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19 December 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1486

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs

Polish Condolences to USSR 1

ALBANIA

Tribute to Patriot Hasan Prishtina

(ATA, 4 Dec 77) 2

Social, Party-Minded Nature of Linguistics Stressed

(Androkli Kostallari; ZERI I POPULLIT, 27 Aug 77)..... 3

Briefs

Three Worlds Theory Discussion 10

BULGARIA

Letters Express Difficult Conditions of Working Housewives

(ZHENATA DNES, No 11, 1977) 11

EAST GERMANY

Briefs

German Red Cross Membership 16

HUNGARY

Budapest Notes Serious Damage Caused by Egyptian-Israeli Talks

(Ervin Reti; Budapest Domestic Service, 6 Dec 77)..... 17

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
POLAND	
Military Daily Scores U.S. ILO Pullout (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 17 Nov 77)	19
ROMANIA	
Role of Romania in European Civilization Discussed (Dan Zamfirescu; CONTEMPORANUL, 30 Sep 77)	23
Statute on Organization, Operation of Tenants Association (BULETINUL OFICIAL, 16 Nov 77)	28
Briefs Ceaurescu Congratulates Mobutu	43
YUGOSLAVIA	
Influence of Indented Adriatic Coastline on Combat Probed (Drago Stok; MORNARICKI GLASNIK, Jul-Aug 77)	44
Role of Retail Trade System in Wartime Sketched (Radoslav Stevanovic; NOVA TRGOVINA, Aug-Sep 77) ...	53

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

POLISH CONDOLENCES TO USSR--In connection with the death of the twice Hero of the Soviet Union, Marshal of the Soviet Union Aleksandr Vasilevskiy, the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, have sent to the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the council of Ministers of USSR, a message of condolences, expressing words of deepest sorrow and sincere sympathy. On behalf of soldiers of the Polish People's Army a message of condolences has been sent to the Soviet minister of defense, Marshal Dimitry Ustinov, by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, minister of national defense. [Text]
[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Dec 77 LD]

CSO: 2600

ALBANIA

TRIBUTE TO PATRIOT HASAN PRISHTINA

Tirana ATA in English 1204 GMT 4 Dec 77 LD

[Text] Tirana, 4 Dec ATA--Under the solicitude of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our government brought home the remains of the outstanding democrat patriot and fighter, Hasan Prishtina, recently.

The remains of the patriot Hasan Prishtina, which were found in and brought home from the city of Salonika with the help of the Greek Government, were accompanied by a delegation headed by the secretary general of the national committee of the war veterans of the Albanian people, Ndreko Rino.

The working people of the city of Korce and Bilisht, patriots, veterans of the anti-fascist national-liberation war, young men and women welcomed with profound respect and great honor the remains of the outstanding and democrat patriot Hasan Prishtina, who dedicated all his life to the struggle for the liberation of Albania from the yoke of the foreign occupiers.

Present on the occasion were his relatives and Kosovo co-fighters. Also present were the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Korce District People's Council, Vangel Cerava, the vice minister of education and culture, Anastas Kondo, the vice chairman of the Council of the Democratic Front of the District, Shefqet Pojani, and the chairman of the Committee of the Veterans of the district, Niko Ceta.

In the ceremony organized on the occasion, the brass band played the national anthem and funeral marches. Wreaths were laid at on the coffin on behalf of the executive committee of the People's Council, the Council of the Democratic Front, the Committee of the Veterans of the district and the Kosovo co-fighters of the patriot.

CSO: 2020

SOCIAL, PARTY-MINDED NATURE OF LINGUISTICS STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Aug 77 pp 2,3

[Article by prof Androkli Kostallari: "Albanian Linguistics Social Party-Minded Science"]

[Text] The Albanian language and Albanian linguistics as a national science have always been in the focus of the party's attention. This kind of attention finds new expression in Comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the seventh congress, where it is stressed that the "studies of the history, life, language, cultural and artistic traditions of our people" constitute "an important field". Language, as the principal means of communication between humans is tied to all the life of the people, and as is known, is one of the basic characteristics of nations and nationalities. It is woven in many ways with the political and ideological struggle that is taking place today in the international arena. With this understanding of the characteristics of a language, particularly the mother tongue, it behooves our linguistics to observe and solve its present and future duties with a broader and deeper attention, starting with the very deep theoretical analysis made by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report on the economic, political, social and cultural life of our country, on the international situation, the political and ideological struggle against modern revisionism and the bourgeoisie.

The duties that the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers Party laid down for the further development in the field of science and research are broad, complex and many faceted. This holds true even for research and studies done in the field of linguistics and other areas of learning, with which they are connected directly and indirectly. In the present phase of the development of our linguistics and in the light of this historic congress, of first hand importance are matters that have to do with methodology, which is the prop of linguistic studies, with technical and research methods which are first in importance in the ideological and political field. The proper solution of these matters is closely tied to the proper definition of the objectives of studies and research done in our linguistics.

In conflict with the idealistic concepts of the bourgeois revisionist linguistics and the chauvinist points of view of some foreign scholars, in conflict with their logic, schematism and old fashioned grammar etc., our linguistics assimilated and carried out in their own field the principles of dialectical and historical materialism, in accordance with the lessons of our party. In the light of this kind of methodology it reevaluated all the Albanian language and culture inheritance of the past, sucked in the positive, progressive elements and got down to work with the new duties laid down by the new socialist society. The return to methodology was a decisive, living decision which made our linguistics a real national and social science and directly helped to realize fundamentally the objective of the studies. Nevertheless, taking the decisive step does not mean that everything has been done. The Seventh Congress rightly declared it a duty to raise the quality of all scientific work, that "deep scientific studies" take place to respond to the important problems of today and the future, so that they become prevailing methods in order to "penetrate and precede every task" so that our Marxist-Leninist scientific thought be further developed. For our linguistics this means, primarily, that in this new phase the theoretical, ideological and scientific level of all work be raised in a straightforward manner. This demands that the Marxist-Leninist theory and the party experience for society and our language penetrate more deeply and in a more creative manner into all the pores of our analytical and scientific synthesis, in the definition of themes and the objectives of our studies, in polishing all our linguistic categories, and by opposing every attempt of their treatment as purely technical, or as ready made plans and theories.

The key needed to recognize the essence of all the systems and sub-systems of the Albanian language and all its categories and aspects is taken from the Marxist philosophy, which has proved that language has a materialistic nature and a social and historic character. This objective truth rejects every attempt to present language as an idealistic structure, which allegedly does not depend on the historical development of society.

The deep understanding of the methodological ties of our linguistics to the Marxist philosophy is of significant importance today, when the struggle between materialism and idealism, especially between dialectical materialism and neopositivism in the science of linguistics has deteriorated severely, at a time when bourgeois idealistic trends and schools, which for a long time have been in the grip of a deep theoretical crisis, have been and are being revitalized by new forces from the revisionist batallion.

In the bourgeois revisionist linguistics and philosophy today two common goals are noticeable. On one side is the role of philosophy as a science of the most general laws of the development of nature, of human society and of human thought, which synthesizes the most general theoretical results of the different sciences, therefore even that of linguistics. Bourgeois revisionist scholars are attempting to replace this

(materialism) with a string of theories for some language categories such as "language philosophy", or "linguistic philosophy" and "grammatical philosophy" etc. On the other hand, they are attempting to replace the general scientific methodology, on which linguistics should depend, with a series of special methods and ways of research techniques, which often present themselves as the last theoretical word on modern linguistics. From this observation point it appears that these trends are served by different structural schools, descriptive philology and the method of "direct composition" which is derived from it, transformative and generative grammar, mathematical and engineering language etc. These multicolored bourgeois revisionist trends have further developed the most negative, antihistorical, idealist theories of the past about language as a system of signs that exists by itself and for itself. Their assertions that they are supposedly "de-ideologizing linguistics" in order to change it into a branch of semiology or semiotics, that is to say the science of signs, are not directed against every ideology, but essentially against the Marxist-Leninist materialist ideology in linguistics, because they rely completely on an idealistic philosophy in linguistics. The idealism of the past, which in the 19th century fed the bourgeois linguistics through the philosophy of Kant, Fichte, Schelling etc. and the psychology of Herbart and Wundt, and at the beginning of the 20th century with the theories of Emil Durkheim and Benedetto Croce. Today in the bourgeois revisionist world the philosophy of idealism has not only taken new forms in the general philosophical field, but has penetrated into the very fundamentals of the science of linguistics and into the other sciences connected with it.

What basic bond ties all these "modern" anti-historical, anti-materialist theories together? The bond is the aim to take from linguistics its social and historical core, to dematerialize it, to invest it with an immanent power that puts the nation and the people under the dependence of the language, instead of the language under the "control" of the nation, as a creation and means of development of the people that speak it. Basically, these idealistic tendencies separate the language and its development from the life of the people, and change it into a mass or body of dead signs and symbols, that are considered out of date and time and as such are studied by methods that are completely formalized. In this way the scientific objective of the language itself is completely restricted since, according to the above mentioned tendencies, it must deal only with the pure form, pure relations and not with content, that is to say not with that which directly binds the word with the real world, with society and with thought.

In today's bourgeois revisionist world the theories that openly predict and argue "internationalism" are united in a single corps, that is to say they support the denationalization of people's language and culture and making them cosmopolitan. In this examination, to the old arguments of the imperialist racist theories on the universal language

are now added new arguments by the revisionist linguists. These defenders of big power nationalism and neo-colonialism have lately come up with a theory which could be called "the theory of the contraction of functions of the mother tongue". They proclaim that supposedly the role of the mother tongue in the cultural development has been greatly overestimated, that supposedly the native tongue of a nation is suitable for a short period of time, long enough to overcome analphabetism and to help create some sort of rudimentary culture among the backward peoples. Later the role of the maternal tongue diminishes, because the developed nations must and should further spread their culture through non-native languages, that is to say through the official languages of the two super powers, or through the languages that are used at the United Nations. They defend this "theory" with the position that basically "it is not important what language this or that nation speaks, the fundamental importance is that the nation in general speak a common language."

The "common" languages are the so-called "great" languages of the old and new colonialists. In fact some revisionist "theoreticians," by joining the idealistic American socio-psychologists, have come to the stage where they do not consider a common language as a basic characteristic of a nation. What is more, completely anti-Marxist claims such as this are made by "referring" to Lenin who, as we know, has savagely and unconditionally denounced any super power dictate over language. Lenin has defended the continuous development and flowering, without hindrance, of national culture and language, by clearly emphasizing that "national distinctions between peoples will remain for a long long time, in fact even after the victory of the proletariat dictatorship on the world level".

All this shows that today the ideological aggression organized by the enemies of liberty, the peoples independence and socialism has overtaken even the field of linguistics and that the true defense of the national language, the discovery of its historical traits and its development is in direct conflict against this aggression. Our linguistics will further strengthen the struggle against these ideologies by deeply absorbing and always implementing in a more creative manner the undying principles of dialectical historical materialism and the lessons of our party. Furthermore, one must keep in sight that the ideological bourgeois-revisionist aggression in the field of linguistics does not present itself only under the guise of general or special theories, does not wrap itself only in monographic treatises and studies, but penetrates even the grammar of different languages, surfaces even in the definition of sound, of phonemes and morphemes, in words, clusters of words, sentences and other categories which are constantly used by those who teach and by those who learn a language. This is why Comrade Enver's recommendation that under the present day conditions "the struggle to protect the national culture of peoples" becomes "very important", and that it is and will remain a basic guiding line for the development of the Albanian language now and in the future. In exactly this same way

the social party-minded national character of our linguistics will intensify and develop further. In this way will grow the true theoretical and practical value of our linguistic studies.

