer goods and a general rise in their standard of living. Probably the majority of the population realized that this would have to go hand in hand with the abolition of central planning and the introduction of at least some elements of a market economy. How far these changes would have to go did not seem quite clear in the beginning of the reform process. Proposals reached from just minor modifications of the socialist system to a complete transition to a market econo-

my. In the following section some of the main concepts of reform that were discussed will be briefly presented.

4. ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS FOR REFORM³

A. "Market-oriented socialist planned economy" (Krenz).

After replacing Erich Honecker as chairman of the State Council Egon Krenz proposed the transition to a "market-oriented socialist planned economy". It was supposed to combine the advantages of socialist planning with the stimulative effects of the market. The socialist companies should be responsible for their own financial resources. Production should be adapted to the pattern of wants of the population. The main idea of this proposal was to increase the decision-making powers of the companies and the direct cooperation between them. However, central planning and the coordination of economic activities by the state was to be maintained so that the system would not change fundamentally.

B. "Integration of the market into the socialist planned economy" (Modrow).

In the reform concept advocated by the coalition government under prime Minister Hans Modrow the introduction of market elements gained more importance. The market should be an integral part of the socialist economy. There was meant to be no planning without market but no market economy without planning either. Modrow advocated an increase in the companies' participation in planning and in their autonomy in production decisions through a reduction in plan-figures. Bureaucracy should at least to some degree be replaced by "socialist entrepreneurship". Furthermore, the new government favoured the establishment of small private enterprises giving more scope for supply and demand to determine prices. Wages and taxes should be fixed according to economic performance and subsidies reduced.

However, all these measures aimed at strengthening efficiency and productive power of central planning as the basic determinant of society.

³ See: *Seminararbeit* v. D. Barcklow.

C. "The third way" (Luft).

Like the first proposal Modrow's concept was very soon outdated. A new phase of the reform process started when Christa Luft - Vice Chairwoman of the Council of Ministers - called for transition to a market economy. She advocated equal rights for all forms of ownership, the decentralisation of conglomerates ("Kombinate"), support for small and medium-sized companies, and the abolition of the state monopoly in external trade.

Moreover, she proposed a price and subsidy reform and asked for guaranteeing companies more sovereignty and self-determination. Everybody should have the freedom to establish and run an enterprise.

Even though Luft called her proposal "transition to a market economy", the state still played a major role in it. Central planning should continue in structural and social policy and for key industries. The dominance of state-ownership was supposed to be maintained. The state also keep its influence on prices and credits and ensure that basic economic, social, and ecological requirements would be met. It becomes clear that the so-called market economy was designed to be fundamentally different from our Western systems as many socialist achievements - especially concerning egalitarian social conditions - should be preserved.

The combination of those two completely different systems is prone to lead to enormous frictions. Especially the trade-off between efficiency and equity is a major problem.

All in all, the "third way" between capitalism and communism does not seem practicable.

D. Social Market Economy (Regierung zur nationalen Verantwortung; Regierung de Maizière).

By the end of January 1990 the situation in the GDR had deteriorated so badly that the Modrow government asked the parties of the Round Table to take over some of its powers. At that time the political and economic pressures through mass emigration, demonstrations, the population's calls for reunification etc. became so strong that the only possible way to improve the situation seemed to be an immediate adoption of the West German system. The

coalition government that came into power after the elections in March held the view that the GDR's economic system should at once be transformed into a social market economy and that the Deutsche Mark should be introduced as official currency in the East. These proposals were adopted in the treaty on the creation economic, monetary and social union on July 1, that was signed in May 1990.

From the point of view of economic theory this rapid transformation seems to bear a lot of risks. The establishment of a monetary union, for example, deprives the GDR of the possibility of a devaluation of their currency. Therefore the Eastern industries will face serious problems in international competition. It can be expected that unemployment will occur in the East whereas inflation will rise in the West.

For fear of these problems several economists favoured a step by step transition from a socialist to a market economy. However, growing pressure forced the politicians to take measures immediately, even if they are not absolutely rational economically.

5. THE MAIN FIELDS OF REFORM⁴

5.1. Economic Union

In the treaty between the two German states it is laid down that their common economic order will be a social market economy. In detail this means private ownership of the means of production (and of land), competition, abolition of price controls, and free movement of labour, capital, goods and services. Furthermore, the freedom to enter into contracts, to set up a business or transfer it to another place and to choose a profession is guaranteed. Every German has the right to move freely within the whole union. The tax, finance and budget system will be made compatible with a market economy. Gradually, the GDR's agriculture will be adapted to the EC's agricultural system.

