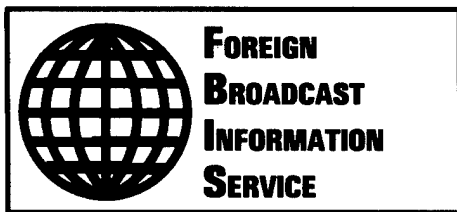


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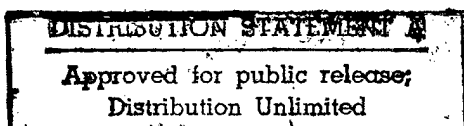


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East Asia Southeast Asia

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Major Thai Business Activities

92SE0082A Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN
in Thai 27 Oct 91 pp 8-14

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The UN Economic and Social Council issued a report written by Mr. Sadaka Oyata, an expert in self-rule. He conducted a study on "Developments in the Human Rights Situation in Burma." The report was issued on 15 February 1990. He coordinated things directly with the Burmese Government. There is an interesting section on the economic and social development of Burma on page 18, lines 57-63: "When the Saw Maung government took power in September 1988, it clearly stated that it would implement an economic policy of opening free trade markets with neighboring countries and carrying on free trade with other countries. It said that it would allow foreigners to open shops, markets, and offices in Burma. Besides this, it said that it would try to revive the economy in the state enterprise sector. There are approximately 12 state enterprises, which includes the communications, airline, bank, and electricity enterprises. It said that it would open border trading zones, particularly along the border with China and Thailand."

In order to clarify the detailed data in Mr. Oyata's report, the names of the foreign companies that are carrying on business activities in Burma were released. There are 85 Thai companies that are already engaged in business activities there or that soon will be. These 85 companies are:

1. The Asia Tourist Company.

This company is engaged in the tourist business. It has special airline rights that allow it to take tourists to Burma using the services of another small company, the Thai International Tourist Company.

2. The Atlantic Company Ltd.

This company, which owns more than 60 boats, is engaged in large-scale fishing operations. It also carries on smaller operations in conjunction with small Thai fishing companies having a total of more than 225 boats. Each of these boats must pay 160,000 baht a month to the Saw Maung government. And they must pay \$70 for each ton of fish caught in Burmese territorial waters.

3. The B and F Company Ltd.

This company is engaged in logging operations. It has had a contract at Mong Loi Htwe in the Shan State since 1989. This two-year contract was signed on 15 June 1989 and went into effect in August 1989.

4. The Chai Thanakan Company.

This company is engaged in logging operations. It has had a contract at Mong Kyank Ku Jaung, Tanintharyi Division, since 1989. This two-year contract was signed on 5 June 1989 and went into effect on 1 October 1989.

5. The Chaophrya-Irrawaddy Company.

This company is engaged in logging operations. It has links with Burmese officials in the Tanintharyi Division. It has

had a contract at Mong Lungpaw Yei since 1988. Sombat Phanitchiwa, who is with the Thai Asahi Group (a Japanese group that invested in Thailand), is the owner of this company. He has links to a senior Thai military officer (who will retire this September). The company carries on operations along the border area opposite Kanchanaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, and Ranong provinces.

6. The Chok Panya Company.

This company carries on logging operations. It has had a contract at Klohng Katung since 1989. This two-year contract went into effect on 1 October 1989.

7. The Chumsin International Company.

This company has been involved in timber operations at Kyaung Taung, Tanintharyi, since 1 June 1989.

8. The Communications Company.

This company is involved in importing motorcycles from Japan and exporting them to Burma.

9. The Electricity Generating Authority.

This organization is involved in building a dam to generate electricity. This is a joint project between the governments of Burma and Thailand.

10. The Timber Industry Organization.

This company is engaged in logging operations at the Chongwang Pao checkpoint, Ban Nup Prung, Huai Thong Subdistrict, at the Palakor community checkpoint in O Noi Subdistrict, and at the Sing Khom checkpoint in Prachuap Khiri Khan Province. The two-year contract at Mong Mawdaung Tanintharyi was signed on 23 May 1989 and went into effect on 30 June 1989. The contract allows the company to fell timber in southern Burma.

11. The Golden Triangle Resort Company.

This company is involved in resort and hotel activities. The owner is Mr. Prasitthi Phothisut, the older brother of former MP [member of parliament] Praphat Phothisut from Suphanburi Province. He is thought to be the first Thai to build a hotel and resort in Burma.

12. The Chanthasomthara Resort Company.

This company is involved in hotel operations. It began carrying on operations in Ranong Province and then expanded operations by signing a joint business contract with a Burmese state enterprise that is involved in hotel and tourist activities. Two luxury hotels have been opened in Burma, one in Mong Kaw Thauang and one on Pu-Besin Island in the Andaman Sea.

13. The Khun Thong sawmill.

This company engages in timber and sawmill operations. This is known as the Theng Seng Group. The owner is Udomsak Thangthong, a former deputy minister of agriculture and cooperations and a former MP from Prachuap Khiri Khan Province. It signed a two-year contract in 1989 at Yegan Taung, Mong Tanintharyi.

14. The M.A.R. Company.

This company engages in fishing activities. It has 40 large boats. It has signed a contract with the Burmese Government that prohibits other Thai fishing boats from operating in its area of operations, which extends for 12 nautical miles along the Burmese coast.

15. The Mae Moei Timber Industry Company.

The Burmese government has given this company a timber concession in the area opposite Ban Mae Salit Luang, Tha Song yang District, Tak Province. The owner of this company is Mr. Sa-at Piyawan.

16. The Mae Moei Lumber Company.

This is a joint venture between Mr. Santi Wayakonwicht and Mr. Sa-at Piyawan, a former Thai Nation Party MP from Lampang Province. This company has close links to the military and has received good cooperation from the military. Its area of operations is in Mae Sariang District in Mae Hong Son Province and along the Salween River basin.

17. The Mae Sot Timber Company Ltd.

The company has links with the Free Karen State in carrying on timber operations. This has been very profitable, because a joint agreement was reached in 1989. It operates in the Klohng Thwe area. The agreement also states that the company can operate in the northern area of Yin Saing.

18. The Ranong Seafood Products Company.

The company has 79 large fishing boats. It has begun fishing in Burmese territorial waters and must pay \$65 a month for every ton of fish caught. The government is to facilitate things.

19. The Mar Thailand Company Ltd.

This company operates 40 fishing boats. It is also in partnership with five smaller companies. Altogether, they operate 225 fishing boats in Burmese waters. The company must pay Burma 160,000 baht a month per boat.

20. The Memory Timber Industry Company.

This company has a contract to carry on timber operations at Kawludo Kayah and Kayin. This three-year contract when into effect on 15 November 1989 at Yinbaing. There are contractual restrictions in areas in Kayin State.

21. The Mong Phana Company Ltd.

This company is involved in timber operations in the Free Karen State. The target is to obtain 50,000 tons of timber. The company operates in the area opposite Ban Phop Phra in Mae Sot District, Tak Province. It has a contract with the Karen State to fell timber at Mong Kyeikdon.

22. The N and N Company Ltd.

This company has a two-year contract to fell timber at Ban Huai Sap and Ban Takolng in Suan Luang Subdistrict,

Ratburi Province. It reached an agreement with the Burmese Government at Mong Tanintharyi on 25 May 1989.

23. The Narong Canned Fish Industry Company.

It has a one-year contract allowing it to carry on fishing operations using 30 boats. It must pay a fee of \$800 for each ton of fish caught.

24. The Thai Oriental Company Ltd.

This company is owned by Mr. Adison Charanachitta, a tour operator. He saw that Rangoon is an historical city with many interesting sites. He feels that Rangoon can be turned into a tourist attraction.

25. The Osathasapha Company Ltd.

This company carries on pharmaceutical activities. Mr. Surat Osathanukhro, the president, feels that Burma can produce only 25 percent of the drugs needed by the Burmese people. Thus, he feels that a pharmaceutical production plant should be established in Burma.

26. The P.M.T. Company Ltd.

This company is engaged in timber operations at Amya Tanintharyi. It has a two-year contract.

27. The Pha Daeng Mining Industries Company Ltd.

This company conducts surveys in order to produce and smelt iron ore.

28. The Pha Daeng Mining Company Ltd.

This company conducts surveys and develops iron ore deposits for use in production.

29. The Phanachai Sawmill Company.

The company has a two-year contract with the Burmese government to carry on timber operations in Mong Metonwe Taung in Kayah State. Its zone of operations is opposite Khun Yuam District in Mae Hong Son Province.

30. The Phat Thurakit Company Ltd.

It is engaged in the food and drink business, particularly beer. It is generally thought that it carries on operations as a Song Soem subsidiary in order to satisfy the beer tastes of the Burmese people.

31. The Phat Thurakit Company Ltd.

The company has established a company to produce beer in the name of the Song Soem Group Ltd in line with the policy of the Burmese Government on domestic consumption.

32. The Pathumthani Sawmill.

It is carrying on sawmill operations in accord with the contract signed with the Burmese Government in 1989. It is carrying on operations at Wan-Pa Yak in Kayah and Shan states and in the northern part of Pasawng in Mong Payathomu in the Karen zone. This is a two-year contract. It is also carrying on operations opposite Ban Nai Soi Lang in Muang District, Mae Hong Son Province. This contract expires in 1994. Besides this, it is also carrying on operations in Chiang Dao and Mae Sot districts in Tak Province and in Sangkhala Buri District in Kanchanaburi Province.

33. The Pathumthani Tangkhakan company.

This company has a two-year contract with the Burmese Government to carry on timber operations in Mong Phaya Thonzu in Kayin State. The owner of this company is Mr. Bunkiet Tankhakan. This is one of the five largest sawmills. A large shareholder is Mr. Sa-at Piyawan, a former Thai Nation Party MP from Lampang Province. This company has been granted a concession to fell 50,000 tons of timber in the Karen zone.

34. The Phibunwattana Company Ltd.

This company has a timber contract and must bring the timber across the border in Chumphon Province.

35. The P.I.O Company of Thailand.

Burma has granted this company a concession to carry on logging operations.

36. The P.T.T.E.P. Company.

This company is engaged in fuel oil operations. It plans to lay a 500-km gas pipeline from Moulmein to Kanchanaburi Province. The president of this company is Mr. Thongchat. He conducted negotiations with the Burmese Government on 7-8 March in order to formulate a plan to lay gas pipelines to various cities in Burma. This company has discovered deposits of approximately 3.6 million cubic feet of gas in Burma. This will require the company to invest more than \$1 billion in order to refine this gas for use in generating electricity in Kanchanaburi Province.

37. The Ranong Wikot Ariyaphroi Company.

This company is engaged in timber operations at Hui Khon. It has a two-year contract.

38. The Agricultural Machinery Production Company.

The company has built a plant to produce agricultural machinery in cooperation with the Burmese government. The equipment will be used in Burmese agriculture and also exported.

39. The Salween Company Ltd.

This company is engaged in timber operations in Mong Glohng Mathe. It has a two-year contract.

40. The Santi Timber Company Ltd.

The company has timber operations checkpoints in Khun Yuam District, at Ban Pratu Muang and Ban Nai Soi, and in Muang District, Mae Hong Son Province. It has a concession for five years. This company belongs to Mr. Santi Woyaphonwicht, a new timber merchant in Thai timber circles. He has links to a former assistant RTA CINC [Royal Thai Army Commander in Chief], who is an important source of support. Also, Mr. Sa-at Piyawan, the former Thai Nation Party MP who heads the Mae Moei Timber Industry Company, is involved with this company, too. It can be said that both politicians and military officers are providing support. This company has been granted a concession to more than 100,000 acres along the border of Khun Yuam and Mae Sariang districts and along the Salween River in Mae Hong Son Province and in Sam

Laep District in Tak Province. Most of its timber area is located in the southern part of Mong Mese in Kayah State. It can bring in approximately 50,000 tons of timber each time. It also has relations with minority groups in the Karen and Kayah areas.

41. The Ocean Resources Survey Company.

The company is searching for sources of resources in order to formulate a master plan in cooperation with the Burmese Department of Mineral Resources.

42. The Ocean Resources Survey and Mining Company of Burma.

This company has signed a survey contract and has been granted a concession to produce tin in Burma.

43. The Silar International Company.

The owner of this company is Phichet Tanchaen. He moved his entire family from Chachoengsao. And he has persuaded Mr. Suchat Tanchaen, a former MP from Chachoengsao Province, to participate in the business. This company is engaged in timber operations along the Thai-Burmese border. It has a number of affiliated companies such as the Winiwet Company and the Mae Sot Phanakit Company. Recently, it purchased the concession of the Mong Phana Company. Its main areas of operations are in the Phop Phra area in Tak Province and in Sop Moei in Mae Hong Son.

44. The Silom Complex Company.

The owner of this company is Prathip Chirakitti. He has very close relations with the Thai military. The son of an important military leader is involved with this company, and he has recognized the Saw Maung government. The company has a concession in the Mae Sai area opposite the Shan State. It has boats that can haul 50,000 tons of logs out of Burma each trip. The company has a concession for the period 1989-1992. It must pay Burma a fee of \$100-1,000 per ton. This two-year contract was signed at Mong Nong Hsat.

45. The Si Denchai Suphanburi Company.

The company signed a two-year timber contract at Mong Sindaung, Tananitharyi.

46. The Sirichai Fishing Company Ltd.

The company has fishing gear and 35 fishing boats that can hold 2,975 tons of fish. It is a small shareholder in five other Thai fishing companies. Thus, altogether, it has 225 boats in Burmese waters. It must pay the Saw Maung government 160,000 baht per boat.