The seventh congress teaches us to sharpen our vigil, today more than ever before, to maintain the theoretical, scientific, ideological class conscious make up of our linguistic studies. The strengthening and completion of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought of our linguists, including all teachers of languages and literature as well as those who study different branches of the Albanian language and foreign languages, is of decisive importance in a new step-up in the quality of the study of our linguistics and in the preparation of our language teachers. Today, from the point of view of methodology, it is of the utmost importance that the attention of our students of linguistics be specially focused in understanding and implementing more deeply the Marxist-Leninist concept of these matters: the theory of dialectical materialism on the general relationship between reality and the language system, by clearly understanding that the treatment of language as a system is the principal merit of the Marxist thought on language and not the idealistic school of structuralism; the dialectical laws of development and the movement from the highest to the lowest, the passage from quantity to quality, uniformity and the contradiction of opposites as a basic factor of all development, the functional development of language and language categories in close association with society; how to apply the general categories of Marxist dialectics in the studies of our language, in general, in part or in a particular way; in language and thought; in form and content of language; in systems and sub-systems and the structure of language as a dialectical unit; in the concept of language norms and the standard that every language has a deeply national characteristic; in language and dialect. There is no doubt that by better absorbing the Marxist concept of these problems the historical impression of all our studies will deepen, it will deepen by not considering historical studies in a narrow manner as a study of the Albanian language of the past, but considering it primarily as a shaping of the Albanian language system and its literary and non-literary variants first in this movement, in close association with the characteristics of the historical and social development of the Albanian people.

In the light of the duties laid down by the seventh congress, it behooves our linguistics to further improve, broaden and better mesh the technical methods and means of study and research. We could and should be able to solve this duty better today than in the past, by keeping in sight the characteristics of our language, the level which has been reached in solving its problems and above all by keeping in sight the present and future objectives of our linguistic studies. But, the solution of this problem should flow and rely completely on our methodological materialistic bases. "Whoever undertakes specific issues--Lenin used to say--without first unraveling the general issues, in every step regardless, he will

get involved in these general issues". There is no doubt that in applying methods of technical research our linguistics will exploit the valuable experience of world linguistics in this field, by keeping in sight what Comrade Enver said "our party....struggling against any feeling of inferiority or subservience toward foreign methods has not denied the benefit of the progressive world thought, or the scientific and technical achievements of other nations." Our linguistics as a science that studies language from all angles can profitably use present-day scientific and technical achievements, such as the achievements in mathematics physics, physiology, psychology, electronics, cybernetics etc. In this way it can assure more accurate results and make more objective and complete observations. But the exploitation of technical means and ways of other scientific research has only a supportive function for linguistics and can in no way replace methodology. All the data, no matter where it is taken from, must submit to theoretical analysis, to the scientific and ideological facet of linguistics as a dialectical materialistic science which studies a language as a true language.

The seventh congress presented to our linguistics in a new aspect the problem of the object of our studies. Guided by the lessons of the party and Comrade Enver, Albanian linguistics, after the liberation, gave priority to the research of the living language of our people, the Albanian language spoken today, without neglecting the study of some problems in the history of the language that are of special importance in the history of our nation. It is necessary that we now walk further in this straight road, that we especially turn our face toward the study of the popular spoken language and our national literary language, first among a series of aspects that have not been studied. We should turn our attention towards their interrelationship and cooperation with the general development of our socialist society. This requires the further broadening and deepening of the study of the popular Albanian syntax, including the marvelous language of our folklore; to penetrate further into the deep layers of the popular vocabulary and the popular phraseology; to uncover further the elements which connect the dialects and the different forms of speech into a single linguistic unit, to study the evolutionary trends of today's spoken language in the city and the village to see whether it has kept up with the times and the changes in society; to pass from the study of the literary language to the analysis of the special spheres in which it functions, by giving special attention to the language which deals with political and philosophical problems, artistic literature and functional style, by considering the problem of linguistic norms as the focal point of language culture; theoretical studies of Albanian language morphology problems should become more profound and proper attention should be given to the development of some less cultivated areas in the field of linguistics, such as phonetics, phenology, onomastics etc. This will create the possibility of raising the study of some other aspects of the history of the Albanian language to a much higher theoretical base, it will especially clear up some

fundamental matters which deal with the important problem of the origins of the Albanina nation and the Albanian language, which now demands a more profound and complex study on the part of all albanological sciences.

This kind of direction in our topical studies is of vital importance to all our linguistics. It is the precise unbroken connection between the living processes of the spoken word and the written word of our people, that which makes our linguistics a living science. Only a science such as this can properly respond to the present and future demands of our schools and our national culture, it will help to deepen further in the working masses, especially in the new generations, love and respect for the mother tongue, for this irreplaceable force which joins by thousands of invisible threads every member of our nation with the motherland, with its proud past and with the glorious epoch of socialism.

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ALBANIA

BRIEFS

THREE WORLDS THEORY DISCUSSION--The branch of the "Friends of New Albania" Association in Charleroi, Belgium recently organized a discussion of the topic: "The Attitude of the Albanian Workers Party in Regard to the 'Three Worlds Theory'". During the discussion, which lasted 3 hours, responses were given to various questions and the consistent, high-principled, and internationalistic character of the [attitude of the] Albanian Workers Party on this matter was stressed. [Text] [Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 30 Nov 77 p 4]

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

LETTERS EXPRESS DIFFICULT CONDITIONS OF WORKING HOUSEWIVES

Sofia ZHENATA DNES in Bulgarian No 11, 1977 pp 26-28

[Letters to the editor: "Attention An Interesting Question"]

[Text] Express Your Opinion

That was the appeal we addressed to our readers on the subject of an anonymous letter ZHENATA DNES published on page 29, issue No 5.

Responsive, frank, and, as always, socially active, tens of men, women, and young people sent us their answers.

As would be expected for a readership in excess of one million, the letters express a great variety of views. Some have names and addresses, others are anonymous, and others again are typewritten, perhaps giving fictitious names and addresses. In the final account, however, this is of no particular importance. What is more important is to see the way the people think, for in a letter, whether he likes it or not, a person reveals his nature and mentality and his right or wrong views on life. He shows his ability or failure to see things not only on the basis of his personal situation at the moment but in a general and developing perspective as well.

A classification of the letters would show that most men and women believe that it is better for the woman to be working for the sake of the harmonious development of her personality, so that she may be on the level of present-day requirements not only as a member of the socialist society but as the educator of her children, and so that she may enjoy true equality within the family.

According to the second group of letters women should work only after their children have reached a certain age, or else have a shorter working day.

The view expressed in the third group of letters is that a woman who works harms herself, her family, and society, for which reason it would be better for her to stay home.

However, both those who believe that a woman should work and those who oppose it reasonably emphasize that she remains heavily overtaxed both at home and outside. They submit specific suggestions aimed at easing her work both by the remaining members of the family as well as society.

After reading all the letters we shall answer our readers with equal frankness. Perhaps we were wrong by categorically charging the anonymous author with lack of courage. We wrongly combined the question of whether or not a woman should work with whether or not the husband's monthly income was sufficient to meet the needs of the family, for it is entirely clear that under present living conditions rare are the cases in which a single salary would be sufficient to meet all family needs.

Therefore, we admit that our commentary was wrong on these two items. Now, dear readers, we shall let you judge for yourselves what is right and what is wrong in the views of the people whose letters we publish in this issue and will publish in the next.

I Shall Leave to Future Generations...

As a subscriber to your magazine I sometimes wonder at its stupid content, but the question as to whether a woman works by necessity or choice makes me despise you. I know that you will not like my letter, for I do not cringe like you and intend to be direct. You made mothers-in-law dearer than mothers. I was indignant and even more puzzled by the fact that such letter writers may be living on another planet. Or is it that you believe your readers to be retarded or so simple and stupid as to believe your stupidities? You make us appear naive also on the subject of your other question dealing with women's work. Do you lack friends and relatives, women living on your street or block whom you may notice running to work early in the morning, coming home tired in the evening, loaded with shopping bags? I come back from work feeling like a corpse, yet house chores lie ahead. I have two unfortunate children who grew up in children's homes. Older, they took to the streets. I would find them at home with a group of friends, turning the house upside down, smoking and drinking instead of doing their homework. Why do you fail to give some thought to the reasons for the many divorces? Is one of them not the fact that eight hours a day are spent in pleasant conditions working with other men and women? Yet, we shut our eyes and conventionally write that everything is all right, and that women like very much to work. I have worked for 20 years and all the women friends I have made within that time would not have worked had their husbands had bigger salaries. A woman has quite a lot to do at home and should not have been burdened with double the load. Our mothers gave birth to four or five children but raised them instead of holding jobs...

In the future try to avoid to impose upon us you or your superiors' views on daughters-in-law and on the voluntary involvement of women in the labor process.

I would be grateful to you for your assistance in letting women stay at home. I would happily raise my two children leaving to future generations well brought up honest citizens rather than hooligans with cigarettes in their mouths.

Signature: illegible

Emotional Substance which Easily Goes to Extremes

We know that you will neither print this (even though you solicit your readers' views), nor will the answers contribute to the further clarification of the social questions raised.

The letter you quote states that "In our country the woman works because there is no one to support her." This is one person's opinion. Such cases may exist but they are not predominant in our society. My wife wanted to go to work but I disagreed. I told her that a woman's salary added to the family budget will not eliminate inconveniences stemming from depriving our home of a good housewife and care for the children. I deemed it more important to have a clean and neat home, good food, and children raised directly by a mother than to deposit into the family account another 100 leva which would be wasted in the purchase of precooked or semi-cooked food and the treatment of sickly children.

As to the Bulgarian woman, everyone realizes that she loves her home and family and would prefer to stay there, before the equal-righters have totally corrupted her, converting her into a guest in her own home and a toy and item traded among chiefs and petty superiors. Basically women are made of an emotional substance which easily goes to extremes and find self-control difficult. That is why in this case firmer and tighter moral norms are more necessary. The freedom which the feminist movement offers women has already yielded its social fruit: stripped, spoiled, shameless, impudent, and superficial beings! If the editors are seriously interested in finding out why Bulgarian women work they could conduct an objective survey and clarify the matter figures in hand. What you are doing is nothing but a swindle and imposture!

Typewritten signature: V. Sokolov, 2 Pliska Street, Sofia

Editors' note: The letter ends with a vulgar swear-word we deleted out of respect for the readers.

We Work because We Are Forced to

Indeed women work because they are forced to. Salaries are low and insufficient. A woman is, above all, a housewife. Despite the technical facilities to help her she does most of the work. The woman -- worker, intellectual, public figure -- works the entire day. In the evening, back

home, "rested" from the intensive day's work and household chores, she must deal with the raising of her children and pay the necessary attention to her husband. The fact that the children witness unpleasant scenes, and that the taverns and other establishments are full of drunken men seeking solace are eloquent proofs of the "tranquil" situation at home.

Were we to be well provided for we would consider it true happiness to dedicate ourselves entirely to our families, children and husbands. This is our view as well as that of our husbands and children.

Typewritten signatures of women employees at the Ivan Dimitrov Shipbuilding and Shiprepair Yard in Ruse.

Let Society Unburden Our Dear Wives

It is true that we eased the work of women with the help of electric ranges, washing machines, and all kinds of household appliances. Yet, "one must take a hand."

The woman comes home from work and while we, the men, discuss endless soccer questions in sports stadiums, coffee shops and pari-mutuel offices, she must cook, wash, clean, and help the children with their homework...She knits, embroiders or sews while we leaf through the newspaper...Dear husbands, "You cannot spin and reel at the same time," but our wives are doing it so much it hurts.

How long are we, the husbands, going to go on overtiring our dear wives by not helping them? Were our places to be reversed we would not last one week. We cannot tear the women away from machines, control pannels, or steering wheels! We cannot turn history back...

I personally suggest that society ease the burden of our dear wives through a reduced four-hour working day. This will enable them to be cheerful sweet.