5.2. Monetary Union

On July 1 1990 the Deutsche Mark has become the common currency in the East and the West. The exchange rate was fixed at 1:1 for wages, pensions, grants and rents and for money in bank accounts up to certain limit. Further liabilities and claims were exchanged at

⁴ See: Staatsvertrag.

the rate 2:1. Being the only bank of issue in the monetary union the West German Central Bank determines monetary policy.

The treaty also provides for the development of a market-type credit system operating on the basis of profit-oriented principles where private banks compete with public and cooperative ones, a free money and capital market, and the unrestricted formation of interest rates on financial markets.

5.3. Social Union

In order to alleviate the problems for the citizens of the GDR that will occur during the transition to a market economy the creation of a social union has also been agreed on. A comprehensive social security system at the same time performance-oriented and aiming at social equalization will be established. It will be adapted to the West German system.

Labour legislation will be introduced according to the principles of a social market economy. East and West agreed among others on free wage determination by employers and employed, freedom of strike, worker's participation, and protection against unlawful dismissals.

6. PROBLEMS OF TRANSFORMATIONS

In the course of transition to a market economy a lot of different measures have to be taken. During that process problems of various kinds have to be tackled before the ultimate goal can be reached.

6.1. Competitiveness of East German Companies

In the socialist economy which was characterized by shortage companies had no problems in selling their products. They did not need to adapt to the wishes of the consumers as those were happy, if they got anything at all. Moreover, the companies would not have had much scope to change their output which was determined by the central plan. These factors lead to a lack of innovation in products as well as in technologies. Today most production plants in the East are completely outdated. Production was extremely inefficient as the socialist system gave no incentives to lower costs. Prices were centrally fixed and neither reflected costs nor demand.

After the abolition of subsidization and an increase imports from the West East German products can no longer compete, neither in price nor in quality.

Since July 1 the East Germans have almost completely switched to buying Western products. While their own agricultural products are rotting in the shelves the demand for Dutch lettuce and Spanish tomatoes - which are several times more expensive - is rising. Everybody is buying Western cars, electronic equipment, chocolates and whatever is available. At the same time the Eastern producers' warehouses are crammed to their roofs as they can hardly sell anything at all.

The GDR's minister for economic affairs had a survey carried out in 3000 companies which came to the result that about 30% of them would be able to compete in an opened up market, 50% need overhauling to survive, and 20% are doomed to bankruptcy⁵.

Therefore, a considerable rise in unemployment can be expected at least temporarily until restructuring has taken place. The DIW, an economic institute in Berlin, estimates that some 1 million of a workforce of 8.6 million will become transitionally unemployed⁶. A critical factor determining competitiveness of East German companies are the wages. Up to now they have been relatively low so that it would have been possible to compete with Western firms by setting a lower price. But with the general rise in the prices for consumer goods calls for wage increases are getting louder. The wage price spiral is starting to move, and the Eastern industries are running the risk of losing one of the few advantages they have.

The unemployment that has to be expected will adversely affect the economic and maybe also the political stability of the GDR. The population's support of the reforms will decrease, if the personal sacrifices people have to make grow too big. A particular problem of East Germany is that people will simply look for a job in the West, if they are unemployed or their wages are too low. Emigration - especially of highly qualified employees - will make the situation even worse.

⁵ "The Economist", 3 June 1990, p. 12.

⁶ "The Economist", 3 June 1990, p. 13.

The rate of unemployment therefore plays an important role in the course of the reform process and will to a large extent determine the future of the East German economy.

6.2. Privatization of State-owned firms

In Eastern Germany as good as all means of production and land had been owned by the state before the "revolution". In order to ensure the functioning of the markets it is necessary to privatize state property. Only with private ownership and the possibility of making profits people will have the incentive to take risks and invest, to innovate and to organize work efficiently.

First of all the state-owned enterprises are transformed into joint-stock companies. This way they are able to act autonomously according to the principles of a market economy. Furthermore, a giant trusteeship has been founded to hold in trust the property of all state-owned "Kombinate", companies and institutions that are to be gradually privatized. This is a enormous task that has never been performed before in history. During the process a lot of factors have to be considered, e.g. that state monopolies are not simply transformed into private monopolies, or that enough money is made in the sales to stabilize as many companies as possible and to maintain at least temporarily payments to the workers of the firms doomed to bankruptcy.

