

094090

JPRS-EPS-85-019

7 February 1985

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

19980302 136

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

63
APR 1

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

7 February 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Romanians Report Price Increases in Hungary
(SCINTEIA, 20 Jan 85) 1

ALBANIA

- Importance of Shultz-Gromyko Meeting Evaluated
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 9 Jan 85; ATA, 15 Jan 85) 2

No Concrete Results Achieved
Comments From U.S., USSR Weighed

- USSR 'Plunders, Dictates Will' to CEMA Countries
(ATA, 20 Jan 85) 5

- AWP Daily Recalls Albanian WWII Aid to SFRY
(ATA, 20 Jan 85) 6

- Briefs
No Damage From Earthquake 8

BULGARIA

- Khristo Khristov's Activities in Iran Reported
(IRNA, 22, 23 Jan 85; ATA, 25 Jan 85) 9

Discussions on Trade
Confers With Namazi
Meets With Khamene'i
Received by Khamene'i

- Army Political Administration Chief at Writers' Congress
(Mitko Mitkov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 19 Dec 84) 11

Successes in Environment Protection Reported (BTA, 23 Jan 85)	13
U.S.-PRC Ties Viewed After Vessey Visit (Vladimir Tsakov; ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME, 21 Jan 85)	14
Bulgarian Workers in Cuban Nuclear Center (Julio Trujillo; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 21 Jan 85)	16
Daily on Cooperation With Turkey (Nikola Popov; TRUD, 18 Jan 85)	17
Filipov Visits Power Plants at 'Maritsa East' Station (Sofia Domestic Service, 16 Jan 85)	18
Leaders' Appearances 6-12 January Reported (Sofia Domestic Service, 6-12 Jan 85)	19
Direct Telephone Line With Kuwait Launched (BTA, 26 Jan 85)	20
U.S. Plans for Antimissile Defense, Laser Weapons Outlined (Todor Andreev; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 12, 1984)	21
Report on Forthcoming International Conference of Architects (Iliya Yurukov; SOFIA, No 10, 1984)	27
Briefs	
Protocol With Malta	30
CSSR Journalists Cooperation Protocol	30
Tanchev Receives Zimbabwe Ambassador	30
Filipov Receives Libyan Representative	30
Komsomol Delegation Visits PDRY	31
Indian Ambassador's Reception	31
Aleksandrov at Environment Meeting	31
New Ship Communications Equipment	31
Bulgarian Turks Allegedly Killed	32
Konstantin Tellalov Awarded	32
Message to Albanian Government	32
Filipov Greets Kampuchean	32
Zhivkov Cables Ethiopia's Leader	32
Todorov Press Conference	32
Zhivkov Visits Economic Trust	33
Ponomarev Awarded Dimitrov Order	33

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bilak Addresses Regional, State Party Officials (Prague Domestic Service, 25 Jan 85)	34
Prague Commentary Views Reagan's Refusal To Visit Dachau (Prague Domestic Service, 25 Jan 85)	36

Seminar on 'Undistorted' Slovak History Opens (Pavol M. Kubis; PRAVDA, 23 Jan 85)	37
Shuttle Seen as Space Weapon (Stefan Madar; PRAVDA, 11 Jan 85)	39
ROMANIA	
Book Published on Army's Role in 1944 Events (AGERPRES, 17 Jan 85)	42
Bucharest Press on Energy Saving Measures (SCINTEIA, ROMANIA LIBERA, 15, 16 Jan 85)	44
Security, Interior Organs Cable Ceausescu (SCINTEIA, 12 Jan 85)	45
Ceausescu Message to Danish CP Leader (SCINTEIA, 18 Jan 85)	46
Severe Weather Affects Traffic, Shipping (AGERPRES, 16 Jan 85)	47
ROMANIA LIBERA on Nationality Issue (Boda Ioszeff; ROMANIA LIBERA, 21 Jan 85)	48
PEC Letter to Elena Ceausescu on Birthday (SCINTEIA, 8 Jan 85)	49
LUMEA on Arkhipov's PRC Visit (LUMEA, 10 Jan 85)	50
Briefs Verdet-Karmal Meeting	51
YUGOSLAVIA	
Differing Views on Changes in Political System Reviewed (Gojko Marinkovic; DANAS, 18 Dec 84)	52

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIANS REPORT PRICE INCREASES IN HUNGARY

AU220840 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Jan 85 p 6

["A Decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Hungary on Raising Prices of Several Products and Services"--SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] As the MTI Agency reports, according to the provisions of the 1985 plan, the Government of the People's Republic of Hungary has adopted a decision on raising the prices of several products and services, as of 21 January, and at the same time, has adopted measures to regulate incomes and some social problems. The increase of prices--the agency notes--has been imposed by the need to keep the budget balanced, to promote rational and thrifty energy consumption, and to reduce the increase in production costs and price supports.

In line with the decisions, the prices of milk and milk products will increase by 28-29 percent, sugar by an average of 16 percent, and frozen meat and semi-prepared meat products by 16-18 percent. The prices of coal, wood, gas, and thermal power will increase by 25 percent, and the price of electricity by an average of 18 percent. The price of postal services will increase by an average of 85 percent. As a result of an increase in food prices, the prices of people's food supply services and workplace catering will also rise.

As of 1 February fares of urban public transportation will increase by an average of 55-60 percent.

As of 21 January the price of published books will increase by an average of 7 percent, but the price of school books will not change.

At the same time--MTI reports--the people's income in 1985 will be related to the price increase. Thus, the people's income achieved through work will increase by 80 forints and the allowances from the social consumption fund by 9 percent. Among other things, the decision provides for an increase for pensions that are lower than 3,000 forints, for scholarships, and for child care. Beginning in January a new allowance system will be in force regarding people who temporarily lose the capability to work.

CSO: 2700/90

ALBANIA

IMPORTANCE OF SHULTZ-GROMYKO MEETING EVALUATED

No Concrete Results Achieved

AU171745 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Jan 85 p 4

[Text] George Shultz and Andrey Gromyko, the heads of U.S. and Soviet diplomacy, met on Monday and Tuesday in Geneva. In over 15 hours of talks they supposedly discussed "a ban on space weapons and the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and Euromissiles." Both sides had agreed even before the meeting that the talks would be conducted in complete secrecy, their substance to be kept away from the attention of international public opinion.

The preparations for this meeting by American and Soviet diplomacy were accompanied by a big demagogic propaganda campaign. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA stressed that "an improvement of relations between Moscow and Washington is of extraordinary importance for the future of world peace." Washington also made use of demagogic statements of this nature. Secretary of State Shultz declared as soon as he arrived in Geneva that "President Reagan has sent us here on a peace mission."

The kind of peace mission discussed by Shultz and Gromyko is shown daily by the aggressive activity of both superpowers at the expense of the peoples and sovereign countries. Reagan has stressed that "the United States will not relinquish the 'star wars' program." MacFarlane, the President's national security adviser, also declared two days before the meeting that the Reagan administration intends to continue the rearmament program which includes MX missiles, B-1 bombers, and trident missiles. A Soviet training missile of the cruise type happened, not quite unintentionally, to violate the airspace of two sovereign countries "by mistake," as a result of a "malfunction." This is essentially a testimony of Moscow's determination to rival Washington and to indicate that when its interests as a superpower require, Moscow will not fail to aim its missiles at the target, with a full nuclear load. The way the problem of space weapons was dealt with in the Geneva talks between Shultz and Gromyko, also provides a clue to the kind of "peace" mission they talked about. Stressing the American determination to pursue "star wars" programe, Shultz suggested to Gromyko that the Soviet Union, too, should participate in the space weapons race, that it, too, should develop its space weapons program. Both sides consider this to be a real possibility of increasing their lead over other nuclear powers and consolidating their respective spheres of influence. This proposal enables both superpowers to

exert even greater political, economic, and military pressure over their allies. It is worth mentioning here that the concentration of the propaganda clamor on the problem of future space weapons is intended to eclipse the potential danger confronting the European peoples, namely the question of American and Soviet missiles of the Pershing II, Cruise, SS, and other types of missiles being deployed on our continent.

The talks concluded with no concrete results, nor could there be any concrete results in view of the declared propaganda aims of the United States and the Soviet Union even before they started. But they needed to hold this meeting for a number of reasons. Confronted with the profound hatred of the peoples against them and the growing opposition of their allies to the deployment of Cruise, Pershing, SS, and other missiles on their territories, Washington and Moscow are seeking a temporary improvement of the climate in their relations, while preserving at the same time their permanent rivalry for hegemony. The daily practice of the superpowers shows that the real aim of the Shultz-Gromyko talks was not to secure a reduction of arms, but to lull the peoples to sleep with empty talks. It was also the intention of Shultz and Gromyko to repair the bridge of long-standing American-Soviet talks. "I hope that the meeting will embark our two countries on the road of new talks," declared Shultz. The peoples have witnessed meetings between Shultz and Gromyko on several occasions, but none of these meetings halted the deployment of Pershing, Cruise, and SS missiles in Europe. History teaches that it is not talks between Shultz and Gromyko or between Reagan and Chernenko, that will stop the deployment of missiles. This can be done only through the determined struggle of the peoples.

Comments from U.S., USSR Weighed

AU151456 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 15 Jan (ATA)--Only a few days following Shultz-Gromyko meeting, the statements made by the top officials of Washington and Moscow clearly show that the agreement struck on the resumption of Soviet-American talks on weapons does not hinder at all the armament race between the two superpowers. Just as over the previous years, the two sides are against spreading the demagogy on disarmament, while in the backstage they are engaged in bargains of militarists and each tries to turn in its favour the "balance of power." Significant for this is the interview the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko granted to some journalists in Moscow. He described as "positive" the results of his meeting with the U.S. Secretary of State, Shultz, but at the same time "warned" that results should not be expected from the coming talks on arms in case the Soviet demands are not accepted. Gromyko said that in case the U.S.A. continues to deploy missiles in Western Europe" it will question the talks" on which an agreement was struck at the Geneva meeting. It is clearly seen that Moscow wants to legalize in the eyes of the European and world public opinion its programs on missile nuclear armament in Europe and the militarization of cosmos. Concerning this, the Soviet foreign minister declared that the Soviet Union will "fully respect" the interests of the security of its allies.

In Washington, the officials of the U.S. administration repeat every day that the U.S.A. will not give up their plans and programs on armament. As the news agencies report the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Weinberger, in an interview granted to the TV network CBS declared that "the U.S.A. is determined to develop the system of missiles for the star war."

The chief of the Pentagon stressed that the U.S.A. "intends to continue the deployment of Europ-missiles in Western Europe." At the same time, he added that "there are some problems on which we must talk" at the coming Soviet-American meetings, giving to understand the concern of the two superpowers to continue the bargains and the dialogue between them at the expense of the interests of the other peoples and countries of the world.

CSO: 2020/53

ALBANIA

USSR 'PLUNDERS, DICTATES WILL' TO CEMA COUNTRIES

AU201433 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 20 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 20 Jan (ATA)--A meeting of COMECON's executive committee on energy ended recently in Moscow. It made public the "Plan of the Energy Integration of the Member Countries." A plan which envisages the unification of their energy system and resources, up to 2000.

The problems concerning the integration of all the energy resources and the reductions of the Soviet oil supplies to other COMECON member countries, are not raised for the first time in this organisation. At a time when larger quantities of Soviet Union was reduced its supplies for its "brothers" of "socialist community." Thus, last year the oil sales to the West have increased 20 percent, whilst top Kremlin officials have informed the other COMECON member countries that the Soviet Union "is not able to satisfy their needs for oil and other fuel and energy materials."

