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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1600

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR VISITS PLEVEN--Stefan Bobos, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria, has arrived in Pleven. At a friendly conference in the okrug party committee, Penko Gerganov, first secretary of the Pleven Okrug party committee, acquainted the Romanian ambassador with the socio-economic development of the Pleven Okrug and with the successes of the working people in the plants and agroindustrial complexes achieved following the National Party Conference. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 26 Sep 78 AU]

BULGARIAN-SOVIET TALKS--A bilateral meeting between Bulgarian and Soviet literary translators was held at the Bulgarian Writers Union headquarters in Sofia today. The meeting was devoted to the subject "Common Features and National Traditions in the Art of Translating in Bulgarian and Soviet Literature." The main report was read by Bulgarian writer Liliana Stafanova. The Soviet delegation is headed by (Vitaliy Ozerov), outstanding Soviet poet, translator and literary critic. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 28 Sep 78 AU]

BULGARIAN-YUGOSLAV RALLY--Petrich, 24 Sep (BTA)--The traditional autumn rally of good neighborly relations between the people of the two border cities of Petrich and Strumitsa was held in this restored southern town today. A rally attended by many people was held. The national flags were hoisted and the national anthems of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY were played. A concert was performed by artistic collectives from Sofia, Skopje and Blagovgrad. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

BULGARIAN-USSR COOPERATION ANNIVERSARY--A session marking the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the joint permanent working group of the Soviet Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry and the Bulgarian ministries of machinebuilding and of electronics and electrical engineering has been held. During the past 10 years Bulgaria has delivered to the Soviet Union 250 ships, tankers, floating workshops and others. Today Yordan Tsvetanov, deputy minister of machinebuilding, and Mikhail Laroshin, Soviet deputy minister of shipbuilding industry, signed a plan on scientific-technical cooperation for 1979. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Sep 78 AU]

BULGARIAN PROTOCOL WITH GDR--The Bulgarian and GDR ministers of chemistry, Georgi Pankov and Guenther Wyschoftsky, have signed a protocol in Varna on further developing the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of chemical industry after 1980. This document provides for rendering technical assistance in the development of nonbulk chemistry. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 29 Sep 78 AU]

GANEV DELEGATION TO POLAND--A Bulgarian delegation led by Lalyu Ganev, first deputy chairman of the National Committee for the Defense of Peace, departed on 4 October for Poland where it will take part in the International Meeting of Intellectuals for Peace and Detente. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 4 Oct 78 AU]

INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICS SYMPOSIUM OPENS--Varna, Oct. 4 (BTA)--An international geophysics symposium, organized by Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, opened at the Golden Sands Resort today. The symposium is attended by about 500 representatives of 17 countries of Europe, America, Asia and Africa. During four days papers will be delivered on the structure of the earth crust, on the problems of complex geophysical prospecting and research of ore and mineral deposits under complex geological conditions, as well as on the achievements by geologists and geophysicists in this field. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1310 GMT 4 Oct 78 AU]

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BULGARIA

GENERAL KOSEV CALLS FOR BETTER IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 78 p 2 AU

[Apparent text of report read by Col Gen Kiril Kosev, head of the Army Main Political Administration, at the All-Army Conference of the Bulgarian People's Army Ideological Workers held on 2 October 1978 at the "Georgi Kirkov" Hall of the party house in Sofia]

[Text] In recent years great efforts were devoted in the Bulgarian People's Army to reorganizing ideological work and to increasing the army's contribution to the implementation of the party's military policy, as well as to the improvement of combat readiness. The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress, as well as the decisions of the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and of the National Party Conference, exerted a particularly beneficial impact upon this work. The series of elaborations and decisions issued by the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo and the BCP Central Committee Secretariat on crucial problems of our socioeconomic development acted as accelerating factors in reorganizing ideological work. The great concern manifested by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our party's and state's first leader, toward ideological work and his tremendous personal contribution to the elaborations and solutions of the main problems of this work have always been and will always be a source of inspiration and an exceptional example of learning and experience for the communists and ideological workers in the army. These solutions and elaborations are contained in the multi-volume edition of Comrade Zhivkov's selected works, which represent a genuine treasury of knowledge, wisdom and experience.

Basic Conclusions Drawn From the Work of Commanders and Political Organs in Connection With the Reorganization of Ideological Work

The Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, as well as the commanders and political organs, guided by the decisions of the BCP Central Committee, are implementing a continuous and well-coordinated activity aimed at enabling the commanders and political organs to adopt and correctly interpret the

essence and goals of the reorganization of ideological work within the army.

Thanks to this many-sided work, the approach to ideological tasks has basically changed. The understanding asserted itself, that the reorganization of ideological work in the army is a difficult process, that this reorganization must produce serious changes in the quality and impact of ideological work and that it must drastically increase the contribution of ideological work to the shaping and maintenance of a high state of combat readiness in the army.

A thorough analysis of ideological work in the Bulgarian People's Army shows that considerable and lasting, positive changes and successes have been achieved in all three basic trends of reorganization of ideological work.

The close cohesion of the soldiers around the BCP Central Committee's April line, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and the army personnel's active participation in the struggle for the practical implementation of the decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress and by the National Party Conference are our ideological-political achievements. Such a conclusion is brilliantly confirmed by the successes achieved this year in combat and political training, by the political and working enthusiasm with which our fighting men are ready to accomplish their tasks during the forthcoming training year.

Commanders, political organs and party leading bodies are increasingly mastering and applying in practice the new approach to educational work. They are using the military social environment better for educating army personnel. On the other hand, ideological work is exerting an ever increasing impact upon the improvement of this environment and upon the expansion of its educational opportunities.

Commanders, political organs and party leading bodies have achieved considerable successes in the struggle to overcome bookishness and a formalistic approach in ideological work, for a more efficient linking of ideological work to practical life and to the tasks of the troops. This, actually, is the essence of reorganization.

The questions which the party is now solving under the present circumstances as well as the main tasks of combat and political education, the training and education of the army personnel are the questions which are now the main subjects of educational and mass-political work, these are the main subjects of information media.

The organization and management of ideological work in the army has improved. More efficient means and methods of ideological education are being used.

Planning of ideological work is being perfected. This work is now based on more objective information about the most important phenomena and trends in the army's development. On the basis of scientific elaborations and socialist research, important questions were discussed at meetings of the party aktiv and at scientific-practical conferences. These questions are as follows: the position of the army social environment for the education of soldiers, the link between ideological work and practical life, as well as army tasks, the socialist way of life and the development of the soldier's personality and other questions.

The leading staffs of the training links on Marxist-Leninist and political education have considerably improved. Scientific-practical conferences are now being used on a larger scale in political training; better use is being made of theoretical conferences and practical exercises dealing with the accomplishment of given tasks; better use is being made of lectures and other means of education, which require a more active participation of the students themselves and are likely to develop their own creative thought.

Positive changes have also occurred in mass political work and lecture propaganda.

The care of the commanders and political organs for cultural activities in the army is constantly improving as well.

The military information media have asserted themselves as a powerful means of propagating Marxist-Leninist notions, as well as of explaining the party policy and as a means of struggle against bourgeois ideology.

Positive changes have also occurred in the selection and training of workers and links, upon which the reorganization of ideological work and its efficiency greatly depend.

An assessment of things shows that the process of reorganizing ideological work has considerably progressed, that it has expanded in depth and scope. Ideological work is increasingly becoming a more and more important vehicle for implementing tasks in connection with combat readiness.

Nevertheless, our achievements in the ideological sector are neither comprehensive nor total; essential shortcomings are being allowed to occur, which are impeding the progress of reorganization, which are diminishing its efficiency. These shortcomings are expressed in the existence of a certain discrepancy between quantitative and qualitative changes in ideological activities, they are expressed in a low standard of efficiency as regards the majority of initiatives. Certain commanders and political workers are incapable of applying the new approach to educational work, they are incapable of using the educational opportunities of the army social environment to their full extent. Ideological work is not always boldly linked to practical life and to the tasks of

the troops. Certain definite shortcomings also exist in the leadership of ideological activities, in the ideological-educational work of the party and Komsomol organizations. All this demands from us that we set new tasks, the implementation of which will contribute to the reorganization of ideological work.

Let Us Complete the Reorganization of Ideological Work and Consistently Apply the Comprehensive Approach in Developing the Soldier's Personality

An assessment of our achievements in the three basic trends of reorganization of ideological work justify our conclusion that we can complete this reorganization before the 12th BCP Congress. This shows that in this last period of reorganization a tremendous amount of work faces us and extremely important changes and achievements must be implemented and insured.

The main goal which we must achieve within the closing period is to drastically improve the quality and efficiency of ideological work and, through its impact, to enhance the army's combat readiness. Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated as follows in this connection: "The very development of our country has imposed higher, new criteria in evaluating all our activities. Not quantitative, but qualitative indexes are becoming the measuring stick." This means that we must apply the qualitative measuring stick in all sectors and links of the army's ideological work, in the approach and methods of work of commanders, political organs and ideological workers, in implementing and evaluating any ideological initiative whatsoever. This is why it is necessary for us to overcome the quantitative approach in evaluating ideological activities, it is necessary to overcome oversimplifications in implementing and assessing measures. Without quantitatively reducing ideological work in the army, we should now lay the emphasis upon the qualitative aspect of this work and drastically increase the demands toward the quality and efficiency of each ideological initiative. It is necessary to implement work from top to bottom in this connection.

The main measuring stick for efficiency of ideological work has been perfectly clearly described in the party program--this is the level of socialist consciousness; the active participation of working people in sociopolitical, economic and cultural life; the extent of the transformation of Marxist-Leninist ideas and of the party's policy into a material force. In conformity with this demand, under the present conditions existing in the army, the dimensions of the efficiency of ideological work are revealing themselves in this ideological work's actual contribution to the achievement of great successes in combat and political training, in its contribution to the maintenance of combat readiness at the level the party demands, in its contribution to the consolidation of discipline and of the moral-political unity of the army personnel.

The deadlines set for the completion of the reorganization of ideological work in the army coincide with the deadlines for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th party congress and of the National Party Conference. This is why the further perfection of socialist organization and of planned leadership of the soldiers' labor; the education of soldiers in a spirit of socialist approach to labor, the formation of a lofty socialist consciousness and discipline in all places and in all activities; the improvement of the work of commanders, political organs and party organizations in conformity with the objective opportunities and demands; the achievements of a high efficiency and high quality in all fields of army life; this is why all these things must represent the basic essence of ideological work during the last period of the reorganization of ideological work.

One of the most important tasks of ideological work is that of contributing to bringing about a thorough change in the thoughts and ideas of the commanding personnel, in their understanding of urgent requirements in modern conditions for combat readiness in the army, in their approach to the methods and means of resolving problems from the point of view of the demands set by the 11th BCP Congress, the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and by the National Party Conference.

Every soldier, sergeant and officer must be profoundly convinced that the implementation of party tasks as regards socialist labor organization means that the whole life of the detachments must proceed in full conformity with the statutes and orders, and with the daily and weekly programs of lectures and exercises. Only on the basis of statutes, instructions and programs on operational, combat and political training, is it possible to perfect the organization of the soldiers' work and to increase the army personnel's achievements.

Ideological work cannot be merely restricted to the soldiers' knowledge of the documents of the National Party Conference. Ideological work must help each military collective, each individual officer, sergeant, soldier and member of the military personnel, it must help each individual worker to thoroughly understand the essence, goals and tasks of the struggle for the perfection of socialist labor organization and of the planned leadership of the troops. It must help them to understand the real methods of implementing socialist labor organization and planned leadership and to find their own place and duties in this work.

It is also the task of ideological work to develop the soldiers' ideological motivation to participate actively in army life. This means that each detachment, and in particular each company and each battalion, must have its own varied and meaningful political and cultural life, in which all army personnel should be included. Accurate moral and educational evaluations of the soldiers' activities are necessary, correct moral and material incentives are needed, and an adequate intellectual environment must exist in each collective. This is why ideological work must

contribute to transforming the care for man into a concern about the comprehensive satisfaction of man's needs and aspirations. Ideological work must wage a struggle against the materialistic consumer's approach, against any attempt to violate the requirements of the statutes and of socialist legality. A struggle must be waged against those who injure the soldiers' dignity by any act at all and who allow a biased or one-sided approach in evaluating the work of subordinates to occur. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated at the National Party Conference: "We need an atmosphere filled with more party ozone in our atmosphere, so that working people may be fully confident that their place in society is determined only by their personal contribution to its well-being." Such an evaluation also fully applies to our army collectives.

Another important task of ideological work in connection with implementing the National Party Conference decisions is the development of an iron-strong, conscious discipline. Comrade Todor Zhivkov described the drastic improvement of consciousness and discipline as a key question in the struggle for the perfection of socialist labor organization. For the army this question is of even greater importance.

One of the most important means of consolidating discipline is represented by the commanders' and chiefs' personal example. It is a duty of ideological work to propagate most widely the experience of those commanders who are impeccably accomplishing their duties as regards the implementation of directives, orders and instructions and who show the greatest strictness toward violators of military discipline. It is necessary to enhance even more the principle of one-man command, the importance and prestige of commanders, who are directly responsible for the combat readiness of the detachments entrusted to them.

The use of moral incentives by commanders and political organs is of great importance in connection with developing a socialist approach to the soldiers' labor. Every soldier must have the feeling that his work is appreciated, that his initiative is supported and that each of his actions is noted by the commander and by the collective. Commanders and political organs are obliged to devote the greatest attention to the moral encouragement of soldiers who have distinguished themselves in tactical exercises, in flights, shooting exercises, navigation, operation of combat equipment and so forth.

Leadership of Ideological Activities Must Be Decisively Improved

The great tasks, involving responsibility, that we will accomplish during the closing period of the reorganization of ideological work demand that we comprehensively and consistently apply the comprehensive approach.

The comprehensive approach demands a full unanimity of ideological-political, military, ethical and esthetic education, taking into consideration at the same time the peculiarities of individual members of the

army personnel. The comprehensive approach consists of the following tasks: permanent ideological influence on all aspects of army life, such as training, mounting guard, barracks duty, guard duty, taking care of arms and military technical equipment, daily life, recreation and so on; a comprehensive use of the means, methods and measures of ideological influence, a constant perfection of organization and management of ideological activities, a coordination of the effect of all objective and personal circumstances and motivations that contribute to or have a part in the educational process--this is what the comprehensive approach is all about.

The application of the comprehensive approach as the main instrument of reorganizing ideological work in the Bulgarian People's Army demands that a number of tasks should be accomplished during the closing stage.

The comprehensive approach not only demands an assessment of the effect of the socialist social environment upon the moral image of man, but also that this effect should be directed as sensibly as possible.

Among the objective elements in the educational process labor plays a decisive role. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated in this connection: "It is, however, necessary to overcome the predominating prevailing erroneous conviction that labor is a means of education in itself." In other words, the soldier's personality is not developed by mere attendance at combat and political training exercises, by mere learning about and handling of technical equipment and weapons, no matter how up to date they may be. It is in the labor process that the soldier develops as a socialist fighting man, his socialist approach to military work and his striving for great combat mastery strengthen and develop. The soldier's labor will play the role of an efficient educational instrument, if the entire training process, the entire service of the soldier is permeated by communist ideology and partymindedness, if the commanders are capable of taking advantage of all educational opportunities existing in military training. During field exercises, in navigation, in exercises with weapons and technical equipment, the soldiers must be educated in a spirit of noble ethical and political combat virtues and in a spirit of perseverance in order to achieve the goals set for them. The soldiers must be educated in a spirit of initiative, creative approach, collectivism and mutual assistance, they must become capable of overcoming the difficulties of military service.