6.3. Lack of competition⁷

The economy in the GDR - like in other socialist countries - has been extremely centralized. In the so-called "Kombinate" companies were integrated to a high degree either vertically or horizontally. There was virtually no competition between producers. Now, the GDR has adopted the basic principles of the West German competition law. Only in the field of merger control regulations are less strict in the East than in the West.

In the process of privatization the enormous conglomerates should be split up into smaller units to stimulate competition. But in practice this is not always as easy as it seems.

⁷ See e.g. "Wirtschaftswocbe", 13 July 1990, 20 July 1990.

The take-over of the Eastern state-owned insurance system by the biggest West German insurance company, Allianz, for example, does not seem to be a step in the right direction. Neither does the fact that the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner Bank, the two most important banks in the FRG, are now sharing the branch network of the GDR state bank. Moreover, the three biggest electricity suppliers in the West were trying to take over the majority of their Eastern counterpart. This kind of cartel would have completely restricted competition in that field and would also have had impacts on West German markets: Whoever cooperates in the East will hardly participate in price wars in the West. Fortunately the Big Three are now forced to admit other small competitors into the business.

As these examples show creation of a market economy with functioning competition is threatened by the "invasion" of powerful Western trusts buying up everything they can get.

However, also the Eastern companies take advantage of their market power. After the introduction of Western currency the Eastern chain stores that faced virtually no competition raised their prices considerably. Imports from the FRG were often more expensive in the East than in the West and the population was quite shocked about their first experiences with free pricing.

All in all, a lot remains to be done against the evident lack of competition. One appropriate means - apart from legal measures - should be the promotion of small and medium-sized businesses in order to break up monopoly power.

6.4. Destruction of the Environment⁸

Overdone striving for autarky, a completely misleading price system, and topographical characteristics of the country are the factors that made the GDR use its resources as intensely as no other state in the world. The environment was used as the garbage dump of this highly industrialized country leaving it in an absolutely disastrous state. In many areas pollution was so bad that it seriously affected the populations's health. The trade-off between economic growth and environmental protection was obviously decided in favour of growth. The plan figures did not allow for expenditures for ecological aims.

⁸ See e.g. info-Schnelldienst, 16-17/1990.

The East German energy sector is mainly dependent on brown (soft) coal, which is extremely harmful when it is burned. Together with other industrial exhaust fumes as well as those of cars and private households with their antiquated heating systems this lead to an enormous degree of air pollution.

The second environmental problem is the protection of the waters. In this field the GDR policies are today at a level which Western Germany had already reached in the 1960s. What makes things worse is that for topographical reasons the East disposes of less water in relation to its surface than the West so that sewage immissions lead to a much higher concentration of toxic agents in the water. Many of the East German rivers are so polluted that hardly any animals or plants can survive in them. The Weser, for example, flowing across the German-German border is carrying 10 million tons of magnesium and sodium chloride into the Federal Republic each year. The Elbe is bringing us around 10 tons of quicksilver, 24 tons of cadmium, and 142 tons of lead annually. This extremely high degree of pollution is due to outdated technological processes, the specialization on particularly polluting branches, and a lack of sewage purification measures.

Changing to less polluting technologies and products will involve major restructuring and considerable expenditures. What is even more problematic is how to deal with the damages that have already been done. Who is going to be made responsible for them? Who is going to pay? And who is going to buy shares of a company that in the future will be held responsible for all the pollution it has caused during the socialist period? To improve the environmental quality in the GDR a lot of time and money will be needed. Considering that there are lots of other problems to be solved as well prospects for a speedy recovery of nature are quite gloomy.

6.5. Infra-structure⁹

In the field of infra-structure Eastern Germany is enormously lagging behind the West. The streets and roads are in a lamentable state and the "Autobahns" that exist have not been changed very much after the Second World War. It is an unforgettable experience

⁹ See: "The Economist", 30 June 1990, p. 9.

to hop your way across the GDR through innumerable roads holes. The railway system can also be called completely out-dated.

The East German transport minister, Horst Giltner, estimates that up to DM 200 billion will be needed to restore the roads and railways, link the canals to West Germany's, resurrect Baltic sea-ports, modernize the urban roads and build a new international airport for Berlin.

A lot remains to be done about the telecommunications system, as well. Only 7% of the households have a telephone and there are just a few hundred lines stretching outside the country. Other even more progressive means of communication are virtually non-existent. In times of isolation from the West this may have been enough but now, after the opening of the borders, the telecom system is turning out to be a major obstacle to business contacts. It is reckoned that over the next seven years 8 million telephone connections will be installed as part of the DM 55 billion job of bringing the East German system up to date.