The Russian metropolis has done precise calculations to the detriment of the other COMECON countries. The actual Soviet oil prices for these countries are 10 times higher than 10 years ago, at a time when Soviet Union buys its products from the vassal countries at the former prices, or at prices very slightly higher as compared with those of the Soviet oil. Such a policy has caused the trade deficit of the other COMECON countries in their exchanges with the Soviet Union during the recent years be more [wording as received] than 12 billion dollars a year. Possessing the oil weapon the Soviet Union plunders and dictates its will on the so-called allied countries.

CSO: 2020/53

ALBANIA

AWP DAILY RECALLS ALBANIAN WWII AID TO SFRY

AU201545 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 20 Jan 85

["In the Context of the 40th Anniversary of the Fighting Action of 5th Shock Division in Yugoslavia; Unforgettable Internationalist Contribution"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 20 Jan (ATA)--Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article which says among other things: The heroic fighting activity of two divisions of our National Liberation Army to help for the liberation of our Albanian brothers in Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia and of the peoples of Yugoslavia is an important part of the dignified contribution of our people in the world antifascist front. "Being loyal to the great antifascist alliance and thanks to the solidarity and the great fraternity which links us with the peoples of Yugoslavia, let us purpose the enemy in the territories of Montenegro and, alongside the Yugoslav Army let us smash its resistance in that country," Comrade Enver Hoxha ordered on 22 November, 1944.

The general staff and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally followed closely the fighting actions of the partisan divisions and brigades in the accomplishment of their internationalist duty to come to the aid of the peoples of Yugoslavia for their liberation. The fighting actions of the 5th Shock Division were directed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, one of the most distinguished co-fighters of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who has commanded large units of the National Liberation Army in the struggle to liberate Albania and to assist the peoples of Yugoslavia in their liberation struggle.

Educated with the outstanding traditions of the solidarity of our people with liberation and progressive movements of other peoples, nourished with the internationalist spirit by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha the partisans of this division promptly expressed their readiness to carry out the lofty tasks they were charged with. The attacks of the Albanian partisans on the Bielopolje-Prijeopolje and Prijepolje-Priboj roads the smashing of Nazi troops concentrations in Kozatice and Treskomale, the capture of Priboj-Vishegrad motorway and in particular the seizure of the natural fortress of Prijepolje, the Jadovnik mountain, were successes that the partisans of the 5th Shock Division achieved through great sacrifices.

The 5th Shock Division performed with honour the tasks it was entrusted by the general staff and its commander Comrade Enver Hoxha personally. It inscribed unforgettable pages in the history of the internationalist contribution rendered by our people during the Second World War. The peoples highly evaluate this significant contribution.

CSO: 2020/53

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

NO DAMAGE FROM EARTHQUAKE--Tirana, 17 Jan (ATA)--Today at 00.36 hours, the seismological network of Albania registered a quake tremor with an intensity of 4.9 degrees of Richter Scale, and 6 degrees (MSK-64) in its epicenter. The quake epicenter is 85 km southwest of Tirana, in the vicinity of the bay of Narta. This earthquake has been measured 5 degrees in Vlora City, 4-5 degrees in Fier city, 4 degrees in Berat. According to the hitherto reports, there are no damages. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 18 Jan 85 AU]

CSO: 2020/53

BULGARIA

KHRISTO KHRISTOV'S ACTIVITIES IN IRAN REPORTED

Discussions on Trade

LD221919 Tehran IRNA in English 1757 GMT 22 Jan 85

[Text] Tehran, 22 Jan (IRNA)--Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Trade Khristo Khristov told Iranian Minister of Agriculture 'Abbas 'Ali Zali here today that trade exchanges between Iran and Bulgaria could well be increased to \$500 million, up [by] \$100 million by the end of the current calendar year (19 March 1985). He said Bulgaria can provide agricultural products, chemicals, pesticides, herbicides and medicines to Iran and purchase such items as cotton, citrus fruits and oil from Iran.

The Iranian minister in response commended the progress in Iran-Bulgaria relations especially in the area of industries, commerce and agriculture and expressed confidence that the various commissions entrusted with the task of promoting cooperation between the two countries would prove instrumental in their task.

The Bulgarian minister of foreign trade arrived here Monday as head of a delegation to take part in the second meeting of a joint commission on economic cooperation.

Confers With Namazi

LD231103 Tehran IRNA in English 1013 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Text] Tehran, 23 Jan (IRNA)--The Bulgarian foreign trade minister, Khristo Khristov, who is currently visiting Iran, met and conferred with Minister of Economics and Finance Hoseyn Namazi Wednesday morning.

During the meeting, in which the high-ranking Bulgarian delegation accompanying Khristov was also present, the expansion of economic, commercial, and banking relations between the two countries was discussed.

Meets With Khamene'i

LD231937 Tehran IRNA in English 1810 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Text] Tehran, 23 Jan (IRNA)--Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Trade Khristo Khristov told President Khamene'i here today that his country looks forward to expanding her trade relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

President Khamene'i in response welcomed the proposal and said that as a basic policy Iran would look forward to expanding relations with any foreign country which should duly respect the interests of the Islamic Republic.

He said Iran would also welcome expansion of relations in collaboration with the Bulgarian Government in that area of agriculture and technology.

The Bulgarian minister has been in Tehran since Monday as head of a delegation at the joint Iran-Bulgaria annual meeting on economic cooperation.

Received by Khamene'i

AU251540 Sofia BTA in English 1042 GMT 25 Jan 85

[Text] Tehran, 25 Jan (BTA)--The second session of the Bulgaro-Iranian Governmental Commission on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation here today. [sentence as received]. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade.

The head of the Bulgarian delegation was received by Iran's President Mr Hojjatol-Eslan' Ali Khamen'i.

The talks with members of the Iranian Government proceeded in a constructive spirit. The protocol on the session signed provides for measures to extend Bulgaro-Iranian economic cooperation in trade, industry, agriculture, mining and metallurgy.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

ARMY POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION CHIEF AT WRITERS' CONGRESS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Dec 84 p 3

[Address of Lieutenant General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, to the Fifth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Writers: "A Soldier Is the Embodiment of the Loftiest Ideological and Moral Virtues of the People"]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

I would like to convey, with particular joy, the message of the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army by bringing you the fraternal greetings of the armed defenders of the socialist fatherland and wishing that your work at the Fifth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Writers is successful and fruitful!

There is no doubt that your congress is a great event in the contemporary spiritual life of the nation; an event which has stirred a great response from the entire society here. The attention shown by Bulgarian soldiers to the work of this most high forum of artistic and creative thought is quite natural, because we do not conceal the fact that fictional literature has always been our spiritual companion, our ever-present and powerful weapon in the severe tests of our time and the merciless toil of the never-ending struggle for the hearts and minds of the people.

The significant ideological and artistic achievements of contemporary Bulgarian literature are our pride and priceless treasure, which together with the tremendous acquisitions of real socialism are protected in the form of the Bulgarian People's Army.

If historical optimism is the characteristic feature of Bulgarian literature, as was correctly pointed out in the paper presented by the union's chairman to the congress, this idea can be applied to the same affirmation of our People's Army, because those to whom the party's leader has entrusted the sword and the shield of the all-victorious revolution, those who "know why they wear their overcoats and always keep their powder dry," cannot be anything but true optimists!

We are all united by the beautiful and ever fruitful tradition of the closest creative collaboration, which is based on the unshakeable foundation of

loyalty for the party's April policy, the party's appeal for a constant increase in the defense capabilities of our socialist fatherland, the overall harmonious development of the soldier's personality, and the military, patriotic, and international education of our young people and the nation.

Long-lasting and strong bonds have been forged between the leadership of the Union of Bulgarian Writers and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army. Our joint efforts and concerns are directed toward the same great goal: the bright and engaging artistic transformation of the contemporary military theme, a theme with eternal and nationwide significance. In this line of thought, I would like to note the important role of the Commission for Military and Patriotic Literature at the Union of Bulgarian Writers, as well as the significant successes of the Group of Military Writers at the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, our constant, vital link. The direct collaboration between writers and the military cultural institutes is being strengthened, expanded, and is yielding even more fruit. The true holidays for the troops in the People's Army are the traditional 10-day celebrations of writers in the army, the frequent visits of our outstanding poets, prose writers, and literary critics.

Everyone understands that the times in which we live are especially alarming. Now, when the imperialism of America and its NATO allies is laying ominous plans and threatens mankind with thermonuclear catastrophe, there is no place for indifference. Peace must be reliably defended. "The struggle for the preservation of peace," as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has pointed out, "is the sacred duty of all sober-minded people. This obligation is twice as sacred for creative people and most of all for you, the writers, not only because your art is the clearest embodiment of love of mankind, but also because it possesses an especially influential educational and mobilizing force."

Guided by the wise plans of our Communist Party, we place great hope on and believe unquestioningly in the ideological and artistic maturity of Bulgarian writers in the great future of our own socialist realist literature, whose military standard is party spirit and national feeling, the April boldness and innovation. Permit me, dear comrades, to assure you that in this epoch of tension due to the arms race, the troops of the Bulgarian People's Army are aligned in one formation with their class brothers; and the weapons of the Warsaw Pact, led by the unconquerable Soviet Army, keeping a close watch at its post, are always prepared to defend the cause of peace and socialism. And we wait for your new creations with good reason, that the image of our contemporary in epaulets will find his right place. The highest ideological and moral virtues of our brave working people are embodied in the image of this hero.

Let us strengthen and develop fraternal unity and creative collaboration between the creators of the Bulgarian artistic word and the troops of the Bulgarian People's Army!

BULGARIA

SUCCESSSES IN ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION REPORTED

AU231537 Sofia BTA in English 1428 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jan (BTA)--In nature conservation in 1984 Bulgaria achieved better results than in the previous two years of the current five-year period [1981-1985]. This was announced by Mr Georgi Pavlov, chairman of the Natural Environment Conservation Committee with the Council of Ministers.

He spoke at a big meeting today on the main tasks in the further improvements of the natural environment conservation activities.

Mr Georgi Pavlov reported that 413 million leva had been invested in the equipment built last year. The new wasteless and small-waste technologies which were transferred into practice have an annual capacity of utilizing 11 million tons of waste products. The captivation is ensured of 78 percent of the noxious substances thrown into the atmosphere with the industrial gases.

The trend of reducing the pollution of river valleys is continued. The proportion of purified effluent reached 54 percent, 29 percent of which being purified biologically.

In 1984 there have been erosion-protected about 37,000 ha [hectares] and reclaimed 1,400 ha of affected areas.

Mr Georgi Pavlov pointed out that as previously, the implementation of small-waste and wasteless technologies will be treated with the greatest interest. The equipment provided to be put on stream in order to keep the air pure will have to ensure till the end of 198 the capturing of 80 percent of the toxic substances rejected. [as published]

Special importance will also be attached to introducing modern biotechnologies for purifying effluent waters and gases and utilizing organic wastes. There will continue the developing and implementation of new catalytic processes for rendering toxic organic products harmless, of processes for capturing sulphuric oxides and other toxic gaseous components of the waste gas in the chemical industry, power generation and metallurgy, of intensifying the processes of water purification--through ozonizing, ion-exchange and other progressive methods.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

U.S.-PRC TIES VIEWED AFTER VESSEY VISIT

AU221515 Sofia ZEMEDELKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 21 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Tsakov, 'expert on international issues': "The Trends Are Confirmed"]

[Text] The visit paid by General John Vessey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, to China, ended this week. As was to have been expected the high-ranking guest from the Pentagon was cordially greeted by the kind hosts in Beijing. The negotiations were secret. This is hardly unusual among military leaders, let alone the fact that this was a dialogue between a general from the most powerful capitalist state and militaries from a socialist country.