One of the most important tasks of ideological work is to intensify the impact of education on the soldiers' collective. The National Party Conference theses read as follows in this connection: "The working collective is increasingly improving its role as the individual's most important immediate social environment and it must increasingly contribute to his manysided development in the process of labor, social and ideological-educational activities." In essence the military collective

represents a variety of the socialist labor collective and is marked by all its basic features.

In conformity with the National Party Conference requirements it is necessary to enhance socialist competition to a new stage of development. Being an irreplaceable school of organization management and education, a forge of communist virtues, a form of expression of human personality and a means of improving the army social environment, socialist competition must become a means of insuring the unity of the ideological-political, military, ethical and esthetical education of soldiers and it must be transformed into an integral part of the entire process of combat and political training. It is now particularly important to concentrate attention upon questions such as those of introducing more variety into the contents of individual and collective pledges, perfecting the system of assessing achievements in various links, and improving daily organizational work, which guarantees the implementation of the pledges assumed.

The question of the full-fledged utilization of the army personnel's recreation time is now assuming essential importance. It is necessary to devote persevering efforts in order to train the officers, sergeants and soldiers to spend their recreation time not only in entertainment, but also for improving their knowledge and acquiring new cultural values.

An important trend in the perfection of the social environment is represented by the struggle against negative phenomena.

It is necessary to eradicate the formalistic and bookish approach so that ideological work may become even more closely linked to practical life and to the tasks of the troops.

Our theoretical and explanatory work will continue in the future to concentrate upon contemporary questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and military organization, on questions of party policy in connection with building and defending the developed socialist society, as well as questions of the struggle against ideas and concepts hostile to Marxism-Leninism. The explanation, study and practical application of the works of Marxism-Leninism, of L. I. Brezhnev, and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in which important ideological questions are dealt with must be widely used in ideological work. The main thing, however, is to link the theories with life and with the army tasks, to draw adequate, practical conclusions from them for the work with various army links. The Marxist-Leninist theory is being studied daily as a means of explaining the revolutionary change of the world, of explaining and finding an answer to new social events and questions that concern the soldiers and occupy their thoughts.

Life demands that ideological work be transferred to the shooting ranges, training fields, firing ranges, tank parks and car parks. Ideological

work must constantly accompany military training, it must resolutely struggle against oversimplifications in the training process, it must struggle for the application of high criteria in implementing the programs of combat and political training, in creating an exemplary organization of the soldiers' labor and of the socialist approach to it.

It is more than ever necessary to intensify the offensive character and efficiency of the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against rightwing and "leftwing" revisionism and against its most dangerous variety--Maoism.

It is necessary to develop an even more offensive and purposeful ideological work in all directions for the successful unmasking of the slanderous and malicious imperialist propaganda activity directed against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries. The essence, the nucleus, of our ideological work must consist of the propaganda of the achievements of real socialism. It is necessary to capably explain and show the truth to the soldiers, to teach them the truth about real socialism, about the advantages of the socialist way of life, the correctness of communist ideas and views and the truly humanitarian character of socialist democracy. The successes of socialism, the noble ideas and great achievements of socialist construction--these are the basic foundations of our explanatory work and our most powerful weapon against the ideological attacks of imperialism.

The criticism of capitalism and the bourgeois way of life will occupy an important place in our ideological work in the future as well. Now attention must be concentrated with special force in convincingly revealing their weak spots and the general crisis encompassing all areas of capitalism--the economy, policy, ideology, culture and morals. At the same time measures must be taken for blocking those channels through which foreign influences can penetrate the army.

Special attention must be devoted to the struggle against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, the main directions of contemporary bourgeois ideology. The attempts to abolish Leninism in our revolutionary theory and in the parties that work in the socialist and capitalist countries and to undermine the international communist movement must be unmasked. In this context it is important to conduct a consistent struggle against rightist and "leftist" revisionism, Maoism and Eurocommunism.

The achieving of a full unity involving the ideological-political, military, moral and esthetic education of the soldiers, which actually encompasses the whole content of ideological work, is one of the most important tasks. It is one of the main tasks to be solved in the short period preceding the reconstruction of the ideological work.

The Marxist-Leninist outlook has a leading importance in the complex of ideological-political education. In the final account the communist

convictions are the most important factor in determining the behavior of the Bulgarian soldiers in times of peace as well as in days of harsh trials. The most important qualities to be developed in the course of military education are: loyalty toward the military obligation and the military oath, toward the combat traditions of the party and people; high vigilance and discipline; the preservation of military honor and dignity, military friendship and mutual assistance; a deeply understood striving toward perfecting combat skills, courage, heroism and endurance, and the capability of overcoming all difficulties and hardships in the course of defeating the enemy. Commanders and political workers must turn the daily work activities of the soldiers and the implementation of the separate tasks into a means for educating the new man and for developing and strengthening those features characteristic of the socialist military personality.

Moral education must take an ever-increasing place in the activity of the commanders, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations. It should encompass all aspects of the soldiers' life, including their mutual relations during training, their implementation of training and combat tasks and their behavior in public work and in their leisure time.

Esthetic education must be implemented in close connection with ideological-political, military and moral education. It is necessary to conduct the entire activity in this area on the basis of the program for esthetic education of the Bulgarian People's Army. Esthetic education must further collaborate for revealing the social significance and beauty of military work, for developing in soldiers an esthetic taste and the capability of correctly absorbing, understanding, valuing and creating beauty in life and arts.

The patriotic and international education of the soldiers must remain in the future one of the basic trends of ideological activity. It is necessary to constantly increase in the soldiers the feeling of national pride and responsibility toward our socialist motherland. The great ideological and inspiring uplift of the upcoming celebrations of the 1,300th anniversary of the creation of the Bulgarian state, the 35th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country and the 35th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army, must be fully utilized. The love of our soldiers toward our people and socialist motherland, the BCP, the USSR, the CPSU, the invincible Soviet Army, and the peoples and armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries must be increased. The new degree of the comprehensive coming together between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, between the BCP and the CPSU, and between the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Army must be revealed ever more fundamentally.

The Bulgarian language also has great importance for the patriotic education of the soldiers. It is our strongest connection with the people. It is in our mother tongue that we think, create and communicate with

the soldiers in the best way. In its historic development the Bulgarian language has acquired a significant perfection, and accumulated a rich vocabulary. Even the most delicate nuances of thought can be communicated by means of the Bulgarian language.

It is high time to undertake a resolute struggle for establishing a pure, exact and rich Bulgarian language. We cannot educate the soldiers in patriotism and at the same time speak in a coarse, dirty and poor Bulgarian language.

A major task in the closing stage of reorganizing the ideological work is to utilize all means, ways and methods of ideological influence. In order to achieve some positive consequences, it is of particular importance to coordinate most favorably the oral and printed explanatory activities, the work of technical means--television and radio--as well as direct contacts with the soldiers.

One of the basic organizational manifestations of political study and education is the Marxist-Leninist training of the generals and officers. Ever-increasing attention must be devoted to the general methodological training of the generals and officers, to their mastery of knowledge and to the creation of skills so that they may widely apply them in their work. It is necessary to intensify the purpose-oriented nature of schooling and link it with the tasks of the forces.

More care is needed in the political training of the soldiers, sailors, sergeants and petty officers. In this case the efforts must be directed toward sharply increasing the quality of training. Emphasis must be laid on those teams where the success of the political training is being built--the independent work of the leaders of groups and the activity of the permanent seminars.

Perfecting the work in the party schools must bring about their actual transformation into being centers for training the propaganda, party and Komsomol aktiv.

Many more efforts are needed to improve the teaching of social sciences in higher educational establishments. Marxist-Leninist ideas must serve the students as methodology in their applied work, to assist them in independently orienting themselves in the military-political situation and give them a true class-party assessment of social phenomena and developments. This necessitates that the teaching of social sciences should be freed from being a purely informational burden, freed from the simplified manner of submitting ready-made rules and truths and into the foreground must be put the most important issues of the present social knowledge and of the party's policy of building and protecting the developed socialist society.

Mass political work is of major importance and it is necessary to carry out a change in almost all of its activities. Greater attention should be devoted to mass-political work when the troops are in the field.

Ideological activity is unthinkable without a certain material-technical base. The main thing now is to utilize most fully the existing resources and to increase their effect on educational work with the troops.

The reorganization of ideological work is linked with perfecting their organization and administration. The accomplishment of this task, in compliance with the requirements of the comprehensive approach, presupposes the solving of a number of questions.

First of all, ideological work must be based on clearly defined goals that will guarantee the fulfillment of the main aim: to secure a high, constant combat readiness of the troops on the basis of communist education of the personnel.

It is necessary that greater attention be devoted to coordination in the planning and carrying out of ideological work in the various teams.

The comprehensive approach requires full coordination of the commanding, organizational, and political activities of the commanders. Sometimes this issue is being reviewed in a restricted way, limited only to the commanders' participation in the mass-political work. This participation is undoubtedly an important and necessary one. At present, however, it is necessary to go further--to correctly assess the ideological basis of the commanding activity itself.

The implementation of the comprehensive approach requires that educational work must take into consideration the peculiarities of the various servicemen.

It is particularly necessary to be acquainted with and constantly follow the qualitative changes in the basic subject of our ideological influence--youth as represented by the soldiers, students, young sergeants and officers. In the letter to the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov clearly outlined the public image of the present Bulgarian youth which calls itself with justification a generation of April. The young soldiers now in the army, in the great majority, distinguish themselves by means of high general and vocational education and broad cultural needs and desires and are well-read in current affairs and have a strongly developed sense of justice. They believe in the correctness of the party's policy and in their future and they have noble strivings and goals in life. The success of educational work will be increased manyfold if the subject of this educational work includes himself more energetically in this work. This is why all the means and methods which create conditions for expressing the soldiers' abilities must be encouraged.

The accomplishment of the tasks outlined on completing the reorganization of ideological work decisively requires the improvement of its leadership by the political organs and the party organizations.

Life requires that the political departments raise the standards and fruitfulness of scientific leadership in ideological work. These are the departments that lead and control the fulfillment of the program of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army for reorganizing ideological work and for generalizing, disseminating and implementing the positive experience of the subunits. It is imperative for the political departments to more intensively and energetically enter into the timely solution of certain key issues on which depend to a much greater extent the upsurge of the present ideological work: embracing responsible commanders and chiefs in the mass-political work, selecting and training ideological workers, improving the material-technical basis and so forth and manifesting high exactingness and consistency in fulfilling the tasks set to them.

The reorganization of ideological work is connected with further raising the importance and responsibility of the party organizations and their ideological activity.

It is important to raise the influence of the party organizations over the comprehensive ideological-educational activity among the troops and staffs. They are dutybound to constantly follow the communists' participation in the Marxist-Leninist and political training as well as in the cultural-educational work. The forthcoming exchange of party documents must be utilized as a means for intensifying the participation of each communist in the implementation of the party decisions. In the lectures to the communists, greater attention must be devoted to their moral-political qualities, to their moral image and prestige among the servicemen and to their actual contribution in implementing party policy.

The exactingness toward the ideological activity of the Komsomol organizations must be increased substantially. Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee must become a program for the activity of the commanders, political workers and party organizations among the army youth.

The reorganization of the political work and perfecting its leadership raise many high requirements for the ideological workers. In this sector must work officers of very good ideological-theoretical, military and professional training, people of modern taste, of creative spirit and of clearly expressed qualities for such activity. This anticipates that his social and personal prestige should be decisively raised.

The commanders and political organs must create conditions for fruitful work of the ideological workers, must support their reasonable proposals and also assist them in the work.

The army propagandists, cultural-educational workers, teachers and journalists will respond to the new party requirements with consistent work and firm deeds for raising the quality and fruitfulness of the ideological work and for increasing its contribution to the maintenance of high and constant combat readiness in the army.

CSO: 2200

DEFENSE MINISTER DZHUROV SPEAKS AT ARMY CONFERENCE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Apparent text of speech by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, delivered at the All-Army Conference of Ideological Workers--presumably on 3 October]

[Text] Esteemed guests, comrade generals and officers, comrades, before delivering my speech, I wish to fulfill the pleasant errand given me by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, to convey most cordial greetings to you--the participants in the All-Army Conference of Ideological Workers--and express wishes to you for good health, cheerfulness and great successes in your efforts to raise the standards and efficiency of ideological work, increase its contribution to strengthening the combat readiness of the army and to successfully fulfill the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and of the National Party Conference.

I wish to express the deep conviction of the first leader of our party that this conference will be followed by more consistent and business-like work for training and educating soldiers and commanders that are loyal to the party and socialism, for ironlike military discipline, for achieving further greater successes in combat and political training during the new school year and for raising the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army to the level and requirements set by the 11th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference.

Comrades, it is for the first time that the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army has organized such a broad conference of ideological workers of the Bulgarian People's Army. In this conference are participating the most responsible representatives of the army personnel having an attitude toward the problem of the development of ideological work in the Bulgarian People's Army.

This conference undoubtedly is a major event in the army's ideological life. Our discussions and the experiences we exchange will contribute

to giving a further impetus to the work of fulfilling the party's instructions on completing the reorganization of ideological work, for further improving the communist education of the soldiers and for raising the combat readiness of the troops.

Our party, by mobilizing the creative forces of the people for the implementation of the grandiose plans for building a developed socialist society, constantly and consistently perfects ideological-educational work. The 10th and 11th BCP congresses, the February (1974) and the July (1976) BCP Central Committee plenums have had particularly important significance for raising the tasks and requirements for the contemporary development of our socialist society. They elaborated a clear program for completing the reorganization of the ideological work of the party under the conditions of building a developed socialist society. During the past few years, the efforts of the commanders, the political organs, the party organizations and ideological workers and institutes in the army were oriented toward the fulfillment of this program.

The importance of ideological work is also growing. This work becomes one of the most important prime movers for resolving the strategic tasks of our development. None of the basic problems connected with the development of the country and the army could be resolved without it being ideologically understood and without comprehensive ideological support. This is determined not only by the internal conditions governing the development of the country and the army and by the complexity of the tasks on building and defending the developed socialist society, but also by the conflicting state of the international situation and by the exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the entire international sphere.

For half a year our country has lived under the propitious influence of the National Party Conference. The April spirit of its decisions today are in the thoughts and deeds of millions of working people and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army. The National Party Conference generalized the experience of implementing the strategic task set by the 11th BCP Congress on high efficiency and high quality and directed the attention of the party and of all Bulgarians toward perfecting the socialist organization of labor and planning management of the economy as well as toward increasing the importance of the subjective factor in conformity with the new conditions and tasks.

The soldiers have studied and given a meaning to its decisions. Their present efforts are focused on constantly perfecting the socialist organization of army labor, planning the educational-combat activity of the troops and raising the combat readiness and combat capability of the Bulgarian People's Army.

I wish particularly to stress that considerable ideological work on explaining the decisions of the National Party Conference has been

carried out and that this work now contributes to their being implemented in the life of the troops.