[Signed] P. Ivanov

A Nice Link in Our Family Life

My wife graduated from a higher school by correspondence as one of the best students. Today she is successfully managing a leading enterprise in Sofia. There were difficulties while she was a student, and there are difficulties today as well. However, this is a good link in our family life.

The categorically formulated thoughts of the anonymous letter sender do not reveal any surplus mental baggage. I shudder at the thought that he or she could have been married to someone in Japan, Turkey, Italy, or Brazil. There are few countries in the world in which women have gained so worthily an equal position in life.

On the other hand our Bulgarian standard is not among the highest. You, dear journalists, would you undertake to take care of a wife and two children on the salary of a chief engineer? Furthermore, are all of us chief engineers? Help me to explain to myself the fact that most women relate failures at work with the fact of losing their bonus, thus depriving the family of a valuable item such as shoes or a coat for the children...

Typewritten signature: R. Spasov, Sofia

5003

CSO: 2200

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

GERMAN RED CROSS MEMBERSHIP--The DRK (German Red Cross) in the GDR currently has 587,000 members and 577,000 so-called friends who support the DRK financially. Members and friends are joined together in 13,215 basic organizations. In 1952, the year the DRK was established, 64,000 GDR residents belonged to the organization. These figures were quoted by Prof Dr Werner Ludwig (SED) on the occasion of the 25th anniversary celebration of the DRK in the GDR periodical HUMANITAS. Ludwig further stated that more than 100,000 physicians, dentists, medical technicians, and pharmacists are active as voluntary DRK members and that, since 1954, more than 82 million patients have been transported via DRK ambulances. [Excerpt] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 22, Oct 77 p 6]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST NOTES SERIOUS DAMAGE CAUSED BY EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI TALKS

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Dec 77 LD

[Commentary by: Ervin Reti]

[Text] Egypt took a preventive step and a few hours after the protest meeting at which the freezing of relations was proposed it broke off diplomatic relations with four Arab countries involved. If the short notice is observed, the officials of five embassies and the Palestinian missions will leave the Egyptian capital today, and of the 22 member states of the Arab League only 15 will have diplomatic representation in Cairo.

After the recurrent experiences of the past years it would be difficult to talk about eternal alliances or perpetual breaks in the Arab entanglement. The current events, however, have several new elements. This is not a simple local strife but two opposite trends have emerged among the Arab countries and this at a time when the Middle East crisis has reached a critical point. At the same time there are internal breaks also in the two opposing camps. On one side Syria and Iraq could be brought on a common platform only temporarily and eventually Baghdad's representatives made a separate statement following the Tripoli conference. The position of the Palestinian movement has also become more complicated because although its organizational unity has been restored, its standpoint again contains unrealistic and in the long run untenable demands as a consequence of the political shock brought about by the al-Sadat visit.

The question marks are no fewer on the other side. Are Saudi Arabia and Jordan willing to follow Cairo's zigzags in every respect? Is Egypt's spectacular maneuver in the breaking of relations in Washington's interest? An important part of the Pax Americana, an American-style settlement would have been the winning over, or at least neutralization, of Syria, the moderate Palestinians and others and not open antagonism.

Factors of uncertainty are now ruling a hotbed of crisis of our world, causing much concern. More and more obstacles are being put in the way of the Geneva conference. All this has its roots in the starting point of the

most recent period: the Jerusalem weekend of 2 1/2 weeks ago. Now assessing its consequences, we can see that the generally useful direct negotiations this time, in the given conditions and circumstances and with unsuitable timing, have caused serious damage and have not promoted a settlement.

CSO: 2500

POLAND

MILITARY DAILY SCORES U.S. ILO PULLOUT

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Nov 77 p 2

[Article by H. K.: "Scandalous Decision"]

[Text] The United States have decided to leave the International Labor Organization. Although this decision was expected for a long time, it caused a sensation, and then indignation. This is not involved with the actual fact of the United States withdrawing from the ILO, but with its causes.

The ILO is one of the oldest international organizations, in which representatives of governments, employer associations and the world of work or trade unions participate. It was formed 60 years ago at the news of the victory of the October Revolution. Sharp confrontations between capital and the world of work often occurred on the ILO forum.

The latter often came away from these struggles victoriously, and the ILO can be proud of adopting many progressive conventions, resolutions and decisions in favor of the working people.

For understandable reasons these successes were the proverbial salt in the eyes of capitalists and their supporters. However, the worst times for them came after World War II. Delegations from up to 130 countries, including socialist states and those which had chosen the noncapitalist path of development, participated in the ILO forum. It was no longer only the viewpoints and opinions which led to sharp conflicts. Confrontations occurred between systems, and there was opposition to the exploitation of principles of social justice. With the passage of time the defenders of the old system had fewer and fewer arguments on their side. The world socialist system spread, became stronger and increased in power. Countries

which had thrown off their colonial fetters also burst the bonds of capitalism. In developed capitalist countries the communist and workers' parties grew in strength. With more and more energy the working masses stood up to defend their rights. In ILO work nervousness could be noted more and more often in those who had the job of opposing the wishes of the working people. From year to year the situation grew worse for capitalism and is still getting worse. Recession, breakdown in competition and mass unemployment have also been compromising capitalism in the ILO forum.

One of the old tricks of the defenders of capitalism is to broadcast the thesis of the nonpolitical nature of ILO. However, the ILO does not function in a vacuum but under concrete social conditions. Therefore it could not meet the demand of a nonpolitical nature according to the criteria of the enemies of the working world. This means that the ILO is nonpolitical when it shuts its eyes to the evil which is happening in capitalism. Here are some examples of the "nonpolitical nature" according to the prescription of the conservative and imperialist circles and of opponents of detente:

✓ --In 1970 the U.S. Congress refused to grant credits for the ILO after the nomination of the Soviet representative from Belo Russia as ILO vice-director general; and

--In 1975 the delegate of the American trade unions walked out on negotiations as a sign of protest against granting the Palestine Liberation Organization the status of observer.

In the same year the then secretary of state of the United States, Kissinger, threatened that the United States would quit the ILO if it continued to condemn Israel for following a policy of racial discrimination and violation of union freedoms in the occupied lands.

In June 1977 the United States expressed enormous dissatisfaction with the fact that the annual ILO conference rejected the provocative American proposal against the USSR in the area of "human rights" and a second proposal moved by the U.S. delegation that the ILO cease condemning the reactionary social policy of Israel in the occupied lands. This is how the Tass Agency judged the withdrawal of the United States from the ILO:

"This is what reactionary leaders of the American AFL-CIO trade unions and representatives of Zionist circles wanted.... These leaders could not put up with the fact that the ILO recognized representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization for several years and that the policy of Israel is often criticized in this organization...."

News has already come from Israel that this country also intends to follow in the footsteps of the United States and leave the ILO. It is impossible to exclude the possibility, in fact it must be assumed, that other

governments condemned by international public opinion for their reactionary policies will follow in the footsteps of the United States. The world was even shocked by the news that the PRC was withdrawing from the organization. This step is recognized as the next compromise in the policy, ideology and practice of the new PRC leadership.

The decision of the PRC government takes place within the total anti-Soviet and antiprogressive policy of the leadership of this country. Peking is ready to adopt any decision in order to obstruct the road to success of the forces of peace, progress and socialism. The ILO had not even calmed down yet after the news of the withdrawal of the United States from it, and Peking as a faithful servant was already following in the footsteps of its master, Washington. For a rather long time already the progressive world has observed the identity in the attitude of the reactionary forces in the world with the policy of PRC leadership. It is a well-known fact that the interests of the working world and of capitalistic employers clash in the ILO forum. Thus every socialist country can exercise its position in the ILO for the beneficial solution of vital problems in the working world. The PRC government, however, found it useful for its anti-Soviet program to support the stand of the United States. In this area it also sided with reactionary forces. The United States will be grateful to it for this.

Thus two reasons lay at the base of the United States decision, indicated by western sources, namely: "The ILO has become a forum for communistic and anti-Israel propaganda." This is how the stand of the ILO in favor of social and international justice is defined by imperialist circles and by the enemies of the working world. The U.S. President promises that the United States will return to the ILO as soon as it begins "to fulfill its own purposes again." However, as we know, differences of opinion regarding these goals are enormous.

Against the background of the U.S. decision, criticized by many governments and by the UN secretary general, the face of the reactionary leaders of American trade unions again becomes apparent. It was actually the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, representing capitalist interests, which formally proposed that the United States resign from ILO membership. Can anything be said in favor of the trade unions? Yes, there is. Let us quote the words of one of the workers of the American Union of Electronic and Radio Industry Workers, Frank Banks:

"The U.S. President speaks of human rights abroad, but he might better attend to the rights of American workers who are broken daily.... Every year repression becomes stronger, and while all workers in the "General Electric" Company were associated with trade unions 20 years ago, at present 70 plants of this company do not have union organizations, since they were liquidated by the management of the monopoly...."

It is a well-known fact that more and more western European companies are moving to the United States or establishing branches there because of the "better conditions of cooperation between capital and labor." The real truth hides behind this evasive statement: In the United States capitalists exploit various opportunities for legal machination, which facilitates the elimination of trade unions in plants for them. And at such a time where is the AFL-CIO leader, George Meany?

What can be hoped for from a man who "boasts" of his personal friendship for such bankrupt politicians as Thieu, Franco and villainous Greek colonels? What can be expected from a man who is a friend of the fascist chief of the Chilean junta, Pinochet? All of Meany's activity is propaganda for the cold war and an intensification of international stress. He actually screamed that the United States should not issue entry visas to Soviet Union members. Of course the AFL-CIO also has people who completely disagree with this policy. These primarily include millions of American workers struggling for better working conditions and against exploitation. Unfortunately, Meany and his crew set the tone at present in the AFL-CIO.

Why did the United States not remain in the ILO and try to present convincing arguments for its benefit on that forum? They could not because they simply do not have such arguments. This is why they decided to leave the organization. In view of the lack of real convincing arguments, they had to use dodges and blackmail at the same time. This is how the decision of the United States to leave the ILO is generally understood. It is also another example of the cold war method of international "cooperation."

In this new situation Poland has already presented a new program of activity on the ILO forum. Our country suggests that the ILO concentrate on basic and essential matters, including, for example, the right to work. This is a right which millions of people in capitalist countries cannot use. Poland also proposes the enactment of a convention which would guarantee the right to work in all countries belonging to the ILO. Obviously this right has already been achieved in our countries. The Polish initiative met with a great deal of interest and support, primarily by the working people in capitalist countries. The ILO will certainly fulfill its task, regardless of the competitive political turns in the United States, Israel, the PRC and possibly other countries. This is because it has good traditions and because this is an international need.

6806

CSO: 2600

ROLE OF ROMANIA IN EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION DISCUSSED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 30 Sep 77 pp 4, 11

[Article by Dan Zamfirescu: "Romania and 'European Civilization'"]

[Text] "The Romanian people, so well endowed, did not have the fortune and the honor to contribute to the formation of European civilization. For well-known historical reasons, they had to lose all the cultural assets brought here by colonists and to live, for more than 1,000 years, a pastoral life, while the Western peoples, inheritors of the ancient culture, were able not only to preserve the inheritance but also to increase it. And both parties lost: both the European culture and the Romanian people. The European culture, too, lost, because a string that would have been sonorous did not vibrate. But if the Romanian people did not directly have a part in the formation of European civilization, they indirectly had a significant part. They were one of the obstacles that the barbarian peoples struck here in the East, losing their energy--barbarian peoples who, if they had reached the West with all the power of the initial movement, would have made civilization impossible. After the storm abated somewhat--it never abated completely and is in a latent state even now--the Romanian people too began to share in that culture accumulated in the West, and that sharing was not charity, because not only did they pay and are they paying quite dearly for it, but also they had a right to it, because, as I said, they contributed indirectly to its formation."