Nevertheless, some information leaked through the American press concerning future Chinese purchases of military equipment from the United States, about forthcoming visits of U.S. ships to Chinese ports, and about Washington's consent to sell China equipment for submarine reconnaissance, as well as anti-missile defense equipment, and so forth. These facts were not officially confirmed either in Washington or in Beijing. Nevertheless, the silence and secrecy of the negotiations reveal a lasting trend, namely that the constantly developing relations between China and the United States in the military sector are mainly linked to their cooperation in the field of military technologies. This is a very significant fact and it should always be taken into consideration whenever we are discussing the present state and future prospects of Chinese-American relations.

During the meetings and talks in Beijing public declarations and official statements were issued, concerning the fact that cooperation between the two states in the military sector by no means affects any third countries, and that their common goal is to establish a zone of peace in the Pacific. Let us disregard the fact that such concern would perhaps be more suitable for diplomats than for the military. In this case, I think, it is important to point out the fact that Chinese-American relations are by no means uncomplicated. As a matter of fact, they continue to suffer under the burden of the problem of Taiwan, and to put it more precisely, the fact that Washington is still delivering weapons to Taiwan. This was also felt during General John Vessey's visit to Beijing. In addition to the elements

of cooperation (no matter how positively they should be developing), there are also contradictions in relations between Beijing and Washington. This is so, because of the well-known fact that in the dialogue between the PRC and the United States both sides are pursuing their selfish goals. We should not forget, either, that, after all, these two large countries represent two opposite socioeconomic systems. We should also add Beijing's ambition to be a superpower to these great differences.

Obviously, all these facts will play their role in the future. That is why the trends of intensifying trade economic relations between China and the United States will presumably be maintained, but China will not adopt a global, strategic cooperation on an anti-Soviet basis as people in Washington would like. This is the reason, that the arms arsenals are generously opened to the Chinese. In accordance with its own interests and urgent needs China will optimally take advantage of this opportunity. As for its ambition to play the role of a superpower, however, China will try to achieve this goal through a strategy of "equal distance" rather than through a close alliance with any side.

CSO: 2200/93

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN WORKERS IN CUBAN NUCLEAR CENTER

AU221350 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 21 January 1985 carries a 700-word interview given by Julio Trujillo, general manager of the first Cuban nuclear power station in the city of Cienfuegos, and candidate member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, to OTECHSTVEN FRONT correspondent Gergana Dolapchieva in Cienfuegos.

The interview deals with the brigade of young Bulgarian workers, named after Fidel Castro, which is working at the "largest national project in Cuba--the first nuclear power station." General Manager Trujillo praises the Bulgarian brigade as being "highly qualified," "disciplined," and "accurate" in its work. Trujillo further states: "82 highly qualified Bulgarian building profession. The cooperation between the two fraternal countries is also expressed in the training of 82 young Cubans by the Bulgarian building workers in the Kozloduy nuclear power station, in Bulgaria. After their 1-year training, the first nuclear power station in Cienfuegos will be able to rely upon an experienced, young team of building workers.

Julio Trujillo then describes the facilities offered to the Bulgarian workers in Cienfuegos, as regards housing and accommodation, and the cultural, as well as sightseeing programs organized for their recreation time.

He closes the interview by expressing gratitude to the "Bulgarian workers and their families on behalf of the Cuban building workers and to wish them even greater successes in implementing their international duty."

CSO: 2200/93

BULGARIA

DAILY ON COOPERATION WITH TURKEY

AU220804 [Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 18 January carries on pages 1 and 4 a 1,400-word article by Nikola Popov, deputy head of the "International" Department of the Trade Unions, Central Council, entitled: "For Good-Neighborly Relations, Friendship, and Peace," in which Popov reviews the relations of Bulgarian trade unions with their counterparts in the Balkan countries.

The article begins with the following introductory passage: "The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is based on principle, it is consistent and in accordance with our people's aspirations, with the interests of peace, progress, and socialism. Its contribution to the improvement of the political atmosphere in the Balkans, to the consolidation of goodneighborliness and mutual confidence, to selfless cooperation, regardless of the existence of different political and socioeconomic systems in the individual countries of our peninsula, is beyond doubt."

The article mainly dwells on relations with Romania, the SFRY, and Greece. A very short passage is devoted to relations with Turkey, which is as follows:

"In the spirit of the existing relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey, the Bulgarian trade unions wish to develop bilateral trade union cooperation with the Confederation of Workers' Trade Unions of Turkey (Turkish). The Bulgarian trade unions also express their sincere desire to restore relations with the trade unions of Albania."

CSO: 2200/93

BULGARIA

FILIPOV VISITS POWER PLANTS AT 'MARITSA EAST' STATION

AU162059 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 85

[Text] Comrade Grisha Filipov has visited the construction projects of the expanded "Maritsa-East-2" power plant. A meeting was held which was attended by Mincho Yovchov, first secretary of the Stara Zagora Okrug BCP Committee; Mincho Tabakov, chairman of the okrug people's council executive committee; leading officials from ministries and other departments, and by managers of building and assembling organizations.

Georgi Gekov, representative of the BCP Central Committee and of the government who is in charge of the construction of the "Maritsa-East" projects, informed Comrade Grisha Filipov on the progress of the building-assembling work and briefed him on the measures adopted for the commissioning of new plants, such as a 10-megawatt energy workshop, and on the work in connection with assembling the sixth energy workshop, which has the same megawatt power. Rusi Danev, general manager of the "Maritsa-East" state economic trust, briefed Comrade Grisha Filipov on the tasks of the miners and power plant workers performed during the winter season in connection with securing a regular rate of work in the power supply, as well as in fulfilling the daily schedules in producing coal and electric power.

Comrade Grisha Filipov dwelled on the tasks that have to be resolved as soon as possible in order to commission the new power plants, and stressed the necessity of establishing a more strict organization in mobilizing the efforts of all party and economic cadres so that the difficulties, caused by the unfavorable winter conditions, may be overcome.

Later on, Comrade Grisha Filipov and those accompanying him inspected the "Beroe" robotics scientific-production combine and the united computer plants in Stara Zagora.

CSO: 2200/93

BULGARIA

LEADERS' APPEARANCES 6-12 JANUARY REPORTED

AU131610 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgaria, in its broadcasts from 6 to 12 January, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parentheses):

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee on Culture, attended a public celebration in Sofia marking the 80th birthday of painter Ruska Marinova. (1830 GMT 8 Jan)

Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of energy and raw material resources, visited Ruse City, where he was briefed on the okrug's industrial successes and took part in a joint meeting of the okrug party and state organs and the collegium of the Ministry of Energy and Raw Materials, at which the better use of energy was discussed. (1830 GMT 9 Jan) Bozhinov is also reported to have attended a meeting of Gabrovo Okrug party and state organs at which plan implementation and the use of raw materials and fuels in the okrug were discussed. (2030 GMT 10 Jan)

Georgi Atanasov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, attended a celebration in Sofia marking the 70th birthday of Academician Khristo Khristov. (1830 GMT 9 Jan) Atanasov is also reported to have awarded in Sofia artists who have contributed their works to the Bulgaria--1300 Foundation. (1830 GMT 10 Jan)

Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a plenum of the BCP Lovech Okrug Committee, at which the quality of the ideological work in the okrug was discussed.

CSO: 2200/93

BULGARIA

DIRECT TELEPHONE LINE WITH KUWAIT LAUNCHED

AU261836 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 26 Jan 85

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jan (BTA)--The automatic telephone line between Sofia and Kuwait went into operation today. Kuwait's communications minister, Mr 'Isa Ibrahim al-Masidi, was the first to dial the code of Sofia from another continent in a symbolic act of the shortened distances in the economic, techno-scientific and cultural relations between the two countries. The unveiling of the automatic telephone contact is on the schedule of the visit to Kuwait by Bulgaria's minister of communications, Mr Pando Vanchev. This visit is intended to promote the cooperation within the telecommunications project "Medarabtel."

Actually, the realization of the first automatic telephone line between Bulgaria and far away Kuwait has its prelude. It was largely written by the builders of the Bulgarian engineering organization "Telecomplect," who constructed part of the communication network of Kuwait. Bulgaria has made herself a well-deserved international reputation as host and participant in the initiatives to realize the telecommunications projects to link the European region with the Arab world countries and the continent of Asia.

The establishment of an automatic telephone communication between Sofia and Kuwait brings to a close the first stage in "Medarabtel," a regional project for the development of long-distance contacts between the Mediterranean countries and the Middle East, in which Bulgaria and Kuwait are crucial transit telecommunication centers. It is also an important step forward to the integration of Bulgaria in the transcontinental telecommunication main linking Europe, the Indian Ocean countries and Australia.

The long-term plans envisage the construction of a radio and television channel between the two countries to relay Intervision and Eurovision programs for Kuwait.

CSO: 2200/94

BULGARIA

U.S. PLANS FOR ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE, LASER WEAPONS OUTLINED

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 12, 1984 pp 30, 31

[Article by Engr-Col Todor Andreev: "Imperial Space Ambitions?"]

[Text] Several months after the Soviet Union successfully orbited the first artificial earth satellite, the United States adopted a policy of militarizing space. Then and there it began to develop antisatellite weapons, but did not decide to come out openly with military programs in this area.

In June 1982 the veil was lifted--President R. Reagan proclaimed the "new space policy," which was incorporated in a national program. The U.S. Air Force Space Command began to function as of 1 September 1982, and the U.S. Navy Space Command as of 1 October 1983. It is anticipated that a space command of all branches of the U.S. Armed Forces will be set up in 1985.

The next step was to make available to these commands their respective weapons. Thought had likewise been given to these long before.

On 23 March 1983 after a magnificent dinner with a group of scientists who had sold their skills and conscience to the service of the military-industrial complex, Reagan announced his supreme "defense" conception and related programs and plans.

The United States now tries to assert that the president's statement was spontaneous and not grounded on the actual capabilities of modern technology, that it was inspired by the president's striving to raise his reputation in the eyes of the public. This is a flat lie, for after this statement, which was an appeal to transfer the arms race to space, practical steps in preparation of "Star Wars" ensued. The president's appeal was greeted by administration representatives as a "symbol of farsightedness." But those who praised him failed to notice one not insignificant detail--realization of the "absolute space" defense plan proclaimed by the president undermined the Treaty for Limitation of Anti-missile Defense Systems concluded between the USSR and the United States in 1972. It says that the parties bind themselves "not to develop, not to test, and not to deploy sea-, air-, space- or mobile land-based antimissile defense (AMD) systems or components thereof." The AMD treaty at present is the only bilateral Soviet-American document in effect in the area of arms limitation.

The Soviet Union, which was attentively watching the development of militaristic ideas in the United States, even as early as the 36th session of the UN General Assembly on 20 August 1981 introduced a proposal for the signature of an agreement to ban the placing of weapons of any kind into space. A veritable campaign began against the use of space as a new sphere for a race with qualitatively new weapons. The Soviet Union even before this had made constructive proposals, but the American administration feigned deafness or absent-mindedness.