The international situation has an influence on the aspect of ideological work. At present this work is being determined by the complex interweaving of two contradictory directions. On one hand, the peaceloving forces in the world, primarily the socialist community led by the Soviet Union, is sparing no efforts for developing and consolidating detente and for strengthening peace and peaceful coexistence. On the other hand, the militarist circles of the imperialist countries, primarily those circles in the United States, which have strong positions within the ruling circles, are making tremendous efforts to crush detente and revive the times of the "cold war." The complexity of the international relations also have been influenced by a constant increasing of the military budgets of the imperialist countries and elaborating new system of weapons for mass destruction, as well as the May NATO Council session in Washington, the artificial hindrances created in the USSR-U.S. disarmament talks, and the irresponsible policy of the Chinese leadership that is dangerous for peace.

This conduct on the part of the reactionary circles makes us draw some conclusions. In its policy our party unifies the firm will power of the people to struggle for peace, security and cooperation among the peoples and the constant care for raising the defensive capability of the country and the combat readiness of the army and for decisively resisting any designs against socialism.

I am convinced that the completion of the reorganization of ideological work will increase the contribution toward raising the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army. For this it is absolutely necessary, as it was correctly emphasized in the report by the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, to eliminate the still existing weak points and shortcomings and reasonably and fully utilize all means in order to increase its efficiency.

Comrades, the issues of ideological work are many. In my speech I wish to draw your attention only to one of them. It refers to the unity of the commanding-organizational and political activity of the commanders.

It was correctly emphasized in the report that "each operative decision and action of the commander has certain ideological consequences. It affects the consciousness and conduct of the soldiers, creates in them a certain attitude toward the army's labor and toward his obligations and creates a certain moral-spiritual atmosphere."

We also have emphasized at some other times that to command the troops means to command the soldiers. This is a difficult task. Successful command of troops can be achieved through a correct and good organization of their work and through most fully utilizing the possibilities

of the personnel for fulfilling the tasks set, on one hand. In this connection, the commander gives orders, instructions, decrees and so forth which means that he is performing a tremendous organizational work. On the other hand, to command the troops means to constantly increase the soldiers' consciousness and personal and public responsibility for fulfilling their obligations and their duty. These two aspects of the commanding activity are interconnected and they represent a unity.

Our commanders are bearers of the class, revolutionary and militant spirit of the army and of its best traditions. They are soldiers of the party who command the soldier collectives on behalf of the people and this establishes their great prestige and deep respect among their subordinates. This is why we say that the commander's order is a people's order. It is a basis for commanding the troops and a law for the subordinates. The order must be fulfilled absolutely, exactly and in time. The order's authority and the strength of its educational impact lie in this.

Each order essentially is a message to the soldiers and to the personnel. It arouses in them a certain attitude, certain feelings that determine their response toward the respective order as well as their efficiency in fulfilling it. The great skill of the commanding activity consists in the fact that the commander's order and his organizational activity must arouse positive feelings among the soldiers and thus a positive attitude toward the tasks included in this order. This presupposes at least two things:

First, the commander must assess in advance the ideological and spiritual impact of his decisions and also must constantly perfect the quality of these decisions;

Second, together with the party collectives and utilizing all ways and means for ideological impact, he must undertake appropriate measures for the ideological backing for the order's fulfillment.

The matter, however, does not refer only to the fulfillment of the order. Each order's implementation opens possibilities for the spiritual and moral development of the soldiers. These possibilities actually should be well understood and comprehensively utilized for the communist education of the soldiers.

The BCP Central Committee devotes particularly great attention to this aspect of the commanding activity. You are familiar with the Number 414 decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo of 11 November 1975 on further improving the ideological-political backing for the fulfillment of the tasks set by the central and local party, state and economic organs. This decision is a clear manifestation of the party's cares for raising the consciousness and the sociopolitical and labor efficiency of the people in building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. The establishment of an apparatus for ideological-political backing and the

fulfillment of the decisions is a manifestation of democracy in our society and a major means for further perfecting the interrelations among the leaders, party and the people. Comrade Todor Zhivkov also paid attention to this issue. In his report to the 11th BCP Congress he said: "The manifestations of technocracy and disregard for the ideological-political meaning of the economic and administrative activity must be decisively overcome. Always when decisions affecting the interests of mass strata of the population are made, one must assess in advance their political and educational impact and undertake measures for their explanation."

This statement of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's applies to the greatest extent to our army situation. Our own experience shows, as well, that in many cases the implementation of tasks or the solution of problems adopted by the Ministry of National Defense central organs, or by the commanders and political organs on a local scale, must be preceded and accompanied by large-scale explanatory work among the party and Komsomol aktiv, among the entire army personnel. This must become a style of work for all commanders at all levels and in all ranks.

Nevertheless, I would like to stress that the carrying out of such organizational measures is linked to the development of a number of commanders' qualities, in which ideological work has a tremendous role.

On several previous occasions I have examined these qualities, but I would like once more to dwell upon them. They have been most thoroughly worked out in the BCP Central Committee theses about the state and development of the BCP.

Commanders must distinguish themselves by means of the following qualities:

First, commanders must work with a feeling of great personal responsibility toward the state and people. They must set an example of lofty principledness, conscientiousness, state of organization and discipline, of a socialist attitude toward military work and toward public property. They must impeccably observe the norms of socialist legality and the rule of communist morality;

Second, commanders must maintain their own Marxist-Leninist training on a high level. They must have strong political awareness, must promptly find their bearings in party policy, as well as in the decisions of party policy that explain and specify this policy. They must be deeply aware of the very essence of such decisions and be capable of explaining them. Commanders must also be capable of convincing the soldiers and mobilizing them in organizing the implementation of party decisions;

Third, commanders must have good professional training and must be capable of mastering the scientific methods and means of command, as well

as improve their work's scientific standards and the scientific standards of the soldiers' collectives subordinate to them;

Fourth, commanders must be capable of grasping the prospects concerning the future development of the branches of service, as well as the future prospects of all armed forces and they must be acquainted with the trends of development of the scientific-technical revolution in military affairs and they must work for the application of these new achievements. In addition to being capable of discovering new things in army life, they must propagate front-ranking experience and create conditions for making such experience available to all soldiers, so that it may be generally applied in practical work. Commanders must develop the initiative and creative spirit of the army personnel in socialist competition. They must stand at the head of the struggle against stagnation, routine and indifference and they must be at the head of the struggle for high cultural standards in the soldiers' work and for high leadership standards;

Fifth, commanders must be able to master the art of working with the troops' collectives. They must be aware of the soldiers' needs, moods and aspirations. They must educate the soldiers in the spirit of lofty ethical and militant qualities and they must develop their strong will and moral virtues. They must guide them in developing their behavior and must also create a creative atmosphere and favorable social-intellectual conditions, so as to enable the soldiers to show of what they are capable and to further develop their talents;

Sixth, the commanders must reorganize in time their way of thinking as well as their leadership style in conformity with changes that have occurred and they must look for and apply highly efficient methods and means of work;

Seventh, the commanders must contribute toward enhancing the efficiency of work and improving the prestige of party organizations for the successful implementation of their leading activities, for enhancing the vanguard role of the communists to an even higher level and for improving the work of the Komsomol organizations and unions.

The prestige of the commander, and as a result of this also the educational impact of his organizational and commanding activities, greatly depends upon the degree of his familiarity with his own duties and obligations in the service and upon his skill in strictly accomplishing these duties and obligations. This demands that as early as in military school officers must be trained in the habit and manner of performing their duty. The striving for a comprehensive fulfillment of service duties and functions must accompany the officer throughout his military service, in all his ranks and functions.

It also is necessary for the commander constantly to master and to implement in practice a Leninist style of work and leadership. As was noted

at the 25th CPSU Congress, the Leninist style of work is a creative style, a style alien to subjectivism, a style inspired by scientific approach to all social phenomena. The Leninist style of work presupposes great strictness toward oneself and toward the comrades, it bans self-complacency and opposes any manifestations of indifference or oversimplification. In this connection I would like to stress that each commander's solution must be based upon an excellent knowledge of the existing situation. Only under this situation is it possible to adopt correct solutions. This, moreover, means that we must try to study the situation on the spot, that we must be personally acquainted with the state of affairs. Commanders and chiefs of senior rank do not always have this opportunity to keep in touch with things, which makes it necessary (for the commanders) to be promptly and objectively briefed about the situation, meaning that they should be suitably informed, so as to be able to make an adequate decision.

In evaluating the situation and in taking a correct decision, it is absolutely necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with party and government decisions on the subject and with the tasks set by higher ranking organs, as well as to be familiar with the situation in subordinate detachments.

The fruitfulness of leading and educational work performed by the commander will increase to the extent that he widely and thoroughly acquires and applies in practice the political approach, to the extent that commanders are successful in overcoming technocracy. I must stress in this connection that we are by no means insured against the manifestations of technocracy.

In our army technocracy expresses itself in the following ways:

First, certain officers, especially the young ones, have an incorrect approach to the question of relations between man and technical equipment, overestimating the importance of technical equipment at the expense of man.

We are all aware of the fact that our contemporary socialist soldier, who has mastered modern weapons and combat equipment, represents a tremendously dangerous force for the enemies of socialism. As a result of this, the alliance between man and technical equipment, combining their efforts, must be at the basis of our educational and training work.

Second, certain commanders let themselves be carried away by bureaucratic, administrative methods in their commanding activities.

In this connection commanders must devote their efforts to achieve a coordination of one-man command with collectiveness in work. They must rely upon the party and Komsomol organization, they must keep up contacts with the communists and Komsomol members, as well as with the army

personnel and they must take into consideration the proposals of their subordinates and assistants as well. Only in this manner will they be capable of coordinating the great power conferred on them by their service rank with educational work.

Obviously, the first and second above-mentioned negative trends must be recognized and felt by all of us, and on the basis of this awareness we must carry out systematic, persevering ideological work in order to liquidate such negative trends.

One of the most important indicators of a commander's party principle-mindedness is his approach to criticism. Party criticism represents an effective means of education of commanders, political workers, and soldiers. Under the impact of criticism we work out an irreconcilable attitude toward shortcomings, an ability to evaluate objectively the state of combat readiness of a detachment or ship. It is by no means a coincidence that L. I. Brezhnev wrote as follows in his book "Resurrection": "Criticism is not sweet as chocolate that we might like it...; It is a bad thing when a one-man commander ceases to accept criticism...; To isolate a leader from criticism means to destroy him."

A commander is only exercising his commanding-organizational activities with an educational effect if he personally observes the ethical and communist rules of behavior. It is of great importance for a commander to be modest and accessible in his relations with subordinates and it is very important that he should be able to attract them. In this connection I would like to quote a passage from Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's book "The Small Land." He wrote as follows: "I am greatly repelled by a habit, which is not very widespread but still practiced by certain people--the habit of shouting at other people. Both economic and party leaders should not forget the fact that subordinates are subordinate to them only as regards the rank of service, but that they also serve the cause of the party and people. In this respect all people are equal. Those who take the liberty to disregard this unshakable truth hopelessly disgrace themselves and they undermine their own prestige. It is true that whoever has committed a shortcoming must bear the responsibility, but...man's dignity should by no means be undermined, he should not be humiliated."

I think that this advice given by Comrade Brezhnev can and must be followed by the majority of our commanders and chiefs.

One of the most efficient means of ideological influence for mobilizing the soldiers is the participation of commanders in political-educational work and their appearance before the army personnel to give lectures and talks on various problems of our party's domestic and foreign policy. The active participation of commanders in mass-political work enhances their importance as political leaders and increases their ability to become acquainted with and to guide educational work. Reality has

confirmed the fact that the better a commander masters the art of educating and the better he is at assessing the political and moral results of his decisions and acts of behavior, the stronger is his influence upon the soldiers' hearts and minds and the more successful will be the total educational-training process aimed at developing the lofty moral, political, and combat virtues of the soldiers.

Such are, comrade generals and officers, the basic thoughts I wished to share with you at this high-level and highly representative conference.

I would like to express confidence that military councils, commanders, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations will learn a great deal from our conference and that they will not spare any efforts and skills in order to implement the tasks entrusted to them by life in our commanding-organizational and practical-application activities in connection with the education and training of soldiers.

I wish all workers in the army ideological sector new successes in this difficult but noble field of work aimed at enhancing the political consciousness and sense of responsibility of each soldier, sailor, sergeant and officer, of all army personnel, in connection with improving the combat readiness and fighting capacity of the Bulgarian People's Army.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

TODOROV TOASTS MANESCU AT OFFICIAL DINNER IN BUCHAREST

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Oct 78 p 6 AU

[Apparent text of toast by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at 6 October official dinner given in his honor by Manea Manescu, premier of the Socialist Republic of Romania]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Manescu, esteemed Romanian comrades, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation and on my personal behalf, I would like to express to you, Comrade Manescu, and to the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania cordial gratitude for the opportunity to visit the Socialist Republic of Romania. As always, we rejoice at the warm hospitality and sincere attention on your part and express our gratitude. I also thank you for the cordial words and wishes which you addressed at the party and state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the BCP and the Bulgarian people.

The traditional meetings of Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu, the first party and state leaders of our countries, are an inspiration and direction of our work. They serve us as an example and reveal new horizons for our comprehensive relations and assert ever more efficient and modern forms of our economic cooperation.

We can mark with deep satisfaction that the friendship between the Bulgarian and Romanian peoples has strong and deep roots. It was enriched and strengthened in the struggles for national independence and in the heroic class battles for social liberation. Under socialism our relations and cooperation developed with an unprecedented upsurge.

During this year we celebrated two important events closely connected with the Bulgarian-Romanian friendship and cooperation. The first--the 100th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman yoke--was an ample opportunity for our people to express their gratitude to the Romanian people for their participation in the 1877-1878 war of liberation.

The second event was the 30th anniversary of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between our two countries. This was not only a triumph of our friendship and bilateral cooperation; it confirmed the vitality of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which are the basis of the relations between our parties and countries, and between Warsaw Pact and CEMA member countries.

Esteemed comrades, today the minds, talents and efforts of the Bulgarian working people are devoted to the struggle for economic and social uplift, and implementing the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the BCP National Conference. We are striving at turning our agriculture into a highly effective one, increasing the country's economic potential, and increasing the people's standard of life. The comprehensive coming together with the USSR and the cooperation with CEMA member countries turned into a powerful and accelerating force in our movement toward the ripe socialist society.

The Bulgarian people are following with sincere satisfaction the successes of the fraternal Romanian people in implementing the decisions of the 11th RCP Congress and the National Party Conference on further developing the socialist construction. Along with you we are proud of your successes in the economic upsurge and the cultural enrichment.

It is especially important to note that our countries advanced to higher forms of economic cooperation. In addition to the electric line and the gas pipeline through which our country receives gas and electricity from the USSR--through Romanian territory--today one can add three major objects, which are being constructed with mutual efforts: the "Ruse Gyurgevo" plant for heavy machine building, the "Nikopol-Turnu Mugurele" hydrotechnical complex, and the definproducing complex near Pleven.

The results so far of the economic cooperation fill us with confidence in its future and even more dynamic cooperation. This confidence is being confirmed by the businesslike atmosphere in which our talks began and are taking place. I am convinced that they will render fruitful results.

The cultural relations between the Bulgarian and Romanian peoples also have long traditions. Today their activation and diversifying, and our mutual familiarization with our spiritual values, play a great and important role in strengthening the Bulgarian-Romanian friendship.