So did G. Ibraileanu begin, in 1909, his famous book "Spiritul Critic in Cultura Romaneasca" [The Critical Spirit in the Romanian Culture], and the text was reprinted without modification in 1922. Neither the mentality that had generated these theses nor the theses themselves had yet been, at that time, changed in their essence. When, in 1928, one of the most brilliant exponents of the new generation asserting itself immediately after the historic act in December 1918--I am referring to Camil Petrescu--took the initiative of systematically setting forth the values produced by the modern Romanian culture in all fields of science, literature and art, he started from the same conviction, expressed in nearly the same terms: "In the formation of world culture the Romanian people did not have a part until the start of this century.... Shielding all Europe, they had to endure circumstances too harsh

for them to be able to think of cultural institutions." ("Gallery of the Romanian Spirit," UNIVERSUL LITERAR, No 18, 29 April 1928.)

However, what distinguishes Camil Petrescu and his comrades of his generation--Lucian Blaga, Mihai Ralea, Tudor Vianu, G. Calinescu and Ion Barbu--from the "1909 moment" followed only a few lines after the passage reproduced above: it was the new awareness, crystallized immediately after the great act of the accomplishment of state unity, that "the Romanian spirit is perhaps one of the most lively and most complex ethnic formulas. It includes all the possibilities and we have the right to not let ourselves be intimidated by anything.... The capacity to think profoundly, to feel sensitively and deeply, does not necessarily depend on the number of kilometers that you have to cross from one border to another." And, stating that that "gallery of the Romanian spirit" depicted in 18 consecutive issues of UNIVERSUL LITERAR, managed by him, "is an account meant to give us complete confidence in the possibilities of the Romanian spirit," Camil Petrescu foresaw a cultural orientation supported by the state and capable of "placing our people on a par with the leading peoples of the world."

Decades later, Tudor Vianu declared with nearly the same words as in Camil's article: "The problem of our generation was that of finding the major style of the Romanian culture: we wanted to have our say on all the great problems of the world, to give our answer, as representatives of the Romanian people, to all the questions that were worrying the world." This is an ambition that did not remain a mere affective declaration: this generation indeed raised the level of the interwar Romanian culture to the height to which it aspired and for which it stubbornly prepared itself. And thus its entry onto the scene of our culture imparted a new elan, one of great confidence in the universal vocation of the Romanian culture. An elan that did not remain merely a prerogative of the "younger generations" but mobilized, in the search for the "major style," the contemporaries in the earlier generations, over which shone Nicolae Iorga, Mihail Sadoveanu and Tudor Arghezi. This is exemplary solidarity of generations toward the same goal.

Among the first who expressed their belief in the new destiny of the Romanian creative genius we find Ibraileanu himself. In the so significant periodical INSEMNARI LITERARE, appearing in Iasi during 1919, he stated the belief that Romanian literature had stepped into another age after the achievement of the age-old ideal of the union of all the Romanians and that it "will benefit from an unforeseen upsurge, which will put us decisively among the peoples productive of world culture."

One idea emerges again, as we see, beyond ages and despite the communion of enthusiasm and confidence: the condition of the Romanian culture would not yet bear a comparison with the great European cultures. Confidence in our possibilities, but not in our achievements, was expressed. The ideal of "placement among the peoples productive of world culture" was proclaimed without it being strongly emphasized that we already are, with the 460 years that had passed since the first art monument preserved on the territory of

Tara Romaneasca and up to 1920, when the new awareness about the mission of the national creative spirit was crystallized, that we are, in the history of "European civilization," an observable and, particularly, continuous presence, for half a millennium!

Certainly, Ibraileanu is right: we did lose the "cultural assets" brought by colonists, in contrast with the West. However, he forgot one thing: we never lost the most valuable of these assets: the Latin language, which meant the quintessence of the genius of the Latin culture (Latinity being essentially a question of spiritual and moral discipline and structure and only secondarily an ethnic question). From this fortress of language we created the defense for our spiritual makeup, preserved and enriched during the millennium of historical anonymity and concretized in the richest and most original peasant civilization produced on our continent. That "folk culture" that now amazes foreigners and attracts them like a magnet, since in its folds, so beaten by the winds of history and by its currents, there is still preserved an aspect of humanity that seems to respond to the contemporary searches for a new equilibrium of the human being.

Of course, we did not participate in the science of modern Europe except along with the great scientists of the 19th and 20th centuries. But there are disciplines where the "European culture" took note with acute interest of Romanian science and creations: Nicolae Milescu was a Sinologist famed in his time, his writings on Siberia and China circulated from Constantinople to Stockholm, he was translated into Greek and he remained interesting enough to be translated into English and published in London in 1919. Dimitrie Cantemir, "by means of whom we symbolize the level of the old Romanian scholar" (G. Calinescu), does not require comment.

In the 18th century, on the territory of Moldavia and Tara Romaneasca, in Paisie there arose a movement to update the Byzantine spirituality in the middle of the Enlightenment. We can discuss, of course, the value and the character of "Paisianism," but we cannot ignore the fact that it put its imprint on the entire evolution of Russian literature and philosophy in the 19th century, from Gogol, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky to those successors who, in our century, gained international vogue. The moral profundity, the depth to which the analyses of human nature are taken, the celebrated Optin Monastery itself and the characters Zossima and Alyosha in "The Brothers Karamazov" have one of their sources here, in that "Valahie" to which Tolstoy referred directly in "Father Sergius." Is only the "influence" toward the West a sign that we "had the honor" to contribute to the formation of "European civilization"?

And besides, who decreed where the border of this "European civilization" stops? Why would the cathedral in Reims be "European civilization" and the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople remain outside it? Why would the paintings of Giotto, but not also the splendid frescoes in Boiana, Bulgaria, fit into the concept of "European civilization"? Why would the paintings in the Sistine Chapel be called "European civilization" and the Romanian medieval

frescoes not have the same right? Because the cathedral in Cologne seems to pierce the sky, and a similar construction here does not even reach up to where its spires begin? But if we evaluate "European civilization" with a tape measure where do we put the Parthenon?

"European civilization" extends as far as Europe extends. It includes equally Clement Marot and Dosoftei, Goethe and Victor Hugo, but also Pushkin, Eminescu, Vazov or Costis Palamas, Bach, Tschaikovsky and Enescu, Michelangelo and Brancusi. As far as we know, neither ancient Greece nor Byzantium--which dominated medieval Europe for a millennium--were not in the West. Of course, we can reflect on our "absence" from the destinies of Western art, where we did not register, until Brancusi, a marked Romanian influence. But this is not a criterion for denying the existence of a brilliant medieval civilization and of a Romanian culture that gave to the 17th and 18th centuries a Miclescu and a Cantemir, "Europeans" acknowledged and confirmed by the circulation and influence of their work!

However, it would be much more normal to ask ourselves the question: how did we contribute to "the formation of European civilization" in this Eastern and Southeastern European area? What was our role in the evolution of the entire civilization of the West of Byzantine tradition, then, in the 18th century, when Europe was homogenized culturally as a result of the national rebirth of the peoples in this part of the world, and what is the value of the modern Romanian culture and its influence, first, in the traditional area and, then, slowly, in the universe that now includes several famous Romanian names? The results of such an undertaking, pursued over the half-millennium of Romanian civilization, will change substantially the inherited habits of thought.

The place where we are is not depicted merely with plowed fields and flocks of sheep nor exclusively with the products of folklore. A true history of "European civilization" no longer merits that name if it does not make room for our monuments, books, painting and music, just as a true political history of the continent remains incomplete and loses the understanding of many phenomena if it does not investigate the past of the Romanians. But before asking foreigners to proceed to revise the preconceptions springing from ignorance, we must see that they disappear from our minds.

It was said often in the past: we did not build, we did not write, because we shielded Europe. But it is clear that we were not able to shield "Europe" from the Goths, the Huns and the Tartars. We know well that they overflowed up to the West. However, we did stop--it is confirmed--the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. But this epic, this "200-year war" of the East, coincided with the age of the most intense and most proud flourishing of the national cultural genius up to the years of socialist construction. Moreover, the culture supported, complemented and filled in the military, political and diplomatic effort and signified, eternally, the upsurge of the Romanian society in the 14th-16th centuries. The historical evils did not stop us from creating, from creating even monumentally. Because only one who has not seen them can speak of the buildings of our vaivodes as humble constructions, concealed in secluded places from invasions.

In 1929, Nicolae Iorga gave a course, a "synthetic introduction" to the history of Romanian literature, centered on the idea, revolutionary at that time, that, far from continually limping behind "European civilization," the Romanian culture was, in all its great ages, an active contemporary of this "Europe" of mythology. "We can respond today," Iorga said then, "that there was not a single intellectual movement in the West into which we, also bringing a certain literary output, were not integrated, between our needs and under the oppression that we endured and must take into account. We moved step by step with the general cultural development of Europe." In this course literally epochal for the self-awareness of the Romanian people and culture, N. Iorga substantiated precisely the aspiration of his contemporaries toward prestigious participation in "European civilization"!

Since work is being done at present to redo the old "academic treatises," it would not be superfluous to consider that the mere bringing-to-light of what was discovered meanwhile is not sufficient. From the scientists engaged in this work there is expected proof of their capacity to rethink the problems of our past, as a reality that contradicts, time and again, the schemes and outlooks inherited by virtue of inertia. Not just the "historical problems" but the very problems of the socialist, contemporary Romanian spirituality require it.

12105

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

STATUTE ON ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF TENANTS ASSOCIATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 116, 16 Nov 77
pp 1-7

/Text/ Decree of the State Council for Approval of the Statute on
the Organization and Operation of the Tenants Association

The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby de-
crees:

Sole article. The Statute on the Organization and Operation of the
Tenants Association, contained in the appendix which is an integral
part of this decree, is approved.

Council of Ministers' Decision No 1678/1969 on the Approval of
the Standard Statute of the Tenants Association and the Establish-
ment of Norms in Implementing the Provisions on the Tenants Asso-
ciation in Law No 10/1968 is repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the
Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 27 October 1977.
No 387.

Appendix

Statute on the Organization and Operation of the Tenants Association

I. Organization of Tenants Association

Article 1. The Tenants Association is the organized form of citizens' involvement in the proper management and maintenance of dwellings, in the completion of various building superintendence projects, and in the advance and observance of the relations of socialist community life among tenants.

The tenants association shall be established for each multiunit building or for a group of buildings, with at most 600 members.

The association shall be established regardless of the form of property, if the buildings have common facilities or its members have common housing interests.

The tenants association shall become a legal entity on the date of recording at the local financial bodies.

Article 2. The aim of the tenants association is:

- a. To complete all projects of maintenance, repairs, and replacement at the common facilities of the building, which are assigned as legal obligations to the persons who utilize them as tenants or owners of the dwellings;
- b. To determine and promptly collect the dues for paying the common expenses for use, maintenance, and repairs, assigned according to the legal provisions to the persons who occupy the housing areas involved;
- c. To determine and promptly collect the dues for paying the expenses on maintenance, repairs and replacements in the common facilities of the building, which are assigned as legal obligations to the owners, in proportion to the percentage of joint ownership of each person over the common facilities of the building;
- d. To further among all tenants the relations of socialist community life and the firm attitude of respect for and protection of public property;
- e. To mobilize the members of the association and the persons who live with them to voluntary projects of proper management and beautification of the amenities connected with the apartment houses, such as out-of-doors, playgrounds for children, and the involvement, under legal conditions, in the completion and maintenance of these amenities, jointly with the administering socialist units;

f. To fulfill the rights and carry out the obligations which result from the relations with local organs, with various organizations, and with physical persons.

Article 3. Members by right of the tenants association are: the holders of the rental agreements; the physical persons who live in the apartments which they own as personal property, or in case of joint ownership of the members of a family, one of the owners, designated by them; the legal entities that have their headquarters or conduct activities in housing areas held with any title in the building which also contains dwellings.