On 6 January 1984 the U.S. President signed directive No. 119, in keeping with which work began on the so-called "strategic defense" program under the direct control of the Pentagon. Within the framework of this program under the supervision of Lt Gen J. Abrahamson, former deputy director of NASA and head of the Shuttle program, numerous scientific investigations, which have as their purpose to find promising means of destruction, early detection, target designation and guidance, tactical control devices, were consolidated in the interest of the global AMD system.

The White House and the Pentagon have the idea of setting up an echeloned AMD system on the basis of traditional and fundamentally new--laser, corpuscular, radiation--weapons. Four defense echelons are envisaged, each of which will perform its own missions: destruction of strategic ballistic missiles in the active leg of flight, interception of warheads at the moment of their separation from the carrier, interception of warheads in the passive leg of their trajectory, destruction thereof on entry into the dense layers of the atmosphere. It is estimated that if 10 percent of targets get through each echelon, the efficiency of the system will be 99.99 percent. The main echelon is the first, for each destroyed missile means a great many destroyed warheads.

The principal weapon in echeloning is the space-based laser. The laser produces a dense light beam which burns through the target or at least damages it. Given sufficiently large optical systems with a diameter over 10 meters, it is possible to achieve high intensity of the beam, which can be focused at a small angle, at which, for example, a 5-stotinka piece can be seen at a distance of 20 km.

Laser weapons have been in development in the United States for quite a long time now. In 1983 experiments were made to down a missile and an unmanned target aircraft with a gas-dynamic laser from an aircraft. But here we are talking of much smaller yields.

The energy density to penetrate the casing of a ballistic missile, according to press data, is 1-2 megaelectron-volts. And to compensate for beam scattering, 10-60 radiated megaelectron-volts will be needed. Most of the radiant energy will be reflected without causing any damage. This, for its part, will require greater energy than calculated in theory. Until such lasers are put into orbit, the enemy has only to cover his missiles and warheads with suitable, highly reflective material in order to increase their resistance, or impart a rotary motion to the missile. The attacking laser beam will have to have greater power. There are also great problems in the development of high-power lasers, especially as regards the optics and power of guidance systems.

A group of Soviet scientists have conducted pertinent research, the results of which have been shared with their American colleagues who are not connected with the military-industrial complex. The conclusions are that a large-scale and highly efficient antimissile system cannot be constructed in the next 2-3 decades. To orbit the laser systems alone will take about \$2 trillion over 25 years, which is beyond the abilities of the United States.

The militarists hope to develop a still more effective weapon--the corpuscular weapon, a powerful beam of accelerated elementary particles--corpuscles, which will penetrate any obstacles, carrying great destructive force with them. But this weapon is problematical too, at least for the next 40-50 years. Despite this, the Pentagon means to obtain a still more effective, combined laser-corpuscular weapon, whose beam nothing will be able to resist. A few laser pulses create a channel from space through the atmosphere to the earth. There the air is strongly ionized. Through it a lethal shaft of elementary particles is guided, which, no longer encountering the resistance of the earth's atmosphere, discharge their entire energy on the ground target. Such a beam could cut a lethal furrow through the enemy's territory.

It can be seen that the possibilities now are limited, but the zeal is great and it insists on bending the natural laws. There is already talk of a "third-generation superweapon." By the first is meant the atomic weapon; by the second, the hydrogen weapon. The third is the X-ray laser, which converts the energy of the detonation of a nuclear bomb into a laser beam in the X-ray range. It is estimated that a hydrogen bomb with a yield of approximately 50 megatons, exploded at an altitude of 300 kilometers from the earth's surface, can destroy dozens of targets simultaneously. At the required time the nuclear warhead is detonated and the energy is converted into a great many huge-yield laser shafts, which are guided and destroy the targets. It is considered that such a weapon would destroy the electronic systems and electronic transmission links of an entire continent. There exists a plan with the veritable man-eat-man objective of "burning the entire Soviet Union to ashes"!

This system would be run by a joint center with an orbital computer that would make independent decisions and even wage space war itself. For man and humanity there remains the role of passive observer and powerless witness of space duels which may result in the incineration of the earth. Space robots may continue to wage war among themselves even after life on earth has disappeared! What could be more senseless and more barbarian than that?!

By great good luck this nightmare is acted out only in the Pentagon's "scientific" forecasts.

These are dangerous illusions. There are no weapons for which counterweapons cannot be found. The laser weapon, for example, is nullified if additional scientific and technological measures are taken to increase the resistance of the ballistic missiles. The laser systems deployed in space are extremely vulnerable. There is something else, too. Recently opinions have been voiced that with the now existing space technology a much more efficient antimissile system than that proposed by Reagan can be created with only 2 percent of the funds provided for the development of the "radiation systems."

What is the danger here? The possibility in principle of constructing a highly effective antimissile system, combined with the efforts to mobilize all strike systems, severely destabilizes the world military strategic situation because it creates the illusion of impunity in the use of nuclear weapons. Moreover, it is very probable that the development of weapons to combat the antimissile system and of a completely new generation of nuclear-missile weapons that is invulnerable to the planned antimissile system will begin. A vicious circle! The United States found itself in such a circle when it developed cluster nuclear warheads. They inspired the Soviet Union likewise to develop such warheads, and what is more, with higher tactical characteristics. It is the United States' security that suffers from this.

From the statements of the Soviet leaders it can be seen that, this time too, the Soviet Union will be compelled to take measures to ensure its own security and that of its allies.

The question arises: Does not the Reagan administration equally understand whither its ambitions in space are leading? There are data that it does, and well. Why then does the American President need this "Star Wars" program?

The point is that the military-industrial complex of the United States, which yearns to get astronomical profits, is at the back of this program. And several more very important factors. By militarizing and commercializing space activity they hope to get the opportunity of strengthening their key role in the capitalist world. They have the idea that they have found new technological leverage that will halt the historical process of the decline of their influence and grant them the opportunity of realizing their dreams of world domination.

Even if the realization of some of the ideas the United States has under consideration prove technically feasible someday, for example, in antisatellite systems or in limited AMD systems, Reagan's ideas are doomed to failure militarily and strategically, as the report of the Union of Concerned Scientists observes.

It is not possible to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, a country with a huge scientific and economic potential, which can respond adequately in a short time to any danger whatsoever. That is why the only possible course, as the Soviet Union proposes, is to reach agreement on a total ban on the militarization of space. And, on 29 June 1984 it made a proposal to the Reagan administration that as of September 1984 they begin negotiations in Vienna to prevent the militarization of outer space. Reagan replied rapidly and negatively, linking the space negotiations with those on the limitation of strategic and Eurostrategic weapons. Two TASS declarations followed on 1 July and 6 July respectively, in which new proposals were made, aiming at the achievement of agreement on the prohibition and destruction of an entire class of so-called space strike weapons. The Soviet proposal evoked a tumultuous political response, which put the U.S. administration, which plumes itself on its olive branch, in a very difficult position.

It can be seen that U.S. policy is more and more dictated by the interests of the military-industrial complex, which is striving to put the military production of the state into orbit around the earth. Their interests dictate this. Space weapons are comparatively less materials-intensive and require limited consumption of energy and raw materials. For the development of space weapons the scientific and technical potential has been trained and, to a certain extent, the physical plant has been built. The industrialists see that the preliminary scientific, planning and design studies have, so to speak, already been carried out with state funds. Why should they not, in good time, be used by them? The most expensive, burdensome and often invisible preconditions for the militarization of space have been created at state expense. This is very advantageous for private capital. NASA has done marvelous service in this regard. Let us take, for example, the space shuttle alone. It is a fact. With it the military space satellites made by the firms can already be orbited.

On the other hand, many serious competitors from France, England, the FRG and other Western allies have come into the market for conventional weapons. The new space weapons will be original U.S. patents and licenses. This creates long-term advantages for the American industrial complex.

To turn the radiation weapons entirely into reality, \$300 billion will be allotted at first. This is quite a lot of money that will come into the tills of the American private firms.

There is something else, too. By directing all of public attention towards a solution of the problems of supremacy at a time of confrontation when humanity faces a life-or-death dilemma, the solution of global social problems is left in the background.

It is no longer difficult now to see that the militarization of space has clear reference points on the ground. The United States is endeavoring to create a protective umbrella against Soviet retaliatory missiles so that it can deliver the first nuclear strike with impunity. While it talks of "defense," it is furiously developing weapons intended for the first nuclear strike--MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, Trident-2 missiles launched from submarines, winged missiles, strike bombers. . . All weapons the point of which is that they are links in a chain of preparations for achieving military supremacy over the Soviet Union, for world domination.

The question now is whether a sword of Damocles will hang over the earth or whether it will not be forged.

The heads of the occupants of the White House are giddy with the lust for supremacy and the sweet taste of omnipotence. Intoxicated with the lust for world authority, they are becoming increasingly dangerous. They take negative stances towards sober proposals for the cessation of madness.

The attempts to legalize the race will in no event be accepted by the Soviet Union.

"Our goal," K. U. Chernenko declared in his reply to the questions of the WASHINGTON POST, "is an actually peaceful Cosmos." And the Soviet Union proves its aspiration by deeds, expressing the common concern of progressive public opinion over the fate of the world.

Development of the antisatellite system based on the F-15 aircraft and the SRAM [Short-Range Attack Missile] and ALTAIR [expansion unknown] has been accelerated. This system is designed to destroy targets at an altitude up to 1000 km with the assistance of a homing warhead. The first missile was fired from an F-15 aircraft at a hypothetical target at the beginning of 1984. The warhead included a unit with an optical homing system and a miniature onboard digital computer. Positioned around the computer are the missile engines which control the motion of the warhead when it separates and is self-homing. On the approach to the target, the engines separate from the unit and are used as additional destructive agents. It is envisaged that the first American anti-satellite systems will have 28 F-15 carrier aircraft and 56 ASAT [antisatellite] missiles. Later there will be 56 aircraft and 112 antisatellite missiles.

6474

CSO: 2200/86

BULGARIA

REPORT ON FORTHCOMING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHITECTS

Sofia SOFIA in Bulgarian No 10, 1984 p 40

[Article by Iliya Yurukov: "Interarch '85"]

[Text] From 3 to 9 June 1985, our capital will become, for the third time, the center of world architectural thought. For the third time it will welcome with its hospitality architects from different nations who will take part in the various activities and initiatives of Interarch '85. Georgi Yordanov, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, will be the honorary president of this forum. Rafael de la Os, president of the International Union of Architects, will also be part of the honorary committee.

A review of world achievements in architecture will be conducted by means of an international exhibition competition. The goal is to show, most of all, the formation of sociospatial, technological, and aesthetic ideas through the projects of individual designers or designers' collectives, through the final products which present models of urban and architectural forms and structures. The consolidation of aesthetic and humanitarian values in the common struggle for harmony with the environment will be emphasized.

A broad exchange of views and ideas is indeed the best means for intensifying the creative development of modern architecture. The aims and tasks set at the world biennial of architecture are the following: expanding collaboration among architects in the name of peace and friendship; coordination of architectural creativity and strengthening the social role of the architect's profession; even more complete synthesis between architecture and the other arts; man, society, and nature in a constant dynamic equilibrium!

The Union of Architects in Bulgaria is to be praised for taking the initiative in organizing this world event, which is unique in nature and scale. Sofia, the world capital of architecture, will present an even broader spectrum of activities during 1985, which will be related to the biennial's main theme: Architecture, a Social Art.