Really, we have done much in many areas. Still, the constant search and the dissatisfaction are characteristic of us, the communists. The socialist economies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania are constantly supplying us with new and even greater possibilities of developing this process. It depends on us how this process will be guided, so that we can reach higher effectiveness

and greater mutual benefits. This fully is in the interest of the two peoples, the unity of the socialist community and the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Esteemed comrades, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is striving toward constructing its political, economic and cultural relations with the separate Balkan countries on the basis of good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation.

In his speech of 15 June 1978 at Blagovgrad Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, stressed that the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania are indicative of the great possibilities and prospects of cooperation rendered by the good neighborliness among the Balkan countries.

We are sincerely convinced that the disputed issues in the relations among the Balkan countries must be settled in a friendly dialog and in the spirit of good neighborliness, mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs. Any other policy would not only harm the existing political climate but would also create a dangerous tension in the Balkans.

In this context I would like to remind you that recently the imperialist powers are again attempting to poison the international situation, striving to return the world to the time of the "cold war." This compels us to increase our vigilance, to unite our forces and to strengthen our cooperation in order to repel this regular attack of the enemies of peace and detente.

We are deeply concerned with the danger of peace and security in the Middle East. The Camp David tripartite separate agreement does not lead toward solving the Middle East conflict but, on the contrary, creates additional difficulties, as the recent events in Lebanon are showing. Only the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right of creating its independent state, can guarantee the existence of all states of this region. Only the resumption of the Geneva conference, with the participation of all countries engaged in the conflict, including the PLO, can lead to solving the dangerous problems in this region.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a sincere participant and activist in implementing the decisions and spirit of the Helsinki Conference. We are for supplementing the political detente with a military one. Our country is convinced that it is necessary to convene and successfully conduct a world conference on disarmament. We fully support the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member countries, and the recent Soviet proposals on ending the arms race and strengthening of peace and security

among nations. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will further contribute to solving these vitally important problems.

Dear Comrade Manescu, dear Romanian comrades, with a sense of joy at our meeting and confidence in the full success of our talks I propose a toast:

To the friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples!

To the health of Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu, our first party and state leaders!

To the unity and cohesion of the countries of the powerful socialist community!

To the health of Comrade Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania!

To the health of all those attending! Cheers!

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

PARTY DAILY CARRIES MANESCU TOAST AT BUCHAREST DINNER

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Oct 78 p 6 AU

[Apparent text of toast proposed by Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at official dinner given in honor of Stanko Todorov, Bulgarian Council of Ministers chairman, on 6 October 1978 in Bucharest]

[Text] Dear Comrade Stanko Todorov, dear guests from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, esteemed comrades:

Please allow me, on behalf of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania as well as on my own behalf, to most cordially welcome Comrade Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, and the other Bulgarian friends who are the dear guests of socialist Romania on the occasion of their visit to our country.

Your visit to our country, esteemed Comrade Stanko Todorov, and the talks we opened today are an expression of our common wish unrelentingly to work for the constant intensification and all-round expansion of fraternal cooperation between our two parties, countries and peoples.

The centuries-old relations of friendship and good neighborliness existing between the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, built in the common struggles for freedom and independence, for social progress and for the full confirmation of their national existence, have been raised to a higher, new standard, in the years of building socialism in Romania and Bulgaria.

It is a particular pleasure for me to stress, on this occasion, the fact that the meetings and fruitful talks between the highly esteemed leaders of our two countries, Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, meetings and talks which have become traditional, are playing a decisive role in the ever intensifying of relations of Bulgarian-Romanian friendship and cooperation.

The close cooperation between the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples is based on the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid signed in 1970 and on the declaration on further strengthening the fraternal friendship and intensifying cooperation between our two parties and countries of 1977 --documents of exceptional importance for the consolidation of friendship between our two peoples.

Esteemed Comrade Todorov, you and I, together with our fellow workers, are entrusted with the noble and highly responsible task of reviewing the manner in which the decisions adopted are being implemented and to outline measures insuring the comprehensive implementation of the agreements concluded on the highest level.

We express our satisfaction that in implementing these decisions the governments and ministries of the two countries have achieved remarkable results and we consider that real opportunities exist for the further expansion and diversification of our economic relations, of industrial and scientific-technical production sharing, for the expansion of trade and cultural and tourist exchange between our two countries and peoples.

The successful implementation of the work in connection with the joint building of the heavy machine building plant in Giurgiu-Ruse and of the "Turnu-Magurele-Nikopol" water power complex, for which Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov turned the first shovels of earth, as well as the construction, in the near future, of a chemical combine and of a second water power station on the Danube River all characterize a new stage in the development of cooperation and friendship between our two peoples and countries. We note with satisfaction, at the same time, that we have achieved good results in the development of Romanian-Bulgarian relations in the field of science, culture, education, tourism, and in other sectors of all-round Romanian-Bulgarian relations.

Esteemed comrades, our people, closely rallied around the RCP, under the wise leadership of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the party and president of the republic, are working with all their energy for the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 11th RCP Congress and by the National Party Conference in connection with building a comprehensively developed socialist society and for Romania's progress toward communism. Along with the dynamic development of our national economy, we are devoting our efforts to the constant perfecting of our all-round social activities, to the scientific organization and leadership of society, to the development of socialist democracy and to the constant improvement of our people's material and intellectual standards.

Working people in Romania highly appreciate the industriousness, talents and creative efforts of the fraternal Bulgarian people and sincerely rejoice at their great achievements in all fields of life, achievements implemented under the leadership of the BCP headed by the very esteemed Todor Zhivkov--BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman.

We wish you, dear comrades, that you may achieve the greatest results possible in implementing the decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress and by the BCP National Conference, as well as in the great cause of building a developed, socialist society in friendly Bulgaria.

Esteemed comrades, in implementing the tasks of socioeconomic development and of increasing the entire people's prosperity, Romania is at the same time actively contributing to the cause of socialism, progress, and peace throughout the world.

In this spirit our country is firmly acting in favor of developing friendly relations and cooperation with the socialist countries, basing itself on the conviction that this is in accordance with the basic interests of the Romanian people, as well as in the interests of the peoples who are building the new social system, the common cause of socialism, peace and security throughout the world. We also are developing relations of cooperation and solidarity with the developing countries, with the nonaligned countries, in a spirit of peaceful coexistence, and are expanding our relations with all countries regardless of their social systems, and we are actively participating in the exchange of material and intellectual values among all peoples in the world.

All our international relations are constantly based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty and on the principle of noninterference in domestic affairs, on the principle of mutual advantage, renunciation of the use of force or the threat to use force--all these being decisive prerequisites for a free and independent development of every nation.

Being deeply concerned about the preservation of security and peace in Europe, we are working for the development of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation among all states, for the transition to disarmament measures, above all as regards nuclear disarmament, for military disengagement and for a good preparation of the 1980 meeting in Madrid. Our country is intensively working for the development of relations of cooperation with all Balkan states, for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons and of foreign military bases, into an area of peace and cooperation among peoples.

Expressing itself in favor of settling all controversial problems among states in a peaceful manner through direct negotiations, Romania is unrelentingly struggling for the settlement of the problems of insufficient development and for the establishment of a new international, economic order, in the interest of all peoples in the world, in the interest of the cause of progress and of international understanding.

Dear Comrade Todorov, in my opinion, the review of our bilateral cooperation and the measures which we will outline together, as well as the documents we will sign, will efficiently contribute to the implementation

of the instructions and decisions coordinated and agreed upon by our two esteemed leaders to the benefit of both the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, to the benefit of the common cause of socialism and peace in the world.

In expressing these thoughts I propose a toast to:

--The lasting friendship and fruitful cooperation between our two parties, countries and peoples;

--To the health of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

--To your health, dear Comrade Stanko Todorov;

--To the health of all Bulgarian guests, to all those attending this dinner.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES AKEL'S PAPAIOANNOU

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Oct 78 p 1 AU

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, has sent the following telegram to Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary general of the AKEL Central Committee:

Dear Comrade Papaioannou:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and on my own behalf I convey to you the most sincere, fraternal greetings and congratulations, as well as wishes for vigorous health and for new successes in your highly responsible activities, on the occasion of your 70th birthday. I am glad to congratulate you on the occasion of your being awarded the "Georgi Dimitrov" Order, conferred on you by the People's Republic of Bulgaria State Council.

In you we greet the loyal son of the Cypriot workers class, an ardent patriot and internationalist, who since his early youth has linked his life with the struggle of working people for freedom and social progress. This difficult path led you through the mines of Cyprus, through the ranks of the British workers class, through the flames of the Spanish Civil War where your international duty called you. It also led you through the hard and prolonged struggle for the independence of Cyprus and for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Cypriot Republic.

As AKEL Central Committee secretary general, a function you have exercised for almost 30 years, you have made an exceptionally great contribution to the consolidation of this party and to transforming it into the most influential political force of the country. Today, when the people of Cyprus are going through an exceptionally critical period, AKEL, under your leadership, is most energetically fighting for the solution of the Cyprus question on the basis of preserving the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as on the basis of preserving the nonaligned policy of the Republic of Cyprus. AKEL is

fighting for rallying all progressive and democratic forces in the country, for the defense of the working people's interests.

In Bulgaria you are well known as a loyal friend of our country, as an ardent champion of strengthening friendship and cooperation between the BCP and AKEL, between the Bulgarian and Cypriot peoples.

Dear Comrade Papaioannou, I wish you once more a long life and fruitful activities to the benefit of the Cypriot people, for the cause of peace and socialism.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS ON ARMY ANNIVERSARY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Sep 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Report on greeting address delivered by Col Gen Boris Todorov, deputy minister of national defense, at festive meeting in Sofia on 22 September 1978 to mark the 34th anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian People's Army]

[Excerpt] On behalf of the Ministry of National Defense Leadership and on behalf of the people's army's main political administration, Colonel General Todorov expressed the most sincere gratitude for the cordial congratulations and wishes addressed to the Bulgarian soldiers on behalf of the 34th anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian People's Army and on the occasion of the Bulgarian Army's militant holiday. The speaker then dwelt on the comprehensive successes achieved by the Bulgarian people in implementing the historic decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress and by the National Party Conference in practical life.

Colonel General Todorov further pointed out in his speech that in creating the Bulgarian People's [words indistinct] historical credit. The Leninist principles in the organization of military life, such as: party leadership of armed forces; loyalty to proletarian internationalism; class approach; one-man command; a lofty, conscious discipline; a constant and uninterrupted improvement of combat readiness; and other factors have become the basic principles of the BCP's military policy. Our party has adopted a policy line inspired by creativity and innovation.

Today, thanks to the tremendous successes achieved in the economic, political, scientific-technical and cultural sectors, and thanks to the constant and wholehearted fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Army, we have a perfectly up-to-date army, equipped with the most contemporary weapons and technical military equipment.

The main characteristic features of the present-day Bulgarian People's Army, one of its greatest achievements and the basic source of its strength and power is represented by the total moral-political unity of the commander cadres and the soldiers' staff, by their cohesion around the line and policy of the BCP.

Splendid officers are serving in our army today. There are politically mature, ideologically firm, full of courage and initiative, they are perfectly trained specialists. Over 65 percent of them are graduates of higher military schools or from universities, while 84 percent are party members.

Our sergeants, soldiers and sailors are young people, born and brought up under the conditions of our socialist society. They have a lofty, political consciousness, education and cultural standards; they have been trained in various professions and technical subjects. Our responsibility regarding the training, education and preparation of these young people is tremendous. This responsibility revealed itself with new emphasis as a result of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee. Today, one of the main tasks facing us is that our entire work with young soldiers and with the komsomol members in the army should be organized in accordance with the new party requirements.

Thanks to the diverse and purposeful ideological and educational work which it is expanding among soldiers, the Bulgarian People's Army has become a mass school of training and communist education for the young generation. Thousands of youths, in joining the army ranks, are developing as worthy citizens --as builders and defenders of our socialist fatherland.

Today our army represents a considerable cultural force, Colonel General Todorov stressed. Necessary prerequisites have been created within the army for improving the general cultural standards and the esthetic education of the soldiers and for the development of their own talents and skills.

The strength and combat power of the Bulgarian People's Army are based upon the socialist social system, upon the army's full unanimity with the people, upon the constant party leadership over the army and upon the fact that the Bulgarian Army represents a living and inseparable part of the powerful combat alliance of the Warsaw Pact armies, under the leadership of its chief mainstay--the invincible Soviet Army.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's share in organizing the Bulgarian People's Army is tremendous. There is not one question of importance connected with the party's military policy, with the country's defense or with the army's combat readiness which is not being resolved with the personal participation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and under his leadership.

Our whole experience in military organization convincingly demonstrates that the creation of an army of socialist revolution, its victorious actions against the enemies, and its development as a contemporary military force would have been impossible without the closest combat friendship and cooperation with the invincible army of the first socialist state. This friendship and cooperation are the basic principles of our party's military policy. This friendship and this cooperation are among the main sources of the strength and power of each socialist army. It is only in fraternal comradeship and militant cooperation with the great Soviet Army and with the other fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact countries that any socialist army is able to fulfill its patriotic and international duties.

Today we are proud that the legacy of Georgi Dimitrov--our people's leader and teacher--has been implemented. The Bulgarian Army is like the Soviet Army. We have the same tasks, the same organization, the same armament, the same military science. We fully agree with each other and speak the same language on all questions.

This year we are celebrating the militant holiday of the Bulgarian People's Army under the circumstances of a complicated and contradictory international atmosphere. Which is characterized by the intertwining of two opposing trends. On the one hand, the process of political detente continues to develop, even if not along straight lines. The principles of peaceful coexistence, however, are asserting themselves. The achievements along the path of preserving peace are results of the Leninist policy conducted by the Soviet Union and by the other countries belonging to the socialist community, and above all, these achievements are the results of the basic changes that have occurred in the balance of economic and military-political forces on the international scene to the advantage of socialism.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, too, is contributing considerably to the common cause of strengthening peace throughout the world, and in the Balkans in particular.

Our foreign policy in the Balkans is inspired by a spirit of internationalism, by a sincerely peaceloving spirit and by a spirit of democracy. This policy is consistent, principle-minded and devoid of any opportunistic considerations, it is a policy of bilateral cooperation, of close friendship with the socialist countries, it is a policy of peaceful coexistence and of good-neighborly relations with nonsocialist countries.

The other trend in international relations leads toward an increase of mutual fear, of suspicions, and of accumulating arms; it is leading toward war.

In our days the danger of war is a crude reality. The actions of the many-sided and noisy coalition of the enemies of detente--the military-industrial complex and the extremely rightwing forces in the United States and other NATO member-countries, the Maoists, and other reactionary forces--are to blame for this.

We cannot close our eyes to the imperialists' provocations. The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are clearly aware of the fact, that a high vigilance and constant combat readiness of the people's army are our contributions to the struggle against the forces of imperialist reaction, to the struggle for establishing and maintaining a lasting peace in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

The soldiers of the People's Army are expressing their infinite loyalty to the people and party, their readiness to unflinchingly fulfill the party's instructions on the defense of our socialist motherland, by their selfless labor, by working night and day and by accomplishing worthy deeds.

The speaker stated as follows: we are happy that the soldiers' labor, which is a socially useful labor to a high degree, which is a necessary labor and represents part of the nationwide people's labor in building and defending a developed socialist society in our country, is being acknowledged and highly appreciated by the party and its Central Committee.

Our armed forces today are an integral part of the Bulgarian people, indissolubly linked to them, and are steadfastly standing on guard watching over the motherland's socialist achievements, watching over the achievements of the socialist community.

