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BALKAN COMMUNIST REGIMES ADJUST TO NEW REALITIES

The regime of Rumanian leader Ceausescu seemed more relaxed last week despite rumors of possible Soviet military intervention. The Yugoslavs, even as they try to divine Soviet intentions, are exchanging polemics with Moscow, while the Bulgarians sustain their strong support of Soviet policies.

The Rumanians are seeking to work out a new relationship with the Warsaw Five, with Ceausescu hoping to follow a policy of conciliating his allies while adhering to his own national Communist course. The Rumanian press continues to refrain from criticizing the Warsaw Five. It is publishing only brief factual reports on Czechoslovakia, and is stressing Bucharest's long-standing policy of "friendship with all."

The Rumanians undoubtedly are influenced by reports of a Soviet military build-up near the Rumanian border. Thus Bucharest's recent efforts to call attention to the danger of Soviet intervention probably are in part a pre-emptive tactic against the Russians.

At the same time, the Ceausescu regime recently announced the posthumous rehabilitation of the arch-Stalinist Vasile Luca. Several national Communists, most of whom appear to be Jews and ethnic Hungarians, also were rehabilitated. Luca's reinstatement can be considered a gesture to

Moscow, while the others seem designed to supplement Ceausescu's drive for closer party and national unity. He carried forward the drive this week on a speech-making tour through western Transylvania.

Yugoslav leaders are preoccupied with determining the USSR's future intentions. They are especially apprehensive about Bulgarian threats toward Macedonia and possible Soviet economic reprisals. Belgrade is already looking for further means to diversify its foreign trade. Deputy Premier Kiro Gligorov will arrive in the US on 27 September to discuss the expansion of bilateral trade. Meanwhile, Yugoslav military forces remain on alert, and the population has been warned to guard against attempts to split them along nationality lines.

Bulgarian party boss Todor Zhivkov went to Moscow on 16 September and concluded an economic aid agreement of considerable advantage to Bulgaria. Three days later, Soviet Marshal Yakubovsky, Warsaw Pact commander in chief, visited Sofia and later East Berlin and Warsaw, ostensibly to discuss "strengthening the Warsaw Pact." His visit aroused new apprehensions among Bulgaria's Balkan neighbors. Sofia has officially denied, however, that Soviet troops are stationed in Bulgaria and there is no evidence that Bulgarian troops have moved toward the Yugoslav and Rumanian borders.

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