47. The Sarin Technology Company Ltd.

The Karen, Kayah, and Thai Governments have given this company permission to bring in timber at Ban Mae Tan in Song Yang District, Tak Province. It brings in at least 50,000 tons each time. At certain points, it must pass through Ban Huai Phong in Tha Song Yang District and Ban Phali in Ramat District, Tak Province. It also owns shares in two other companies. The contract calls for the company to pay an initial fee of 150 million baht and a second installment of 2.5 million baht. It can take out 50,000 tons of timber each trip through the Ban Mae

Khonthen timber checkpoint in Mae Sot District. The contract states that the company can operate on the Burmese side of the border in the Mapale, Myawaddy, and Pasawng areas. This company belongs to Mr. Bunchu Trithong, a timber merchant who has good relations with senior military officers. The company has invested more than 5 billion baht, which is thought to be the most invested by any company. But it is worth it in view of the fact that the company can harvest 156,990 tons of teak trees and 2,198,000 tons of other species of trees.

48. The S.K.S. Company Ltd.

This company is involved in importing and exporting industrial goods between Burma and Singapore. The industrial goods imported into Burma include electrical goods, typewriters, cameras, and various necessities. This company also plans to build a trade center in Rangoon.

49. The Skyline Tourist Services Company Ltd.

This company prepares manuals for traveling in Burma.

50. Southwest Imex Ltd.

This company carries on timber operations in affiliation with 14 other Thai companies. Mr. Karun Mositsakun is the company president. The company has a three-year contract. Its main area of operations is located opposite Ranong Province. It can cut 25,000 tons of timber a year, and must pay the Burmese government \$80 a ton.

51. The Si Denchai Suphanburi Company.

Prasit Phothisut and Praphat Phothisut are involved in timber operations.

52. The Suphachok Phitchoeri Company Ltd.

Somkiet Anuwat is carrying on fishing operations in cooperation with Burma. The company has registered capital of 25 million baht. Half of the fish catch goes to market. The other half is sent to industrial plants. The contract states that the company must pay a boat tonnage fee to the Burmese Government of \$800 a ton.

53. The Suwanni Industrial Company Ltd.

The company is carrying on timber operations at Kamaung Thwe. It has a two-year contract.

55. The Tak provincial Chamber of Commerce.

Border points have been opened in order to carry on trade, which was worth approximately 2 billion baht in 1990, double the value in 1989. Thai merchants who are engaged in illegal business activities must pay protection money to the Burmese Government in order to protect themselves from the Karen. A labor market has been opened so that Burmese workers can come and work in Thailand because of the shortage of unskilled labor along the Thai-Burmese border.

56. The Jewelry and Gemstone Association of Thailand.

Mr. Phorasit Si-orathaikun has played a role in Thailand becoming the first major trader. A joint agreement has been reached in order to sign a gemstone trading contract.

57. The Thai Government.

Electricity will be generated from water power. Surveys are now being conducted in order to build two dams, a 25-megawatt plant opposite Chiang Rai Province and a 40-megawatt plant opposite Ranong Province.

58. The Thai Government.

A contract has been signed to conduct surveys for fish rearing sites and resources (land and ocean life along the Burmese border). Trade in ocean products will be carried on jointly between Thailand and Burma.

59. The Thai International Tourist Company Ltd.

This company signed a contract to operate flights to Burma beginning in 1990. Prakit Watcharasin is the president of this company. The first route is between Chiang Mai and Pagan. Tourists must pay \$100-120 per day for the trip. Besides this, the company is planning to build hotels in Pagan and Taung Gyi.

60. The Thai Military Bank Ltd.

The bank plans to open a new branch in Rangoon. Anutra Atsawanon will be the branch manager.

61. The Mining Industry Council of Thailand (MIC).

Darm Thaeothong, the president of the company, has reached an agreement with the Burmese Government on conducting surveys and mining tin, wolfram, lead, iron, and antimony at at least 900 mines along the Thai-Burmese border.

62. The Thai Plywood Company Ltd.

This Thai state enterprise has been granted a timber concession in southern Burma.

63. The Thai Phong Sawmill.

This is one of the large Thai-Burmese timber companies. The major shareholders in this company are Sia Chun and Mrs. [illegible]. It operates in the Malana area. The Thai Government has authorized the opening of border transit points at Ban San Sai and Ban Phangnga in Mae Sai District, Chiang Rai Province, and at Ban Wang Lo in Chiang Saen District, Chiang Rai Province.

64. The Thai Sawat Import-Export Company.

This company has asked the Thai Government for permission to open a timber transit point at Ban Arunothai in Chiang Dao District, Chiang Mai Province. It has been granted a 30,000-ton timber concession in the Shan State. Each ton of timber is valued at \$500. Thus, the company stands to earn at least \$15 million in this area.

65. The Thai Sawat Company Ltd.

This company has been granted a concession in the Shan State. It signed a contract at Mong Pungpakhyen 2.

66. The Thai Advertising Services Company.

This is a shipyard that provides services for fishermen on Koh Samui and Phuket Island. It has also built a liquor

distillery in Burma and opened an air trade route between Malaysia and Singapore. It has invested at least 100 billion baht in these activities.

67. The Thai Teakwood Company.

This company has ties to the Thai Phong Sawmill. The owner is Sia Chun, the managing director of the Bangkok City Bank. Its area of operations is in Chiang Dao District, Chiang Mai Province. The company has links to the Pathumthani Sawmill and the Thai Phong Sawmill. It has a timber transit point at Ban Ta Thon in Mae Ai District, Chiang Mai Province.

68. The Thai merchants group and representatives.

The deputy minister of agriculture and cooperatives, Mr. At Taolanon, and 16 Thai businessmen traveled to Burma in order to reach an agreement on fishing activities, the refrigeration industry, sea products, the canned fish industry, and the freezing industry. This group included representatives from the Suraphon Seafood Company and the Saha Thai Bangkok Production Company. Mr. Somkhit, the manager of the Thai-Burmese Company and the president of the Fishermen's Association, signed an agreement with the Saw Maung government to serve as the representative in carrying on joint Thai-Burmese fishing activities outside territorial waters. The business funds total 378 million baht. There is a 10-year contract for operations within Burma's territorial waters. The initial project will run for five years. The Burmese Government has a 51 percent stake in this. Business profits are to be divided annually. Burma stipulated that Thailand must pay Burma a \$500-600 membership fee per ton per year. But Thailand asked that the figure be set at \$400. Business activities will include refrigeration and frozen seafood activities, canned fish plants, and fish meal plants. A Korean company has contracted to build the plants at Mong Naung near the mouth of the Rangoon River.

69. The Joint Thai-Burmese Company.

The two countries signed an agreement calling for a 40:60 split. Burma has signed an initial two-year contract in order to build a fish meal plant, a fish products plant, and a refrigeration and canned fish plant.

70. The Thai Phong Sawmill.

This company is carrying on timber operations in the Mong Mau area in the Shan State.

71. The Forest Industry Organization.

This company has a two-year contract for 54,000 cubic meters of timber. Its main area of operations is located opposite Prachuap Khiri Khan Province. The \$50,000 fee to be paid to Burma is divided as follows: \$180 per 1.8 cubic meters of Grade A timber, \$75 for Grade B timber, and \$60 for Grade C timber.

72. The Kiatti Land Resources Company (Burma) Ltd.

A contract was signed in order to produce and survey for petroleum in the "J" basin area in Burma.

73. The Thip Thanthong Company Ltd.

This company is involved in timber operations. The manager is Mr. Manat Noppraphai.

74. The Thip Thanthong Company.

This company has a concession in the Mergui area in Burma opposite Prachuap Khiri Khan and Ranong provinces. Its concession area covers 100,000 acres and 1.7 million tons of timber. The company must pay the Burmese Government \$100 per ton of timber imported into Thailand. The company has a three-year concession. The company signed the agreement with Burma in Mergui. General "Ch" is an important shareholder. This is thought to be the first Thai company to be allowed to carry on joint timber operations with the Burmese Government and carry on border trade. It is carrying on border trade in Mae Sai District in Chiang Rai Province, in Mae Sot District in Tak Province, and on Song Island in Ranong Province. The profits are being shared with the Burmese government using a ratio of 6:4.

75. The Thip Thanthong Company.

The company is carrying on hotel operations and has expanded this business in Rangoon. It has invested \$12 million to build a 15-story, 200-room hotel. Two hotels will be built in Rangoon in high traffic areas. The 12 billion baht for this came from 12 financial institutions. And 500 million baht was borrowed from banks in Hong Kong and Australia. The company is also engaged in fishing activities in cooperation with five other Thai fishing companies. Altogether, they operate 225 boats in Burmese waters. The Thip Thanthong Company has to pay 160,000 baht per boat per month. The contract allows the company to fish in good fishing waters. However, it prohibits the Thai Fishing Company, which operates 50 boats, from fishing in those areas.

Besides this, this company has been granted permission to operate 50 purse net boats in Zone 2 in the Gulf of Martaban. But the boats must use the Port of Rangoon only. This is an annual contract. With this contract, it is estimated that the Thip Thanthong Company will be able to catch up to 250,000 tons of fish.

76. The Thip Thanthong Company Ltd.

For 300 million baht, the Thip Thanthong Company plans to build a department store in Rangoon. A team of management experts and technicians will travel there to provide a six-month training program. The goods will be sent from the Singapore branch of Robinson's Department Store.

77. The Thip Thanthong Company Ltd.

The company will export gemstones and jade. It owns shares in companies that sell furniture, articles made from wood, and frozen food, import-export companies, canned fish companies, and companies that make lumber and plywood.

78. The Thip Thanthong Company Ltd.

The company is importing vehicle parts, building materials, and electrical goods. A Singaporean is an important shareholder. He invested in building a liquor distillery and a tobacco plant.

79. The Thip Phanthong Company Ltd.

The company is engaged in bartering various types of goods such as used vehicles and food and deals with Burmese gemstone companies. It has invested \$10 million.

80. The Union Par Company Ltd.

This company, which is owned by Seri Tanchukiat, carries on timber operations in Kayah State. This company also obtains timber products in the Karen area and from local timber merchants. Pricha Nawawong, the son-in-law of General Chawalit, is a major shareholder. It has a border transit point and a timber storage area in Khun Yuam and Mae Sariang districts in Mae Hong Son Province. It signed a contract in 1988 in central Pasawng. It had a temporary border transit point at Ban Pratu Muang Nok in Khun Yuam District. Its concession will expire in 1993.

81. The Union Par Company Ltd.

The company is a shareholder in the Inya Lake Hotel. It invested several million baht in order to modernize this 40-year-old hotel. The hotel can accommodate 200-300 guests.

82. Various businessmen.

Businessmen have opened a casino on an islet in the Ruak River in the Golden Triangle area. Former MP Mongkhon Chongsutthanamni has 3,000 rai on this islet. He plans to use 600 rai to build a golf course and 100 rai to build a resort with pleasure boat.

83. General business activities.

A mining concession has been granted at Tongkah Harbor. The Ao Kha Thai Company, the Pha Daeng Industry Company, The C Tran Mining Company, the Fairmong Strait and Mining Company, and the well-known Thong Wattana Company have been granted concessions.

84. The Winiwet Company Ltd.

The company has a two-year contract to carry on timber activities in Nam Hsa-Hun, Shan State.

85. The Silar International Company Ltd.

The company is carrying on operations at Mong Gawill in the Karen State. It is taking teak and other hardwoods out of Burma into Thailand. The owner is Mr. Suchat Tancharoen, a former Thai Nation Party MP from Chachoengsao Province. [passage omitted]

From the list of 85 large Thai producers and investors that are carrying on activities in Burma, it can be seen that most are businesses with large amounts of investment capital. But this does not include the large number of smaller businesses that are scattered along the Thai-Burmese border.

It can be seen that the hotel, tourist, and resort activities, the fishing, refrigeration industry, and canned fish activities, the plywood and lumber processing activities and logging concessions, the import and export of motorcycles, cars, electrical equipment, cameras, and building materials, the dams to generate electricity, the industries that produce pharmaceutical drugs, beer, agricultural machinery, liquor, tobacco, and fish meal, the tin, iron, wolfram, lead, and antimony mining concessions, the crude oil and natural gas activities, the commercial airline activities, the Thai-Burmese border markets, the gemstone activities, the commercial banking activities, the department stores, and even the casinos in Burma are activities that are earning huge profits for a small number of families. Some of these families are engaged in a large number of activities, from timber activities to hotel, fishing and department store activities. They are engaged in selling gemstones and jade and importing vehicle parts, building materials, and electrical equipment. And they are involved in building plants to produce liquor and cigarettes. An example is the Thip Thanthong Company. All of their profits come from exploiting Burma's natural resources. While the Thai government is supporting these groups, it is treating the Burmese students and minority groups that live along the Thai-Burmese border, who are the people who actually own these resources, in a cold-blooded way. It just wants to use these people as a buffer for Thai financiers. It has ignored the matter of violating people's rights along the border and inside Burma. This is not right.

In particular, many international organizations think that the time has come to stop using the formula of "half to the state and half to Maung." Every month, 200,000 head of cattle are smuggled across the border into Thailand and taken to slaughterhouses. Each time merchants from Thailand or Burma make a trip across the border, they have to change at least 5,000 baht in 20 baht bills in order to pay bribes to officials at the various checkpoints. This does not include goods on which taxes have not been paid and the other contraband goods that flow onto the black markets along the Thai-Burmese border in Mae Sai District in Chiang Rai Province, in Khun Yuam and Mae Sariang districts in Mae Hong Son Province, in Sangkhla Buri District in Kanchanaburi Province, in Kui Buri District in Prachuap Khiri Khan Province, and in Kraburi District in Ranong Province. [passage omitted]

Rebel Leadership, Links With Thai Intelligence

92SE0082B Bangkok *SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN*
in *Thai* 10 Nov 91 pp 36-38

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] It has taken a year to establish a national coalition government, or expatriate government, at Manor Plaw, which is the base camp of the Burmese Democratic Front, the Karen National Independence Organization, and the Karen Liberation Army. Dr. Seng Win, the prime minister, who earned his Ph.D. in mathematics at a university in Germany, has met with the leaders of various Western countries, including the United States, Canada, and Australia, in order to ask for support. More than 30 countries have promised to provide help.