United and rallied around the party--our leader--infinitely devoted to the sacred Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, firmly standing in the iron-strong ranks of the joint armed forces, the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are ready, at any time, to accomplish their patriotic and international duty-- Col Gen Boris Todorov stated in conclusion.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

OFFICIALS, HISTORIAN COMMEMORATE KRESNA UPRISING

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Report on speeches by Vladimir Sandev, Blagoevgrad Okrug party committee first secretary, and Prof Nikolay Todorov, director of the Center for Research and Training in History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, at a festive rally commemorating the centennial of the Kresna-Razlog uprising]

[Excerpt] Vladimir Sandev opened the rally.

He stressed: We are proud that in the long struggles of the Bulgarian people for self-preservation and self-determination, for national freedom, and later on in the struggle for social justice and socialism, the people of the Pirin area actively participated in and worthily contributed to our national treasury of struggles.

The days in which we are commemorating this glorious jubilee are days of reflection and assessment, because the ideas and the cause of the Kresna-Razlog uprising have been implemented. The people of this okrug are inspired by a vigorous spirit and strong faith. They are closely rallied around the party's April line, and they exhibit daring in building their present. Under the leadership of the glorious BCP, of the Blagoev-Dimitrov-like Central Committee headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, we are enthusiastically striving toward our bright communist future, Comrade Vladimir Sandev declared.

A report was read by Prof Nikolay Todorov, director of the Center for Research and Training in History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Dwelling on the causes of the uprising, he noted that under the pressure of the Western forces the results of the Russian-Turkish liberation war were subjected to a basic revision and that at the Berlin Congress the majority of the Balkan peoples did not obtain their fully deserved freedom. The results of the Berlin Congress had a particularly disastrous effect

upon the fate of our people. South of the Balkans, the Bulgarian people remained within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, incorporated in the administrative, autonomous region which was given the artificial name of Eastern Rumelia. The Bulgarians in Macedonia and Thrace, however, once more fell under the full domination of the Ottoman Empire. The Bulgarians in Macedonia, having suffered enough for their liberation, reacted with anger and indignation to the injustice committed against them. As early as the middle of May 1978 the Macedonian Bulgarians addressed the great powers with the demand that they not be separated from Bulgaria.

Having described in detail the preparation, eruption and course of the uprising and its defeat, an uprising which was annihilated in a river of blood and in the flames of fire, Prof Nikolay Todorov spoke about the heroism of the insurgents, the self-sacrifice of the entire people, about the legendary heroes Dimitur Popgeorgiev, Stoyan Karastoylov, Georgi Gadzhala, Nataniel Okrhridski, Banyo Marinov and many others. He stated that, as to its essential character, the uprising was a truly people's uprising for national and antifeudal liberation. The main driving force of the uprising was represented by the people of the militant Pirin area, but fighters from all parts where Bulgarian people lived came to the rescue--from the principality of Bulgaria, from Eastern Rumelia and from Macedonia. This is why there are all scientific grounds for drawing the conclusion that the Kresna-Razlog uprising was a continuation of the Bulgarian national liberation struggle, an expression of the entire Bulgarian people's striving to live united in freedom.

Prof Todorov pointed out that this uprising was an expression of the international solidarity of progressive forces among the neighboring Balkan peoples. Volunteers arrived from several southern Slavonic areas. A considerable contingent of Greek participants was formed. Under the leadership of Georgios (Karaïskakie)--who was a participant in the Serbian-Turkish War and in the Bulgarian insurrection movement and who had been wounded in the battle of Shipka--a detachment of 300-350 Greeks participated as fighters in the uprising, thus continuing the centuries-old tradition of cooperation in the struggle against the common enslaver.

Regardless of its unsuccessful end, the uprising was of great historical significance. It demonstrated to European public opinion the great national consciousness of the Bulgarian people in Pirin and Macedonia.

Dwelling on the behests and ideas of the heroes of the uprising that did materialize, the speaker pointed out that the BCP and the Bulgarian Government, which are devoting particular attention to the Balkan Peninsula, are guided by the permanent goal of strengthening peace and security and expanding good-neighborly cooperation and understanding. This Leninist foreign policy recently was once again expressed with new emphasis and strength of conviction by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his Blagoevgrad speech, and it was also strongly emphasized in the declaration issued by the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 24 July 1978, Prof Nikolay Todorov declared.

Prof Todorov stated in conclusion that the entire prosperous area of the Blagoevgrad Okrug today is a brilliant illustration of the historic achievements of the Bulgarian people in socialist construction.

A greeting address to those participating in the rally was delivered on behalf of the working people of Burgas Okrug.

Amid the stormy and prolonged applause of thousands of participants in the rally, Comrade Tsola Dragoycheva read the decree of the State Council on elevating the village of Gara Pirin to a town and renaming it Kresna Town in honor of the centennial of the uprising. Comrade Dragoycheva cordially greeted the citizens of the town on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, and he wished them great new achievements in their inspired labor devoted to the further prosperity of this beautiful area of our motherland.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

LEADERS AT CONCERT--Aleksandur Lilov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Georgi Yordanov, Nacho Papazov, Chairman of the Committee for Culture Lyudmila Zhivkov, representatives of cultural life and chiefs and members of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria, attended a concert tonight at the Soviet Embassy in Sofia performed by Soviet pianist Richter. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Sep 78 AU]

TURKISH TRADE UNION COMMUNIQUE--A communique on the talks held between the delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and the Turkish Confederation of the Revolutionary Workers Syndicates has been published in Istanbul. The communique emphasizes the two trade union organizations' intention to contribute to the further development of the friendship, mutual respect and good neighborly relations between Bulgaria and Turkey. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Sep 78 AU]

MINISTER TO PIPELINE CEREMONY--A Bulgarian Government delegation led by Ivan Sakarev, minister of construction and construction materials, has arrived at the town of (Uzhgorod), near the border among the Soviet Union, the CSSR and Hungary to attend a celebration connected with commissioning the Soyuz gas pipeline linking Orenburg with the western Soviet Union's border. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Sep 78 AU]

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' CONFERENCE--A 2-day conference of the representatives of the socialist countries involved in organizational work connected with the competition campaign in the people's councils and in the respective organizations has begun at the Trade Unions House in Boyana. Petur Prumov, chairman of the Socialist Competition Campaign Committee, read a report. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 26 Sep 78 AU]

GREEK PRESIDENT HONORS AMBASSADOR--Greek President Konstandinos Tsatsos has received Bulgarian Ambassador to Greece Lyubomir Popov and presented to him a Greek order for his contribution to developing bilateral relations and on his final departure from Greece. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 27 Sep 78 AU]

CONGOLESE TRADE UNION DELEGATION--Misho Mishev, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, received the visiting delegation of the Congolese General Confederation of Labor in Congo-Brazzaville, headed by (Hamanariya Gawna). The visitors were briefed on the activities of the Bulgarian trade unions in implementing the decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress and by the National Party Conference. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 27 Sep 78 AU]

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH GREECE--The first Bulgarian-Greek symposium devoted to cultural and literary relations between the two peoples from the middle of the 15th to the middle of the 19th century has opened in Saloniki. The symposium dwells in particular on the mutual relations between Bulgaria and Greece in the insurrection period of national liberation struggles and on mutual influence in the sectors of folk art and literature. "The Greek central press, radio and television are devoting great attention today to this Bulgarian-Greek forum, which is the first of its kind. The Greek mass media stress that the symposium represents a new stage in intensifying the relations of friendship and good neighborliness between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Greece." [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Sep 78 p 3 AU]

STOICHKOV, CUBAN TOURISM OFFICIAL--Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Joaquin Congora, president of the National Institute of Tourism of Cuba. During the cordial and friendly talks the prospects for developing bilateral cooperation in the sphere of tourism were discussed. Georgi Evtimov, chairman of the National Committee for Tourism, and Juan Sanchez Lameran, economic counselor at the Cuban Embassy in Bulgaria, also attended the talks. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Sep 78 AU]

CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH MEXICO--Sofia, 29 September (BTA)--An agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation between the "Kliment Okhridski" University of Sofia and the National Autonomous University of Mexico was signed here today. The agreement provides for the exchange of publications of the two establishments of learning, lecturers for methodological assistance and consultations, for giving lectures. In cooperation with Sofia University, the National Autonomous University will organize in 1980 in Mexico a symposium dedicated to the 1,300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state. The two universities will also exchange persons for postgraduate work and students. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 29 Sep 78 AU]

LEADERS AT CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the holiday of the communications workers, 1 October, was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia tonight. Ivan Mikhaylov, Krustyu Trichkov and others attended the celebration. Ivan Mikhaylov conveyed greetings on behalf of the BCP

Central Committee, the government and on behalf of Todor Zhivkov.
[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Sep 78 AU]

BURGAS PARTY PLENUM--A plenum of the Burgas Okrug party committee is being held today. The plenum is attended by Sava Dulbokov, BCP Central Committee member and deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council. The plenum is discussing the work of the okrug party and Fatherland Front organizations in connection with the implementation of the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and of the National Party Conference. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 29 Sep 78 AU]

LITHUANIAN VISITOR RECEIVED--Krustyu Trichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday received Kazis Pranovich Ginyunas, chairman of the State Committee for Protection of Nature at the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Georgi Pavlov, chairman of the Committee for Environmental Protection at the Council of Ministers, also attended the friendly and cordial talks. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

PARTY DELEGATION TO PERU--A Bulgarian party delegation led by Boris Manov, BCP Central Committee member, has left for Lima to attend a celebration devoted to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Peruvian Communist Party. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 78 p 3 AU]

DZHUROV'S ACTIVITIES REPORTED--Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, on 5 October attended a cocktail party given by the CSSR military attache in Bulgaria on the occasion of CSSR Army Day. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 5 Oct 78 AU]

DRAGOYCHEVA ACTIVITIES--"Tsola Dragoycheva, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and honorary chairman of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship All-National Committee, visited the town of Byala Slatina today." At the center of the town a mass rally was held at which Comrade Tsola Dragoycheva inaugurated the renovated square and a children's establishment. "A meeting was held at the headquarters of the town party committee at which questions of implementation of the plan in the industrial and agricultural sectors were discussed." [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 28 Sep 78 AU]

PAPAZOV ACTIVITIES--An expanded plenum on the questions of improving scientific-technical standards in industrial production as a factor of improving quality and increasing efficiency was held at the headquarters of the Ruse Okrug party committee, chaired by Petur Petrov, first secretary of the okrug party committee. "Nacho Papazov, chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technical Progress, attended the work of the plenum. Ivan Popov, chairman of the Central Council of Scientific-Technical Unions, as well as leaders and functionaries from various scientific institutions and departments and party workers from many okrugs, were also present." Results of the implementation of the tasks connected with raising the standards of scientific-technical progress were discussed and certain unresolved problems were analyzed. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 28 Sep 78 AU]

NEW SWEDISH AMBASSADOR--The newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Sweden to Bulgaria, Akel Manfred Nilsson [name as published], arrived in Sofia yesterday. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 78 p 6 AU]

ALGERIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES--At the invitation of the Central Committee of Bulgarian Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism a delegation of the Ministry of Veterans Mudzhahidini [as published] and of the National Veterans Organization of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic arrived in Bulgaria. The delegation is headed by Ramla Khaled [name as published], counselor of the Ministry of Veterans. The delegation was welcomed at Sofia airport by Dimo Dichev, chairman of the Bulgarian Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Central Committee. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 78 p 6 AU]

SOVIET CONSUL DEPARTS--On 4 October Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, received Boris Arkhipov, USSR consul in Plovdiv, in connection with his final departure from Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Oct 78 AU]

EDUCATION COOPERATION WITH FRG--Sofia, September 27 (BTA)--An agreement was signed here today between the State Committee for Science and Technological Progress and the "Dr Anton Kaloyanov" Foundation of Munich. Cooperation is established in organizing the postgraduate training of young Bulgarian chemists at higher establishments of learning and research institutes in the Federal Republic of Germany. The agreement was signed by Mr Nacho Papazov, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technological Progress, and by the president of the foundation, Dr Anton Kaloyanov. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1452 GMT 27 Sep 78 LD]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REPORT ON THAI FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 78 p 2 AU

[CTK Report: "Report on the Thai Ministers Visit"]

[Text] Uppadit Pachariyangkun, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand, together with his wife, paid an official visit to the CSSR from 19 to 21 September 1978 at the invitation of Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs.

Minister Pachariyangkun was received by the CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal. He laid a wreath on the grave of the unknown soldier at the national monument on Zizkov hill, also during his stay, he visited Brno International Fair.

During this stay, Minister Pachariyangkun also met with Minister of Foreign Trade Andrej Barcak. The ministers stated in the course of their talks that good possibilities exist for further developing economic relations between the two countries. The ministers signed trade and payments agreement between the CSSR and the Kingdom of Thailand which forms the firm basis for expanding and intensifying trade and economic relations between the two countries.

Dusan Spacil, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who deputized for the minister, and the Thai minister discussed the current state of Czechoslovak-Thai relations, which are based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. They agreed that broad possibilities exist in all areas for developing these relations. They discussed the possibility of concluding an agreement on aviation and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries as well as the expediency of realizing consultations on various levels between their foreign ministries in order to assess important bilateral and international questions of mutual interest.

In the course of the talks both sides also exchanged views on the main international problems.

The talks took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The visit of the minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand significantly contributed to deepening Czechoslovak-Thai relations.

The minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand invited Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek and Minister of Foreign Trade Andrej Barcak to pay an official visit to Thailand. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY PRESS ON 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF MUNICH PACT

[Editorial Report AU] On September 29, Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak both devote several items to the 40th anniversary of the Munich Pact. The 1,700-word PRAVDA editorial "Munich: A Warning and a Lesson" focuses first on the following aspects of the events: the attitude of the Czechoslovak people, the role of the Czechoslovak Government of that time and its failure to ask the Soviet Union for help and the role of Great Britain and France. The Czechoslovak patriots were convinced, according to the article, that the CSSR should "rely on the alliance with the Soviet Union, which was prepared to come with its military force to help save Czechoslovak independence, when asked by supreme Czechoslovak representatives." The Czechoslovak Government, however, did not understand the people's hopes. "The government did not rely on the domestic patriotic forces, nor on the great Soviet ally. The Czechoslovak Government chose the worst possible of the existing alternatives, the alternative leading to the ruin of Czechoslovakia and to the suffering of its nations." This is why, the editorial argues, "the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie lost--the moment it accepted the Munich Pact--the moral right to lead our nations. This responsible task could be fulfilled only by the CPCZ, which opposed the acceptance of the Munich Pact."

When referring to the role of Great Britain and France, the editorial stresses that their "unprincipled appeasement policy" made the pact possible. The event is seen as an "intrigue of the world imperialist policy of that time" which "demonstrated that the capitalist powers--in their effort to consolidate their positions and strengthen their further world ambitions--did not hesitate to sacrifice a small state in a very harsh and supremely dishonest manner."

The article states that Czechoslovakia was not to be the only victim of the Munich Agreement but that its purpose was also "to form a joint anti-Soviet platform of the Western powers with the Fascist states. The Munich Agreement was in its essence an agreement of international reaction formed by the Western Great Powers and the Fascist states, Germany and Italy, aimed at isolating, weakening and finally destroying the Soviet Union."