The members of the tenants association have the following rights and duties:

a. To attend with voice and vote, the general meeting of tenants, to elect and be elected to the association's bodies;

b. To be involved in the establishment of the common financial and material assets of the association and pay the dues to the common expenses within the time specified, promptly informing the association's committee about any changes which affect the size of the dues to the common expenses;

c. To receive explanations on the calculation of the dues to the common expenses and to submit a contestation to the association's committee, within 10 days after the posting of the list of payment, on the amount of these dues, and in case the contestation was rejected, to apply to the general assembly; the contestation shall not cancel the payment of the dues;

d. To observe the standards of socialist community life and the decisions of the general assembly of tenants and to participate in the projects corresponding to the association's purposes.

II. Operation of Tenants Association

Article 4. The organs of the tenants association are: the general assembly of tenants; the association's committee; and the auditing commission.

The members elected to the association's committee shall conduct a voluntary activity which shall not be remunerated.

Article 5. The general assembly consists of all the association's members and has the following powers:

a. To approve the annual report on the activity of the association's committee, the report of the auditing commission, and the report on the execution of the budget, annually granting management clearance

to the committee and administrator of the association; to annually approve the association's budget with its various sections;

b. To decide on the nature and amount of the material and financial assets which are strictly needed for the association's activity; to decide on the procedure for using the financial assets, the amounts up to which the association's committee can involve expenses in the name of the association and, in accordance with legal provisions, the maximum limit of the amounts which may be kept in its own treasury for current expenses from circulating funds;

c. To designate from the association's members the association's administrator who, as a rule, conducts his activity on a nonremunerative basis;

d. To decide on the number and functions of persons required to ensure the completion of the administration and proper management jobs, which shall be performed under the conditions specified in articles 14-15; to decide on the amount of the remuneration, allowances, and annual bonuses for the persons working under a labor contract or on the basis of a service agreement, on the annual rewards, and on the granting of the allowance for the children of the personnel working under labor contracts;

e. To elect the association's committee from among the association's members, every two years, designating from the committee's members the chairman, the vice chairman and secretary, and a corresponding number of alternates; the election of the committee shall be confirmed by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council of the locality in which the association operates.

f. To elect the auditing commission, from among the association's members, every two years;

g. To dismiss, when necessary, the members of the association's committee and of the auditing commission;

h. To decide on any other matters relating to the activity of the tenants association.

The owners who do not have the quality of members of the association shall be invited to attend the general meeting, if matters which concern these persons are supposed to be discussed.

Article 6. The general assembly shall meet in ordinary session once a year, during the first quarter, and in special session, on the initiative of the committee or at the request of no less than one-third of all the association's members.

The general assembly shall be convoked at least 5 days before the date set, by posting or by individual notification with signature collected.

The general assembly does business only when at least one-half plus one of the total membership of the association are present and it makes decisions with two-thirds of the number of votes of those present.

Any member of the association may be represented by a person of his family who is of full legal age.

The legal entities shall attend the meeting by proxy.

The discussions and decisions of the general assembly shall be recorded in a minute signed by the chairman and the secretary of the session.

Article 7. The general assembly has executive powers. The decisions which violate statutory provisions or other legal provisions may be disputed in court by members of the association or other parties concerned, within 15 days after these decisions were adopted.

The executive committees and bureaus of people's councils may order by a decision the cancellation of the illegal decisions of the general assembly of the tenants association, which remained final as a result of nonexercise of the right to contestation by members of the association.

Article 8. The committee of the tenants association is comprised of a number of 5-15 members and up to 5 alternates, established by the general assembly in light of the association's membership; in the case of the buildings with several sections, the committee shall include least one tenant for each section, and in the case of buildings with joint ownership, at least one owner physical person.

When the tenants association also has legal entities in its membership, at least one of their delegates shall also be elected to the association's committee.

The mandate of the association's committee members shall end, before the expiry of the period for which they were elected, by dismissal or by loss of the quality of association member.

Article 9. The tenants association's committee has the following powers:

a. To carry out the decisions of the general meeting, to execute the budget of the association and submit the draft budget for the

following year, to give the general meeting reports on the activity conducted and set forth proposals for measures to improve this activity;

b. To ensure, in accordance with the law, the proper operation, good management, utilization, maintenance, and preservation of the common facilities in the building, and of the material assets of the association and is answerable for their integrity;

c. To take steps for the prompt completion of maintenance and repair jobs on the common facilities, which are established as legal obligations of the persons who use them, and in the case of the association's members who are owners of the dwellings, also of the maintenance and repair jobs on the common facilities of the building, specified as legal obligations of these persons; to follow up the completion of the jobs and be involved in their inspection;

d. During the period between sessions of the general assembly designates the administrator, submitting this step to the approval of the first session of the general assembly; concludes service agreements with the administrator and the maintenance and cleaning staff, and the labor contract or agreement with boiler firemen and to decide on cancelling the labor contract or agreement;

e. To issue charge decisions, under the Labor Code, for damage caused to the association by personnel working under labor contract; to ensure, in accordance with the provisions of civil law, recovery for the loss caused by personnel working under a service agreement;

f. To take measures to conclude agreements with suppliers of water, electric power, thermal power, gas, liquid fuel for central heating and the like, in order to ensure the normal operation of the common facilities, and to acquire the materials needed for their maintenance and repair;

g. To notify the owners about the need for making the repairs which are part of their obligations, with regard to the common facilities of the building and, if needed, to take the steps prescribed by the law; for the state-owned apartments, the notification shall be sent to the state unit which administers them directly. To notify the unit which administers the building about the deteriorations, damages and the like, caused to the common facilities of the building and the related assets and report the persons who caused them so that legal steps may be taken against the guilty parties. In case the persons who are guilty of having caused the damage cannot be identified, to take steps for repairs charged to the tenants;

h. To mobilize the tenants to voluntary projects for the beautification of buildings, tidiness and sanitary conditions in the buildings, taking care of the related open spaces and yards, and trash collection;

i. To arrange for visits to the apartments in order to ensure adequate hygiene, taking, when needed, measures for ridding of insects, disinfection, or deratization in the entire building, and also for the elimination of water loss caused by faulty installations or other losses which result in the unjustified increase in common expenses;

j. To support the moves of executive committees or bureaus of people's councils, deputies, and mass organizations to organize civic and social-administrative projects;

k. To be involved with preventing and straightening out minor disputes among tenants; it may summon to draw attention on violations committed or may subject to the discussion of the general meeting the delinquent tenants and the tenants who violate the standards of socialist community life or the tenants' obligations and, under the law, may request the court to evict the parties involved; moreover, it may apply to other judicial organs, under the law; in case of repeated violations, the committee of the tenants association may report the conduct of the offenders to the collective leadership organs of the units which employ them;

l. To attest the prompt payment of the dues to common expenses;

m. To provide the conditions required for safety and hygiene during the labor process and for the prevention and extinction of fires;

n. To ensure the organization of the accounting system and strict recording of the financial-bookkeeping operations;

o. To carry out any other obligations provided for by the law.

Article 10. The association's committee shall meet at least once a month, does business only when at least one-half plus one of its membership are present, and takes valid decisions with at least two-thirds of the votes of the tenants present.

The discussions and decisions shall be recorded in a book of minutes which shall be kept by the chairman or the administrator of the association; the minute shall be signed by all the participating members.

Article 11. During the period between meetings, the chairman of the association shall make sure that the measures decided upon by the general assembly and by the committee are implemented and shall supervise and give appropriate instructions to the association's personnel for the completion of the tasks allotted them.

Article 12. The auditing commission is made up of a number of 5-7 members established by the general assembly; the members of the commission shall be elected from among the persons who are not included in the association's committee and, as much as possible, who have knowledge and experience in the economic, financial, or legal realms. The auditing commission shall elect a chairman from among its members. The mandate of the members of the auditing commission shall end, before the expiry of the period for which they were elected, in the cases specified in Article 8 Paragraph 3.

Article 13. The auditing commission has the following powers:

- a. Verifies the meeting of the statutory conditions on presence and voting at the sessions of the general assembly;
- b. Verifies the budgetary execution and the proposals for the draft budget of the association for the following year;
- c. Exercises prompt supervision for cash payments and follows up depositing to the current cash account which exceeds the cash ceiling. The approval for prompt supervision shall be granted through a member of the commission, in case the association does not have an individual who voluntarily acts as accountant;
- d. At least once quarterly, verifies the administration of the association, the establishment and collection, under the law, of the dues to common expenses owed by the association's members and records the findings in a book of minutes, which is kept by the chairman or another member of the commission;
- e. On the basis of the verification made, prepares and submits to the general assembly reports on its activity and on the administration of the association, and annually proposes the management clearance of the committee and of the administrator with regard to the activity conducted;
- f. Proposes for approval to the general assembly or, as the case may be, to the association's committee, the measures needed for the proper management of the assets and funds of the association and the charge and recovery of the sums which represent compensations for damage caused by the personnel of the association, including the notification of the organs of criminal proceedings when it determines that violations were committed.

Article 14. The activity of administration, accounting, and cashier work and the operation of steam power plants utilized by the tenants association shall, as a rule, be ensured voluntarily by the members of the association, including the members of the association's committee.

The administrator may only be designated from among the members of the tenants association.

Exceptionally, the general assembly of the association may decide that the administrator and custodians may receive a monthly allowance, on the basis of a service agreement, within the limits provided for in this statute; the administrator and the custodians may also be pensioners.

For the maintenance and cleaning of the common facilities the tenants associations may use the services of the specialized socialist units.

For the operation of the steam power plants utilized by the tenants association, boiler firemen may be employed, on the basis of a labor contract or a service agreement. The boiler firemen employed under a service agreement may also be pensioners.

The boiler firemen may conclude agreements with at most four tenants associations, if complete safety in the operation of the facilities is ensured. In this case, the total amount of the allowances received may not exceed the maximum level established in accordance with this statute for the basic monthly pay.

The employment of personnel under labor contract shall proceed under the legal provisions on the distribution of the work force.

The duration of the labor contract and of the agreement, the work schedule and the work assignments shall be established on the basis of an agreement between parties, with the observance of the legal provisions.

The persons who voluntarily perform the duties of administrator, accountant, and cashier, and the administrator employed under an agreement, must have proper training, be good managers, and must not have had sentences for violations which make them unfit for the position of managers; for the purpose of checking that these conditions are met, the association's committee may request information from the proper organs.

Article 15. The amount of the pay or allowance for boiler firemen and of the allowances for the administrator and custodians shall be established in light of the time and volume of work put in, under an agreement between parties, without exceeding the maximum levels provided for in the table appended.

The amount of the annual bonuses which may be granted to the personnel of the association shall be established to at most the limit of the remuneration or allowance obtained for half a month on the function performed in the association and in proportion to the period of work for the year involved.

The maximum amount of the annual bonuses which may be granted to the persons who voluntarily performed administrative and managerial jobs shall be established for each individual case, up to the limit of 500 lei.

In case of nonfulfillment of the work assignments, the association's committee may reduce the remuneration or the allowance established for the personnel involved, by up to 20 percent.

Article 16. The administrator of the tenants association is responsible for the smooth operation and integrity of the common facilities of the building and of the material assets of the association, and for the proper use of these assets; he ensures the preparation of the monthly payment lists and the collection of the dues to common expenses; he takes care of making the payments which are strictly necessary for the association's activity and confirms the collective consumption established by the measurement apparatus of the supplier units; he contracts with the suppliers of water, gas, electric power, and thermal power; he supervises and directs the association personnel with regard to the fulfillment of the service duties; he ensures the preparation and keeping of the association's records; he represents the association vis-a-vis third parties, except in cases where the association's committee delegates the chairman or a member of the association for this purpose; he fulfills any other assignment received from the association's committee or from the chairman.