Another person who is playing a very important role is Peter Lin Pin, the foreign affairs minister in this government.

The Burmese Students Democratic Front has changed leaders. Mo Thi Sun, who claims to be very close to General Bo Mya, has been replaced by Dr. Nai Aung, a young doctor who graduated from Rangoon University. Chor Chor has risen from secretary general to deputy president, and Miao Win has been appointed secretary general. Aung Htu is first joint secretary general, and Hla Te is second joint secretary general. These two men used to be lawyers in the Kachin State.

Dr. Nai Aung and Chor Chor have worked together closely during the past year. Their achievements, which are widely recognized, have helped them to rise to the top in the Burmese Students Democratic Front. [passage omitted]

Dr. Nai Aung and Chor Chor are Burmese student leaders who are fighting for rights and freedoms and a democratic form of government. They are the third group of leaders following Tun Aung Cho and Mo Thi Sun.

Along with electing a new group of leaders, the student organization has also elected an 11-man executive committee and a 12-man general committee.

Today, the Burmese Students Democratic Front, which has just elected a new group of leaders, is one of the strongest organizations. It will play an important role in the movement demanding freedom and human rights and a democratic form of government within a federation. And the leaders of this movement, who have won widespread recognition, have liberal democratic ideas.

Besides the student democratic forces, the Democratic Alliance of Burma is cooperating with the National League for Democracy, the secretary general of which is Aung San Suu Kyi. These organizations have formed the Burmese Democratic Front to serve as the central organization in carrying on political and military activities. And to give clear direction to the activities, a Committee for National Unity has been formed to oppose military dictatorship. This is the main organization carrying on activities on this front. It also carries on activities in support of the national coalition government of Dr. Seng Win.

The members of this organization include seven people from the Democratic Alliance of Burma and seven members of the National League for Democracy. Gen. Bo Mya serves as president. U Win Khet from the National League for Democracy is the secretary general. Other members include Prang Seng, Mo Thi Sun, General Tuan So Than, Aung Thien, U Ye Cho, Thu Tun, U Myin, Aung Than Tut, Aung So U, and Mong Mong Aye.

Those who have been monitoring the political and military changes in Burma are probably well aware of the fact that during the past period, the leadership of both the Mon and Shan groups has changed as a result of the deaths of Mr. Sawe Chin, the Mon leader, and Mo Heng, the head of the Tai Revolutionary Council. Besides this, the groups of Ai Sieu Su, the leader of the Wa United Army, and Ai Mung,

the leader of the Palaung State Liberation Army, have surrendered to the Burmese. Both of these groups are in the Shan State.

It can be seen that in the Shan State, there have been both internal organizational changes and changes stemming from efforts to separate from Burma. Thus, it can be said that with respect to some of these organizations, the "head is going one way while the tail is going another."

As for the movement to liberate Thailand, the Shan Progressive Party, which was a member of the Democratic Alliance of Burma, split away and joined the Tai Revolutionary Council and the Thailand Army. Chao Si Thin, who was the joint secretary general of the Shan Progressive Party, surrendered to the government of Saw Mong before the party joined Khun Sa's group. General Saw Mong made him a colonel with the village police at Mong La Chieu. He has about 700 armed men under his command. He was also given a house and car.

As for the Tai Revolutionary Council and the Thailand Army, Mo Heng, a man who was respected by all Shans and who was the president of the Shans, died several months ago. Major General Sutsai Hatsadin attended his funeral. Thus, the Tai Revolutionary Council must now elect a new leader, and it is thought that the person most likely to win that position is Khun Sa, a man who is wanted by the United States for trafficking in narcotics.

Sieu Su, the leader of the Wa United States, who commands a very strong Army, which used to be one of the main forces of the Burmese Communist Party, has joined forces with the government of Gen. Saw Mong. His forces have launched attacks on the bases of Khun Sa's forces and seized several places, including Doi Lang, Doi Sa Maju, Loi Laem, Ban Arunothai (Nong Uk), and areas along the border opposite Tha Ton in Mae Ai District.

It is well known that these groups are fighting for control of the narcotics transport routes. Khun Sa has controlled these routes and collected transit taxes. Sieu Su's group is involved in narcotics trafficking activities. The three "We" brothers, including We Chao Lo and We Chao Fu, head this business enterprise.

One of the political activities of the Wa that is worth watching is the fact that Sieu Su's group is cooperating with Wa National Organization. Chao Bai Mo, an important leader of the Wa National Organization, told the writer that "we have contacted the forces of the Wa United States led by Sieu Su in order to reach an understanding and join forces in the battle to bring democracy and freedom to Burma. If there is disunity, that will benefit the enemy, the Burmese military government." He added that "this expatriate government is our hope. We don't have many options. But we are doing our best."

As for relations between Khun Sa and Sieu Su, Khun Sa wants to reach a compromise in order to join forces in the struggle against the Burmese Government, which is the common enemy of all the minority groups. But the main obstacle is the profits to be earned from trafficking in narcotics. The Wa traffic in narcotics, and Khun Sa's

group collects transit taxes. Sometimes, financial interests take precedence over political ideals!

During the past year, several former leaders who had played a role in various minority group organizations and in organization fighting for democracy, freedom, and human rights surrendered to the Burmese. Among these, several had been working as spies for the Saw Mong government. They had infiltrated these organizations and learned secrets at Manor Plaw, which is the most important strategic point of the anti-government forces.

Just after the formation of the coalition government, or expatriate government, at Manor Plaw, ministers Tan Chuai and Mien Aung surrendered to the Burmese. As for the student organization, Mong Mong Chor, a student leader who had once contacted the Libyan embassy in Kuala Lumpur in order to request military aid from Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, has surrendered to the Burmese Government.

Mai Pansaeng, a former Paluang State Liberation Party representative to the National Democratic Front, whose headquarters is located at Manor Plaw, surrendered to the Burmese after Ai Mung, the leader of the Palaung State Liberation Party, announced that he was surrendering to the Burmese Government.

Just after that, Pan Seng entered Thailand together with Thien Myin, who is believed to be a corporal in the Burmese unit. Later on, both men were arrested while carrying on reconnaissance activities in various provinces where the anti-government forces have headquarters. The Karen decided to execute them on 30 August at Manor Plaw. Amnesty International sent a letter asking that they not be executed, but its request was rejected.

Mai Pansaeng was a first lieutenant in the Palaung State Liberation Army and was very close to Thai military intelligence units. He was captured by Karen forces in Thailand. [passage omitted]

Sudharmono Sees Need for Islamic Museum

92SE0098B Jakarta BISNIS INDONESIA in Indonesian 16 Nov 91 p 12

[Text] JAKARTA (BISNIS)—Vice President Sudharmono is so proud of the success of the implementation of the Istiqlal Festival, which lasted a full month and attracted more than six million visitors, that he has broached the idea of an Indonesian Islamic Museum.

"It would be used as a place for keeping and preserving works of Islamic culture, both older works and newer ones, so that they would not be neglected and so that we could

avoid the possibility of their being consumed with age," he said last night as he officially closed the 1991 Istiqlal Festival on the premises of the Istiqlal Mosque.

According to the vice president, as a nation whose territory is so far-flung and the majority of whose population is Muslim, it would be fitting if Indonesia had such a museum. One consequence would be that Indonesians, especially the Muslims, would become increasingly aware of, and acquainted with, their culture. In the same way, it would make it easy for Muslims of other countries to get to know Indonesia's Muslims through their history, their culture heritage, and the dynamics of their way of life.

Speaking to an audience of more than 1,500 people, including ministers and foreign ambassadors who were present for the occasion, the vice president officially brought to a close, by striking the mosque drum, this people's festival, one that had been permeated by Islam.

The vice president said that the festival, which had only been mounted once, constituted a major activity of monumental proportions in the life of Indonesian Muslims, and although this was the first time such a festival had been held, it was obvious that it had been a great success.

Earlier on, Ponco Sutowo, in his capacity as chair of the Organizing Committee, had reported on the implementation of the one-month festival. The total number of visitors up to the last day (yesterday) had been approximately 6.5 million, far exceeding the initial estimate of only one million people. The festival was accompanied by a symposium on Islamic issues in Indonesia, which was held in the Indosat Building, as well as a Muslim fashion show at the Borodudur Intercontinental Hotel, while on the premises of the Istiqlal Mosque and at the Ismail Marzuki Cultural Center (TIM), several artistic attractions of an Islamic character had been exhibited. Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, Malaysia, and the People's Republic of China had also participated in the festival.

The vice president declared that many lessons had been learned in the course of putting on this great festival. By means of this activity, people had been able to become acquainted with the cultural heritage of the Indonesian nation, a heritage that had until now commanded insufficient attention.

Realizing how great the value of the festival had been, the vice president supported the idea of not being satisfied with simply having brought the festival to a conclusion. He emphasized the necessity of thinking about the follow-up, so that although the festival had ended, its echoes would continue to reverberate.

POLITICAL

Military Blames Fretilin Leader for Dili Incident

92SE0098A Jakarta *BISNIS INDONESIA* in Indonesian
16 Nov 91 p 12

[Text] DILI (Press Bureau)—The commander of the Ninth (Udayana) Military Region. Armed Forces Major-General Sington Panjaitan, has asserted that the leader of the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor [Fretilin], Xanana Gusmao, as well as other leading personalities of the front, must take responsibility for the victims from the people's side in the disturbance at the Santa Cruz Cemetery, Dili, last Tuesday the 12th of November.

"Most of the victims were youths in the Town of Dili who had fallen prey to Xanana's agitation and propaganda, the aim of which was to oppose integration and to attack Armed Forces (ABRI [Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia]) personnel," Sintong said to a number of reporters in Dili, as quoted by ANTARA.

The regional military commander also declared that he was very concerned and sad about this undesirable incident. He felt that the measures taken by the ABRI troops at the time was in accordance with military procedure.

He went on to say, "I also don't agree that people must be victimized by the irresponsible acts of certain individuals."

According to Sintong, there were only 200 ABRI soldiers involved in the incident, and they had no choice other than to defend themselves, because they were surrounded by about 3,500 rioters. Among the latter, there were people who described themselves as belonging to the security-disturbing movement (GPK)/Fretilin.

Furthermore, Sintong said, from the outset the ABRI side had manifested a calm demeanor and had tried to avoid taking action, although at the time one of their own number had already fallen, the deputy commander of the 700th Airborne, Major (Infantry) Andi Girhan Andi Lantara—who is even now in a critical condition. In addition to the major, Private Dominggus also suffered light wounds.

The calm demeanor of the ABRI soldiers was consistently maintained, said Sintong, although the rioters at the Santa Cruz Cemetery shouted: "Seize their weapons, don't be afraid, the ABRI troops won't dare shoot," and this was accompanied by other taunts.

The atmosphere became ever more heated, until the troops were forced to fire their weapons into the air; but the crowd still paid no heed. The rioters continued in their efforts to seize the soldiers' weapons, until there was no alternative for the soldiers but to defend themselves.

Military Assistance

Meanwhile, from Washington, the United States Government insisted that it would continue to defend its provision of military assistance to Indonesia, although the government had come in for criticism from Congress following the disturbance at Dili. At the same time, the statement responded to the appeal by one of Fretilin's

leaders, Jose Ramos Horta, who had requested that western nations mount a weapons embargo against Indonesia.

"We are of the opinion that uninterrupted, planned military assistance can support military professionalization in Indonesia," said a spokesman of the U.S. State Department, Richard Boucher.

The U.S. Government has prepared an estimate of U.S.\$2.3 million for military assistance for fiscal 1991-1992, which is intended only for education and training.

On a separate occasion in Jakarta last night, the U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo, stated that he had sent the head of the embassy's political section, Timothy Hamilton, together with a former first secretary who currently occupies a position in the U.S. State Department in Washington, on a visit to East Timor.

"This is a routine visit, and we have also sent a lower-ranking staff member. As far as the presence of the former First Secretary is concerned, his arrival happened to coincide with the disturbance in Dili. They left for East Timor on Thursday," he added.

On yet another occasion, in Nusa Dua, Bali, the coordinating minister for politics and security, Sudomo, said that Mrs. H. Todd—the mother of Kamel bin Achmad, the New Zealand citizen who had been slain as a result of the disturbance at Dili—wished to go and retrieve the remains of her son, which would then be taken to the United Kingdom.

Corruption in Home Affairs Ministry Revealed

92SE0114A Jakarta *KOMPAS* in Indonesian 28 Nov 91
pp 1, 11

[Text] Jakarta, KOMPAS—It turns out that the Department of Home Affairs is not free of cases of corruption. An investigation of that department over a period of three fiscal years (1989/1990 to 1991-1992) succeeded in uncovering 103,490 cases which caused financial losses to the state and to provinces of more than 49 billion rupiahs. Out of that total only a little more than 14.7 billion rupiahs could be explained or recovered. In this connection the total number of cases investigated is 103,229, leaving 101 cases unresolved.

Minister of Home Affairs Rudini made this statement at a working meeting between Vice President Sudharmono and senior officials of Echelons I through IV of the central office of the Department of Home Affairs in Jakarta on 27 November. With his attendance at this working meeting the vice president has now met with 19 of the 21 departments in the central government. Only one Echelon I official did not attend the meeting. He is Director General of Social and Political Affairs Harisoegiman, who is presently on detached duty with the National Investigations Commission (KPN).

According to the minister of home affairs, the remaining money involved in corruption, about 34.4 billion rupiahs, is still in the process of being recovered. He did not say

when this matter will be fully resolved and whether he could guarantee that all of the money involved in these cases of corruption can be returned.

Meanwhile, a review of a report by the Financial and Development Investigations Board (BPKP) at the Department of Home Affairs for fiscal years 1990/1991 and 1991/1992 has brought out 3,224 cases of corruption which caused losses to the state and provinces of 7.4 billion rupiahs. At the same time it turned out that outstanding obligations to pay the state and provinces amount to more than 18.8 billion rupiahs.