The second part of the editorial deals with Czechoslovakia's postwar development, characterized by the alliance with the Soviet Union whose "strength and authority" are the guarantee of the CSSR's "sovereignty and the democratic rights and security of its citizens." When reviewing the economic development of the past 10 years, the article mentions that it has been more rapid in Slovakia than in the Czech lands, "in the interest of balancing the still existing differences." The final passage stresses again that the Czechoslovak people will not forget the lesson of Munich; namely, that the alliance with the Soviet Union is the guarantee of their country's peaceful development and international security.

Bratislava PRAVDA also carries, on page 3, a 2,500-word article by Prof Jan Pleva, candidate of sciences, entitled: "The Betrayal and Its Makers." The article characterizes the Munich Pact as "a joint action of foreign and domestic reaction" and goes on to elaborate on the share of each of those "makers of Munich." It describes the historical background of the events and deals with Hitler's plans for gaining control over Central Europe and with the acquiescence of Great Britain and France. Both countries are said to have aimed at "averting for themselves the threat of Fascist aggression and saving their colonial positions at the expense of states to the east of Germany" and at "directing the militancy of German Fascists against the Soviet Union." The Benes government, too, is found guilty of making the Munich Pact possible because its foreign policy was oriented unilaterally toward cooperation with the Western capitalist countries, which is described as having been "at variance with the objective historical need."

The only country that was prepared to resist Hitler's plans was, according to Pleva, the Soviet Union. "The Soviet Union saw the hypocrisy of Western powers vis-a-vis the threatened nations and was energetically making the effort to implement collective security." The author says that the Soviet Union submitted "concrete proposals" for averting the danger, but provides no further details.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech devotes page 6 to the Munich anniversary. The material is headlined "A Warning that Still Lives" and contains interviews with and articles by foreign witnesses of the 1938 events. The French journalist Genevieve Tabouis, in her interview with Zdenek Porybny, describes the atmosphere in France at the time of the Munich Pact. Franc Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party, in his interview with a CTK correspondent draws parallels between Hitler's treatment of Austria and Czechoslovakia and he states that the existence of the Socialist community is the best protection against a new Munich Pact.

Gordon McLellan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, deals with British Communists' opposition to Chamberlain's policy vis-a-vis Hitler in 1938 and stresses the significance of detente for preventing another Munich. Bela Szilagyi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian All-state Council of Peace Defenders, states that the CSSR's membership in CEMA and in the Warsaw

Pact is a guarantee that the events of Munich--when the capitalist allies betrayed Czechoslovakia--will not be repeated. Fritz Rische, an official of the West German Communist Party, recalls in his article the days of 40 years ago and the resistance of the German Communists to the agreement.

CSO: 2400

HUNGARY

FOREIGN MINISTER PRESENTS SURVEY, VIEWS ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Budapest KULGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 2, 1978 pp 3-13

[Article by Frigyes Puja, Minister of Foreign Affairs: "African Experiences"]

[Text] In the last few years events have taken place in Black Africa which have properly aroused the attention of the governments of various countries and the interest of international public opinion. Today the continent of Africa is the site of historically significant developments.

The majority of African countries gained their political independence in the middle of the 1970's. Up to now 42 countries of Black Africa have become independent. In the area of independent status, autonomy and sovereign existence of the state the leaders of most African countries are able to act essentially according to their own wishes in respect to politics, but political independence is not yet complete in a number of countries because it is restricted by imperialism and by former and modern links with other capitalist countries. Naturally political independence cannot be separated from economy. Most of the liberated African countries are still very economically dependent on the capitalist powers.

Some of the Black African countries chose the path of capitalism, while others chose noncapitalist development. It cannot be denied that the capitalist production system has taken root in some Black African countries. However, the leaders of the developing countries, who clearly wish to serve the interests of their people, will sooner or later come to the conclusion that capitalist development cannot solve their basic economic and social problems, but leads to the formation of a new exploiting class, a national bourgeoisie, and that the misery and exploitation of the people remain. They will find that sooner or later the national bourgeoisie will cooperate with the great international monopolies and will become their trailblazers. As a consequence the people in the countries choosing the path of capitalist development will almost inevitably come under the yoke of a new colonialism.

The progressive African leaders could not help realizing that the urgent problems of their countries can only be solved by a transformation of their economy and society serving the interests of the people. If the noncapitalist path, or rather the path of socialist orientation, is followed in domestic politics, they will cooperate with socialist and other progressive countries in their foreign policy and rely on these countries for aid and experience.

Thus the order of the day in some countries of Black Africa is a profound social transformation. But Africa does have five countries whose leaders have chosen Marxism-Leninism as the guiding principle of their policy and work. The leaders of Angola, Benin, Ethiopia, the Congo and Mozambique have candidly declared this. Several countries have chosen the path of noncapitalist development, but have not adopted Marxism-Leninism as their political guideline. There are some such countries in which the leaders have announced socialist development as their final goal, but their policies are not uniform, they have adopted scarcely any measures of a socialist nature, and their ideas on the transformation of society are cloudy. Time will finally tell them which direction to go in.

The victories of the people of Angola and Mozambique, as well as the overthrow of the imperial order in Ethiopia, have particularly accelerated the development of Black Africa.

In 1975 the imperialistic forces wished to present the world with a fait accompli in Angola. In cooperation with the racist leaders of South Africa and the president of Zaire, Mobutu, they planned to openly use military intervention from both countries to put into power the turncoats of Angola, the leaders of UNITA and FLNA. Their ideas were that when the independence of Angola was proclaimed, it would be necessary to establish a puppet government which would be subject to them and to the government of South Africa. In this way they would prevent the MPLA, the movement for the liberation of the people of Angola, from forming a government. At the time of the declaration of independence, 11 November 1975, South African troops were about 150 kilometers from Luanda, the capital of Angola, while regular units of Zaire and traitorous FLNA troops were only about 70 kilometers away. In this position the MPLA government, formed immediately when independence was declared, chose the only proper solution: to ask for aid from the Soviet Union and from socialist Cuba in repulsing foreign intervention.

The Soviet Union and Cuba carried out their international obligations and extended the government of Angola effective aid in the struggle against foreign intervention. With the aid of these two socialist countries the people of Angola were able to frustrate the far-reaching plans of imperialism, and thus succeeded in immobilizing the position of South Africa for a long time. If the expectations of reaction had been successful in Angola, perhaps liberated Mozambique would have been next, and attempts would have been made there to change the course of events.

The new order in Angola became firmly established. In 1977 effective work was accomplished by the First MPLA Congress. The Angolan Marxist-Leninist party was established, the MPLA Labor Party, and the power of the people was organized. The leaders of Angola are working hard to establish a socialist society.

The Third Congress of the movement liberating Mozambique, FRELIMO, set up essentially the same goals, but in a slightly different way. Organs of popular power were established, while the liberation movement was transformed into a Marxist-Leninist party. Mozambique also wishes to advance on the path of socialism.

In this way socialist orientation gained a great deal of territory in the southern part of Africa.

The triumph of the revolution in Angola and in Mozambique and the failure of the plans of the foreign intervention forces show that the time has come to solve the complex questions of South Africa, and that conditions have come into existence for achievement of independence in Namibia and the right of self-determination for the people of Zimbabwe. In the matter of Zimbabwe, conferences are continuing and the imperialists and the government of Ian Smith are still maneuvering, on the basis of saving what can be saved. But there is no doubt that it is just a question of time when this country will be liberated from the power of the white colonial minority and from the exploitation of international monopolies. The independence of Namibia cannot be deferred much longer, and the UN resolution obliges the countries of the world to establish it. Within a reasonable time the position of the colored population of South Africa must also be adjusted. It is intolerable for 22 million colored people to be held in oppression by 3 and 1/2 million whites. No kind of sleight-of-hand on the part of the South African racists, Bantu reservations and similar maneuvers can save this anachronistic regime from destruction.

However, we must be careful not to judge all three problems identically. In the case of Namibia and Zimbabwe the imperialist powers are essentially fighting a rearguard action and are trying to find the most convenient way of retreating in the knowledge that they must give in sooner or later. However, the situation is different in the case of South Africa. The large capitalist powers resolutely support the South African racists, are not ready to force any kind of substantial concessions from the South African government, and do not wish to submit their good relations with South Africa to any excessive ordeals. The explanation for this is obvious: considerable western interests are at stake in South Africa, and this is not only a question of significant investments, but also of the strategic importance of the plain and of the wealth of raw materials, especially uranium. It is not by accident that the idea of establishing the so-called South Atlantic Alliance has been mentioned more and more often in recent times. Some imperialist diplomats wish to set up a military blockade with the participation of the United States, Brazil, Argentina and other Latin American

countries and South Africa. Its purpose, like that of other military alliances established under the aegis of imperialism, would be to conserve the current regimes in South Africa and Latin America, to preserve capitalist dominion, and thus to obtain a reliable guarantee to protect their interests. We hope that this plan will finally fail, and that it will be frustrated by the determined opposition of the African and South American peoples and by the common sense of the Brazilian and Argentinian leadership.

The second event of outstanding importance taking place in Africa in recent times was the collapse of the regime of Haile Selassie. The progressive group of officers in the Ethiopian army toppled the reactionary and mainly futile regime of the emperor, introduced radical land reform and put the major industrial plants under state supervision. The new order became stabilized in the continuous battles between the proponents of progress and reaction, socialist and capitalist orientation. It established its own armed forces, formed a labor-peasant army and popular militia, and began to render the old army democratic. It organized committees formed to protect the revolution, and organized the armed forces to directly protect the people against antirevolutionary terrorism.

Naturally the positive results achieved in the most important country in the northern part of Black Africa did not arouse approval among the imperialists and their allies. Domestic and foreign reaction began violent intrigues against the new order. By every means they are supporting the armed intervention of the domestic counterrevolution, are promoting the so-called struggles for independence of some groups of people in Ethiopia, are supporting foreign intervention against the popular order, and are applying military, political and economic pressure.

Two underground organizations are operating in Ethiopia and continuing the armed struggle against the new order. One of the organizations, which has assumed a revolutionary and socialist label, is causing serious concern with its widespread network to liquidate the new order and the determined actions rightly undertaken by it. In recent weeks we have received news that the leaders of the organization are changing their tactics, abandoning armed conflict and striving to use legal channels and to infiltrate the Marxist-Leninist party under the organization.

The other underground organization proposes to reestablish the imperial system, an undertaking condemned to failure from the outset, since the Ethiopian people do not wish to hear about it.

The armed conflict caused by Somalia has caused the new order a great deal of difficulty. The president of Somalia, Siad Barre, has never made it a secret that his goal is to create a so-called Great Somalia, by annexing the Ethiopian territory of Ogaden and some of the territory of Djibouti and Kenya. During the rule of Haile Selassie, who enjoyed the full support of the imperialists, the Somalians did not dare resort to weapons, because they feared the violent reaction of the western powers. But when the imperial

regime was overthrown in Ethiopia, Siad Barre saw that the time had come to enforce his territorial claims. Without any misgivings he attacked the Ethiopian revolution from the rear. He tried to save this completely unjustifiable action by claiming to contest the progressive label of the new Ethiopian order and stating that it is essentially another imperialistic tool. Another transparent argument of the Somalia leadership was that it was not regular Somalia units who were fighting in Ogaden but the soldiers of the Ogaden liberation movement. Experience quickly refuted both positions.

After the armed conflict broke out objective observers immediately came to the conclusion that the 3 million Somalians had no chance against the 28 million progressives in Ethiopia who kept getting stronger. The imperialist powers acted as if they opposed the aggression of Somalia, but in reality they considered this a good instrument for overthrowing the progressive order of Ethiopia. In support Arab reaction did everything for Somalia to gain its goals and for the regime in Ethiopia to be weakened. Money and weapons were rushed to Somalia. This would have happened at just the right time for the imperialists and their allies if they were able to internationalize the conflict. They kept the world upset by their statements that Ethiopian troops were crossing the borders of Somalia, that this required preparations and so forth, while they completely overlooked the fact that the Somalia armed forces were entering Ethiopian territory and not vice versa.

The Ethiopian revolutionary army quickly recovered from the initial attacks suffered from Somalia, increased the striking ability of their armed forces with aid of the socialist countries, and meted devastating defeats on the Somalia troops. The government of Somalia was forced to withdraw its armed forces from Ethiopia, although it did not renounce its territorial claims. The Ethiopian revolutionary government rightly asserted that: There can be no talk of real peace between Ethiopia and Somalia until the latter renounces its illegal territorial claims and ceases to trouble the Ogaden area.

The second large problem which the progressive regime must face is the question of Eritrea. The liberation movements have been fighting in Eritrea for a long time for its autonomy and independence. While they were weak during the imperial regime and received little foreign support, the situation suddenly changed after the progressive Ethiopian revolution. The forces of reaction immediately recognized the developing opportunity of supporting the freedom movements with money and weapons for the purpose of separating Eritrea from Ethiopia and thus intensifying the problems of the progressive order. The slogan went out: The Red Sea must be changed into an Arab lake! The reason was that they wanted to shut Ethiopia off from the Red Sea so that the coastal regions would be under the control of reactionary forces.

Many observers very familiar with the question were of the opinion that the Eritrean problem should and could be best settled by political means. If some Eritrean leaders really wish to serve the cause of progress, then they must adopt this solution. Otherwise they will irretrievably come under reactionary control, and this will also increase the difficulties of the progressive Ethiopian system. In such a situation there is only one path for progressive men, to put into effect the old and proven rule: Lesser matters must be subordinate to greater ones. There is no doubt that the main question now is to preserve and strengthen the progressive order in Ethiopia.

Perhaps some progressive people think that in the case of the separation of Ogaden or the independence of Eritrea the progressive forces can remain in power in Ethiopia, in Somalia and in Eritrea. But this is a dangerous illusion. In this case it would be difficult to maintain the progressive system in Ethiopia. However, a reactionary Ethiopia would be much more important for imperialism, as it was more important in the time of Haile Selassie, than Somalia or Eritrea. The possible collapse of the progressive Ethiopian system would also seal the fate of progress in Somalia and Eritrea.

Two other countries in Black Africa, the Congo and Benin, also wish to develop their politics on a Marxism-Leninism basis. The economic position of the Congo is particularly serious. Through the assassination of President Ngoubi, the forces of reaction wished to overthrow the progressive system. This was prevented, but efforts to overcome the economic difficulties were unsuccessful and even became worse. This small African country absolutely needs aid in order to consolidate its economy and to strengthen its domestic system.

Benin recently chose the path of socialist orientation. Since then reactionary forces have made several attempts to overthrow the progressive system, but unsuccessfully. We hope that the leaders of this small country can continue to advance on the path chosen by the Benin people.

The events in Africa in recent years unconditionally require deeper study, and a definitive judgment will certainly require a rather long period of time. However, a summary of observations made up to now is necessary because certain conclusions can be drawn from them.

1. Polarization is increasing in the group of developing countries. They include countries living under conditions of the old order, or even medieval ones, countries in which capitalism has been developed, some which have chosen the path of noncapitalist development, and others which have made progress and oriented toward socialism. In the future this polarization will not grow weaker. It is impossible to completely rule out the fact that one or two of the progressive developing countries might make a negative change, but it can almost certainly be assumed that more and more countries will take the path toward socialist orientation, especially if the current ones achieve success and solve some of the urgent problems of their peoples.