6.6. Housing Problems

In the socialist economy houses and flats were largely state-owned. For social reasons rents were subsidized and therefore extremely cheap so that there were not enough revenues that could have been spent on renovations. Unlike in market economies there was no incentive to invest in house-building or in the maintenance of already existing houses. Tenants did not appreciate the "real" value for their flats. Old houses were slowly dilapidating and the quality of the newly built blocks of flats was quite poor, as well. At the same time there always was a lack of housing space. The average living space for inhabitants amounted to 27 square meters, as opposed to 35,5 square meters in West Germany¹⁰. It will take enormous efforts to bring the GDR up to Western standards. There will have to be major constructions and renovations but for some buildings it will already be too late. They are so dilapidated that they have to be torn down.

¹⁰ See: "The Economist", 30 June 1990, p.6.

The transition to a market system will imply a shock for the population: When the subsidization of rents is abolished and they come to reflect the scarcity of housing space people will have to pay several times as much as they do now.

7. REPERCUSSIONS ON THE WEST GERMAN ECONOMY¹¹

The changes in the GDR and, eventually, the reunification of the two German States will not remain without effects on the economic situation in the Federal Republic.

It is difficult to forecast the developments to come as they depend on a wide range of political and economic, internal and external factors. Even so, some general remarks can be made. First of all, the West German government is giving various types of financial aid to the East. In the treaty between the two German States the FRG has agreed to pay DM 57 billion in all by 1991 to balance the GDR's budget and DM 2,75 billion respectively DM 3 billion in the second half of 1990 and in 1991 to finance social security payments¹². Apart from that there are all kinds of payments ranging from medical aid over environmental projects to aid for the parliament.

In order to finance these measures the federal and state governments have set up a German Unity Fund of DM 115 billion: DM 95 billion will come from bonds issued over the next 4 1/2 years the rest from budget savings elsewhere. These measures have been widely criticized; mainly it is feared that in the end the taxpayer will have to pay the bill and that inflation and interest rates will be pushed up. Even though these fears are well justified there are at least two factors that will counteract inflationary pressures. Firstly, the influx of skilled and mobile workers from East Germany will help to relieve wage pressures. Secondly, the FRG's massive current account surplus acts as a safety valve through which Germany can release excess demand. By diverting exports to its enlarged home market and by increasing imports it should be possible to keep inflation from exploding.

¹¹ See: "The Economist", 26 May 1990, p. 73; *ibid.*, 26/90; FR, 27 July 1990, p. 1.

¹² See: Staatsvertrag.

Furthermore, unity will not only lead to higher expenditures but also to lower costs and higher revenues in other fields. Payments related to the division of Germany, e.g. subsidies for the border regions and Berlin, can be saved.

Moreover, the economic, monetary and social union is expected to bring about an extra percent of economic growth each year until the year 2000 in Germany as a whole; i.e. the average growth rate will be 3,5% instead of the 2.5% that had been estimated for the FRG without the changes in the East¹³. An increase in the growth rate will in its turn lead to a rise in tax revenue.

It is reckoned that in the short run expenditures will exceed revenues but that by the year 2000 unification will have resulted in a budget surplus¹⁴.

However, these forecasts should be regarded quite sceptically as German reunification is such a singular event in history that it is hard to predict the developments. A case in point: At the end of July the East German government had serious financial difficulties. The health and unemployment insurances are running enormous deficits and there is no money to pay to the pensioners. The West German government already had to give another credit to the East and there are still calls for further payments¹⁵.

8. IMPACTS ON THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES

8.1. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)¹⁶

East Germany is economically integrated in the CMEA. Its external trade relations have been developed by a state monopoly, they are the result of central bureaucratic decisions and not of market relations between enterprises. Unlike free trade in market economics in the case of the GDR international trade did not have any positive effects on efficiency and technological progress: East Germany's trading partners had an even lower level of productivity and technological standards. Moreover, competition was non-existent

¹³ Iwd, 24/90, p. 4.

¹⁴ Iwd, 26/90, p. 4.

¹⁵ FR, 27 July 1990, p. 1.

¹⁶ See: "RWI-Mitteilungen" 1990, p. 53-65; Staatsvertrag.

Therefore, the continuation of CMEA trade will not be very advantageous for the GDR. Many of the exports were subsidized so that they will cause losses under market conditions.

Most other East Countries, in their turn, are dependent on CMEA trade, all the more as they can only respond very slowly to changes in guaranteed orders and deliveries. Particularly the Soviet Union has a strong interest in further supplies due to the composition of its imports.