The minister said: "Regarding further action as a result of the BPKP investigation, whose status has not yet been clarified, at the present time discussions are going on between the Ministry of Home Affairs and the BPKP to formulate jointly the way in which this matter will be resolved."

He said that the investigation of personnel of the Department of Home Affairs has been carried out by three levels of functional investigative bodies, that is, the inspectorate general of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the inspectorate of provinces, and the inspectorate of regencies and cities.

Field Apparatus

Meanwhile, Minister of Home Affairs Rudini also said that since Post Office Box 5000 has been opened, the Department of Home Affairs has received 14,086 letters of complaint about specific cases. A total of 8,937 such cases has been handled and the results reported to the vice president, while the remainder are still being considered in the provinces.

A total of 1,675 complaints have been received by the minister of home affairs and the Inspectorate General of the Department of Home Affairs. Action has been completed on 1,403 of these complaints. The remaining 232 cases [as printed] are still under investigation. The minister said: "Based on available data, a large number of complaints, in addition to involving various levels of government, also concern in particular the matter of the election of village chiefs and land questions."

In commenting on the question of the investigation Vice President Sudharmono declared that, according to data available to him, there have so far been about 57,000 complaints submitted through Post Office Box 5000. About one-third of these cases, or about 15,000 letters, involve personnel of the Department of Home Affairs.

The vice president said: "However, there is no need for concern because that is normal. This is because the work of the Ministry of Home Affairs covers a broad range of activities, including services and functions directly affecting the people. The people hope that officials of the Department of Home Affairs, who are members of the administrative service, will be their guides and their protectors and that they will even resolve the problems which the people face. If the people do not obtain the kind of service which they hope for, they will certainly complain. First, the complaints are sent to the leaders closest to the

people who complain, such as the village chief, the district officer, the regent, or the provincial governor."

From the data obtained the vice president then draws the preliminary conclusion that what has been reported in general affects the office handling such matters in the field. Most of these cases concern services at the regency level, but not specifically the regent, the district office, and the village.

The vice president said: "A few of these complaints concern service at the provincial level and, in very few cases, at the central government level. However, that does not mean that central government offices provide far better service than those at the provincial level." The vice president then reminded those concerned once again that officials should continue to improve supervision and deal directly with everyone visiting their offices.

'Favorite Tender'

At the meeting the vice president also asked provincial governors, as coordinators of development in their areas of concern, to take part in the preparation of regulations on tenders. This is because the vice president knows that there is a provincial governor who has a "favorite" person in mind when tenders are invited.

Previously, Minister Rudini had told the vice president that there are still problems regarding the coordination of development in the provinces, such as the unwillingness of chiefs of provincial offices of central government departments to follow the directions of the governor or the regent.

Rudini said: "When they are invited to attend a meeting, they (the chiefs of the provincial offices) indeed come. However, if an operational problem in the field is discussed, they often pay no attention to the opinions of the governor, because there has been no previous instruction or there has been a different instruction from the minister. So in other words there are still many provincial level offices which are not willing to pay attention."

Regarding this matter, the vice president said that he was aware of the problem. He added: "Indeed, in addition to these provincial level offices there are absentee office directors. Now, these absentee office directors are a problem. There are provincial level offices which cannot control an absentee office director because he is in the central government (in Jakarta—editor's note).

In this connection the vice president hoped that cabinet ministers will also realize that for the implementation of development programs in the provinces they do not need to give directions which differ from Presidential Instruction No. 29/1984 concerning the implementation of the national budget.

The vice president said: "We also hope that provincial governors will join in supporting Presidential Decision No. 29/1984. Among other things this instruction asks that

priority be given to domestic production and that arrangements be made for the participation of provincial companies and enterprises set up by economically weak groups when tenders are invited."

The vice president added with a smile: "However, there is also a provincial government or a governor who has a 'favorite' (when tenders are invited—editor's comment). There are some of them. I know that there are."

For that reason the vice president hoped that regents will not hesitate to report officials from central government services, including absentee office directors, who decline to participate in the coordination of effort with the department involved.

The vice president concluded: "In fact this is an old problem. However, this should not be an obstacle in carrying out the role and functions of governors and regents as development coordinators in their areas of concern. The governors and the Regional Development Boards must be able to develop specific policies concerning development, both in sectoral as well as regional terms."

Commentary on Political Campaigning

Call for Better Campaigns

92SE0116A Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
2 Dec 91 pp 4, 5

[Article by M. Ryaas Rasyid, lecturer at the Public Administration Institute, Jakarta: "Campaigns Without Rallies"]

[Text] It is now certain that one of the rules of the game for the 1992 general election will be a ban on rallies during OPP [election participant organization] campaigns. The main purpose for the new rule is to prevent campaign excesses that could create a dangerous atmosphere for interaction between supporters of one OPP and the followers of other OPP's.

Since campaigns and elections are merely one link in the process in which the aspirations of the people are expressed and democracy is practiced, a change in one of the campaign rules for the sake of something more important (prevention of interference with election stability) appears to be appropriate.

In a campaign without rallies, it appears to me that there will be more opportunity for the OPP's to mount limited campaigns that may be more effective in bringing the candidates closer to the voter community. Limited campaigns are a common practice in countries that follow the district system in their general elections. Although we do not use the district system, limited campaigns will still be more beneficial to the political education of the people.

The main problem we face in building a more healthy and mature political life is how candidates can take positions "closer" to their constituents, how they can approach the public, and how they can invite people to special programs without mobilizing them to be a "show of force."

The "show-of-force" method is basically irrational, because it exploits emotional ties of supporters; and in a crowd situation individuals lose their "autonomy" to present their individuality. In other words, depending on crowds to determine an objective position on an issue is not realistic. Such a method is in fact still used in Pakistan, India, and some other Third World countries, and their populations pay the price.

Those countries are not good examples, however. A system that exploits public emotions in an election campaign treats people simply as political tools and thus is incompatible with the basic values of a just and civilized humanity.

The purposes of political campaigns, however, include provision of opportunity to the people to be objective in deciding their political positions. Rationality in the context of taking a political position does not always need to be related to the choice of an individual candidate but may be merely the choice of a particular party.

Naturally, the OPP leaders should be the ones that communicate the ideas and programs of their OPP's. There is thus the assurance that what they present will be the policies of their respective organizations. Those policies will therefore become guidance for their representatives in legislative bodies.

Limited Campaigns

One alternative to a "show-of-force" campaign is the limited campaign. Specifically, legislative candidates campaign directly in the community and not among crowds gathered on a field. Candidates for second level DPRD's [regional legislatures], for example, would campaign from one RW [ward] to another in a subdistrict or in several villages. First level DPRD candidates would campaign from subdistrict to subdistrict within a regency or municipality. DPR [Parliament] candidates would campaign from one regency or municipality to another within a province. In principle, this has long been practiced.

What is different about this recommendation is that, except for second level DPRD candidates, who campaign directly in the community and visit homes and workplaces, first level DPRD and DPR candidates would campaign in special places to which they would invite only potential supporters (prominent people of various standings, campaign workers from villages and higher levels, and party contributors).

This would be the oft-discussed combination of proportional and district systems. The effect of the district system would be seen in the distribution of campaign territories to party candidates (wards, villages, urban communities, subdistricts, regencies, municipalities, and provinces). In other words, leaders of GOLKAR [Functional Group] and the political parties at the second level and below would be given more responsibility for developing supporters.

The effect of the representational system would be seen in the activities of campaign workers, who would continue to come forward with "party programs" rather than promoting the individual candidates who take part in the

campaigns. The names of party leaders could be advertised without their actual presence. This would be important for persuading voters that those individuals are capable of fighting for the programs being offered.

High-level party leaders would have direct contact with people through campaign tours from one area to another, where their supporters would gather in limited numbers. At the same time, the public would witness and follow the campaign activities of these leaders through the mass media.

This would admittedly be tiring for GOLKAR and political party leaders, besides being very expensive, but that is as it should be. As representatives of the people, those leaders must gain the respect of the people through hard work and sacrifice. They will thus respect their own status as well. This will help the people, for they will realize that their participation and support are greatly needed.

The people will be more aware that they can demand effective use of the political rights they delegate to these respected representatives and can reevaluate the representatives in the next election. The benefit to OPP leaders is that they have the opportunity to put down roots in the hearts of the people.

Campaigns would no longer be merely emotional excitement, for this "fiesta of democracy" is not the same as excitement. The "fiesta of democracy" must be viewed in the context of public political education and greater political responsibility on the part of GOLKAR and political party leaders. We expect, then, to be able to campaign each time with cool heads and reason.

Mass Media

The intensity and frequency of mass media coverage needs to be increased. The emphasis should not be on direct debate in the American style but on providing a forum for explaining the programs of each organization.

We have done this in the past through allocating time for television speeches by GOLKAR and political party leaders. The difference is that programs should be varied instead of being limited to speeches. For example, during the first week, there would be opportunity for discussion by leaders of merely one OPP. This could be done two or three times.

Then, there would be special programs for discussion among the OPP's. Such discussion should be on one clearly limited issue or topic. A topic would be discussed in principle so that the position of each OPP could be known. For example a discussion could take up economic policies (jobs, minimum wage, etc.), regional development issues, citizens' political rights and duties, education policies, and so on.

If we want to educate the people even better, such discussion should be led by experts in specific fields rather than by television broadcasters, so that differences of opinion can be given without drawing conclusions as to which is best. People should be given opportunity to decide for themselves which party appears most realistic and most

worthy of their support. The experts should be given opportunity outside that forum to evaluate the quality of the discussions and the worthiness of the positions of the respective organizations.

Use of the print media would be up to each organization through releases on whatever issues they desire. The problem is that the three OPP's have differing access to the press. Because of this, the government needs to urge the press to be fair in reporting on the campaign activities of the election participants. The provision of separate columns for each organization by the independent print media is one method to be considered.

Guarantee

Campaigns represent only a small part of the process of developing Pancasila [the five principles of the Indonesian state] democracy, but they represent one forum for evaluating the extent to which we are consistent in this development.

Therefore, the government and its apparatus must be able to make a substantial guarantee to the PPP [Development Unity Party] and the PDI [Indonesian Democratic Party] that they will have the opportunity afforded formally by a number of laws to approach the public. Without such a guarantee, the two political parties will always be suspicious of reducing, let alone eliminating, rallies from political campaigns.

Up to now, the rallies have been the only way the parties have had to show their existence, for they have been under constant pressure from GOLKAR's growth process. Realizing that their infatuation with rallies has been driven by their desire to show they are still here, we must adequately compensate for the elimination of the rallies.

Economic Action and Campaigning

92SE0116B Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
2 Dec 91 p 4

[Article by Emmanuel Subangun, a researcher residing in Jakarta: "Political Communication and Campaign Beginnings"]

[Text] The intensity of "political" activity has rapidly increased lately. Strangely, the faster its growth—with or without Toffler's presence—the greater the spirit of openness, too.

On the other hand, while politics have been marked by openness, all types of deregulation in the economy have been marked by contraction.

Political openness and economic contraction are two subjects that should be scrutinized more carefully.

Campaign Beginnings

If there has been one admirable campaign technique during this time when cynicism has reached such a high point—as evidenced by all kinds of sarcasm and rumors—it was the series of blows recently struck by technocrats.

In the energy sector, the PLN [State Electricity Enterprise] and the Attorney General sharply rebuked the conglomerates, which earlier had been praised as examples to be followed. In the monetary sector, the minister of finance and the governor of the Central Bank took action to tighten the flow of money, which ultimately must result in a review of "white elephant" projects.

All of this shows clearly that rationality in the normal sense is being upheld. Rationality means accepting reality as reality, namely that our economic structure is wasteful, inefficient, and abounding in subsidies.

In other words, the success of all types of economic institutions is the success of opportunism, the success of profiteers.

Consequently, now that Emil Salim has finally struck a blow in the environmental sector, it has to be said that the technocrats are introducing a convincing social rationality pattern.

Political Meaning

Blows like this have to be understood as good campaigning. In other words, the community can at least see that in a period of five years high government officials have done something directly to put the interests of the people first.

Things like this need to be done (from time to time), for in the conduct of "development" it is always possible that what is done now will not have rapid and direct results. For example, build a new road. For residents who are displaced, "development" is disastrous. Through the "law" the government always sets compensation according to the state's "pockets", but for the displaced people the compensation is not enough.

For the government, however, the new road may be a necessity for traffic flow, taking into consideration numbers of vehicles, the locations of housing and offices, etc. In other words, macro reasoning (the government must conduct development) does not always accord with micro interests (displacement of people).

If the technocrats strike a blow like the one mentioned above, it can be said that politically, or in a macro way, it is for the basic needs of the community.

In that sense, and only in that sense, can it be said that their actions are political communication. Political communication at a time of rising political activity is not far from the meaning of campaigning in the fullest sense.

Openness

From another aspect, all of these things take place in the context of a political spirit in which pragmatism is much recommended. The most recent form of this spirit is "openness."

Be careful, however, with the assumption that we can quickly leave ideology behind and live in an era full of rationality, a postideological era. We must be careful lest we mistakenly define ideology as the opposite of programs.

Since ideology is not something that is antirational, no country can exist without ideology. In this sense, the pragmatic spirit now so exalted must be understood as an effort to replace old ideologies (philosophies and groups, especially NASACOM [nationalism, religion, and communism]) with ideologies that better guarantee the stability and continuance of the Indonesian state.

There is no "de-ideologization" in Indonesia, whether yesterday or in the future. What has happened is simply that government officials have taken political action, and that action is marked by true political rationality. In this we can see the natural manifestation of a spirit that tends toward "de-ideologization" or openness.

Openness in the political community does not necessarily mean that the voice of the people is being heard. Openness is the opening of communications channels in a political sense.