The Black African countries advancing on the path of socialist orientation mark a new level in the developing world. The stream of developing countries receiving their independence began in the 1950's, but since then there have been no developing countries, except Cuba, Vietnam and Laos, which have chosen Marxism-Leninism as their guiding political principle. Now the leaders of several African countries have come to the conclusion that the concerns of their countries and peoples can only be solved by applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The consistent execution of extensive economic, political and social reforms by the organizing Marxist-Leninist parties, destined to play a leading role in these countries, is also a new phenomenon in the life of societies. They are all of enormous historical significance and mark a milestone in the history of the African continent. It is not surprising that the forces of reaction resist this development and scheme to subvert the new systems.

2. The imperialistic circles have developed monumental plans for the purpose of impeding the progressive development of Black Africa. Their methods are extraordinarily flexible and certainly do not spare material means.

Some groups of monopoly capitalists still use the policy of whip and temptation. Here and there they offer help and loans, but naturally only if certain conditions are fulfilled. Otherwise they use economic pressure, for example withdrawal of credits and a refusal to transport food. In a word they attempt to use economic means to force these countries to their knees.

A great deal of attention is devoted in almost every African country to the policies and behavior of the large western nations. Their opinion is almost unanimous that imperialism is now eyeing Africa and trying in political and economic respects to destabilize and disrupt the situation, so that afterwards they can overthrow the progressive systems of the individual countries one by one. The peoples of the African countries condemn this attitude.

The extreme imperialists also stir up domestic tension in the countries of socialist orientation. They motivate their local agents and do not recoil from inciting civil war in these countries. They support the opponents of the governments of the progressive countries, supply them with arms and instigate them to fight against the new order. In those situations, however, when the struggle has been pushed to the very limits, they will not restrain from foreign intervention. There will always be countries which are ready to use the armed forces of their country for reactionary purposes under the pretext of defending liberty and democracy.

Ideological diversion and the propaganda war are other methods. The only surprising thing is how poor the western propaganda arsenal is. It keeps scaring the African nations about the communist devil, the Soviet Union and

socialism. In some places slogans crop up which died in our country as early as 1944-1945. They try to breathe life into these old calumnies with the hope that anyone who falls into their traps will get stuck.

They also try to exploit tribal dissension. They incite tribes against each other, especially in cases where one or another tribe prevails in the leadership of the country. This is particularly dangerous in Africa where tribal ties continue to be extremely strong.

Imperialism is trying to motivate the capitalist countries of Africa against those of socialist orientation and other progressive countries, to form a blok with them against progress. However, this does not come easily. The leaders of the capitalist countries in Africa do not have much inclination for intervention in the domestic affairs of other African countries, and particularly not for the purposes of neocolonialism. Only rarely is an African leader found who accepts the counsel of capitalist monopolies and is ready for intervention.

The Socialist International is strikingly active in Africa. This organization makes great efforts to win the progressive African nations over to the principles of social democracy. The leaders of the International use the state resources of the social democratic parties in power, and promise and provide material aid. In exchange they ask for support in social democratic endeavors.

Practical experience shows that the Socialist International, in contradiction to its name, does not have much to do with socialism, and is based on the capitalist social system. However, not every African leader is aware of this. They do not have as much experience with social democracy activities as the European communist movements, and nourish certain illusions about the Socialist International and about social democracy in general.

3. In every revolution the most important question of power is who will have control over the armed forces, administration, information, and news. Genuine development can only be achieved in those countries where the important organs of the power mechanism, the army, police and administration, are entirely taken over by the progressive forces and shaped with their features. It is reassuring that the leaders of three very important African countries, Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, take this approach.

An important condition for the continued progress of the African revolutionary movement is the existence of the revolutionary party in the various countries. Firm and secured progress cannot be imagined without this leadership.

4. A characteristic of almost every one of the African countries is that they are potentially rich but without any great opportunities at the moment. To exploit the treasures of their natural resources they require capital, apparatus and experts. In most cases their industry is undeveloped, but they absolutely require development to reduce large-scale employment, as well as for industrial goods. The problems of the countries which broke

away from the Portuguese colonial empire are aggravated by the fact that scarcely any specialists remain there. Earlier not only the officials, engineers, physicians and so on were Portuguese, but also the automobile mechanics, plumbers, masons and so on. After their departure practically only peasants and helpers remained. The countries of socialist orientation thus have to begin practically with nothing.

5. The lack of food causes great problems in the African countries. Although almost every country has favorable resources available, the level of agricultural production is extraordinarily low. Good opportunities are far from being utilized. It is not by chance that in Angola and in Mozambique, as well as in other African countries, agricultural development has been set as the most important goal. Increasing agricultural production can guarantee the food supply for the country and the raw material required by the industry. In these countries 85 percent of the population is peasants, and it is impossible to think of raising their standard of living and increasing their subsistence without rapid development of agriculture.

However, there are serious obstacles to the development of agriculture, one of the most serious being the current agricultural structure. Large adjacent plantations exist in few countries. Separate small peasant farms are more characteristic of these countries. However, a large part of the enormous territory of Mozambique is suitable for agricultural cultivation. However, the types of settlement deviate essentially from those of Europe, and there are cities, but hardly any villages. The peasants live in isolation in clusters of a few houses. If this were to continue, it would be impossible to establish large-scale economy, as well as to establish water systems, sanitary provisions and education. Thus the first task is to house the peasants together in villages. This requires an enormous amount of organizational work and great efforts.

6. The complexity of tribal relationships intensifies the problems. In some countries there are large tribes, while elsewhere there are many tribes with small numbers. The customs of the tribes and the threads of relationship continue to exert a great deal of power and, unfortunately, disrupt the organization of modern agriculture and the development of industry, which are, however, important prerequisites for increasing production and for building socialism in general.

7. As in other African countries, white people and many people of mixed race continue to live in the progressive African countries. It would be a great mistake for the leaders of the progressive countries to permit prejudice in favor of the black race and to stamp the white or creole people, who were also born and raised in the given countries, as undependable. The leaders of the progressive countries have a very important task in consistently surmounting every kind of racial prejudice.

Certain illusions are still attached to skin color. There are African leaders who believe that the color of the skin of people performing service in the armed forces and the administration is by itself a guarantee, and

that colored people cannot be used by reactionary forces against the progressive order. However, this is an error. Color does not decide who is of a progressive or reactionary nature, or who can be exploited against the order and who cannot be. When the battle becomes tough, reactionary elements are quickly exposed, even if their skin is colored. Until this happens, however, the hidden reactionary elements can frustrate the measures of progressive governments.

8. With respect to foreign policy the progressive African countries are taking a stronger and stronger stand against imperialism and neocolonialism, and for socialism and progress. They support the objectives and activities of the socialist progressive factions developing in uncommitted movements which are of great effect upon the other uncommitted countries and coincide with the goals of the socialist community. In this way not only do the foreign policy efforts of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries lend support to the implementation of the national goals of the African countries, but in turn the foreign policies of the African countries, although they do not belong to a cooperative system, aid the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in realizing their international goals.

It is pleasing to note that a larger and larger number of the progressive African countries understand that the most important condition for progress and tranquil work is peace and security. Consequently these countries support the goals of the socialist community concerning the strengthening of peace and security and the promotion of disarmament. This is significant progress if we take into consideration the fact that many in the developing world did not previously understand or else misunderstood the foreign policies of the socialist countries.

9. The countries of socialist orientation and other progressive countries understand and realize that their efforts are supported unselfishly and openly by the socialist countries. But they are also aware of the fact that economically the socialist countries are not able to satisfy all of their demands. This is why they continue a foreign policy which does not close the door on capitalist countries. They receive aid and loans from the capitalist countries and are even ready for some cooperation with them. This is not a mistake. In the long run the main question is not whether the progressive powers receive capitalist credits and aid, but whether they safeguard their political independence, keep their power tightly in their own hands, and use the credits and aid to develop their infrastructure of agriculture and industry, and thus to establish their own future.

10. Almost every country of socialist orientation and the other progressive countries support the formation of the new economic world order. At the same time they understand that matters are not advanced by excessive demands on the socialist countries. They properly assess the situation that the formation of the new economic world order will advance with difficulty because of the opposition of the international monopolistic capitalists, and that it will be very difficult to establish the new economic world order.

under conditions where monopolistic capitalism and multinational enterprises are dominant in international economic relations. They also recognize the second important part of this question, namely that the new economic world order cannot help those countries in which the leaders do not take resolute measures to reorganize their societies in the socialist direction, to organize the exploitation of their own raw materials and to develop their industry and agriculture, and to assure planned development. The leaders of these countries understand that this is the basic and decisive question. This is why they do not sit around with their hands in their laps and do not wait for the new economic order, like some heavenly manna, but take resolute measures to boost their economies.

11. A cardinal question in the foreign policy of almost every one of the African countries is the problem and solution of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Here there are deviations only in the methods used and the path to be followed, although these are very important. Some think of the transformation of the domestic regime in South Africa and are clearly aware of the fact that this problem cannot be solved in a short period of time. They consider the battle against racial prejudice and apartheid to be a concrete task of foreign policy.

12. Hungarians visiting Africa are surprised by the fact that some of the African leaders do not fully realize the great effect wielded by the Near East problem on world politics. Nor are they fully aware of the danger which a renewed armed conflict in the Near East could represent.

A second surprise is the observation that some African leaders do not accord proper significance to the delicate situation which has developed in the African Horn. They make some kind of falsely objective assessment which may originate in the fact that the Ethiopian revolution was not achieved by the masses, but by closely bound soldiers, or perhaps they are still distrustful of the Ethiopian revolution. But it is also possible that they have made reactionary Arab propaganda their own. Time is necessary for them to realize the true range of this question and the great import of the Ethiopian revolutionary process.

13. There are also signs of the Chinese presence in some of the progressive African countries. Earlier the Chinese leaders offered the African countries the greatest support, and most of their foreign aid went to these countries. Thousands of Chinese experts and workers were employed everywhere in Africa. It cannot be said that the Chinese influence has vanished without a trace, and there are still remnants of it in one or two countries and freedom movements. However, it can be said that the policy of the Chinese leaders has been gradually exposed in Africa. It has become clear that the Chinese leadership is not interested in a struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, but in a battle against the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and is ready to join anyone when it is a question of measures against the Soviet Union and its allies. The behavior of the Chinese leaders with respect to Angola aroused great indignation in Africa. They supported

the heretical UNITA organization and Mobutu, whose regular units invaded Angola. In the situation which developed in the African Horn, they stood on the side of Somalia, although it was clear that Somalia was the aggressor. These and other events graphically demonstrated to the Africans that they could not depend on Chinese aid in the battle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

We have only covered a sample of observations on Africa. Our intention was to call attention to Africa, which has begun in recent times to occupy a very important position in the foreign policies of the socialist countries, and thus of our country, Hungary.

6806

CSO: 2500

ROMANIA

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL FOR SOCIALIST CULTURE, EDUCATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 84, 11 Sep 78 pp 5-8

[Presidential Decree regarding the nomination of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and of its Executive Council]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic Romania decrees:

Single article. The Council for Socialist Culture and Education (CCES) and its Executive Bureau are nominated, with the membership listed in the appendix that is an integral part of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic Romania
Bucharest, 9 September 1978
No 234

Appendix. Composition of the CCES and its Executive Bureau

I. Council for Socialist Culture and Education

Chairman

1. Miu Dobrescu

Vice-Chairmen

2. Dobrin Tamara
3. Ghise Dumitru
4. Duca Aurel, secretary of the Central Council of UGSR (General Union of Romanian Trade Unions)
5. Macovescu George, chairman of the Writers' Union
6. Muresan Ana, chairwoman of the National Council of Women
7. Croitoru Nicolae, secretary of the CC (Central Council) of UTC (Union of Communist Youth)
8. Petre Constantin, deputy minister of education and instruction
9. Hegedus Ladislau, secretary of state in CCES

Members

10. Jebeleanu Eugen, vice-chairman of the National Council of the Front for Socialist Unity
11. Irimescu Ion, chairman of the Union of Plastic Artists
12. Herescu Constantin, secretary of the Organizational Commission of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives
13. Tomescu Vasile, secretary of the Composers' Union
14. Munteanu Larisa, vice-chairman of the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives
15. Puscasu Traian, deputy director general of Romanian Radiotelevision
16. Tripsa Iosif, vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology
17. Beligan Radu, vice-chairman of the Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions, director of the I. L. Caragiale National Theater in Bucharest
18. Gomoiu Gheorghe, secretary of the High Political Council of the Army
19. Bologa Ilie, vice-chairman of the National Council of Workers, secretary of the party committee at the Grivita Enterprise for Chemical Equipment in Bucharest
20. Dinu Marin, secretary of the UASCR (Union of Communist Student Associations in Romania) Council
21. Vacaru Vasile, vice-chairman of the National Council of the Organization of Pioneers
22. Hauser Hedwiga-Margareta, chief editor at the Kriterion Publishing House
23. Calinoiu Nicolae, secretary of the Party Committee of CCES, director of the Directorate of Arts and Performance Institutions
24. Szasz Bela, head of the CCES Service for Cultural-Educational Activities Among Cohabiting Nations
25. Galateanu Ion, secretary of state in CCES
26. Cacoveanu Nicolae, director of the CCES Directorate for Organization, Control, Personnel, and Training
27. Bitlan Valentin, director of the CCES Directorate for Mass Culture
28. Popescu Ion-Gopo, chairman of the Association of Cinematographers (ACIN)
29. Ion Gheorghe, vice-chairman of the Committee for Peoples' Councils Matters
30. Meliusz Jozsef, vice-chairman of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality
31. Dinulescu Alexandru, member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives
32. Dragason Nicolae, secretary of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports
33. Gliga Vasile, deputy minister of foreign affairs
34. Dina Carol, secretary of the Party Committee at the 23 August Plant in Bucharest
35. Ilie Dumitru, secretary of the Party Committee at the Pitesti Automobile Enterprise
36. Alexe Alexandru, tool and die maker at the Brasov Truck Enterprise, member of the County Party Committee, delegate to the County People's Council, instructor of the Enterprise Theater Group

37. Rosca Dumitru, foreman at the Casa Scintei Graphics Combine, secretary of the Party Committee, Hero of Socialist Labor
38. Suteu Teodor, head foreman at Steel Plant No 2 of the Hunedoara Steel Combine, deputy secretary for propaganda matters in the departmental Party Committee
39. Izbasoiu Mircea, secretary of the Party Committee at the Brazi Petrochemical Combine in Prahova county
40. Stirner Renate, CTC (technical quality control) worker at IMIX-Agnita in Sibiu County, delegate to the County Peoples' Council, member of the Executive Bureau of the Peoples' Council of the town of Agnita
41. Munteanu Ana-Maria, typographer at the Oltenia Graphics Enterprise, vice-chairwoman of the County Council of Unions, delegate to the Peoples' Council of the city of Craiova, member of the enterprise folkloric group
42. Szabo Ladislau, master locksmith at the Vlahita Iron Enterprise in Harghita County, instructor of the dance group of the local cultural center
43. Voicu Ilie, master mechanic, deputy secretary for propaganda matters in the Bucharest Party Committee for Constructions
44. Paun Ana, secretary of the Party Committee, chairwoman of the Peoples' Council of the Bujoreni district, member of the Vilcea County RCP Committee Bureau
45. Popovici Andronica, spinner at the Constanta Integrated Wool Enterprise, secretary of the Party Committee
46. Zega Rodica, head chemical engineer at the Bucharest Enterprise for Automation Devices, secretary of the basic organization
47. Trusca Maria, lathe worker, deputy secretary for propaganda matters in the Party Committee of the Drobeta Turnu-Severin Mechanical Enterprise in Mehedinti county
48. Covaciu Cristina, mechanical typesetter at the programmed typesetting machine, chairman of the Council for Political Education and Cultural-Sports Activities, vice-chairman of the Union Committee at the Oradea Graphics Enterprise in Bihor county
49. Ene Elena, foreman at the Focsani Clothing Enterprise, chairman of the Council for Political Education and Cultural-Sports Activities of the enterprise
50. Podaru Georgeta, worker, secretary of the Party Committee at the Botosani Textile Enterprise
51. Hriscu Elisabeta, clothing worker, chairwoman of the Council for Political Education and Cultural-Sports Activities, vice-chairwoman of the Union Committee at the Birlad Clothing Enterprise in Vaslui county
52. Moisei Eugenia, worker, deputy secretary for propaganda matters in the Party Committee of the Bistrita-Nasaud Glass Factory
53. Mataguta Ioana, secretary of the Party Committee at the Tirgu Jiu Clothing Enterprise, member of the RCP City Committee Bureau
54. Buga Pavel, secretary of the party committee at the Progresul Heavy Equipment Enterprise in Braila