The international exhibition will display public and residential buildings and ensembles, industrial buildings, urban development decisions, the architectural heritage of different nations, and a synthesis of achievements.

The display of new concepts and ideas for functional and nonfunctional three-dimensional structures in the special HUMA-2000 competition will be a rather curious event, a forecast of the technical and moral achievements which humanity will have in the year 2000. An exhibition of printed materials dealing with architecture will be organized and will include contemporary scholarly works, albums, popular books, and periodicals.

The international symposium on architectural theory and criticism, in which hundreds of well-known architects are expected to participate, will again offer opportunities for presenting papers and scientific announcements, united around the following theme: Architecture, the Integration of Society's Functions and Cultural Identity.

An international meeting of young architects will also be organized. Discussions will take place under the heading of New Concepts for Social Dwellings, a contemporary theme which represents a justified interest, even for today's youth. The modern achievements of young architectural thinking around the world in solving social problems will also be demonstrated at this forum. The foundation of a permanent international video club, which will organize slide shows of visual materials from all over the world, is being planned: this is a new form of information exchange about achievements in architectural realizations. Roundtable discussions on the theme of The Athens Charter and Contemporary Peace will take place; this theme sounds rather contemporary now, when humanism is a central problem in realizing architectural outlines and most of all on the 50th anniversary of this document's acceptance; discussions on historical centers in modern cities and other topics will also take place.

The great popularity that Interarch already enjoys around the world makes us believe that the Third Biennial on Architecture will bring together more than 3,000 architects from all over the world.

According to the regulations, participants in Interarch should send in their applications by 30 October of this year to the Interantional Organizing Committee, Georgi Stoilov, chairman; he is also chairman of the Union of Architects in Bulgaria. The members of the international jury, who will evaluate the best designs and realizations displayed at the exhibition, in the book display, and in other activities, will distribute the prizes determined by the different nations and public organizations from around the world. Individual architectural achievements will be awarded special prizes by the International Union of Architects, the Union of Architects in Bulgaria, ministries, and public organizations.

There will be great benefit to the Bulgarian architectural community from Interarch. First of all, substantial information about the most significant achievements in the world during recent years will be received; this will help our architects in creating new values, in new thinking, in solving the architectural problems of our country. There will be justified interest in the capital for the architects. More than one-half of the members of the Union of Architects in Bulgaria work in Sofia. Let us hope that the designers' organizations and their collectives will participate actively in

the exhibition competition, and in the discussions to be held during the international symposium.

It has been decided that the display board from the exhibition competition will remain in a special museum of the biennial, a treasure that even years later will demonstrated the development of world trends in architecture. This archive will further enrich our architectural information and will contribute toward improving the training of architects in our country.

12334
CSO: 2200/76

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

PROTOCOL WITH MALTA--Sofia, 11 Jan (BTA)--The signing of a protocol marked the close of the fourth session of the Joint Bulgaro-Maltese Economic Cooperation Commission here today. There were reviewed the state of and prospects to the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries. Importance was attached to extending the trade and industrial cooperation and the relations in other spheres of mutual interest. Contracts were concluded on imports of Maltese castings vs exports of Bulgarian foundry materials, and on exports of Bulgarian [words indistinct]. Initiatives were outlined for extending cooperation in the manufacture of and trade in electric motors, in ship repair and in the foundry industry. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 11 Jan 84 AU]

CSSR JOURNALISTS COOPERATION PROTOCOL--On 8 January in Sofia a cooperation protocol was signed between the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and the Union of CSSR Journalists. The document was signed by Stoyne Krustev, first deputy chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, and Marcel Nolc, general secretary of the CSSR Union of Journalists. [Excerpts] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jan 85 p 2 AU]

TANCHEV RECEIVES ZIMBABWE AMBASSADOR--Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council, received John George Manyowa, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Zimbabwe in Bulgaria, on the occasion of his forthcoming departure. Comrade Petur Tanchev presented the Madar Horse, Second Class, to the ambassador of Zimbabwe, a decoration awarded to him for his contribution to the development and expansion of relations between our country and Zimbabwe. He congratulated him on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Brief addresses were exchanged in which it was stressed that the bilateral friendly relations between the two countries are constantly expanding and being intensified. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Jan 85]

FILIPOV RECEIVES LIBYAN REPRESENTATIVE--Sofia, 18 Jan (BTA)--Today Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the newly appointed secretary of the people's committee of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in this country Mr (Omar Muftah Aldallah) [spelling as received]. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 18 Jan 85]

KOMSOMOL DELEGATION VISITS PDRY--Aden, 18 Jan (BTA)--The [word indistinct] week of friendship between Bulgarian and Yemeni youth solemnly opened here at a mass rally. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, Mrs Stanka Shopova and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Union of Youth "Ashidqn" Mr Riyadh Moar al Acbari, [spelling as received] inaugurated a Bulgaro-Yemeni exhibition, dedicated to the activity of youth from both countries and to the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow. Mrs Stanka Shopova and Mr Riyadh al Acbari signed a cooperation protocol between the two unions for the 1985-1989 period and a joint communique. The delegation of the Dimitrov Komsomol, led by Mrs Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, was received by Mr 'Ali Nasir Mohammad, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Yemen People's Democratic Republic and by Mr Anis Hasan Yahia, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and chairman of the Yemeni People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 18 Jan 85]

INDIAN AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION--On 26 January Baglodi Deva Rao, Indian ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception at Grand Hotel Sofia on the 35th anniversary of the promulgation of the Republic of India. The reception was attended by Comrades Ognyan Doynov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, and Chudomir Aleksandrov; members of the State Council and the Council of Ministers; leaders of public organizations; people's representatives; high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; figures from the fields of science and culture; and journalists. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Jan 85]

ALEKSANDROV AT ENVIRONMENT MEETING--A meeting of leaders and experts from all over the country on problems of environmental protection was held in Sofia yesterday. The meeting was attended by Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as by Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary and chairman of the party and government council on agriculture and forestry, and by other high-ranking functionaries. Georgi Pavlov, chairman of the Environment Protection Committee attached to the Council of Ministers, read a report. He announced that the tasks according to the 1984 plan have been fulfilled 155 percent. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 85 p 6]

NEW SHIP COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT--Varna, 4 Jan (BTA)--Another 12 ships of the Bulgarian fleet will be equipped with satellite radio equipment in 1985. Bulgaria is one of the founding countries of the international organization for navigation with satellite equipment (INMARSAT) which already has 40 members among the advanced maritime states of the world. The first Bulgarian coastal earth station will be built near Varna during the Ninth 5-Year Plan period. Electronics and computer equipment are increasingly used to ensure constant communications with our ships. A number of maritime and river vessels are connected with the MORTEX international electronic system. Microcomputer systems for monitoring the exploitation of operating variables of ship radio transmitters are being introduced. Our specialists are developing equipment for the complex measuring of operating variables and changes in the operation of antennas and for monitoring signals. A new type of shortwave antenna has been created which will improve radio communications with ships navigating the Atlantic Ocean. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jan 85 p 6 AU]

BULGARIAN TURKS ALLEGEDLY KILLED—At least 40 people have been killed during clashes between police and ethnic Turks in Bulgaria, according to reports reaching neighbouring countries. With a million Turks in Bulgaria, 10 percent of the population, the government in Ankara had been trying to play down the situation but it became so serious that President Kenan Evren wrote to President Zhivkov, the Bulgarian leader. He promised to investigate reports of ill treatment "in a spirit of neighbourliness." Yet Bulgaria has now closed its border to Turkish tourists and banned the nation's goods because of critical reports in Turkish newspapers. [Text] [London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 25 Jan 85 p 4]

KONSTANTIN TELLALOV AWARDED—The State Council has awarded Konstantin Khristov Tellalov the title "Hero of Socialist Labor" for his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and for his active participation in the construction of socialism, as well as on the occasion of his 60th birthday. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 17 Jan 85]

MESSAGE TO ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT--Sofia, 22 Jan (BTA)--Bulgaria's Council of Ministers has sent the Council of Ministers of Albania a telegram extending most sincere sympathies in connection with the losses of life and property inflicted by the snow storms in certain parts of that country. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 22 Jan 85]

FILIPPOV GREETES KAMPUCHEAN--Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent a greetings message to Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on his election to this post. The message expresses confidence that the friendly relations between the two countries, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will further develop and strengthen for the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jan 85 p 8]

ZHIVKOV CABLES ETHIOPIA'S LEADER--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has sent a telegram to Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council. The telegram expresses most sincere sympathy and deep condolences to the families and relatives of the victims in a recent serious railroad accident. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jan 85 p 6]

TODOROV PRESS CONFERENCE--Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, accompanied by the National Assembly leadership, gave a press conference in Sofia. Comrade Stanko Todorov reviewed in detail the activities of the National Assembly in 1984 and specifically dwelt on the tasks which the permanent commissions and session of our parliament will cope with in the future. The National Assembly chairman exhaustively answered the questions of the attending

journalists. Proposals were submitted for expanding the participation and enhancing the role of the press, radio, and television in reporting on the multifarious activities of the National Assembly. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Jan 85]

ZHIVKOV VISITS ECONOMIC TRUST--Comrade Todor Zhivkov has visited the RERFROM state economic trust in Varna. He was briefed on the most recent trends of its work. Goods of the communications industry have a special share in the production of this state economic trust. [A few words indistinct] the specialists of the enterprise have developed a number of goods which are already being produced and which are in great demand on our domestic as well as on foreign markets. After inaugurating the new building of the institute, which is equipped with modern research and design equipment, Comrade Todor Zhivkov inspected the exhibition that had been organized. The exhibition displays some of the most recent goods produced by the RERFROM state economic trust in the field of communications technology. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 17 Jan 85]

PONOMAREV AWARDED DIMITROV ORDER--Sofia, 16 Jan (BTA)--Bulgaria's State Council has conferred a Second Order of Georgi Dimitrov on Mr Boris Nikolayevich Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the CPSU, for his personal services to the enhancement of Bulgaro-Soviet friendship, of the cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to closer relations in all spheres between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and on the occasion of his 80th birthday. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1736 GMT 16 Jan 85]

CSO: 2200/93

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BILAK ADDRESSES REGIONAL, STATE PARTY OFFICIALS

LD252103 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 25 Jan 85

[Text] Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today in Kosice addressed a meeting of party and state organs officials of the East Slovak Region on topical issues of the party's internal and foreign policy.

He paid tribute to the selfless work of our working people in implementing the resolutions of the 16th Party Congress, thanks to which our economy achieved very good results during the past year and created the conditions for the successful fulfillment of that congress' resolutions. He stressed, however, that it was necessary to concentrate on three basic tasks: the need to increase the cost-effectiveness and quality of all our work especially in the economic sphere where a number of shortcomings in work discipline and remuneration according to merit still remain; the need therefore to combat sloppy work more resolutely and end egalitarianism; and equally important, the need to be more effective in educating the new socialist man to be aware and cost-conscious.

Comrade Vasil Bilak placed particular emphasis on the need to intensify the fight for peace, and went on to speak about the current very complicated international situation. He stressed that while the Reagan administration has thus far been arguing that the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe will increase security in the world and that the Soviet Union will consequently be more amenable to negotiations, the facts have shown that their hopes of dealing with the Soviet Union from a position of strength have been dashed. The fear of nuclear war has now dawned on the inhabitants of the capitalist states, and pressure has been brought to bear for the reopening of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, which has already saved mankind from one great danger--that of fascism.