In the same way, transparency does not necessarily mean that everyone with political functions can be "audited." Transparency only means language and actions that can be understood by the public, namely that macro actions give priority to the interests of the people. As stated in a recent editorial, openness and transparency occur because "it has been decreed and thus we make it a consensus."

Economic Jolt

The question now is why our economy is jolted at a time when political communication, openness, and transparency have become a reality. Why were the conglomerates rebuked? Why are "white elephant" projects postponed?

One possible answer is that economic progress in Indonesia is not supported by entrepreneurs but by profiteers, not by businessmen in the sense of capitalists but by businessmen in the very old-fashioned sense of street vendors and traders.

Do such supporters of development make development less valuable or less splendid? That is not the question.

Because our national economic structure is not driven by businessmen and capitalists, but by street vendors and traders, the direct consequence is that our economic strength is not all of a sudden equal to our political strength. Under such conditions, therefore, political communication becomes something that is rare and infrequent.

For that reason, accept the "economic" blows of the technocrats as the means of "political" communication that is available in the system that we know. Political communication is not conducted to guarantee the continuance of the political system but because such communication is desired by the officials involved. It must therefore be understood that such communication is not to be seen as part of a democratization process.

It is still far from it!

ECONOMIC

Continuing Growth of Foreign Investments Seen

92SE0115A Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
3 Dec 91 p 3

[Text] Jakarta (KOMPAS)—Although some people say the Indonesian economy will suffer recession, the constantly expanding process of relocating industry to Indonesia will support Indonesian economic growth in 1992. At the same time, the world economic situation can continue to be depended on for our exports and economic growth.

This was the conclusion drawn in a one-day seminar entitled "Indonesian Finance in 1992," held in Jakarta by BISNIS INDONESIA on Monday [2 December]. Speakers in the seminar included Mohammad Sadli, Priasmoro Prawiroarjo, and PERBANAS [Association of Private National Banks] General Chairman Trenggono Purwosudjo.

"The domestic situation shows that some economic sectors are bearing a heavy burden because of tight money policies," Priasmoro said. "On the other hand, the domestic business recession will be compensated for by the flow of foreign capital," he said.

Sadli said, "Although on the one hand there are complaints that business is bearing a heavy burden because of tight money and foreign loan scheduling, the relocation of industry from neighboring countries continues and means that the Indonesian economic growth target of more than 5 percent can be met."

Investments Flow

Meanwhile, it could be seen in a meeting of a delegation from the Hong Kong Industrial Federation (FIH) with BKPM (Capital Investment Coordination Board) Chairman Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo that investments by Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea are on the increase.

Investments from Hong Kong are flowing steadily to Indonesia, competing with Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea. Hong Kong foreign capital investment (PMA) now encompasses 175 projects with a total value of \$3.73 billion. This total investment is the second largest after that of Japan, which has 389 projects and an investment of \$9.64 billion.

The third spot is held by Taiwan, with 170 projects and an investment of \$2.28 billion. Although South Korea's investment is only \$1.69 billion, its 196 PMA projects are second in number only to Japan's.

"As the return of Hong Kong to China draws closer the flow of investments out of Hong Kong is speeding up. Because of the PRC's political instability, businessmen choose Indonesia, which they view as having good prospects," explained I.B.P. Djendra, Indonesian economic consul in Hong Kong, who accompanied the FIH delegation.

The BKPM chairman explained to the 20 businessmen in the FIH delegation that the Deregulation Package of 3

June 1991, which freed up marketing and modified import duties on 887 commodities, demonstrates Indonesia's readiness to establish free trade with any country in the world.

In an even wider sense, he said, the Package of 3 June 1991 shows that Indonesian products can compete on world markets without need for support by nontariff protection. The 3 June Package will also give more stimulus to the expansion of the private sector, Sanyoto continued.

Ready for Joint Ventures

The FIH delegation said it is seeking Indonesian businessmen to be partners in PMA in Indonesia. The delegation included property developers, travel bureau operators, and makers of garments, sweaters, labels, plastic injection molding machinery, insulation, rattan furniture, toys, and video cassettes.

One reason for the trend among Hong Kong businessmen to choose Indonesia as the location for new investments is the uncertain fate of their capital when Hong Kong reverts to China in 1997. This trend is reflected in increased investment in Indonesia.

While in 1987 Hong Kong had only 23 PMA projects and an investment of \$129.1 million, the total rose by 99.8 percent in 1988 to 24 PMA projects worth \$257.9 million. In 1989, the total rose by 57.7 percent to 29 PMA projects and an investment of \$406.8 million. In 1990, investments rose by 144.2 percent to 36 PMA projects and an investment of \$993.3 million. This means that Hong Kong's \$993 million in PMA made up 11.4 percent of a total PMA of \$8.69 billion throughout Indonesia in 1990.

Looking at cumulative PMA from 1967 to 1990, the fourth position—after Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan—is held by the United States with 122 projects worth \$2.174 billion. The Netherlands has 81 projects worth \$1.962 billion, and Germany has 48 projects worth \$1.862 billion. South Korea is only in seventh place.

No Interference by U.S. Recession

Besides discussing Indonesian economic prospects for 1992, Sadli also said that the recession in the United States, which is an export destination, will not interfere very much with the flow of our exports. "The current recession is very different from that of the 1950's," he said.

He said that recessions now are relatively preventable and recovery can be accomplished quickly, thanks to the postulate of U.S. economist J.M. Keynes on recovery from recession. Keynes, who in the 1950's was considered a pioneer in economics, said that economic recession can be prevented by increasing government expenditures. According to Sadli, the United States uses this postulate and has been able to postpone recession for 12 years, despite the risk of deficit budgets.

Sadli also said that if there should be a recession in the United States, the world would not be affected as it was in the 1950's. "In those years, because the U.S. economy was

dominant, recession in the United States had great effect on the world economy," he said.

However, he continued, the U.S. economy has been balanced by the economic strength of the European Community and Japan. "In fact, the Asia Pacific economy is now able to match the size of the U.S. economy," he asserted. Therefore, according to Sadli, recession in the U.S. economy is not as frightening as it was in the 1950's.

Unable

During the one-day seminar, Priasmoro also revealed the problems banks are now having. "I admit that the situation is serious," he said. He added, "Banks will be able to overcome the problems if their fellow banks help with liquidity as long as the government maintains tight money."

He also said that the heavy burden is mainly caused by the requirement that banks must maintain a capital adequacy ratio of 8 percent. This means that banks must refrain from providing new credit, while at the same time they are compelled to mobilize increasingly scarce funds from the community.

"This situation will cause bank profits to decline," he said. If falling profits last for the next two years, many banks will merge. "They will not be able to stand losses," he declared.

He said foreign banks that are joint operations will not stand losses, because not many of them receive support from their parent banks. "The only banks that have that support are joint operations with Japanese banks," he said.

For that reason, Priasmoro said, banks face big losses if the government maintains a tight money policy for two years. He noted, however, that the government has promised to relax the tight money policy in the next two years.

Conglomerates To Develop Rice Paddies in 1992

Completion of Project

92SE0097 Jakarta *BISNIS INDONESIA in Indonesian*
18 Nov 91 p 16

[Text] JAKARTA (Bisnis): A program under which conglomerates will develop rice paddies will be inaugurated next year. The initial stage will be a pilot project of at least 50,000 hectares, while farmers who wish to obtain these paddies will have to engage in sharecropping for a period of fifteen years.

The director-general for food crops in the Department of Agriculture, Dudung Abdul Adjid, has stated that it is hoped that beginning in fiscal 1992-93 the pilot project under which conglomerates will construct new rice paddies can be realized. The area contemplated ranges from 50,000 to 100,000 hectares.

"Development of this amount of land has been targetted to be entirely completed in two years," he said after a closed

meeting with a number of the officials involved who will handle the preparation of new paddies. The meeting, which was held last weekend (on Saturday) was chaired by the minister for agriculture, Wardoyo, and was attended by, among others, the director-general for food crops, the director-general for irrigation in the Department of Public Works, the head of the directorate-general for monetary affairs in the Department of the Treasury, an official of the Department of Transmigration, and an official from Bapenas [the National Development Planning Board].

Wardoyo said that the development of new rice paddies that is going to be carried out by conglomerates would be separate from routine paddy development programs of the Department of Agriculture. This means that the Department of Agriculture will continue to carry out the development of up to 50,000 hectares of new rice paddies in 1992-93.

"The conglomerates are actually going to accomplish the construction of new paddies entirely on their own, because 100 percent of the funding will come from them, without any subsidy from the Department of Agriculture," the minister said. He added that the funds to be expended by the conglomerates will return to them, and for this reason a program of profit sharing with the conglomerates will be put into effect among those farmers who wish to own the rice paddies.

The division of the profit-sharing, Wardoyo continued, will be as follows: 30 percent of the value of the crops will be paid out as installments to the conglomerates so that the farmers can own the paddies, while 70 percent will be used to pay for the farmers' daily living expenses.

Wardoyo did not give details as to how long the installments would continue until the farmers come into full possession of the paddies that are going to be prepared by the conglomerates. One source in the Department of Agriculture, however, has calculated that the time needed by farmers to gain ownership of the paddies, utilizing the profit-sharing system, will be about fifteen years.

The minister of agriculture also explained that the development of new paddies by the conglomerates would be aimed at swampy terrain where irrigation networks have already been constructed. According to the minister, several regions in Indonesia are known as potentially productive swampy terrain, for example in Sumatra and Kalimantan.

Another source in the Department of Agriculture has indicated that the swampy terrain is of two types, that is, tidal swamps and non-tidal swamps. As a matter of fact, the director-general for irrigation of the Department of Public Works is inclined to offer non-tidal swamps of potentially 368,000 hectares in extent.

The productivity of non-tidal swampy terrain is between one and a half and two metric tons of milled dry rice (GKG) per hectare, while that of tidal swampy terrain is between two and 30 metric tons.

Seven Provinces Participate

92SE0099 Jakarta PELITA in Indonesian 18 Nov 91 p 2

[Text] Jakarta, PELITA—*The program for the construction of new rice paddies, which is to be implemented under a cooperative arrangement between the Department of Agriculture and conglomerates, will be developed by means of a pilot project in seven provinces, utilizing terrain comprising 50,000 to 100,000 hectares.*

A decision on the development of the conglomerates' rice paddy pilot project was made after a consultation held in Jakarta on Saturday (16 November) between the minister of agriculture and the six directors-general concerned, representing various departments.

The project will last for two years, and 100 percent of the cost will be financed by interested conglomerates, while the rice paddies will be sold straightaway, on credit, to the farmers. Payment of the loans will be made by means of a type of profit-sharing system, over a period of approximately fifteen years.

The minister of agriculture, Ir [Engineer] Wardoyo, said, after a meeting with the directors-general of agriculture [and] food crops (Department of Agriculture), the director-general of irrigation and the director-general of highway construction and maintenance in the Department of Public Works, the director-general of recruitment and development in the Department of Transmigration, and the deputy for the economic field of the National Development Planning Board (BAPPENAS)—that the pilot project would commence in fiscal year 1992. The development of the pilot project would be aimed at swampy terrain that has already been provided with primary and secondary level drainage systems. The regions where the pilot projects would be set up are South Sumatra, Jambi, Riau, Lampung, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, and South Kalimantan.

On the basis of notes made by PELITA, of the 35 million hectares of swampy terrain in Indonesia, about six million are suitable for development as locations for agricultural activity. 2.5 million hectares of the six million have the potential for large-scale development, including 1.5 million hectares [that have been assigned] a high priority, which are located in Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Irian Jaya.

“We have quite a large amount of swampy terrain in this country. It is hoped that the conglomerates will begin the project, even though the hectareage is not very great—for each entrepreneur, the amount of land will have to be more than 5,000 hectares. So they are going to provide in advance all of the money required, and only later will the farmers repay them by means of profit-sharing credits, that

is, 30 percent of the yield obtained will become installments on the credit extended to the farmers,” the minister of agriculture stated.

Concerning the period for repayment, Wardoyo did not set a limit. According to him, the amount of time will depend on the size of the expenditures made [by the conglomerates] and the yield that will be obtained. Similarly, the interest on the loans will depend on the source from which the conglomerates obtain their financing.

However, bearing in mind that the productivity of paddy planted in swampy terrain is smaller than that of irrigated areas, that is, 1.5 to 2.5 metric tons per hectare for lowland terrain and two to three metric tons per hectare for tidal areas, while productivity on irrigated terrain technically can be as much as three to four metric tons per hectare, it is estimated that the loans referred to above can be paid off in 15 years—on the assumption that the level of interest is appropriate to the level of development.

Transmigration System

The minister also said that because this development of new paddies is intended to be carried out in areas that are really empty, farmers who wish to work these paddies will be brought in as transmigration farmers. Each family head (KK) will get the same amount of land that has up till now been provided under the transmigration program, that is, two hectares.

Because of this, several agricultural circles do not want to refer to this system of developing new paddies as Peoples' Core Plantations (PIR), since it would be more appropriate to refer to it as “the transmigration and private [enterprise] system.”

In 1992-93, the Department of Transmigration itself has projected that 70,000 heads of families will take part in the entire transmigration program. With the coming into existence of the paddy development program, the Department of Transmigration (Deptrans) is going to add to the total mentioned above in accordance with the need.

In order to lighten the burden of the farmers and to shorten the length of time required to repay the loans, it is hoped that there will be another type of compensation available to the conglomerates, by way of rental services that the conglomerates can offer to their farmers. For example, they could make available to the farmers everything from mechanized agricultural equipment to postharvest equipment in the form of rice-milling machines.

In the meantime, the role of the Department of Agriculture itself, in this effort to prepare new rice paddies with the conglomerates, will be limited to providing agricultural development and extension staff, and to supervising the implementation of the cooperative enterprise.