In order to maintain good contacts to the East the FRG has agreed to ensure that all existing export obligations will be met and that all external relations of the GDR will be respected and protected¹⁷.

8.2. The Western World (EC, NATO, USA)¹⁸

In the treaty between the two German states it has been laid down that the GDR will gradually adopt the legal framework and the economic aims of the EC while respecting its existing relations with CMEA countries¹⁹. Thanks to the unique events in history Eastern Germany is able to skip the slow and cumbersome process of application for membership. It will be able to profit from the structural funds of the Communities. At the same time it has to be made sure that financial aids to Eastern Germany will not be given at the expense of other poor EC Member States.

Chancellor Kohl has emphasized that German unification must be embedded in the process of European integration and in close cooperation with the Western Alliance²⁰.

Improving relations with the East does not mean a deterioration of relationships with the West. This is true for military as well as for political and economic matters.

After the talks between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Kohl it has become clear that a unified Germany will be member of the NATO. Soviet troops will be gradually withdrawn from the GDR's territory.

¹⁷ See: Staatsvertrag, Art. 13.

¹⁸ See: Staatsvertrag; "Handelsblatt", 5 December 1989, p. 1.

¹⁹ Staatsvertrag, Art. 11.

²⁰ "Handelsblatt", 5 December 1989, p. 1.

Democratic market economies have turned out to be superior to socialist systems as the developments in the East show. It can be hoped that the tensions between the two blocks will eventually cease to exist and give place to East-West cooperation in a more peaceful world. As for the relations between Germany and the USA, there is no reason why they should not remain as friendly and productive as they use to be. On the contrary, they may even improve due to factors like the expected reduction in the FRG's current account surplus which is certainly in the United States' interest.

9. CONCLUSION

In this limited framework it has just been possible to give a general overview over various aspects of German reunification without going into details. Only the main problems could be mentioned. It is evident that in practice things are much more complex and developments are largely unpredictable.

However, it has been shown that the changes in the East that raised so many hopes will also result in - at least transitional - problems. It will take some time and cause a lot of social hardship to transform the Eastern system into a functioning market economy.

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PONOWNE ZJEDNOCZENIE NIEMIEC - NADZIEJE I PROBLEMY

Ogromne zmiany nastąpiły ostatnio we wschodniej części Niemiec. Jest ona na drodze przekształceń od gospodarki centralnie planowanej do społecznej gospodarki rynkowej. Głównymi przyczynami tych zmian były błędy gospodarki nakazowej polegające na tym, że nie można było zapewnić podaży dóbr zgodnie z zapotrzebowaniem konsumentów, a także brak wolności politycznej.

Na początku reformy proponowano różne rozwiązania. Uznano, że najlepszą drogą zmian będzie adaptacja systemu Niemiec Zachodnich. W maju 1990 r. podpisano gospodarczą, monetarną i socjalną unią między państwami niemieckimi z mocą od 1 lipca.

Mimo dużego wysiłku ze strony Niemiec Zachodnich występują liczne problemy w procesie przemian. Przede wszystkim istnieje obawa, że wiele wschodnich przedsiębiorstw nie będzie w stanie konkurować na wolnym rynku, w związku z czym należy się spodziewać znacznego wzrostu bezrobocia. Trudnym zagadnieniem jest rów-

nież prywatyzacja państwowych środków produkcji. Będzie ona przeprowadzana przez specjalnie w tym celu powoływane wielkie zarządy. W związku z dużą centralizacją gospodarki wschodnich Niemiec szczególną uwagę w procesie prywatyzacji będzie się zwracać na to, aby wielkie konglomeraty dzielić na mniejsze jednostki i pobudzać w ten sposób do konkurencji.

Innym ważnym problemem jest dewastacja środowiska. Trzeba będzie dużo czasu i pieniędzy, aby poprawić jego jakość. Konieczna jest także znaczna poprawa w zakresie infrastruktury i budownictwa.

Zmiany we wschodniej części Niemiec wpłyną z pewnością na część zachodnią, jednak trudno przewidzieć przebieg wydarzeń. Z jednej strony rosną znacznie wydatki z budżetu, z drugiej rozwój gospodarki w związku ze zjednoczeniem doprowadzi prawdopodobnie do wzrostu podatków.

Jeśli chodzi o stosunki zagraniczne zjednoczonych Niemiec, to należy oczekiwać pomyślnej współpracy tak ze wschodnimi sąsiadami, jak i z krajami zachodnimi, przy czym napięcia między oboma blokami będą stopniowo zanikać.