Article 17. The financial assets of the tenants association consist of the circulating assets and other funds established in accordance with the legal provisions and shall be kept at the Savings and Loan Bank in current accounts. The interest relating to these sums shall be used fully, at the year's end, to cover common expenses, in proportion to the dues to the funds on which they were calculated.

The material assets involve furniture, tools, equipment, cleaning materials and lighting items, supplies and other such items required for the association's activity.

Article 18. The circulating funds shall develop as a result of the payment by each association member of a sum established by the general assembly, corresponding to the payment of the monthly common expenses, at the level of the month with the highest expenses in a year.

These funds shall only be used to pay the expenses for jobs involving the maintenance and repairs of common facilities, established as legal obligations of tenants, and for the payment of the water and electricity bills for common facilities, central heating and the like.

The circulating funds shall be monthly replenished as a result of the payment of the dues to common expenses by the members of the association.

The amount representing the dues to the establishment of the circulating funds shall be refunded to the members of the association in case they no longer have this quality, after the current dues owed were collected.

Article 19. The dues for the payment of common expenses provided for in Article 18 Paragraph 2 are monthly owed by each member of the association only in proportion to the expenses made, on the basis of relevant legal documents.

The dues for the payment of common expenses owed for the previous month shall be paid by the end of the month in which the list for the payment of these dues was posted.

In case of payment of late charges or penalties to supplier units for failure to pay common expenses within the period legally specified, as a result of defaulting tenants, the sums representing the late charges or penalties paid shall be recovered by the association from these tenants, in proportion to each tenant's arrears.

Article 20. The material assets shall be obtained through purchase by the association or through donations. The sums required for the purchase of the material assets, other than those included in the administrative-managerial expenses, shall be obtained from the members, who shall pay in proportion to the useful area occupied by each, and shall be refunded, in proportion as they were not spent, at the date specified by the committee of the tenants association.

Article 21. In the buildings with state-owned dwellings and dwellings owned by physical persons, the general assembly of tenants may decide to establish, separately from the circulating funds, a fund for the completion of projects which, under the law, are the owners' responsibility.

This fund shall be established up to the maximum limit approved by the general assembly, through monthly payments of members, owner physical persons, in proportion to their amount of joint property over the common facilities of the building.

The fund established in this manner, together with the dues of the state in proportion to its amount of property, shall be used to pay the expenses for maintenance, repairs, and replacements for the common facilities of the building.

After the payments were made, the fund shall be replenished through the monthly payment of each member. The sums which were not spent shall be refunded to those who paid them, in case their quality as owners ended, after the current dues for repairs were retained.

The provisions of this article shall also be correspondingly applied in the case of tenants associations whose membership only consists of owner physical persons.

Article 22. The tenants association shall follow up the sums owed by members on the basis of the extract from the last list of payment of the dues, under the conditions prescribed by the legal provisions on the follow-up of debts on a notarial basis. The expenses made for the tenants association's follow-up of the sums owed by members shall be fully recovered from the debtors involved, in accordance with the law.

III. Guidance, Supervision of Tenants Association

Article 23. The executive committees and bureaus of people's councils of municipalities, towns, communes, and sectors of Bucharest Municipality have the obligation to guide, assist, and supervise the activity of tenants association, for the achievement of their goals and assignments.

Article 24. The executive committees and bureaus of people's councils shall supervise the manner in which the associations' committees fulfill their legal obligations for the maintenance and repair of the buildings and facilities and shall take measures to remedy the defects and deteriorations found.

For the completion of minor jobs of maintenance and repairs of common facilities and of jobs to eliminate defects which require prompt intervention and in order to meet the citizens' requests, the enterprises specialized in the administration of the state housing supply subordinate to the executive committees of people's councils shall arrange for the provision of these services.

Moreover, the executive committees and bureaus of people's councils shall examine the manner in which the contractual obligations between the supplier or service units and the customer tenants associations are met and shall take steps to ensure the handling of the requests and notifications received from the committees of tenants associations and the supplier or service units.

Article 25. In order to supervise the application of the legal provisions by the tenants associations in the financial-accounting activity, including the establishment and distribution of common expenses, commissions for financial-accounting supervision shall be set up at the executive committees and bureaus of people's councils, by a decision.

The commissions shall be made up of experts in the economic and financial fields, employed by territorial and local financial organs, communal and housing services units, and other socialist units in the locality involved, and also of pensioners, who shall conduct their activities on a voluntary basis.

The executive committees and bureaus of people's councils shall provide, through the financial-accounting commissions, the training of and guidance to the auditing commissions and the administrative and record-keeping personnel of tenants associations and shall supervise their activities and the administration of tenants associations.

Article 26. The Ministry of Finance and the executive committees of people's councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality shall organize the exercise of management control over the activity of tenants associations through the financial organs within the framework of financial divisions, internal financial control, and the communal and housing services units.

Article 27. The executive committees of people's councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality shall take measures to provide the conditions for the operation and utilization of all steam power plants and for the supply of thermal power and hot water, in accordance with the legal provisions, displaying constant concern for the reduction of operating costs.

The steam power plants which service one building may be given for operation -- with the approval of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council -- to tenants associations, if completely safe operation of the installations can be ensured.

The boiler firemen of the state-owned steam power plants given for operation to tenants association shall be professionally verified by the communal and housing services units, which shall give their approval for employment.

The expenses made for the supply of thermal power and hot water for the households shall be calculated at the prices set in accordance with the legal provisions and shall be recovered from the members of tenants associations with the observance of the standards on the distribution of the common expenses for use, maintenance and repairs.

Article 28. The Ministry of Labor, through the directorates of counties and of Bucharest Municipality for labor and social welfare affairs, shall supervise the procedure for the implementation of the legal provisions on the conclusion, fulfillment, and cancellation of labor contracts and service agreements, and the level of

the remuneration and allowances granted to the personnel employed by tenants associations.

IV. Final and Transitional Provisions

Article 29. The tenants associations established beyond the limits specified in Article 1 shall be restructured in these limits, within 60 days after the date of the approval of this statute.

The persons who, at the time of the approval of this statute, are employed by tenants associations, may be retained provided their hiring involves the functions and limits provided for in articles 14-15.

At the time provided for in Paragraph 1 the service agreements concluded with persons who cannot be kept under the conditions specified in the preceding paragraph shall end. The labor contracts of the persons in the same situation shall be cancelled in accordance with the provisions of Article 130 Paragraph 1 a of the Labor Code.

Article 30. The activity of the tenants associations shall also proceed in accordance with the methodology for concluding, carrying out, and terminating relations of work, record-keeping, completion of operations and financial and cashier discipline, and financial-accounting verification, which shall be established, in accordance with the legal provisions in force, by the Committee for People's Councils' Affairs in conjunction with the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Finance, and the Savings and Loan Bank.

Table With Maximum Limits of Remunerations and Allowances Which May Be Granted to Personnel Employed By Tenants Associations*

Current No	Function or Trade	Manner of Remuneration	Size of Association Number of Members	Maximum Limit of Allowance or Remuneration Lei/Month
1.	Administrator (performs the administrative, accounting, and cashier's jobs)	Allowance	Up to 100 101-300 301-450 over 450	377 555 727 893
2.	Boiler fireman	Allowance Basic monthly pay (cat. 5)	- -	641 1672
3.	Custodian	Allowance	-	555

* The maximum limits established under this table are net and shall be increased with the general increase in the remuneration in communal services units, in the same proportion. The limits thus increased shall be transmitted, by the Ministry of Labor and the Committee for People's Councils' Affairs, to the tenants associations, through the executive committees and bureaus of people's councils.

The tenants associations have the obligation to pay into the state budget the tax relating to the remuneration and allowances paid to the associations' personnel, calculated with the rate of 15.5%, provided for in Article 13 Item 28 H in Law No 1/1977 on the tax on the total fund for the remuneration of state socialist units. Moreover, they have the obligation to withhold and pay into the state budget the dues provided for in Chapter III of Law No 1/1977, for childless personnel, employed under labor contracts by these associations.

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES MOBUTU--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6 Dec--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a congratulatory telegram to General Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu was za Banga, founding president of the MPR (Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution) on his reelection to the high office of president of the Republic of Zaire. The telegram expressed the conviction that the good Romanian-Zairian relations of friendship and cooperation will develop ever more powerfully in the spirit of the joint declaration signed in Kinshasa, to the benefit of both peoples, of peace, understanding and collaboration in the world. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 6 Dec 77 LD]

CSO: 2020

INFLUENCE OF INDENTED ADRIATIC COASTLINE ON COMBAT PROBED

Belgrade MORNARICKI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian No 4, Jul-Aug 77 pp 691-699

[Article by Battleship Captain Drago Stok]

[Text] In the specialized literature the term "indentation of the coastline" refers to the ratio of the total length of the coastline of the mainland and islands to the straight-line distance along the coast. The higher this ratio, the more indented the coastline; this is an important factor not only to the life of the population, but also to the waging of combat. The total length of the Yugoslav coastline (mainland and islands) is 6,116 kilometers, while the shortest distance between Sveti Jernej Cove and the mouth of the Bojana is 628 kilometers. Including rocks and reefs Yugoslavia has 1,233 islands with a total area of 3,177 square kilometers. The unbroken string of islands extends along our coast from Istria to Dobrovnik, so that approaches to the coast from the sea are channeled through straits between the islands along most of our coast. The large number of bays and islands led to the establishment in ancient times of a number of small settlements on the coast and islands whose inhabitants depend on the sea for their livelihood.

Starting from the premise that the principal factors in combat are personnel, materiel, space and time, one can see that the indentation of the coastline must have an important impact (direct and indirect) on the strategy of combat in the JPV [Adriatic Naval Theater] and particularly on the forms of combat actions, operations, battles and engagements. A possible aggressor would therefore have to take this impact into account and adapt the forms of his combat operations to it.

Certain Specific Features of an Aggressor's Possible Action in the JPV Resulting From the Effect of the Indentation of Our Coastline

Basically, the possible types and characteristics of aggression against Yugoslavia as a whole also apply to the JPV, and there is no need to devote a special discussion to them here. There are, however, certain specific features in the actions of a possible aggressor within the JPV, and particular emphasis should be put on the following:

i. Although the concept of "capital ships" is historically outdated, the major navies, following the military-political interests of their countries, do form fleets, above all for operations over large areas of the sea.

Appropriate ships are also being built for these tasks; regardless of their specific purpose, they must be of such a size as to provide for long periods of time spent covering large areas of the sea. However, it is obvious that vessels like this are not appropriate either in their size nor combat characteristics for attainment of the specific objectives in the JPV, and this is especially true of operations within our territorial waters. The space limitations and the interrelationship between the land and sea require that a would-be aggressor, if he is to operate in the JPV, take into account the navigational and weather conditions and also the parameters which have an impact on the effectiveness of weapons because of the limited space. It follows that in the JPV, by contrast with the Mediterranean theater and other naval theaters within it, an aggressor must first of all have light naval forces capable of carrying out actions under these conditions and also a much larger number of smaller landing craft because of the interwoven relationship among the sea, the islands and the mainland.

ii. The aggressor's operational-strategic objectives do not lie in territorial waters, but at greater or lesser depth on the mainland. The conventional method of carrying out amphibious landings in order to open up routes toward operational-strategic objectives on the coast is almost entirely unfeasible in the JPV. The strings of islands in advance of the coast and the organized system of defense compel an aggressor to use several preliminary landings in order to guarantee access to his operational-strategic objectives.

iii. In principle an amphibious landing consists of two waves: a first made up of seaborne infantry whose task it is to establish the beachhead, and a second stronger one made up of ground force units for action conducted from the established beachhead. In landing on our coast an aggressor must have a much stronger first wave, i.e., more seaborne infantry, because he first must carry out a series of smaller landings in order to take control of the islands in advance of the coast.

iv. In the context of what we have said the vertical component is particularly important to the aggressor. It is most likely that in taking islands individually he would primarily use helicopters, whose tactical and technical capabilities facilitate lighter and faster maneuvers. The use of helicopters would be equally important in carrying out missions within the framework of the use of light naval forces in coastal waters, primarily with the aim of disrupting favorable operating conditions.

v. Though the degree of indentation of our coastline is almost the same over its entire length, the routes leading toward operational objectives on the coast are channeled in a definite way both because of the characteristics of the island groups enclosing the approach to the coast and also because of the characteristics of the coast itself.

vi. An aggressor's operations to disrupt favorable operating conditions would be very much impeded in territorial waters, and particularly in coastal waters, primarily because the highly indented nature of our coastline creates opportunities to set up good bases. Our forces are able to carry out concealed maneuvers by sea, and a suitable deployment of the personnel and materiel committed to defense can close the passages between the islands, thereby impeding the aggressor's access with light naval forces.