Chinese Firms Lease Building

92SE0100A Vientiane PASASON in Lao 31 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] The agreement to lease the Lao-Swedish Machinery Repair Shop (Lak 14) reached by the Registration Department for Land, Property and Stamps, and those investing, the Monthon Machinery Import and Export Company of Yunnan and the Cha Hua Vehicle Factory of Kunming in the PRC, was signed in the afternoon of 29 October in the capital, Vientiane. The lease agreement was for 15 years, and the leasers were to pay \$30,000 (American) per year in rent. Every years the rent was to be increased five percent.

The signing ceremony was done in the presence of high-level cadres of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Finance, the Ministry of Communications, Posts and Construction and high-level cadres of the Chinese Embassy in Laos.

Returning Refugees Score Insurgent Leadership

92SE0100C Vientiane PASASON in Lao 15 Oct 91 p 3

[Text] When the country was just liberated many lackeys of the imperialists who had committed offenses against the people fled. Some went abroad. Some who did not flee abroad hid in the forest to wait for an opportunity to unite again and fight against the people. Among these was Cheupaomoua, the leader of the movement. When he fled, Cheupaomoua deceived some ordinary Hmong people and compelled them to follow him.

Recently a number of these Hmong whom Cheupaomoua had compelled to leave returned home. They told me about life during [15] years in the group led by Cheupaomoua, Yangtousa, Fangcheukou, Palolao, Bianengli, Mailao and Yethopang. They said that this life was full of hardship. They hid along the Houai Kouai Stream. Some days they could only prepare laokao and grass to eat instead of rice. When the food was good there was corn to eat instead of rice, but generally they ate other edible plants. Many days they did not even have salt for their food. When they were sick, there was no care. The children could not study. One day Fangcheukou lied and said: "We will set up a government and will have administrators, and we will receive salaries to live on." But that day never came. Every day the hardship got worse. They were eating like animals. The hardship was without comparison. Payengyang said: "We were very resentful of them. They said that if anyone fled to the government, they would be killed and abandoned; but when we came to a safe area at Ban Viangchaleun, Nanan Canton, Phoukhoun District, we received a warm welcome from all levels of the administration. We had good lodgings, the food was good, and the sights and sounds were beautiful. It was not like the lies they told."

The Hmong who fled and returned home included the family of No-yengyang together with nine other families making a total of 57 people. They were taken care of so that they could make a living in their localities. In addition they were happy to call on all the Hmong to return to their own people so that they could make a living together, build the nation and build a new life, and they asked them not to listen to the lies of Cheupaompua and his group.

Trade Board Chief on Free Trade, State Ties

92SE0100B Vientiane PASASON in Lao
21 Oct 91 pp 2, 3

[Interview with National Chamber of Commerce and Industry Chairman Khamma Phomkong by PASASON; place and date not given].

[Text] [PASASON] Is free trade legal according to the policies adopted by the party and state? Has it brought any results yet? How much has the Chamber of Commerce done to help this policy play a role in Lao trade?

[Khamma] Regarding the effects of this policy, first it provides a great incentive, then it provides the direction and methods to conduct business in keeping with the new conditions in the world and Laos. This can be seen in that business is changing from state ownership to private ownership more and more. And this has brought improvement, renewal, and new enterprise in production, trade, industry, handicrafts, agriculture, forestry, irrigation, communications, finance, construction, tourism, services etc. For example markets have begun to spring up and expand from the central area to the localities and from the large towns to the countryside so that farmers in distant areas are reached by trade who earlier were not. Because of this internal change there have begun to be improvements which have made the LPDR [Lao People's Democratic Republic] an object of new interest for the businessmen and trade organizations of countries near and far. It is certain that the Chamber of Commerce and Industry played some role in these accomplishments; it was involved in publicity and education and in mobilizing its members and other merchants so that they knew of and carried out the economic policies adopted by the government.

[PASASON] In the past have the members of the Chamber of Commerce been honest in their business dealings with the state, the nation and with the other members? Is there any company in the chamber which has been a good example?

[Khamma] It is well known that the principle businesses, individuals and juristic persons involved in trade in the LPDR, including members of the Chamber of Commerce, were in operation before there was a Chamber of Commerce. And when they started in business, it was the view that: "those with principles are stupid" and "fight and kill - trade and cheat" etc. The saying: "for the nation and society" was an embellishment of the old customs in trade which were far from being in line with the correct view of the new trade policies which the Lao nation and society now hold.

In this movement the companies which are members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry generally are felt to include people who conduct themselves properly, but there are some weak points. The Chamber of Commerce will try to make these into model companies which lead the way in accord with the trade policies. It is the duty of the chamber to work to educate them and build them up.

[PASASON] In some cases businesses which have registered for one kind of trade have conducted some other kind or have not performed the role for which upper echelons gave permission. How did this problem arise, and what will the Chamber of Commerce do about such companies?

[Khamma] The violations of the law and principles of operation by businesses and the registering for one kind of trade and then doing something else have many causes, but there are probably a few principle causes such as:

-Such businessmen are greedy and do not know how to do what they should do without being greedy. They study the law to avoid the restrictions of the law. They study the policies of the state to find a way to take advantage. They criticize the policies of the government and do not know how to make an honest living. In some cases they are receiving more and more assistance from officials.

Even though the state has issued laws and principles for operation which appear to be appropriate and complete, nevertheless in actually setting up the regulation both with regard to encouraging and discouraging certain practices there have been instances where the laws have not been complete. This has been seen in the small domains which are run for personal benefit without coordination and without working according to echelons so that there are many opportunities for the regulators to take advantage and for the purpose of the regulation to be violated especially when personal ties are involved.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry has not let up and will not let up in its attempt to cooperate with those

units involved in educating its members and other merchants in the new concept of business so that they proceed correctly according to the trade policies of the state.

[PASASON] Is the quality of goods entering Laos checked? If someone imported counterfeit goods or poor quality goods, would the Chamber of Commerce be able to take action against him?

[Khamma] The state has adopted many laws covering imports and exports and set up a system to regulate them. Companies import and export in a responsible manner with regard to the nation and society. At the same time there are still inferior goods in the markets. Many kinds of counterfeit and prohibited goods are sold in a half-open manner. This is a continuation of the concept of trade of the old regime and the old society, whereby large personal profits are sought at the expense of the people in society. This goes counter to the good nature of the Lao people, and it violates the law of the LPDR.

[PASASON] Do you have anything else to add?

[Khamma] Before the end of the year local chambers of commerce and industry will be set up in Khammouan Province, Savannakhet Province, Champasak Province, Saravane Province, Sekong Province and Attopeu Province. This year the second congress of the National Chamber of Commerce and Industry will be held, and therefore I would like to ask all the companies which are members and those which are not members as well as organizations and individuals interested or involved in the activities of the Chamber of Commerce to please send their views in a letter to help the Chamber of Commerce to serve you better in the future. Thank you.

POLITICAL

Deputy Prime Minister Attacks PAS Policies

92SE0109A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 21 Nov 91 p 2

[Text] Jasin, 20 Nov—Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba stated this afternoon that PAS [Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party] policies introduced in Kelantan will merely retard and cloud the economy and the future of Malays in that state.

He declared that the party's policies will produce a setback in Kelantan's economy.

Mr. Ghafar spoke to reporters at the Sri Mahkota Secondary School near Umbai after addressing a meeting held to explain the general election machinery. His statement came in reply to a question about the policies introduced by PAS during its administration of Kelantan.

He said that what the party has done will not advance the economic conditions of Malays but will retard them instead.

He said Islam teaches people to progress not to move backwards, as PAS is doing in Kelantan.

He also said that PAS made many promises during the last election but has not kept them.

Mr. Ghafar said a Muslim does whatever he promises.

As for the charge made yesterday by Kelantan Chief Minister Haji Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat that the constitutional monarchy system is not an Islamic method, the UMNO [United Malays National Organization] deputy president said it was the chief minister's right to speak that way.

Nevertheless, Mr. Ghafar declared, UMNO will continue to adhere to the present constitution.

With regard to other issues, he said that if PAS were to govern the country, the continuance of the current legislative system could not be guaranteed.

In his speech at the meeting, he said that what PAS has done hurts Malays.

As an example, Mr. Ghafar cited the fact that Malay Muslim women are not permitted to work at night, while Chinese and Indian women are allowed to do so.

He said the National Front (BN) has no intention of limiting the liberties of people as PAS did in a recent law that prevents members of the legislature from changing parties.

As far as the BN is concerned, he said, people have the right to belong to the BN or not.

The deputy prime minister said the PAS victory in Kelantan in the recent election was because of help from the Spirit of '46.

He noted, however, that many Spirit of '46 members have left the party and have rejoined UMNO.

Mr. Ghafar said he believes that one day Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah will be the only person left in the party.

He said that, as happened 20 years ago, the BN will slowly recapture the seats PAS won with the help of the Spirit of '46.

ECONOMIC

Towards Achieving Goals of 2020 Plan

Statement by Mahathir

92SE0110A Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay
9 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 8 Nov—Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad today called on UMNO [United Malays National Organization] to move toward creating a new Malay and Bumiputra [Malays and other indigenous peoples] community able to take its proper place in the modern world.

He wants every UMNO member to make this heavy responsibility a Malay "holy war" for bringing the 2020 Plan to realization.

He said the new Malays and Bumiputra of the 21st century should have a culture compatible with the times and should be able to face every challenge and compete without help. They should be educated, scientific, intellectual, honest, disciplined, trustworthy, and capable.

In a short, pointed speech at the UMNO General Assembly today, he warned party members to avoid groups who oppose the creation of a new Malay community by urging emphasis on the next world rather than on the 2020 Plan.

Dr. Mahathir said the battle to create a new Malay community is a glorious struggle, for the ones who will save Islam will be the new Malays and not self-serving religious teachers.

He declared that although it will not be easy to create a new Malay community, Malays have no other choice if they are to compete and maintain their status and honor, which are challenged more and more every day.

"Success is not easily attained. The gold in the earth has to be mined before it has any value.

"Nothing is easy in this world or the next. Everything requires investment. Doing one's duties in this world is no less necessary than serving the next world," he asserted.

The 21st century Malays and Bumiputra whom Dr. Mahathir wants to create will not be people who depend on the government for their business, who are enamored with power, who seek wealth for themselves, or who misuse power and take bribes.

Dr. Mahathir expressed his concern that people now think about themselves instead of other Malays and the country, just as in the days when Malay kings ruled.

"We appear to be moving toward conditions like those under the Malay kings.

"In those days, corruption and misuse of power caused the Malay states to submit to a foreign nation, and Malays were subjugated. In the same way, the misuse of whatever power we have at all levels will cripple Malays and block their progress.

"If this situation continues, I fear Malays will be subjugated again," he declared.

Dr. Mahathir said he was aware that his words would anger certain people inside and outside the party and the government.

"I would be irresponsible, however, if I did not state the truth in order to save Malays, who are the pillar of this country's government and who uphold Islam and Malaysian sovereignty," he declared to thunderous applause.

Touching on the National Development Policy (DPN), Dr. Mahathir said the government will continue to give opportunities to Bumiputra and distribute some of the nation's sources of wealth to them.

Nevertheless, he said, the government cannot say that the portion allocated to Bumiputra will be permanent or that it will be increased.

He said that if all the wealth the government distributed during the 20 years of the New Economic Policy had been used, Bumiputra probably would today own more than 30 percent of the nation's economy.

Because there are some people who are incompetent and untrustworthy, however, some of what they received left the hands of Bumiputra and went to other people.

"There is a possibility that funds now in the hands of Bumiputra through trust organizations will leave them if the money is transferred to Bumiputra individuals or businesses," he declared.

Dr. Mahathir noted that if the economy grows at a rate of 7 percent annually, assets owned by Bumiputra must also grow by at least 7 percent per year merely to retain the current status.

He emphasized that Bumiputra themselves must expend effort and be responsible to protect and multiply their assets. To do this, he said, Malays and Bumiputra need values and a culture that are compatible with the management of assets.

"Because there is evidence that Malay culture is not compatible with the fierce competition of the modern economic world, the government will try to create and nourish the culture and skills Malays need to be successful in national economic projects," he said.

At the end of his 10-minute speech, Dr. Mahathir reminded UMNO members that as the 21st century approaches they have a very heavy responsibility, greater than that of other Malays.

"The idea that Islam brings weakness, backwardness, and poverty can be eliminated only if there is an Islamic community that is progressive and able to compete successfully with non-Muslims.

"As the 21st century approaches, there is need for a strong, fully disciplined UMNO that is carefully organized to fulfill religious and ethnic aspirations and bring the 2020 Plan to realization," he stated.

Statement by Ghafar Baba

92SE0110B Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 9 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 7 Nov—Deputy UMNO [United Malays National Organization] President Ghafar Baba warned today that the 2020 Plan will not be achieved if UMNO is in turmoil and weakness because of party leadership elections.

He warned, "A weak government will not have the power to achieve the goals of the 2020 Plan."

Although he did not say so, it was clear that his warning was aimed at the increasingly lively "political talk" about the so-called "1993 Struggle," i.e., the elections that will be held for the UMNO Supreme Council, division committees, and branch committees.

Speaking today at the inauguration of the UMNO Youth and Women's Conference at the Merdeka Auditorium of the Putra World Trade Center, he warned party members not to waste time with pointless political gossip and preoccupation with party elections if they truly love UMNO.

In his speech, which was entitled "The UMNO Holy Struggle," Mr. Ghafar said UMNO will not be able to bolster its strength and leadership if members are busy thinking about such things.

Mr. Ghafar called attention to the fact that before the year 2020 the country will have at least five general elections, and UMNO will have 10 Supreme Council elections.

"If UMNO is weak because of Supreme Council elections, this will automatically threaten our strength in the general election; and a weak government will not have the power to achieve the goals of the 2020 Plan," Mr. Ghafar said.

He said the party election should be conducted in a spirit of friendship, and when the election is over everyone should reunite to support the aspirations of the party.

He said that if this warning is ignored, there will be another split like the one that occurred in UMNO in 1987.

Mr. Ghafar therefore urged UMNO members to ask themselves whether their objective in joining UMNO was for their own interests or for the country's future.