At the same time, Comrade Vasil Bilak continued, we must not lose sight of the fact that the struggle for peace has not ended, nor has imperialism's fight against socialism. It continues in new guises. The imperialist camp is making ever bolder attempts to step up its psychological warfare, whip up nationalism and chauvinism, and support any reactionary ploy to undermine the socialist countries' unity and destabilize any states working for progress. The aims of imperialism are one thing, however, but the facts are another,

Comrade Vasil Bilak stated. The fact is that the meeting between Comrade Gromyko and the U.S. Foreign Secretary has strengthened the prospects for peace. However, let us not fall prey to illusions that everything will pass off as a matter of course. We must make our contribution to this through our hard and conscientious work and by fulfilling all the tasks the CPCZ has set for us.

Comrade Vasil Bilak expressed the conviction at today's meeting of party and state organ officials of the East Slovak Region in Kosice that we will all devote ourselves to these tasks and to preparations for the 17th Party Congress.

CSO: 2400/238

PRAGUE COMMENTARY VIEWS REAGAN'S REFUSAL TO VISIT DACHAU

LD252038 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 25 Jan 85

[Text] And now a postscript to the news:

U.S. President Ronald Reagan has announced that he will not after all, visit the former Nazi concentration camp at Dachau near Munich this May. To commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe in this way, it is said, would be "quite undesirable." Why? Well, the West European NATO allies could be embarrassed at being reminded of Germany's defeat, and this is something, the White House says, that Ronald Reagan wants to avoid at all costs. So, instead, Ronald Reagan has decided to insult all the victims of fascism.

He is simultaneously insulting the democratic public in the Federal Republic which, unlike Kohl's government, does not view the defeat of fascism as the defeat of the German nation, but as victory over Nazi barbarism whose victims must never be forgotten in the interests of the future. However, this is not to be by order of Ronald Reagan in the interests of the nuclear missile alliance with the West German right-wing reactionaries.

CSO: 2400/238

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SEMINAR ON 'UNDISTORTED' SLOVAK HISTORY OPENS

AU241616 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jan 85 p 2

[Pavol M. Kubis article: "Not Legends, But Truth; an All-regional Seminar on the Falsification of Our History"]

[Text] The demanding and complicated nature of tasks in the phase of building the developed socialist society places increasing emphasis on the people's education and on the shaping of their scientific world outlook. The acquisition of a scientific world outlook is becoming an imperative factor in the development of conscious social commitment and in overcoming hostile ideology. The unprecedented exacerbation of the international situation and the endeavors of the most reactionary forces of imperialism to acquire military-strategic supremacy over the countries of the socialist community are also reflected in the exacerbation of the ideological struggle.

At present we are confronted by attempts to abuse the approaching 1100th anniversary of the death of Methodius, one of the two Saloniki brothers who, at the request of Rastislav, Prince of Greater Moravia, were dispatched in the year 863 to the territory of Greater Moravia. The Central Slovak Regional Committee of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) yesterday [22 January] organized an all-region seminar oriented toward unmasking the falsifications of our ancient national history and of the Cyril-and-Methodius traditions.

The seminar was opened and conducted by Anton Podolec, Secretariat member and secretary of the CPSL Central Slovak Regional Committee; he welcomed at the seminar Peter Prusak, CPSL Central Committee representative; Felix Vasecka, corresponding member of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Slovak Academy; and Academician Bohuslav Chropovsky, director of the Archeological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra.

In his statement Academician Bohuslav Chropovsky spoke in particular about new knowledge in the studies of our ancient history. Comrade Felix Vasecka on the other hand dealt with the interpretation of the Cyril-and-Methodius tradition and with its abuse in the years of the so-called Slovak State [at the time of World War II]. He recalled the words uttered at the national conference of the National Front in 1971: "One of the constitutional rights of our society is the freedom of [religious] denomination. As communists, we

are partisans of the scientific world outlook; but we respect the religious feelings of our citizens. Of course, we will not tolerate attempts to mix religion with politics, or to abuse it in order to form an antisocial opposition. We are sincerely interested in a sensible arrangement of relations between the state and the individual churches." Gaspar Petrovic, lecturer of the CPSL Central Slovak Regional Committee, then specifically explained the legacy of the founders of Slovak literature and its values. The millenary of Methodius offers us the opportunity to rid the Cyril-and-Methodius legacy of legends, to defend it, and also to make it part of our socialist awareness, in its true and undistorted form.

CSO: 2400/238

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SHUTTLE SEEN AS SPACE WEAPON

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Stefan Madar: "Preparation for a Cosmic Bomber"]

[Text] Preparatory work for the launching of the multiple-use Discovery spaceship in January of this year is going on in the United States. This time the mission of the flight is being maintained in complete secrecy and its tasks will be subordinated to the interests of the Pentagon. The spaceship will reportedly carry a payload with exclusive military aims under the code word DOD-84-1.

For the first time, newspaper reporters will not be permitted to follow the conversations between ground services and the crew of the spaceship. Prior to this time the Shuttle also fulfilled tasks for the Pentagon but, for the first time, will carry out a purely military program. It is not difficult to suppose that the mission of the flight will have no defensive purpose. The United States is developing new variations of military utilization of shuttle-type spaceships. The variations of the utilization range from launching military satellites into space through the testing of new types of space weapons.

Not once did reports regarding the intentions to have the Shuttle aid in testing warheads appear in the American press.

Work involving the development of maneuverable warheads began in the United States at the beginning of the 1960's. These warheads are capable of utilizing aerodynamic forces to undertake a long-range horizontal flight in the atmosphere and, at the same time, undertake varying maneuvers. Such characteristics of maneuvering warheads substantially reduce their vulnerability and also make it possible to increase their accuracy. During the conduct of tests it is necessary to safeguard the entry of these warheads into the atmosphere under a large variety of different conditions at near orbital velocities.

Thus far such tests have been conducted with the aid of one-time rocket-carrier vehicles. Experiments, which were conducted in accordance with contracts with NASA by MacDonnell-Douglas, revealed the possibility of utilizing the Shuttle for warhead testing.

In the opinion of specialists of the firm, the utilization of the Shuttle has specific advantages in comparison with one-time rocket-carrier vehicles. Included among the advantages are the possibility of testing several warheads simultaneously and at the same time assuring a wide scale of parameters for atmospheric reentry (angle of attack, higher entry velocities, etc.).

In addition, the Shuttle makes it possible to test warheads outside of the traditional testing area--the Atoll of Kwajalein in the Pacific Ocean. An untraditional but important test area is the region of Alaska (approximately on the same geographic latitude as Moscow). This region makes it possible to conduct tests of navigational systems on the terminal sector of a flight over mainland, as well as under conditions influenced by unfavorable atmospheric factors: rain, snow, low temperature, which cause a specific scattering of target areas. The testing of warheads with the aid of the Shuttle vehicle can be considered as the preparatory phase in the creation of a space bomber.

The possible utilization of the Shuttle as a space bomber is attested to also by the fact that the spaceship will be launched, under the program of the U.S. Defense Department, from the Vandenberg Air Force Base in California where the announced azimuth of the launch provides the possibility for impacting any target from the western borders of Czechoslovakia and the GDR up to the eastern borders of the USSR during the first orbit. During Shuttle launches from Cape Canaveral (Florida), from where it was launched thus far, the possibility of overflight of the territory of the USSR on the first orbit is not guaranteed.

It is expected that the Shuttle's entry above the territory of a supposed "enemy" at a low altitude with simultaneous launching of several warheads on the first orbit will assure the surprise of a nuclear strike because only a very short time is provided for its detection. In addition, the existing system of loading the payload into the cargo dock of the Shuttle on the launch pad assures the secrecy of the missions of the flight and the mobility necessary to change the payload. All of these circumstances leave no room for doubt that the preparation of the Shuttle for the fulfillment of such missions is aggressive in character. They want to change the spaceship into a weapon for a first strike and are simultaneously striving to achieve surprise and invulnerability of the spaceship. The possibility of such a utilization becomes a reality following the change of the launch and recovery area for the shuttle to Vandenberg Air Force Base. The first flight from that base is planned for the end of 1985.

In accomplishing these plans, it is totally impossible to speak of "the peace-loving nature" of Washington. This is a new type of offensive weapon. And the attack will be accomplished from space.

Naturally, in such a situation the question of excluding space from the sphere of armaments areas changes to a somewhat more pressing problem. At the initiative of the Soviet Union, the 39th Session of the United Nations considered the most topical question of the "utilization of space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the good of mankind" to be the most important and topical of questions. On 12 December, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution which

was approved by the absolute majority of the member nations of the United Nations. Only the United States did not support this resolution when it abstained from the voting.

The United States, virtually standing against all nations of the world, continues in the formulation of various plans for the development of space weapons. This orientation of the United States toward the utilization of space is opposed to the interests of the nations of the entire world. Konstantin Chernenko in responding to the challenge of the movement of physicians of the world to avert nuclear war stated: "Today, the most important thing is to solve the question of space weapons. The militarization of space, if reliable barriers cannot be developed, will ruin everything which it has been possible to accomplish thus far in the area of limiting armaments, will channel the development of armaments into a different direction and will definitely increase the threat of nuclear war." The Soviet Union, relying on the support of international society, will continue in the future to strive to prevent armaments efforts from being transferred to space and will strive to remove the possibility of threatening the entire world from space.

5911
CSO: 2400/212

ROMANIA

BOOK PUBLISHED ON ARMY'S ROLE IN 1944 EVENTS

AU171833 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1720 GMT 17 Jan 85

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Jan (AGERPRES)--The monograph "The Romanian Army in the 1944 August Revolution" put out by the Political Publishing House, elaborated by a prestigious team made up by Colonel General Dr Constantin Olteanu, Lieutenant-General Dr Ilie Ceausescu, Colonel Dr Florian Tuca, Colonel Dr Vasile Mocanu, falls within the meritorious concerns of Romanian historians to expand the basis of scientific investigation, and deepen the special significance of historical facts, with emphasis on the decisive role the Romanian revolution played both in the European people's fight against Hitlerism and in opening up new horizons to the Romanian people's history.

The Romanian Revolution of August 1944 is a natural continuation on to a higher stage of the Romanian people's long fight for its social and national emancipation. The authors prove by several arguments that the antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation had been prepared by the Romanian people over a longer period of time, that it was a qualitative stride made by the broad masses of people, by all the advanced patriotic-forces of the nation in those complex conditions. The historical act of 23 August, 1944 which marked the beginning of the revolution had a clearly profound internal character.

One of the monograph's chapters evinces the Romanian Communist Party's role in the organization and guidance of the antifascist and antiimperialist resistance movement of 1940-1944. In this respect, the work surveys the main programmatic documents of the RCP, its propaganda activity, the actions of sabotaging Hitler's war machine, the supply policy of political alliances adequate to the realities of the time. It also points to the ardent patriotism shown by communists in the dramatic conditions of their activity, the devotion and high sense of sacrifice that consistently inspired them.

The outburst of the revolution of social and national liberation found the Romanian Army as a unitary body, devoted to the nation. With no reserves, it turned arms against Nazi Germany, fought in close unity of will with the patriotic fighting detachments, with the broad masses of people to overthrow Antonescu's dictatorship, drive away the Hitlerite and Horthyite troops from their homeland's territory. It is an historical fact falling within the significant developments of the Second World War the authors clearly and correctly

explain underlining the existence of decisive factors for the Romanian Army's participation in the revolution and, then, in the anti-Hitlerite war. One of the main elements was the social composition of the Army, made up mostly of peasants and workers (officers included), the Romanian Army objectively reflected the then state of mind specific of the environment they had come from, the working people's aspirations for freedom and independence, their deeply antifascist and antiimperialist attitude.