These are merely the basic problems an aggressor would confront in operating in the JPV because of the indentation of our coastline; they are an indication that the indentation of the coastline has an impact both on an aggressor's forces and also on his mode of operation.

The Indentation of the Coastline and Its Impact on the Organization, Direction and Command of Forces Committed to Defense in the JPV

The basic points of departure and factors affecting organization of the armed forces are the same for the entire territory of Yugoslavia. However, the JPV does have specific features which also give rise to certain special forms in the organization and in the command and direction of those forces. From the standpoint of the use of seaborne forces in the JPV we have two different sea areas--the open part of the Adriatic and coastal waters, each with its own set of conditions. This fact to some extent also affects the composition, organization and command of seaborne forces. The open area of the sea requires naval strike forces made up primarily of fast rocket-torpedo and submarine units which would relay on base areas in coastal waters in conducting operations against an enemy.

For the purpose of immediate defense of territorial waters and coastal waters we need special types of vessels whose marine and tactical features are most suitable to use in channels and straits and in the areas between the islands. We usually refer to forces of this kind as coastal seaborne forces, and they are made up primarily of patrol ships, minelayers and minesweepers, patrol boats and various types of smaller armed vessels.

These coastal seaborne forces carry out their mission in defense together with other coastal forces, which consist of seaborne infantry units, rocket units and coast artillery units, and so on.

Command of coastal seaborne forces and coastal forces is unified through seaborne-territorial commands (pomorske-teritorijalne komande), whose jurisdiction includes a part of the coastal area and territorial waters.

It follows from what we have said that the senior command in the Adriatic provides unified command of all forces in the JPV.

Within the zones of seaborne-territorial commands there are island groups or individual islands which because of their position and other elements have particular importance in defense of a particular part of the water

area and land area, so that coastal defense units under separate commands are committed to the defense of those sections.

This simplifies sketch of the command and units of the naval district in the JPV indicates the extent to which the indentation of our coastline affects combat strategy.

In addition to the units of the naval district there are also territorial defense units operating in the JPV: units committed to defense of the coast and islands and also seaborne units intended for actions in coastal waters.

It is obvious that diverse units will be meeting in the area between the islands and frequently will be operating together: naval strike forces, coastal seaborne forces, coastal forces and territorial defense units, which makes it imperative that all actions in coastal and territorial waters be directed by one command, that is, that unified command be assured. The problem of coordination in the context of the indented coast, when the same limited expanses of the sea are being used by units belonging to different branches, has particular importance, and solving that problem will have an essential effect on the effectiveness of defense. This problem is solved primarily by the uniform wartime rules of navigation (jedinstveni režim ratnog plovljenja).

Impact of Indentation of the Coastline on the Waging of Combat

Impact of Indentation of the Coastline on the Conduct of Operations in the JPV

In a naval operation, as a form of combat action by naval forces, all types of action and tactical procedures of units are used. The impact of the indentation of the coastline on an amphibious landing operation and on an antilanding operation is especially important within the confines of the topic we have been discussing.

Although it is difficult to define the line of the front in any present-day operation, it is still more difficult in naval operations, since, given the indentation of the coastline, there is no continuous sequence of natural structures, nor are the axes of an operation continuous, as is the case on land. In naval operations, especially on the seaward wing of a front, defense organized in the external line of islands with the forces of the seaborne-territorial command ensures defense of the flank of the main forces of the naval district which are the principal combat force. Diversity of combat actions taking place simultaneously through the entire depth of the zone of operations is especially characteristic of the zone of a naval operation precisely because of indentation of the coastline, that is, because of the alternation of segments of land and sea. It follows that occupation and organization of defense must be simultaneous throughout the entire depth of the zone of operations. Finally, an equally important characteristic of naval operations with respect to the impact of indentation is that

the stationary and the mobile are interwoven. Whereas on the one hand the position of certain islands requires an extremely decisive stationary defense, the areas of the sea between the islands offer the possibility of energetic maneuvers and indeed necessitate them.

Specific Features of Independent Large-Scale Battles and Engagements in View of the Indentation of Our Coastline

A naval engagement, as the highest form of tactical action, is primarily characterized by the speed of maneuver, the brevity of fire, the concentration of fire and the decisive results. These characteristics result primarily from the tactical and technical features of the forces involved. With respect to the space in which an engagement takes place we distinguish an engagement in our own coastal region, an engagement on the open sea and an engagement in the coastal region controlled by the enemy.

We are particularly interested in the engagement that takes place in our own coastal area, since it is here that the most effective results are in principle achieved, primarily because our own coastal region makes it possible for us to utilize all the advantages of the indented coastline. Basically, these advantages are as follows:

- i. in most cases our forces will receive initial information about the enemy's appearance before the enemy receives notice of our forces;
- ii. the indented coastline affords us the possibility of concealed maneuvers;
- iii. thanks to the island groups, we have the possibility of rapidly concentrating the fire not only of our naval forces, but also the forces of coastal defense;
- iv. the cramped space from the standpoint of maneuvers and the presence of the coastline as a screen diminish the effectiveness of the enemy's use of his weapons, especially against coastal seaborne forces;
- v. the time seaborne forces spend at sea is reduced, and this diminishes the danger of an attack from enemy aircraft;
- vi. helicopters can be used effectively against ships;
- vii. other types of naval weapons and equipment can be used more effectively.

Although an engagement on the open sea is typified by the action of naval strike forces, it is indirectly affected by the indented coastline, primarily because naval forces can be stationed in concealment, which makes the enemy's preliminary operations more difficult, and our forces can also reach the open sea in concealment, thereby reducing the time they spend at sea and diminishing the possible effects of enemy action.

The indented nature of the coastline means that command in an engagement need not always originate from a vessel. It may also originate from land in the immediate vicinity, which affords more effective command and coordination, especially in a combined-arms engagement.

The characteristics of the impact of the indented coastline which apply to an engagement fully apply to the battle as the basic tactical form of combat action at sea.

Impact of the Indented Nature of the Coastline on the Various Types of Combat Action

In addition to the types of action which are particularly important in land combat (antiair defense, antilanding and antiarmor combat and erection of obstacles), naval forces also organize and conduct the following: amphibious landings, attacks on targets afloat, antisubmarine warfare, mine countermeasures, the planting of mines and actions against underwater demolition units. Each of these types of operation has its specific features resulting partly from the area of water in which they are conducted, and it is this that indicates the possible effects which the indented nature of the coastline can have on them.

Antiair defense. Starting with the principal tasks of PVO [antiair defense], which are: continuous observation and timely reporting on the air situation, fire directed against aircraft and other flying objects of the aggressor and use of all antiair protective measures--one easily sees the impact of the indented nature of the coast on the performance of these tasks. Continuous observation and timely reporting on the air situation depend on suitable deployment of forces and equipment for visual and technical observation. Island groups and individual islands with an advance position make it possible to increase the depth of observation, particularly with respect to low-flying aircraft, and the high mountain ranges standing immediately behind the coast guarantee a high degree of toughness of the observation system in addition to greater depth of observation.

Fire directed against the enemy's aircraft is supplied by the PVO personnel and materiel assigned to the area, the PVO of regular ground forces and naval PVO, as well as PVO personnel and materiel of important structures on the coast and islands. All these forces and capabilities are interconnected by appropriate organization of PVO, and if the advantages offered by our coastline are utilized, effective deployment of forces and capabilities is ensured.

Equally important is the effect of the indentation of the coastline in making it possible to use natural screens, in facilitating the preparation of connecting trenches and dugouts for concealment, and also in shortening the time which units afloat spend at sea, which reduces the overall capabilities of the enemy's air force.

Antilanding operations. The indented nature of the coastline and islands also affects the location of sites suitable for landing on the shore for disembarkation of an amphibious landing force.

Because the routes of amphibious landings are channeled, defense can be organized in good time, the crucial point of the defense can be determined, and fortifications can be set up along routes and in areas where an amphibious landing is likely. At the same time the problem of planting obstacles on the shore is simplified, since the materials for erection of obstacles can be prepared in advance at places and in areas where amphibious landing is likely. Thanks to the indented coastline, seaborne forces assigned to operate against the landing force as it approaches the shore can find shelter in the vicinity of areas where an amphibious landing is likely.

With respect to the tactical movement of coastal forces, the seaborne infantry above all, the indentation of the coastline also manifests its adverse influence in antilanding defense, since it binds tactical maneuvers to movement by sea, and this increases the possibility of enemy action against units while they are being transported.

Antiarmor combat. The use of armored vehicles is limited on most of the coast and islands because of the natural obstacles. Since antiarmor warfare is one of the elements of defense on the islands and coast, and since it is waged along tank-passable routes within the zones of sites where landing is likely and is organized as part of antilanding defense, the principles stated under the topic of antilanding operations also apply to antiarmor combat.

Amphibious landings of tactical size which are conducted to liberate islands and parts of the coast, in action coordinated with the seaward wing of ground forces in penetrating the enemy order of battle along routes near the coast, and in slowing the advance of the aggressor's forces along the coast and island groups--are also subject to the effect of the indented coastline because of their form.

Sites and areas for embarkation and disembarkation of the landing force, the method of security used, etc., will be determined as a function of the indentation of the coastline.

Attacks on targets afloat. We have already said that the indentation of our coast will compel an aggressor to use primarily light naval forces and helicopters in our territorial waters. The purpose of antiship defense is an outright weakening of the attack and the strength of the strike of enemy surface forces and helicopters, particularly in order to secure favorable operating conditions in our own coastal waters. The indented nature of our coastline has created the possibility of basing seaborne forces and of using inner seaways because there are strings of islands which with their organized defense perform the role of stationary patrol and remote protection of our own vessels. Purposeful mining of the passages between the islands and also control of those straits by coast artillery and vessels create

conditions for preventing penetration of light naval forces into the space between the islands. It is also possible to have an impact on action on the open sea by setting up shore-to-sea missiles on the islands which are most advanced.

Antisubmarine warfare. The impact of the indentation of the coast on anti-submarine warfare is manifested also in the same forms as is the case with defense against ships. Because island groups close off the approach to the coast and the small depths between the islands prevents penetration of submarines, all antisubmarine forces and capabilities can be concentrated on the exposed parts of our own coastal waters. The inner coastal waters are so complicated for submarine navigation that they would be taking a relatively high risk.

Mine countermeasures. The indented nature of our coast and islands makes it possible for an enemy to make rather large-scale and effective use of mines (the closing of ports and anchorages, cutting off communications, etc.), which makes it a requirement, especially for the seaborne-territorial command, to organize unified mine countermeasures throughout its zone. Certain detection of mines and their rapid destruction should be guaranteed by location of the stations of the mine reconnaissance service and of mine-sweeping personnel and equipment.