Warning Against Corruption

92SE0110C Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 20 Nov 91 p 6

[Column by Lee Tham Thye: "Corruption Can Defeat the 2020 Plan"]

[Text] Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad raised a relevant subject when he spoke recently in the UMNO General Assembly about eliminating all kinds of corruption.

In his speech inaugurating the assembly, he said, "If we want to become a successful, respected society, we must refrain from participation in any type of corruption. Corruption is despicable and will cause the downfall of society, religion, and the nation."

In the same speech, Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir also urged Malays and Bumiputra merchants to stop believing that profit in business and industry can be achieved only by deception. He also emphasized that rapid profits will not last.

The prime minister issued this warning at a critical time as we move toward the 2020 Plan.

Questions arise about how to make the country free of corruption, how the people will accept it, and how to have the political will to achieve that goal.

In my opinion, there are two main factors to consider in eliminating corruption. The first is the government's political will to eradicate all kinds of corruption. The second is the will of the people to create a new culture as a way of life founded on strict discipline, ability, and honesty.

At the same time, we should try to create a compassionate society, for that is as important as having a culture founded on honesty and ability and is very important to realizing the goals of the 2020 Plan.

This country will not become an industrialized or developed country by the year 2000 if corruption is still rampant and the will to eliminate such activities is lacking.

Anticorruption Agency Director Haji Zulkifli Mahmud said in September that corruption will not help the country achieve the goals of the 2020 Plan and called on all public employees and all Malaysians to help eliminate corruption.

He said that most third world countries have surrendered to corruption and that for the sake of fulfilling the 2020 Plan he hoped Malaysia will not suffer the same fate.

Haji Zulkifli added that eradication of corruption is a continuous process that needs the cooperation of everyone. He feels that development and prosperity can be obtained without corruption.

Haji Zulkifli's statement must be respected, and his efforts to combat corruption should be supported as fully as the prime minister's speech at the UMNO General Assembly.

I will not discuss the role of the Anticorruption Agency since its duties are clear.

What I want to emphasize is the need to create a culture based on honesty, ability, and discipline.

Here lies the main challenge to all Malaysians: How do we make honesty and sincerity a way of life? This will not be easy, considering the problems we have experienced in the past with temptations and unsatisfied greed.

Overcoming these challenges is not impossible, however. Considering all the national goals we want to meet and the importance of being successful in doing so, we must accept the fact that bad attitudes and behavior must be set aside for the sake of development and progress, which can be achieved without corruption.

Our schools have an important role in the process of correcting our attitudes and creating a culture based on honesty and sincerity. The formation of a culture founded on discipline and honesty should begin in the schools and other educational institutions.

Of equal importance are religion and moral training in schools and homes. Such training needs to be emphasized, particularly for the formation of a culture based on constructive values. The result will be a compassionate society, one founded on discipline, honesty, and sincerity.

Therefore, all Malaysians have a mandate to create a way of life marked by trustworthiness, discipline, ability, and concern for the future of the Malaysian people as embodied in the 2020 Plan.

Government To Subsidize Unleaded Gas Production

92SE0108B Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 15 Nov 91 p 4

[Text] Petaling Jaya, 14 Nov—The government is to provide a subsidy of 24 million ringgit to the petroleum industry in the next nine months to finance unleaded gasoline (ULG) processing.

Minister of Science, Technology, and the Environment Law Hieng Ding says this expenditure is to help petroleum producers with the higher production cost so that ULG can be sold at the same price as regular gasoline.

"After nine months, regular gas will be sold at higher prices than ULG to encourage use of ULG," he told reporters today after introducing a training manual entitled "Women and the Environment."

He added that the use of ULG will reduce environmental pollution as well as encourage the use of catalytic converters, devices that filter contaminants from vehicle exhaust.

"We have had unofficial meetings with vehicle manufacturers to urge them to take appropriate steps to resolve this pollution problem," he said.

Mr. Law said he will study the problem of pollution caused by motorcycle exhausts in view of the growing number of these vehicles on the highways.

Commenting on the review of the Environmental Quality Act, he said that he had discussed the matter with his

deputy, Mr. Peter Chin, and found that a subcommittee under the main committee is having problems with its work.

"The results of their study are unsatisfactory, because there have been some mistakes related to people who have authority in the matter," he explained.

Mr. Law said he had not received an environmental impact assessment (EIA) from developers in the Kemensah area of Hulu Klang who should have filed an EIA with the Department of the Environment.

He said, however, that on 22 October he received provisional EIA's on two areas proposed as sites for construction of raw material treatment centers in Selangor and Negeri Sembilan.

"The chief ministers proposed in a recent meeting that construction proceed and that sites be determined as soon as possible.

"We have asked the consultants preparing the report to provide their complete report in the next two or three months, and we will release it to the public," he said.

He said that as of 30 September, 287 EIA's had been filed with the Department of the Environment.

"Of those, 131 have been processed and approved; 60 were rejected; and the rest are still being evaluated," he said.

Earlier, in his speech, Mr. Law said that women functioning as homemakers play an important role in environmental matters, for environmental management and protection begin at home.

He said women can influence people around them, including family members and other homemakers, to help protect the environment.

"They can help to save resources, as earlier generations did. The difference is that previous generations had economic motivation, whereas the motivation now is the environment," he said.

The objective of the training manual "Women and the Environment," which was written in English by Josie Zaini, Farah Zaini, and Kala, is to equip women with the skills and knowledge for helping to protect the environment.

Fourth Earth Satellite Ready Soon

*92SE0108A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA
in Malay 26 Nov 91 p 3*

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 19 Nov—Malaysia will have its fourth earth satellite when the 18-million-ringgit project at Lendu, Alur Gajah, Malacca, is completed around July of next year.

The new satellite will be called Malacca 2A.

A Telekom Malaysia Berhad spokesman said the satellite will be for international telephone communications and television broadcasts.

"The project has been started, and all construction work has been handed over to the Mitsubishi Corporation, because they have expertise in managing such systems," he told UTUSAN in an interview today.

He said Malaysia now has two satellites [as published] at Kuantan, Pahang, and another at Lendu, Malacca. The second satellite was called Malacca 1A.

He said the newest satellite has a dish antenna 32 meters wide and is one of the largest ever built.

"We expect that with the completion of the new satellite, the problem with crowded international traffic bands will be resolved," he said.

He said also that yet another new earth satellite will be built to meet the demands of the growing population.

He said the third earth satellite at Lendu is used for Indian Ocean countries.

The status of the first earth satellite built at Kuantan has been changed from an Indian Ocean satellite to a Pacific Ocean satellite to connect the United States and Canada with Japan.

The spokesman also announced that Malaysia now has 17 earth stations, made up of five that use type-A international systems and 12 for domestic use that have antennas with diameters from 32 meters down to 4.5 meters.

He said that by the addition of this satellite Malaysians will be able to communicate directly with the whole world except for South America, which can be contacted through switching centers in North America and Europe.

Power, Styles of Aquino, Imelda Discussed
92SE0054A Manila DIYARYO FILIPINO in Tagalog
29 Oct 91 p 3

[Text] Perhaps the opening "clashes" of the two widows are more tumultuous than the past typhoon "Trining." This is comparable to the slashings of dinosaurs, and I hope we won't be smashed in the process by the collision of these two whales. But if it is indeed necessary that we should suffer this hardship in order to achieve a momentous change, then so be it; we shall carry this heavy cross of suffering. Maybe this is our final struggle, and hopefully, in the end, the entire Filipino people will be able to survive.

The Aquino-Marcos clash (President Aquino and former First Lady Imelda Marcos) is a struggle between old forces in our society; dinosaurs indeed, systems, politics, obsolete principles, death throes, and obstacles to the aspirations of the population.

President Aquino is the embodiment of the old system of land ownership and investment, the hacienda [big plantation]; this is clear from violations of the constitution and in the present administration's favoring of the policies of foreigners. Indeed, democracy had been restored, but only in appearance and form. We are still slaves both in spirit and substance.

Mrs. Marcos, who is also a part of our past, is, on the other hand, the symbol of "constitutional authoritarianism," or of the politics of the ousted President Ferdinand Marcos. During their regime, the Executive Branch was powerful. It held all powers. The regime controlled the lives of all the people. In this paternalistic atmosphere, the people became accustomed to looking up to the Executive Branch of the government for all their needs. Consequently, they forgot to exercise their own initiative and volition, and they relinquished their own fervor.

The first is characterized by the thinking and administration of the hacienda style (of government). At the opposite extreme, the second is marked by dictatorship and paternalism. The fingers of these two types are in the act of taking advantage, of stealing, and of disloyalty to the welfare of the general public. Indeed, the two of them can clash until they destroy one another because only in this manner can the progressive forces of society be brought to life.

But wait a minute. Are there indeed germinating seeds that will grow and bear fruit when the old stumbling blocks of big plantations and dictatorships are gone? What are the central core and the structure of these new forces? Could it be that this is only within the imaginations of some of us?

Let us look for a new program in the economic sphere of our lives, for this is what underlies societal peace and the stability of our political system. If ever we laugh at Portugal on account of the fact that since the fourteenth century they have been merchandizing cheese and wine and have not changed, this is also our situation, since we also trade in copra, sugar, lumber, and in mining natural resources. It is now high time that we should shoulder the responsibility of modernizing our agriculture and our industry. The importation of foreign commodities has now

gone out of fashion, but on the other hand, it is now time to expand our internal markets. In short, it is now difficult to be dependent on foreign markets. We must broaden our own Filipino clientele. We must strive to achieve national industrialization; this is provided for in the present constitution; let us now put aside the obstacles and focus our attention on the principles that will lead to accomplish these goals.

If this is what Mrs. Marcos' mission is, then let her be a candidate for the presidency; President Aquino might run again for the sake of her own relatives. Nevertheless, whether it be beautiful or ugly, let us vote for the candidate who has the experience and the breadth of knowledge that is pro-Filipino, and who can manage the national economy creatively.

Premiership for Mitra
92SE0054C Manila BALITA in Tagalog
27 Oct 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] Yesterday, the Struggle of Democratic Filipinos (LDP) stated that their Executive Committee (Excom) did not authorize the person who offered Mitra the position of prime minister on condition that he not run for the presidency, in order to pave the way for President Aquino to run again in the 1992 presidential election. This announcement was made public by Representative Hermando Perez (LDP, Batangas), spokesman of the LDP and a member of the powerful Executive Committee of that party.

Perez stressed that the offer, if there ever was one, was illogical because the post that was being offered doesn't yet exist.

It is necessary to have a parliamentary form of government first before one can create the position of prime minister.

Likewise, it has been said that, according to this plan, if Mitra withdraws his bid for the presidency in order to allow Mrs. Aquino to run again, Mrs. Aquino would hold office for only three years, and that after this interval, the system of government would be made parliamentary, and Mitra would be appointed prime minister.

"This is illogical and unreasonable, and why is only Speaker Mitra being groomed for the job, if it were indeed true? How about former Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos, who has also suffered, and who is competent and capable of becoming president?" Perez asked.

There is some information to the effect that the person who offered Mitra the post of Premier in 1985 was Representative Jose "Peping" Cojuangco, Jr., from Tarlac, who is the brother of the president.

According to Perez, the president has repeated many times that she will not run. However, it has been said that the brain and the leader behind the notion that Mrs. Aquino should be active in politics again is namely Cojuangco.

Perez warned Cojuangco to cease and desist because the consequences of the latter's persistent drive towards getting his sister to run again for the LDP candidacy will not be good.

Aside from Cojuangco, the other [politicians] who have been warned on account of their conviction the the president must run are Majority Floor Leader Francisco Sumulong of Rizal, an uncle, and Representative Emigdio Tanjuatco, Jr., also of Rizal, a full cousin.

This warning has been heeded by Sumulong. Nevertheless, it has been reported that Tanjuatco has declared that there is a fifty-fifty chance that his cousin, the president, will be a candidate again.

According to Perez, Speaker Mitra would like the LDP to convene an Executive Committee meeting in order to discuss and to iron out the disagreements within the party.

It is believed that if the conflict between Mitra and Cojuangco cannot be resolved, it is possible that someone will initiate a movement to oust Mitra from the position of speaker of the house.

Prospects of Liberal Party

92SE0054B Manila BALITA in Tagalog
29 Oct 91 pp 4, 5

[Text] Once upon a time, Petronilo Daroy, a former University of the Philippines [UP] professor, and an authority on our political life, wrote that of all our parties, it looks as if the Liberal Party has (the best) chance to succeed.

The reasons for this are obvious. There is continuous infighting in the Nacionalista Party [NP] that is dominated by Vice-President Doy Laurel. After a long and bloody struggle, and with this civil war going on inside the NP, we cannot know whether the party will become divided or stabilized.

Likewise, the same thing is happening to the LDP [Struggle of Democratic Filipinos], and since the members of this new party are fighting to win over a huge number of voters, the infighting among its members is thus profound, long-drawn-out, and painful.

Also the problems of the LDP [Struggle of Democratic Filipinos] are a further source of pain. It looks as if Ramon Mitra, being the founder of this party, knows all about this. However, this applies just inside his party. Outside the party, no Filipino has yet stated that Mitra has the capability to win the presidency during this campaign. Aside from Danto Ang, the Zamora brothers, the poker-player Nani Perez, and Villafuerte from Bicol, no one else can ascertain what Mitra's future will be.

Besides, Mitra himself remains quiet, and acts like a domesticated sheep. He hasn't yet revealed what his real qualifications for the presidency are, except that he has expressed his hopes of becoming president. In survey after survey, Mitra ends up in murky waters, to which the

drainage and the sewage from the kitchen lead. In comparison to Estrada and Miriam Defensor, Mitra is like a young innocent child.

Compared to Ramos and Salonga, Mitra is like a defeated [fighting] cock.