The Romanian Army's antifascist and patriotic feelings also find an explanation in historical traditions, in a series of events, in the tireless political activity carried out by communists in the inter-war years.

The monograph analyzes, according to a comprehensive scientific investigation, the Romanian Army's participation in the turmoiled revolutionary developments of August 1944, the fights waged afterwards, alongside the Soviet Army, for the liberation of the Romanian land, of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak peoples from Nazi domination.

The lofty moral and patriotic features the Romanian Army evinced in the antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944, in the anti-Hitlerite war constituted themselves as many prerequisites for the new coordinates of its action in the years of socialist society.

CSO: 2020/52

ROMANIA

BUCHAREST PRESS ON ENERGY SAVING MEASURES

AU171841 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA and Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA of 15 and 16 January devote some one and a half pages each to measures to implement "the program adopted at the 13 January meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on Ensuring the Production of Energy, Rationally Utilizing Electricity, Heat, and Natural Gases, and Reorganizing the Work Schedule for Socioeconomic Units during the winter.

Both dailies in their 15 and 16 January issues carry, on page 3, 400-word and 600-word reports from several thermal plants and mines, citing examples of local initiatives to "repair the damage caused by the severe cold weather," ensure that "all electric plants operate at full capacity and deliver energy in accordance with plan provisions," and "increase coal production." The gist of most reports is that the situation can be remedied soon if "all efforts are concentrated on removing difficulties."

Bucharest SCINTEIA of 16 January carries on pages 1 and 3 a 1,600-word feature composed of four reports from large enterprises in Bucharest, Bihor, Bistrita-Nasaud, and Bacau on measures taken there to reorganize the schedules of production shifts. The reports supply facts and figures in support of the statement that "the rational reorganization of work schedules in enterprises has led to substantial savings in energy consumption."

CSO: 2700/89

ROMANIA

SECURITY, INTERIOR ORGANS CABLE CEAUSESCU

AU141935 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 12 January carries on pages 5 the 1,000-word text of a cable the "Inventory Meeting of the Command and Party Aktiv of the Department for State Security" sent to President Nicolae Ceausescu, supreme commander of the Armed Forces, in which it "expresses the full adherence of all security cadres to the report presented at the 13th Party Congress," and pledges to "do all it can to act with greater energy and high revolutionary responsibility to appropriately fulfill the tasks devolving upon it under the decisions and documents adopted by the great forum of the Romanian Communists and under the country's laws to contribute to Romania's flourishing, complete independence, and sovereignty, and to successfully implementing the party's bright program."

The cable also stresses that "we will firmly defend socialist legality and do all we can to thwart any attempt that could deal a blow to the people's interests, and we will not spare those who serve the country's enemy and betray the interests of our socialist homeland."

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 13 January carries on page 4 the 500-word text of a cable sent by the "Inventory Meeting of the Command and Party Aktiv of the Ministry of Interior" to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the SR of Romania, and supreme commander of the Armed Forces. After stressing that "aware of the role and tasks entrusted to us by the party and people," and that "we are firmly determined" to "act with greater vigilance to prevent and combat violations and other anti-social deeds," the cable specifies that "we will devote all our efforts, all our energy, and all our capability to resolutely implementing the domestic and foreign policy promoted by our party and state."

CSO: 2700/89

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO DANISH CP LEADER

AU220935 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Jan 85 p 5

[Text] To Jorgen Jensen, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee and on my own behalf, I extend cordial greetings to you on the occasion of your 65th birthday.

I express my belief that the friendly relations of mutual esteem and respect between the RCP and the Communist Party of Denmark will further strengthen in the interest of our peoples and the cause of peace and international cooperation.

Under conditions of the complex international situation, and particularly the very serious and dangerous situation created in Europe, we believe that it is more necessary than ever that all communist and workers' parties, democratic and progressive forces, the peace movements in Europe and throughout the world, and all nations should act in unity and with determination to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and defend the people's vital right to existence and to life.

I wish you, dear Comrade Jorgen Jensen, much health and happiness and new successes in your activity of high responsibility.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

CSO: 2700/89

ROMANIA

SEVERE WEATHER AFFECTS TRAFFIC, SHIPPING

AU162017 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1743 GMT 16 Jan 85

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Jan (AGERPRES)--As to the previous few days which were extremely cold in many parts of the country, with temperatures far below zero degrees centigrade registered in such localities as Miercurea Ciuc and Brasov, temperature levels on 15 January were close to the ones regularly registered in January, although in some areas in northeastern Romania temperature dropped below minus 25 degrees centigrade.

Snow drifted by rough winds with speeds of 50-80 pph [as recieved] amassed on the roads in southern Banat, southern and central Oltenia, Muntenia and northern Dobrogea. Consequently, traffic on certain national road sections was cut off and operations are under way to remove snow and restore traffic.

The Danube waters dropped at Bazias and Calarasi, remained unchanged at Cernavoda and Galati, and rose in Braila, Isaccea and Tulcea. As ice floes have been spotted river navigation was interrupted in the Bazias-Braila section, the river ports at Bazias and Hirsova were shut down while activities in the ports of Galati, Braila, Tulcea and Mahmudia are carried on with much difficulty. Operations are difficult in the port of Constanta too because of heavy winds and low temperatures. To restore traffic on the Danube and guide floating ice tug boats and sea going ships are employed.

CSO: 2020/52

ROMANIA

ROMANIA LIBERA ON NATIONALITY ISSUE

AU221434 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 21 January carries on pages 1-5 a 1,700-word article by Dr Boda Ioszeff entitled "A Fully Principled National Policy Consistently Implemented." The author of the article, highly praises Nicolae Ceausescu's way of dealing with the nationality issue in Romania, including some quotations on the nationality issue from Ceausescu's report to the 13th RCP Congress. The author, praising the great achievements registered by Romania and the Romanian people together with other nationalities notes that: "One can state, without fear of being mistaken, that there are very few places in the world where the coinhabiting nationalities can enjoy full economic, political, and cultural rights as in Romania, where all the inhabitants have equal opportunities and conditions to work, to assert themselves, and to develop and have equal rights and equal duties." The article concludes with the statement that: "Unity and fraternity, friendship and good understanding, mutual respect, attachment, and ties with our country, party, and the ideals of communist justice are our lives, are our ways of existing, thinking, feeling, and living."

CSO: 2700/89

ROMANIA

PEC LETTER TO ELENA CEAUSESCU ON BIRTHDAY

AU141955 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 8 January carries on page 1 the 800-word letter sent by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee to Elena Ceausescu on her birthday. The letter reiterates Elena Ceausescu's activity both as a political personality and as a prominent scientists who is "well known" throughout the world. The letter highly praises Elena Ceausescu's efforts to bring about peace throughout the world and to contribute, through her scientific work, to the progress and well-being of the Romanian people.

The letter reads: "We take particular pleasure in again expressing appreciation for the energy and determination with which you act so that everywhere, throughout the world, science fully reasserts its vocation of peace and progress, and serves solely the well-being and happiness of peoples and nations and not the cause of war and destruction." In conclusion, the Political Executive Committee, on behalf of all the people, congratulates Elena Ceausescu on her birthday and wishes her "many happy returns."

CSO: 2700/89

ROMANIA

LUMEA ON ARKHIPOV'S PRC VISIT

AU171005 [Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian on 10 January carries on page 9 a 600-word "I.O."-signed article entitled "Important Chinese-Soviet Agreements." The article deals with the recent official visit Ivan Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, paid to Beijing and the talks he held with Chinese officials. The article quotes XINHUA's report on the statements of Arkhipov and the Chinese officials and notes: "Referring to the relations between the two countries, Zhao Ziyang stressed that although China and the USSR have different views on some international issues and on internal construction, these should not become obstacles in the path of improving and developing bilateral relations." Further the article notes that at the end of his visit, Ivan Arkhipov and Chinese Vice Premier Yao Yilin signed three agreements on economic and technical cooperation, on scientific and technological cooperation, and on setting up a Chinese-Soviet committee for trade and economic, scientific, and technological cooperation. According to the article, Arkhipov is the most important Soviet official visiting China since 1969. The article ends by reporting the statements of the two officials at Arkhipov's departure: "At Beijing Airport, Vice Premier Yao Yilin noted that this visit has had fruitful results, and he expressed his hope that it will become a starting point for further developing relations of good-neighborliness between the two countries. Sharing this hope, Ivan Arkhipov showed great satisfaction with the results of this visit."

CSO: 2700/89

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

VERDET-KARMAL MEETING--Kabul, 13 Jan (AGERPRES)--The delegation of the Romanian Communist Party led by Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, were received by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. During the interview a message was conveyed to Babrak Karmal on behalf of the CC of the RCP and its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu. Babrak Karmal conveyed a warm salute and best wishes to President Nicolae Ceausescu, and thanked for the RCP delegation's participation in the festivities that marked the 20th foundation anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1650 GMT 13 Jan 85 AU]

CSO: 2020/52

YUGOSLAVIA

DIFFERING VIEWS ON CHANGES IN POLITICAL SYSTEM REVIEWED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 84 pp 4-6

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "One System--Several Views"]

[Text] According to the results of a linguistic survey, the words which occur most frequently in the daily newspapers are these: work, income, year, should, development, self-management, worker, must....

It is not difficult to see the close connection between the language of politics and the language of the newspapers, but if that survey had been conducted these past several days, it is quite certain that yet another word would be at the top of the hit parade: changes. And why not, when there is hardly any politician who has not had something to say about the urgent necessity for change, when meetings of the LC central committees and constitutional commissions are being held on the subject, when books are being written, round-table discussions are being organized, and it is being debated in newspaper columns and articles. It seems that Yugoslavia has as by plebiscite opted for change, and there is no dispute about this whatsoever. The economic and social crisis makes it imperative to find a way out, but the demand for change, indeed even in the political system, was expressed back at the 12th LCY Congress, and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program also came out in favor of changes. It was agreed that the Federal Social Council for affairs of the social system would prepare a critical analysis of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management and that the debate would begin at the beginning of next year. But, as is usually the case with us, we are slow to arrive at an agreement, and when we do agree, few abide by the agreement, the debate on the changes began long ago, it is being conducted at various levels, polemical tones are even being heard, and they are often burdened with name-calling and political disparagements.

How is one to account for this ferocity and polemical tenor when everyone agrees that changes are urgently needed? The reason is simple: the topic being debated is not changes for or against, but what kind of changes?

Incidentally, as Petar Zivadinovic said recently in a meeting of the LC Central Committee, both Tito and Kardelj, if they were alive, would have opted for changes. Or, to quote Ivan Stambolic, chairman of the Serbian LC Central Committee: The League of Communists has always been a party of change. Both

of them are certainly right, but we still should not forget the warning that we must know what kind of changes we want and what kind of changes we are advocating (Stipe Suvar).