The planting of mines and erection of obstacles. The tasks involved in erecting obstacles in the JPV are as follows:

- i. the laying of the basic minefields in front of the islands and parts of the coast in areas where an amphibious landing is likely, in front of entrances to the area of water between the islands and the laying of mines as obstacles to protect open coastwise routes;
- ii. the laying of additional minefields;
- iii. the placement of antilanding obstacles on the shore;
- iv. the erection of obstacles to obstruct the entrance to ports and anchorages.

It is easy to see that the indented nature of the coastline will have a considerable impact not only on the extensiveness of these tasks, but also on the manner in which they will be performed.

Actions against underwater demolition units. The large number of islands and islets, quite a few of which are uninhabited, make it possible for underwater demolition teams to set up bases in the immediate vicinity of the objective of their attack, in which they can perform the final preparations for the action and from which they can in certain situations also do effective scouting so as to perform their mission more easily. At the same time, the numerous coves and bays make it possible for surface vessels to frequently change their moorings and to create favorable conditions for organizing defense against underwater demolition.

It is obvious from what we have said that the indented nature of the coastline exerts its effect both on the organization, direction and command of armed forces in the JPY and also on the conduct of combat from the operation to the battle. Skillful utilization of the advantages which the indented nature of our coastline and islands offers to our own forces would create favorable conditions for weakening the effect of an aggressor's action and facilitate the most effective use of our own forces and advantageous use of combat and weapons systems.

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ROLE OF RETAIL TRADE SYSTEM IN WARTIME SKETCHED

Belgrade NOVA TRGOVINA in Serbo-Croatian No 8-9, Aug-Sep 77 pp 385-386

[Article by Radoslav Stevanovic]

[Text] "Every revolution is valid to the extent that it is capable of constant development and of defending its attainments." Josip Broz Tito

"Conducting a war in the modern manner requires a stalwart, organized home front. The enemy will quickly destroy the best army and the most devoted people of the revolutionary cause if they are not sufficiently armed, supplied with food, and clothed." V.I. Lenin

By implementing the concept of general national defense, Yugoslavia is preparing to resist any form of aggression and any aggressor, with the goal of preserving freedom, independence, sovereignty of the peoples and nationalities, and territorial integrity.

Preparation and preparedness for a general national defensive war in Yugoslavia is a consequence of the possibility that the country might be a victim of aggression. Therefore it is necessary to prepare all material and subjective factors for defense in good time. It is especially important to prepare the economy for a transformation to functioning on a wartime basis, so that it can satisfy the needs of the armed forces and the population to the maximum extent. In that sense matters of defending the land are brought closer to the working people, so that they directly realize their rights and obligations for the further socialization of the society's defense functions. This is even more true since, merely by continuing their peacetime activities and functions, organizations of associated labor in an eventual war can contribute adequately to realization of the concept of general national defense and to final victory.

During a war, the economy must adapt itself in the most effective way possible to the new conditions, both in terms of production and distribution and in terms of its consumption. In addition to structural changes during wartime, there must also be a balanced dispersion of production, processing, transportation, and consumption. In order to preserve the unity of the social reproduction process and to carry out wartime assignments, during peacetime the economy must be fundamentally equipped for undisturbed functioning at all levels.

Associated labor is one of the basic agents for preparing and implementing general national defense, so that the organization of associated labor is one of defense's most important subjects. Also, associated producers cannot realize their self-management rights "in the areas of economic, political, cultural and social life in general, without establishing those rights in the area of defense."*

Every organization of associated labor is obliged, depending on its size and capabilities, to prepare a war plan for defense that should contain, first of all, the following components: a plan for priority production, wartime organization, deployment and mobilization of personnel, resources, procedures and measures for eventual direct military danger, as well as the organization and utilization of units of the territorial defense and civil defense. The wartime plans of basic organizations of associated labor must be coordinated with the plan for broader socio-political communities and the wartime plans of other organizations of associated labor.

Under wartime conditions connections are interrupted with many sources for factors of production (such as limitation or cessation of imports) and with marketing channels, so that the overall capability of the society is dependent on organizational effectiveness and possibilities for supplying the armed forces and the population.

The Commercial Network

Trade and the principle of accumulating and distributing income will be preserved under wartime conditions, but the role and importance of the market will decrease, because the operation of economic laws will also be limited. Timely preparation of commerce and the trade system during peacetime can be crucial for preparedness and organizational effectiveness during a war, or for performing basic activities under wartime conditions. In that sense, both integrational processes and association of production and trade can influence the effectiveness of commerce in performing assigned tasks in war time. This is the more true since only strong and integrated commerce can assure the proper supply reserves and the supplying of the armed forces and the population.

The opstinas are the basic agents for defense preparations both in terms of organization and in the functioning of commerce and the retail network. From the initiation of war danger and aggression, the opstina assembly and its agencies will pass a resolution stating that the retail trade organization in its territory shall supply the population in that territory. A specific trade organization for supply will take over the overall retail network and the personnel of other commercial organizations. This is also true for the network of shops of commercial organizations with home enterprises located outside of the opstina territory.

* From a speech by Tito at Ljubljana University on 11 December 1969.

Depending on the density of the population, the opstina can determine that several trade organizations shall supply the population with food articles (such as one for the town, others for villages, etc.), with the aim of more effective supply. On the other hand, individual trade organizations may merge or be disbanded, depending on their number and the distribution of shops in the immediate and broader vicinity, as well as on their specialization in performing trade activities.

Trade and the trade network will assume during wartime conditions the basic role in supplying the population, first of all with food products that are rationed, as well as with goods that are freely available for sale. Since during wartime the most serious difficulties may arise precisely with problems of feeding and supplying the population, it is essential to equip the trade system during peacetime to carry out its basic functions during wartime circumstances. The basic trade functions are well known, and include acquisition, storing and sales of goods; these will continue under wartime conditions. It is certain that in large part the performance of these basic functions will be hampered and limited by objective wartime conditions. For example, in its function of acquisition the trade system will not be able to pursue the suitable policies for assortment, quantities and qualities of goods. Also, the trade system must prepare to eliminate temporal and spatial breakdowns between production and consumption, in order to satisfy the needs of the consumers. During a war the trade system is not able to coordinate basic contradictions between production and consumption, nor to regulate and motivate production according to consumer demand. All of that requires a fundamental and daily preparedness by the trade system for the changeover to operations and supplying the population under wartime conditions.

The constant organization of the process of supplying the population with products required for existence, along with the military operations of the armed forces, can neutralize aggression and enemy terror and prevent it from realizing its aggressive goals.

With the beginning of aggression, or during war dangers, the trade organizations will see to supervision of the number, type and grouping of shops and other selling places, service and crafts workshops, and their personnel and equipment.

They will halt sales and carry out an inventory of all stockpiled goods, and especially of foodstuffs and other products that may be rationed or in short supply. After the inventory and designation of shops that will continue their operations during wartime circumstances, goods will be evacuated from central warehouses and transported to outlying locations into well defended and camouflaged storehouses. In the process, goods should be palletized for shipment to attain maximum speed and efficiency of handling.*

* See Dr. Zivorad Zlatkovic, EKONOMIKA TRGOVINE (Commercial Economics), Belgrade, 1974, p 196

With the aim of protecting all installations, the trade organizations are obliged to carry out blackout and camouflage procedures, according to an approved plan.

In the establishment of trade organizations and the network of shops that are to operate under wartime conditions on the territory of a community, consideration should be given to the size of the territory and to the population density. In this manner it is possible to determine whether one trade organization should supply the population with all types of products, or if on the other hand one trade organization should supply agricultural and prepared food products, another textiles, etc. In the same manner it can be determined what number of persons should be directed to each sales shop for supplies.*

Self-service

Plans for supply are adapted to the population structure (by numbers and categories) under peacetime conditions. As a result there are several ways and possibilities for organizing supply. One of those possibilities is the use of stores based on self-service, which are very suitable for selling foodstuffs and which can handle large turnovers. Along with mechanization, automatization and rationalization of peacetime production, work is being done on mechanization and rationalization of trade and supply of the population, or of the total rationing system, during wartime. In that sense, today it is possible to equip the checkout stands of self-service stores to remove and cancel coupons and vouchers from consumers' rationing cards. This is the more so since trade must employ a limited number of people, and a smaller number than in peacetime, since the male population will be involved in the armed forces.

Mobile Stores

It is very important, in preparations for trade aimed at satisfying wartime supply needs, to keep in mind the fact that a portion of the population will be evacuated. Therefore, trade organizations should be so organized that they can assure services to the population outside the permanent and fixed sales installations. That means that during a war, commerce must accompany the consumers and supply them with vital needs outside of urban centers and settlements, and this can be accomplished by the introduction of mobile stores. Mobile stores are a very suitable form for expanding the trade network. They may consist of specially constructed trucks and trailers for transporting and selling foods and other goods.

A modern mobile store can successfully replace a permanent salesroom or shop, but they have not been suitably employed in Yugoslavia. Therefore, it is necessary to intensify the utilization of mobile stores during

* ODBRANA I ZASTITA (Defense and Protection), a journal, Belgrade, No 3/72.

peacetime, so that they might be utilized adequately during a war for the needs of rationed distribution. Study should also be made of the possibility of using mobile kitchens for preparing hot meals and drinks. The number of mobile stores that would be used would depend on the number and categories of the population and on the standards applied for supplying necessary articles. It should be noted that, during a war, not only a single system and method for supplying would be used, but rather several in combination would be used. Mobile stores, combined with other forms of trade and supply, should be given a definite place and importance. They would be especially suitable for use in supplying and serving the population in hilly and mountainous terrain.

Shelters

Shelters with special structures and spaces for war needs, with the goal of protecting human and material resources from the dangers of war, nuclear or other actions dangerous to life, are particularly important, since evacuation of the population and of material resources still is the most effective means for protection in modern wartime conditions. The length of stay of people in shelters cannot be foreseen, and therefore provision must be made for definite amounts of vital necessities that are calculated at twice the figures for the normally anticipated uninterrupted sojourn of the population.

Supplying the Population

Supplying the armed forces and the population with necessary materials and food products, clothing and footwear is of similar importance to the actual conduct of the armed conflict. Supplying and feeding the population with vital necessities represents an important link in preparations and during the time of actual war maneuvers. Furthermore, rapid transformation from a peacetime orientation to a wartime economy depends on prior executed, suitable preparations for wartime supply of the population. By their regulations and directions, the broader sociopolitical units regulate and guide preparations for organizing the supplying of the population, while more detailed planning and implementation of supplying is carried out by the communities and the labor organizations. Here as well, the community is the fundamental and most direct agent for matters of preparation and utilization of all sources for supplying and providing services, while the local communes also have an important role.

Rationing of Supplies

With the aim of solving the problem of supplying the most essential products, primarily foods, during wartime, a so-called rationing supply system is introduced. It is particularly important when one keeps in mind that during a war the available goods are reduced in quantity. Supplying can be carried out through an established network of stores and other supply points with the use of consumer cards, vouchers and the like.

Community agencies must have detailed records of the number and categories of the population to be included in the rationing system. That means that all inhabitants will have to be placed into categories, since there are various standards of nutrition according to the category within the population.

Before and during the introduction of a rationing system, it is necessary to perform a number of complex tasks in the community and in the trade organizations, which must be completed in the shortest possible time. Also, regarding the quantities of food necessities that are to be distributed to the population, various opinions hold that distribution should be for a single day, for several days, or for an entire month. Certainly, distribution of larger quantities of foods for greater time periods means the de-concentration and unburdening of reserves, but distribution of all quantities in the reserve should not be sought as quickly as possible and at any price; rather, certain quantities must constantly be restored to the reserve supplies.

Therefore, a rationing system represents an assured supply to the population of essential products (including foods and other goods) in standardized amounts, at definite times and places through consumer cards and vouchers. A rationing system can be instituted not only during wartime, but also in areas and at times when certain natural disasters and catastrophes occur.

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