55. Gaman Petre, chairman of the Fundeni CAP (Agricultural Production Cooperative) in Ilfov county, member of the District Party Committee
56. Lustrea Ilie, chairman of the Buteni CAP in Arad county, director of the choir of the local cultural center, prize winner at the National Festival Cintarea Romaniei
57. Cristea Nita, member of the Marculesti CAP in Ialomita county, secretary of the Farm Party Organization, composer of folksongs, prize winner at the National Festival Cintarea Romaniei
58. Dragan Mircea, film director, rector of the Ion Luca Caragiale Institute for Theater Arts and Cinematography in Bucharest
59. Vida Geza, sculptor, member of the Union of Plastic Artists
60. Erdos Paul, graphics worker, member of the Union of Plastic Artists
61. Piliuta Constantin, painter, member of the Union of Plastic Artists
62. Horvath Bisztrai Maria Magdalena, actress, director of the Cluj-Napoca State Hungarian Theater
63. Codreanu Petrea, director of the Bucharest Romanian Opera
64. Ciucure Elena, professor, director of the Boldur District Cultural Center in Timis county
65. Calota Ioana, director of the Cringu District Cultural Center in Teleorman county
66. Cotirlea Silvia, teacher, director of the Spring District Cultural Center in Alba county
67. Grumeza Elena, director of the City of Satu Mare Cultural Center, member of the Executive Committee of the Peoples' Council of the city of Satu Mare
68. Gheorghe Georgeta, director of the Town of Titu Cultural Center in Dimbovita county, member of the RCP Town Committee Bureau
69. Popescu Puturi-Ion, director of the Institute for Historical and Socio-Political Studies of the RCP Central Committee
70. Matei Ilie, deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the RCP Central Committee
71. Stoian Ion, deputy head of the Organizational Department of the RCP Central Committee
72. Dulea Mihai, sector head of the Foreign Relations Department of the RCP Central Committee
73. Chelaru Cristea, secretary of the Iasi County Committee of the RCP
74. Vela Andrei, secretary of the Caras-Severin County Committee of the RCP
75. Gheorghe Constantin, secretary of the Olt County Committee of the RCP
76. Antoniu Stefan, secretary of the Neamt County Committee of the RCP
77. Baciucu Lazar, secretary of the Buzau County Committee of the RCP
78. Ionas Letitia, secretary of the Salaj County Committee of the RCP
79. Mihovici Eftimita, secretary of the Tulcea County Committee of the RCP
80. Cirtina Iulian, head of the Propaganda Department of the Bucharest City Committee of the RCP
81. Ostafi Gheorghe, head of the Propaganda Department of the Suceava County Committee of the RCP
82. Sonea Emilia, chairwoman of the City of Bucharest Women's Committee
83. Negrea Victoria, chairwoman of the Brasov County CCES, member of the RCP County Committee Bureau, chairwoman of the County Women's Committee

84. Raduly Gitta, chairman of the Covasna County CCES, member of the County Party Committee and of the Executive Committee of the County Peoples' Council
85. Simionica Ruxandra, chairman of the Galati County CCES, alternate member of the RCP County Committee Bureau
86. Calimandric Ilie-Aurel, chairman of the Bacau County CCES, member of the RCP County Committee Bureau
87. Niculescu Margareta, director of the Tandarica Theater
88. Georgescu Florian, director of the Romanian Museum of History
89. Popovici Titus, writer, member of the Writers' Union
90. Maciu Mircea, sociologist, director of the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House
91. Paunescu Adrian, poet, member of the Writers' Union, chief editor of the magazine FLACARA
92. Hajdu Gyoza, writer, chief editor of the magazine IGAZ SZO in Tirgu Mures, member of the RCP County Committee Bureau
93. Daicoviciu Hadrian, archaeologist, director of the Transylvanian Museum of History, member of the Cluj County CCES
94. Petreanu Nicolae, professor, doctor in history, head of the Department of History of the Nation and of the RCP at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy

II. Executive Bureau of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education

Chairman

1. Miu Dobrescu

Vice-Chairmen

2. Dobrin Tamara
3. Ghise Dumitru
4. Duca Aurel, secretary of the Central Council of UGSR
5. Macovescu George, chairman of the Writers' Union
6. Muresan Ana, chairwoman of the National Council of Women
7. Croitoru Nicolae, secretary of the CC of the UTC
8. Petre Constantin, deputy minister of education and instruction
9. Hegedus Ladislau, secretary of state in CCES

Members

10. Jebeleanu Eugen, vice-chairman of the National Council of the Front for Socialist Unity
11. Irimescu Ion, chairman of the Union of Plastic Artists
12. Herescu Constantin, secretary of the Organizational Commission of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives
13. Tomescu Vasile, secretary of the Composers' Union
14. Munteanu Larisa, vice-chairman of the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives
15. Puscasu Traian, deputy director general of Romanian Radiotelevision

16. Tripsa Iosif, vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology
17. Beligan Radu, vice-chairman of the Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions, director of the I. L. Caragiale National Theater in Bucharest
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ROMANIA

'SCINTEIA' NOTES CULTURAL UNITY OF TERRITORY

[Editorial Report AU] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 10 October carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,500-word article by Alexandru Dutu entitled "A Common Cultural Life and A Common Spiritual Heritage." It is the fourth in a series of articles devoted to the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the United National Romanian State. The author emphasizes the common cultural traditions, language, folklore and the circulation of ideas between the various regions of the country, and ends the article with the following statement:

"Cultural unity had long been an accomplished fact by the time of the Alba Iulia meeting gathered in a political unity the hearts of all Romanians and fulfilled the aspiration for which so much blood had been shed. And thus, when Romania emerged on the map of Europe as a united state, the same writing, art and songs reigned between its borders, from Maramures to Dobruja, from the Banat to Moldavia, from Oltenia to Bucovina."

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

IASI REVIEW PROTESTS CRITICISM IN BUCHAREST WEEKLY

Iasi CONVORBIRI LITERARE in Romanian Sep 78 p 15

[Article by the editorial board: "An Investigation and Several Flagrant Errors in Information"]

[Text] Under the title, "How We Reclaim the Classics," LUCEAFARUL of 2 and 9 September 1978 publishes a stimulating study of the responsibility which literary critics and historians in Romania have in regard to our rich artistic heritage.

The initiative of the Bucharest review appears to us to be welcome especially since the discussion deals with the great literary values which Moldavia has given to the country in the past and present and the contribution which this province has made over the centuries, through its brilliant representatives, to the creation of our national culture. We noted with satisfaction some judicious opinions expressed by participants and the constructive character of some proposals made during the discussion, proposals to which we subscribe wholeheartedly.

In our opinion, it would have been a good idea if other Iasi researchers who had produced editions of our classic writers, editions which are among the successes of publishing initiatives as a result of the scientific strictness and literary taste demonstrated by their compilers, had participated in this discussion of national interest.

We would have limited ourselves solely to these observations if, in the final part of the discussion, in the statement of Comrade I. Constantinescu, there had not been flagrant untruths regarding the proportion of articles, studies and documents on literary history appearing in CONVORBIRI LITERARE during recent years and regarding the quality of these materials.

Comrade I. Constantinescu says: "We have tried, during recent years, to propose some discussions in direct connection with today's issue (the utilization of the classics) without finding the necessary understanding and response." We must make it clear that the editorial board of CONVORBIRI LITERARE has not received any proposal of this type from our distinguished collaborator.

Comrade I. Constantinescu also says: "Little literary history, less than in earlier years, is being published" (in CONVORBIRI LITERARE).

We bring to the attention of our esteemed literary critic from Iasi the fact that in the last 14 issues of our review (June 1977 to August 1978), more than 100 articles, studies and previously unpublished documents were published under the signatures of Const. Ciopraga, Mihai Dragan, Nicolae Manolescu, Edgar Papu, D. Micu, Dan Manuca, D. Ivanescu, N. Barbu, Gh. Bulgar, J. L. Courrioll, Al. Dobrescu, Amita Bhose, Daniel Dimitriu, Doru Scarlatescu, Al. Andreiscu, Maria Platon, D. Irimia and... Ion Constantinescu.

The writers who were the subject of these studies were: I. Neculce, V. Alecsandri, N. Balcescu, Titu Maiorescu, Iacob Neguzzi, Duiliu Zamfirescu, Al. Macedonski, D. Bolinteanu, G. Ibraileanu, M. Sadoveanu, Tudor Arghezi, G. Bacovia, Mihai Codreanu, N. Iorga, Camil Petrescu, Otilia Cazimir, Pompiliu Constantinescu, etc.

In conclusion, what can we say about this apodictic sentence of Comrade Ion Constantinescu? "We have the feeling that we are caricatural," he states, "when we realize that we publish articles about Eminescu only on 15 January and 15 June in a review specializing in literature like CONVORBIRI LITERARE."

Reading these words, published with the consent of the author, you have a bizarre sensation. You say to yourself: either Comrade Ion Constantinescu does not read the review CONVORBIRI LITERARE (in which he publishes) or he does not consider that the articles written by his colleagues in CONVORBIRI LITERARE make a contribution to the utilization of the immense Eminescu treasury.

In order to elucidate this point, we would like to remind the readers of CONVORBIRI LITERARE and, certainly, of LUCEAFARUL, in particular, that from July 1977 to September 1978 more than 30 studies, articles, essays, commentaries, etc. on the work of the paragon ["Luceafar"] of Romanian poetry were published in the "Eminescu Column" in the Iasi review.

We were expecting a value judgment on the material published. It was natural and necessary. It was opportune for Comrade Ion Constantinescu to take a stand in regard to some pages published in CONVORBIRI LITERARE which he did not like. But what can we understand from this unveiled assertion which we continue to consider as a regrettable error of information?

While allowing the reader to draw the proper conclusion, we wanted only to present these explanations in the spirit of honesty and truth.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

INCREASED MATERIAL BENEFITS FOR DOCK WORKERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 76, 15 Aug 78 p 1

[Council of State Decree on the Granting of Material Benefits to Workers Involved in Handling Goods in the Port of Constanta]

[Text] Article 1--(1) Dockworkers in the port of Constanta will receive, at the beginning of their shift, a hot meal worth a maximum of 6 lei per day per person. (2) The money needed for these expenditures will come from the financial results of the respective units, without modifying the economic-financial indicators which are approved annually.

Article 2--(1) Dock workers who handle goods wrapped in sacks, chemical products, explosives, abrasives and other such products stipulated in the annex to the present decree* will receive, in accordance with the Law on Remuneration according to the Quantity and Quality of Labor, up to 8 percent increases in remuneration for the actual time worked under these conditions. (2) The number of beneficiaries eligible for higher remuneration is approved by the single national plan for socio-economic development.

Article 3--Workers from units subordinate to other ministries, who work in the port of Constanta and who carry out the same operations of handling goods as the dock workers in the Constanta Port Operations Enterprise, will receive the remuneration stipulated for dock workers and will benefit from the provisions of Article 1 of the present decree.

Article 4--Chiefs of groups or teams of dock workers who take over and form new teams can receive, for a period of at least 6 months, the average remuneration received during the previous 3 months with the groups they headed previously, if they fulfill their plan.

Article 5--The provisions of articles 1 and 2 of the present decree also apply to workers in the other maritime and river ports.

Bucharest, 15 August 1978
No 310

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, President of the
Socialist Republic of Romania

* The annex is being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

LARGE DEFENSE TRAINING CENTER NEAR BELGRADE DESCRIBED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 78 p 9 AU

[Report by V. Krasic]

[Excerpts] Last year alone, over 100,000 people of our capital gained basic knowledge about defense in a possible war at the training center at Bubanj Potok, near Belgrade.

This certainly is important, when it is known that any future war would be all-embracing. The warring sides will engage all their human, material and moral potentials. Nonetheless, only a part of the people, totaling 10 to 15 or 20 percent at the most of the overall population, will serve in classical military structures. This is the limit within which people can be mobilized for the armed forces.

Armed People

According to the concept of all-people's defense, no such limit exists. In this the war is waged by all people, who join the armed forces en masse.

The training center at Bubanj Potok is, in the real sense of the word, a school of all-people's defense which trains all school-attending and other youths of Belgrade, all reserve army officers, units of the territorial defense, the civil defense and members of all social organizations that are interested in defense. This center has professional cadre and training means for modern training--everything from a compass to a plane. The Belgrade Defense Command certainly pays the greatest attention to this matter.

Although over 100,000 citizens and youths passed through the training center last year, people here are not satisfied with this figure. It is envisaged that at least 200,000 members of all defense structures should pass through the center annually. For this reason the training center is an enormous building site. The most up-to-date training

grounds in our country are being developed and built here. This is one of several facilities for training all defense forces.

Modern Training Grounds

The best possible living and working conditions are provided for those to be trained at Bubanj Potok. There is central heating in dormitories and food is served in a modern building which resembles a modern restaurant. A firing range, which will consist of several sectors and will be fully automated, will be put into operation within the next few days. Each sector will function independently and firing with live ammunition will be carried out throughout the day. In addition to this firing range, a firing range using films and television is being built and those training there will be able to practice firing with pistol, rifle and recoilless rifle.

A training ground with new equipment for antitank battles is being built. There also is a training ground for teaching air defense. Those attending our training are able to acquaint themselves in practice with and to test all means of armament concerning which they receive theoretical training, Commander Lt Col Gavriilo Samardzic says.

When all training grounds and ranges are completed, the training center at Bubanj Potok will operate practically day and night throughout the year. It is worth stressing that the construction of the training grounds and the training of cadres are being financed by the people's defense funds of the Belgrade work organizations and sociopolitical organizations.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

U.S.-SFRY SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL--Following several days of work by the U.S.-SFRY Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation, a protocol was signed yesterday on further joint ventures and research efforts in the field of agriculture, health, science, standardization and human environment protection. The fifth anniversary of the work of this committee, which is now being observed, provided an opportunity to review its results which have been very positive for both sides and to emphasize the interest for a further continuation of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States. In this connection attention was called to some 50 projects for expanding the existing list of scientific programs which the American and Yugoslav scientists are jointly carrying out. In this connection both sides showed the same interest in finding the appropriate new sources for financing.

[Text] [TANJUG Report] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 78 p 4 AU]

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END