Is it a question, then, of changes in the political system, changes in the system, changes in behavior, changes of leading figures, or, as someone has sarcastically put it, a question of changing the people. There is no doubt that we need a change in behavior above all, but it is still an open question of whether our system, inaugurated by the 1974 Constitution, is a generator of the crisis and to what extent the causes of the present situation lie in its features. That is, there are those who think that the constitution is a compromise which came about under the pressure from the nationalists, that it essentially departed from the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles of Yugoslavia's federal system, opening up room for confederation, that it overemphasize the role of the republics, that contrary to the AVNOJ decisions the provinces were proclaimed a constituent element of the Federation, that they frustrate the class interest and subordinate it to the ethnic interest.

The conclusion is drawn from all this that the only way out is to change constitutions (not, that is, to make changes in the constitution) and to go back to certain old arrangements: the 1963 Constitution is mentioned as a document that contains Tito's original conception of Yugoslavia.

The Reformers and the Defenders of the Constitution

Some of these arguments can be read in a book by Jovan Miric entitled "Sistem i kriza" [The System and the Crisis], and they were also heard during the round-table discussion of that study. According to these radical views, the 1974 Constitution is a generator of crisis, and that the most all-encompassing crisis we have ever gotten into. Today--say the proponents of that argument--we are in the quicksand of foreign capital, in the power of the technocracy and bureaucracy, with 1 million unemployed, with an enormously high rate of inflation and a drop in the standard of living, while at the same time we make the political framework (the political system) untouchable (neupitni) (Dr Jovan Miric).

This is approximately the line of reflection of the "reformers," those who think that the constitutional overemphasis of the sovereignty of the republics and provinces and its absolutization in practical politics have placed in jeopardy both the AVNOJ principles of federalism and the unity of the production relation of socialist self-management, which in turn signifies a radical redefinition of Tito's paradigm.

On the other side of this dispute are the so-called "defenders of the constitution" (both these expressions can be taken provisionally), who say that the constitutional system is not reproducing the crisis, but that the causes of the crisis lie in the old parallel system of decisionmaking, especially concerning the resources for social reproduction. The institutions of our political system have developed one-sidedly and been deformed because operationalization of the system, and especially its application, have not created the

conditions for the associated workers to make the decisions on the conditions, resources and results of their work (Dr Tihomil Vlaskalic, Dr Zdravko Tomac). The crisis, then, is produced by statism, group-ownership tendencies, and not by the principles of the constitution. Which leads to the conclusion that the main thrust of the action should be directed toward eliminating all those causes which are standing in the way of fuller application of the fundamental constitutional commitments.

One of the arguments in defense of the basic constitutional commitments, which, as Dr Dusan Bilandzic says, were agreed on long before the constitution was adopted, and in no case can we speak of any sort of nationalistic pressure, is that the constitution built a new model of federalism which cannot be fitted into the federations or confederations previously known. It is organized not only in associated labor, but in an alliance with the working people in all other institutions of the political system; that is, the organized worker is realizing a part of his sovereignty in the various institutions of the political system, and that includes the province, the republic and the Federation. The bodies of the Federation are sovereign for that portion of common interests which the constitution has stated are to be realized in the Federation. In that context it is not only the republic that is sovereign, but also the Federation. The 1974 Constitution--according to this opinion--reestablishes equilibrium between the separate and the joint, but that balance has been disrupted in practice because the republics have developed primarily as states, since associated labor within the framework of the republic has not manifested itself in the way that was programmed by the constitution. The Federation has thereby developed one-sidedly as the place where the interests and statism of the republics and provinces come to agreement or come into conflict.

The problem, then, does not lie in the constitutional model, but in its application. There is an urgent need, then, to carry out certain constitutional changes which will strengthen the power of associated labor at all levels and open up room for integration across ethnic lines in Yugoslavia through the free pooling of labor and capital and self-management integration; that is, there has to be a change in the practice which insists on all forms of linkage in Yugoslavia being mediated and filtered through the top levels of government of the republics and provinces.

A Necessary Gap

But it is necessary here to put a question that has already been heard many times: If the system is good, why isn't it functioning? The briefest and easiest answer would be that the problem is that the system as normatively sketched out is not being implemented, but then comes the next question, Isn't it a question, then, of an immense discrepancy between the normative and the real, and is the normative suitable to our conditions? Or, as it was put by Milan Kucan, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, it is not possible for more socialist and self-management content and consciousness to be expressed, nor greater influence of the associated workers realized through the political system and through its individual institutions than the amount of that consciousness and influence that exist in society as a whole. And it is a well-known fact, supported by a number of surveys, that that influence is not sufficient.

At which point it is logical to ask: Does this mean that the political system should not be changed, that is, that it is not possible to change anything so long as the state of social consciousness is what it is?

Kucan says: On the contrary. The class function of our system is precisely that as an instrument of the working class it effectively contributes to the realization of long-term interests, that it not only protects, but indeed even promotes the realization and further development of socialist self-management. It should also be stressed, which many discussions about the political system consciously or unconsciously ignore that in a society which is undergoing intensive and dynamic development, in which fundamental conflicts with many class features are manifested precisely with respect to realization of the historically new production relations, which would put an end to the historical contradiction between labor and management, that a certain gap is indeed objectively necessary between the social projection, the program, the ideological projection of the future society [on the one hand] and actual relations [on the other], and even indeed a certain gap between the normative and the real.

It is also impossible, Kucan says, to negate the active guiding role of the system, but it is very important in this respect that the gap between what has been projected and what exists not be too great, since then it leads into a world of imagined relations, illusions about real relations in society and possible directions for the development of society toward a loss of authority for the system and its inability to be an effective means of further development and alteration of existing relations.

There is no dispute, then, that aside from behavior there must also be a change in the system, yet without touching its fundamental commitments and without acceding to the argument that the constitution is an expression of nationalistic pressures and is to blame for all our troubles and that it is actually the generator of the crisis.

What the Politicians Say

It is interesting to see what some of our distinguished politicians have to say about this.

We are already familiar with the much reiterated statement of Dr Stipe Suvar to the effect that there has been enough hubbub in our country about a crisis of disintegration which supposedly cannot be overcome without changing the constitutional and political system. We have to speak about a crisis of development along the route we have adopted, and certainly at the same time we can change certain specific provisions of the Law on Associated Labor and the constitution if necessary, but not the key provisions. A current has strongly imposed itself within the party and in the public arena which is obviously aimed at destroying the road offered by the constitution with its formula about the pooling of labor and with the basic organization of associated labor as the point of departure of that pooling and of the worker's taking command of social reproduction. But truly we dared not treat the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor as elements of mythology, and still less do we dare to

take a mythological attitude toward the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program in the sense of seeing it as the salvation from the wrong road we have supposedly been led onto by the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor.

A somewhat different opinion was heard in the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, where a number of specific changes were proposed in the resolutions that were adopted. Among other things, redefinition of the role of the work organization, a new procedure for financing Kosovo's development, a change of the electoral system, an analysis of the functioning of the delegate system and of the organization around interests, and a number of other changes of which it is hard to say whether they are changes in the system or changes of the system. An assessment was also made (by Dr Bogdan Trifunovic in the introductory address) to the effect that "the political system and changes in it must be made a most direct function of realization of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and of the system of socioeconomic relations of self-management in general."

Andrej Marinc, chairman of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, says: The debates about the political system are becoming louder and louder, oversized and without the necessary specific content, which is precisely why they are disturbing the public. There is no political or legal basis whatsoever for any one-sided examination of the political system. We have reached a quite clear agreement on that in the LCY Central Committee. Likewise, we have in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program an analysis and an agreed basis for supplementing the elements of the economic system, and as for the political system, we have also agreed that we need to prepare an all-inclusive analysis so that everything we have agreed on can be supplemented in the political system through normal procedure. But the foundations of the political system will not be altered, nor is it possible to alter them.

Branko Mikulic, member of the SFRY State Presidency, feels that there are no reasons for debates in a state of political nervousness, nor for divisions into reformers and defenders of the constitution, into the progressives and the dogmatists, into "Titoists" and "anti-Titoists." Since such "divisions" preclude democratic debate in advance. However, essential questions have been raised in certain texts about relations in the Federation, about its character, about the role and equality of all its constituent elements. People are advocating a change in the essence of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management and the foundations of the political system. This suggests the conclusion that the spokesmen of such views are intentionally hiking up the political temperature in order to take advantage of such situations to realize their own aims.

Sinan Hasani, member of the SFRY State Presidency, says: I have not heard of a single example, in spite of the very harsh criticism concerning many problems, where someone has questioned the general course of development of a Yugoslavia that is self-managed, socialist and nonaligned. However, the debate is equally unanimous on boldly and resolutely rejecting everything that stands in the way of implementing the policy which has been set down, regardless of whether these matters belong in the sphere of economics, culture or the solutions which embody the system.

Note was taken a few days ago of the speech made by another member of the SFRY State Presidency, Nikola Ljubicic, who said that the basic postulates of the system will not be altered, nor will the basic arrangements contained in the constitution. Here we are quite definite. And they are these: our federal organization and system, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, our policy of nonalignment, the system of socialist self-management, and the decisive role of the working class in production relations and social decisionmaking, the place and role of the LCY, and the conception of nationwide defense.

Nandor Major, president of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina, spoke in his assessment of the debate about "advocates of coercive solutions." There are even those, he said, who want a majority vote on major issues, those issues which concern even the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and that is unacceptable, since self-management by its nature presupposes relations of conscious agreement and requires that the application of coercion by the majority be brought within reasonable limits.

And all those debates are being conducted at precisely a time when the debate has not yet even begun officially and when we still do not know what conclusions have been reached by the Federal Council for Affairs of the Social System, so when the question is put of what should actually be changed, the answer always depends on who is giving it. All that is known is the task the changes are to perform. On that question Milan Kucan says: The task is to prepare proposals on how to consistently implement in practice the constitutional commitment that the worker in associated labor, on the basis of the right held jointly to work with socially owned means of production, is to become the real and direct manager of not only current labor, but also socialized past labor.

The changes, then, have to be a new barrier against the statism which is now present at all levels. Yet, one gets the impression, in all the debates about the political system as a rule there is no real analysis of social relations, particularly of the distribution of political power and in that same context of the role of the so-called subjective forces. That is, the political system, as the constitution defined it, cannot function successfully without performance of the appropriate cohesive and guiding role of the sociopolitical organizations. All the vacillations, inconsistencies, meanderings and deformations in their work--to quote Kucan once again--and there are quite a few of them, are inevitably having profound consequences for the political system. If we speak in this context about the urgently necessary changes in the political system, then they should have to do mostly and above all with the position, role and activity of the sociopolitical organizations--the League of Communists and the other subjective forces. This is probably both the greatest and most important problem in the political system's further development and construction.

The party, then, holds the keys to the way out of the crisis in its own hands, and everything depends on its ability and capacity to begin to operate within the system, as Kardelj put it, not outside or above it.

The debate, then, has still not officially begun, but it flared up long ago thanks to certain people who seemed to be in a great hurry. In some communities, after the highest party forum has taken its position on the changes, we have seen people behave as though the debate were already over, and all that remains is to carry out the agreement. This is being felt even in the press in articles critical of those who think differently and who would stick by the agreement. All of this is creating an atmosphere of exclusiveness and unnecessary polarization in which people are now arguing even over how the changes that might be agreed on will be carried out. By consensus, of course, as envisaged by the constitution (however much that consensus might bother some people, and however much they might propose outvoting), since this is the only democratic way in a complicated community like Yugoslavia. It is certainly important in this connection whether that will be an agreement among the political elites, as up to now, or an expression of the will of the working people and citizens.

7045

CSO: 2800/163

END