The problem with the LDP resides in Mitra himself. For, according to the public opinion polls, Ramos should be the person to run against Doy Laurel and Salonga. Ramos is coming on very strong, according to the surveys and political dialogs, and in the pulse [lifeblood] of the people who support the LDP. Thus, it is very painful for this party that their potential candidate is not he whom the country wants, but rather what a blind and egotistical party desires.

Also because of Mitra's lethargy [low and halting voice, tepid appeal, and weak logic]. Peping Cojuangco and his followers are looking for an alternative candidate besides Mitra. This candidate is Cory Aquino, the incumbent leader of the nation.

And in this case, Cory Aquino seems to be uneasy and worried, for she has repeatedly stated that she doesn't wish to be a candidate again. In contrast to the internecine wars going on within the two above-mentioned parties, there is a continuous dissemination of the [political] machinery, the personnel, and the aides throughout the Liberal Party.

Salonga has been so brilliant and so noble in his ways. Two times he was challenged in his party and two time he dashed to pieces the methods of his enemies.

Hence, it is only in his party that there is no dissension, and jovito Salonga's record as a leader and as a politician cannot be belittled. Three times he was top-notch in a senate race, a graduate of both Harvard and Yale, and a top-notch in the bar examinations. He languished in a Japanese prison camp, and suffered again in the Plaza Miranda. Verily, this man is a living sage.

And every time there is a survey conducted, Salonga always comes in second behind whoever is number one; although, as of yet, Salonga hasn't done any campaigning. In the first surveys, he was number two in popularity behind Mirian Santiago. In subsequent surveys, he came in second to Jose Estrada. In a Ramos-sponsored survey, he also came in number two behind Ramos, and yet, despite all of these [popularity contests], Salonga hasn't done any campaigning. What would happen if Salonga would conduct [his own] survey?

Thus, Professor Daroy is correct. The Liberal Party does have a hidden strength.

Top NPA Propagandist at Bicol Arrested

92SE0054D Manila BALITA in Tagalog
26 Oct 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] The intelligence agents of the PNP [Nationalist Party of the Philippines] Criminal Investigation Service Command [CISC] has arrested a top propagandist of the rebel New people's Army (NPA) who had been operating in the Bicol region.

In a report submitted by Superintendent Wilfredo T. Mayuga, chief of Region 5 PNP-CISC, to Chief Superintendent Vicente G. Vinarao, PNP-CISC director, the NPA officer captured was Rommel Palamara, aliases "Ka Elvis" and "Ka Omar."

According to Mayuga, Palamara was cornered inside the Albay Provincial Hospital, to which his comrades took him, on 13 October, to have his stab wounds treated.

The joint forces of the CISC and Region 5 PNP Intelligence Unit learned of the whereabouts of Palamara on the basis of an intelligence report which they received.

Palamara had been engaged in propaganda activities in a remote village in Guinobatan, Albay, when one of his comrades stabbed him because of a disagreement over something.

After he was arrested, he was transferred to the PNP Recom. 5 Hospital for treatment of his back and side wounds; after this, he was moved to the Albay PNP Command for interrogation regarding possible involvement in criminal activities in the said region.

At the initial interrogation, it was learned that Palamara is also the commanding officer of the Arms-Movement Unit on Propaganda for the Guerilla Front Committee.

MILITARY**Malaysian Agreement on U.S. Bases Cited***92SE0069D Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 28 Oct 91 p 2*

[Article by Chaiwat Yonpiam: "Malaysia, a New U.S. Base"]

[Excerpts] The Malaysian Government has agreed in principle to allow American warships to use the Malaysian Navy's Lamut dockyard in Perak State. This agreement was reached during the negotiations on this between Admiral Charles Francis, the U.S. commander-in-chief of U.S. Forces in the Pacific, and Mr. Najib Razak, the Malaysian defense minister.

This is a new role for the United States in Southeast Asia since it had to withdraw its military bases from the Philippines. The American commander said that the United States is considering the possibility of using the dockyard of the Malaysian Navy at Lamut, which is located along Malaysia's western coast on the Andaman Sea, instead of using Singapore's Naval Base, which had been considered previously. This is because Singapore's dockyard has already been reserved. But the disadvantage of the Lamut dockyard is that the waters there are very shallow. Only small ships or ships of shallow draft, such as wide landing craft, will be able to use the facilities there.

The United States wants to find another naval dockyard in this region as quickly as possible, because in the very near future, it will have to withdraw its forces and equipment from the Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines. Even though the United States is now implementing a program of dispersing its Naval and Air Forces to its existing bases at Yokosuka in Japan and on Guam Island in the Pacific Ocean, these are insufficient with respect to America's operations plan in this region. [passage omitted]

Prior to this, the Malaysian Government had planned to transfer activities at the Lamut dockyard to the private sector so that it could claim that allowing the U.S. Navy to use this dockyard was a business decision and not a political decision.

The United States has tried to keep out of the dispute over the Spratley Islands. Taiwan has charged that Malaysia plans to build an airport on one of the islands in this chain of islands. To whom these islands belong is still an issue. China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Malaysia all claim sovereignty over the Spratley Islands, which includes about 600 islands. Most are coral islands. But it is believed that there are large oil deposits in that area.

The commander of American forces in the Pacific is trying his best to keep the United States out of this dispute, claiming that the United States will not play any role with respect to these islands in the future. He has said that the United States does not have any plans to become involved in this multicountry dispute, because this is clearly an inter-regional matter that should be resolved by the countries concerned through ASEAN.

However, if a country such as Vietnam indicates that it intends to use force to exert its sovereignty over the Spratley Islands, the United States may take joint action with ASEAN, the Soviet Union, and other countries under the umbrella of the United Nations to force that country to act in accord with the wishes of the world community as happened in the case of Iraq in the recent Persian Gulf war.

Background to French Arms Deal*92SE0069A Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 28 Oct 91-3 Nov 91 pp 10, 11*

[Article by F.W. and Uaiphon Taechutrakun]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The news about Thailand that is circulating in France today is that the Thai military has agreed to buy 20 Crotale missiles, which is a very modern weapon, from the French Thompson CSF Company at a price of 5.5 billion francs, which is equal to \$1 billion or 25 billion baht. Countries that sell weapons, such as France, are puzzled by this. They did not think that Thailand would buy such weapons, because today, the communist threat, both in and outside the country, has declined greatly. As for defending the country, today, there may be clashes only along the country's borders. And along our border with Cambodia, it seems very likely that peace will be restored in the very near future. And so why should a poor country such as Thailand need to purchase such an expensive weapon?

The contract for the purchase of the Crotale missile will be signed at the end of October so that the funds for this can be included in the budget for the next fiscal year. The conditions regarding the payment of this 30 billion baht are very complex. There are several reasons why the Thai military "wants" to buy this weapon. One is that it is one of the most modern and highly efficient weapons available. It travels at three times the speed of sound and can track and destroy targets including fighter aircraft, helicopters, and other missiles that come within a radius of 10 km. The Crotale missile can be installed aboard armored vehicles such as tanks whenever it becomes necessary to defend against aerial attack. Or it can be installed at fixed sites in order to defend strategic ground positions and to defend against low-level aerial attacks.

This is a golden opportunity for France to penetrate a weapons market that has long been dominated by the United States and China. This is because the United States has reduced its aid to Thailand in the wake of the 23 February coup by the NPKC [National Peace-Keeping Council]. At the same time, China is waiting to see what will happen in Cambodia. And Thailand has helped make this a golden moment for France.

"If Thailand purchases this missile at that price, both the buyer and the seller will suffer," said an arms dealer to KHAO PHISET concerning the purchase of this weapon. Because on many occasions, the Thai military has purchased weapons at a higher price than private individuals could have purchased them. And from what is known, other countries have purchased this same weapon at about

half the price. Many countries are using this weapon, because this is a universally popular weapon. It is a very efficient weapon. He also said that the military has wanted to purchase this weapon for more than a year now and that it has rushed to close the deal before those who want to purchase this retire. Actually, the air force should have been the one to propose purchasing this weapon. But it was Supreme Command that wanted to purchase this weapon. Besides this, it has been learned that this weapon was purchased in a very special manner. That is, the committee simply stated what type of missile it wanted. It did not call for any bids. In the end, the agent who handled the deal was Naowarat Phattanodom, an old godfather in Thai arms trading circles.

Reports that appeared in the Thai press during the period that the budget of the Thai military was a hot topic stated that budget funds approximately equal to the cost of this missile, that is, 24 billion baht, had been requested for the Supreme Command. Of the 20 sets of missiles, 12 were to go to the Army, four were to go to the Navy, and four were to go to the Air Force. This program was approved by the government of General Chatchai Chunhawan. The problem was how to pay for the weapons. And before that problem could be solved, the NPKC seized power. Thus, this was put on the back burner. Later, General Sunthon Khongsomphong, the president of the NPKC, raised this issue again in an effort to have the administration of Mr. Anan Panyachun consider the matter before he [Gen. Sunthon] retires from the military.

France's views on this matter have hurt Thais. That is, French television Channel 1 devoted approximately five minutes of its regular 2000 hours news program on 14 October to Thailand as the host of the World Bank governor's conference. The news program said that Thailand does not know how to manage its national wealth to develop the country and people. It also showed pictures of slum areas in Bangkok, Thailand's city of angels. And it showed pictures of sexual establishments here instead of showing pictures of the bankers who were here to attend the World Bank conference. [passage omitted]

Border Patrol To Replace Army Along Cambodia Frontier

*92SE0069C Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai
4-10 Nov 91 p 10*

[Text] If the situation in Cambodia stabilizes and peace is restored there, the military will cut back its military operations. Today, the policy of Supreme Command is to have the Commissioner's Office of the Border Patrol Police formulate a plan for patrolling the border in place of the Army. The Border Patrol Police have formulated a plan to establish reconnaissance units resembling operations teams. Outposts will be established along the border. The important thing is that the Army will be asked to cooperate in locating mines. And dogs will be used to help locate mines. Preparations have been made to train those who will be responsible for locating and destroying the mines. It may be necessary to ask for the cooperation of other countries and have them send experts in this field to train people.

Army Aviation Unit Locations

*92SE0069B Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai
4-10 Nov 91 p 12*

[Text] Concerning the use of Army aircraft, it will be difficult to understand unless things are explained clearly. Thus, M.C. Wan must say that besides the Army Aviation Center, the Army also has aviation units stationed in the Army regions and with various divisions. That is, there is the 1st Army Region aviation unit in Bangkok, the 2d Army Region aviation unit in Nakhon Ratchasima, the 3d Army Region aviation unit in Phitsanulok, and the 4th Army Region aviation unit in Nakhon Sithammarat. There are also "aviation companies" assigned to various divisions, including the 1st King's Guard Division in Bangkok, the 2d King's Guard Infantry Division in Prachinburi, the 9th Infantry Division in Kanchanaburi, the 3d Infantry division in Nakhon Ratchasima, the 6th Infantry division in Roi Et, the 4th Infantry Division in Phitsanulok, the 1st Cavalry Division in Phetchabun, and the 2d Cavalry Division. The aviation company assigned to the 2d Cavalry Division is stationed at the Ban Phae airport, Adison Camp, Saraburi Cavalry Center. There are also plans to assign aviation units to the 1st Special Forces Division in Lopburi and the 2d Special Forces Division in Chiang Mai, units that are subordinate to the Special Warfare Command. Besides this, the Army Aviation Center also has tactical aviation units in each of the Army regions. The Royal Helicopter Unit has Army operations teams throughout the country. There is the 14th Operations Team with the Doi Tung Development Program in Chiang Mai Province, the 31st Operations Team in Chiang Kham District, Chiang Rai Province, the 32d Operations Team in Nan Province, the 327th Operations Team in Chiang Mai Province, the 35th Operations Team in Mae Sariang District, Mae Hong Son Province, the 34th Operations Team in Mae Sot District, Tak Province, the 23d Operations Team in Udon Thani Province, the operations team of the Suranari Force in Surin Province, the Helicopter Team of the Burapha Force in Prachinburi Province, and the 23d Operations Team in Pattani Province.

ECONOMIC

Business Economics Official on IPR Protection

*92SE0075D Bangkok NAEO NA (LOK THURAKIT
SUPPLEMENT) in Thai 29 Oct 91 p 8*

[Text] The Department of Business Economics held a seminar on the patent law and the implementation of this law on 27 and 28 October at the Narai Hotel.

After the seminar, Mr. Banyong Phuengrat, the deputy director-general of the Department of Business Economics, said that the Ministry of Commerce has formed a committee to revise the law and develop the intellectual property system. Four subcommittees have been established, that is, the trademark, patent, trade secrecy, and copyright and parallel rights subcommittees. The law that

has already been approved by the assembly is the trademark law. The patent bill has been submitted to the cabinet for consideration. But some sections will have to be revised.

There are two problems with the copyright bill. One is what items will be protected by Thailand's law. The other concerns copyright ownership and copyright relations between Thailand and other countries and copyright agreements between Thailand and other countries.

Mr. Banyong said that one of the sticking points in revising the copyright law is the issue of computer [software]. Like Malaysia, Brazil, Argentina, South Korea, China, and India, the Office of the Royal Decree Board considers these to be scientific works. But the European Community, the United States, and Australia consider these to be literary works that are to be protected during the life of the owner of the copyright and for a period of 50 years after his or her death. We will have to wait until GATT issues a resolution on this. Once a decision has been made, Thailand will abide by that decision.

Industry Association To Stop Copyright Liaison

92SE0092A Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 7 Nov 91 p 4

[Text] Mr. Charoenchai Wang-arayatham, the president of the Thai Tape and Record Dealers Association, talked with reporters about the results of the talks with the I.F.P.I. [international record and video producers industry]. He said that an agreement has not yet been reached on the details even though many of the conditions proposed by the association have been accepted by the I.F.P.I. Thus, the association has decided to stop serving as a representative in monitoring the tape and video copyright issues.

"They want the association to guarantee that there won't be any infringements of either tape or video copyrights after the agreement is signed, and they want the association to put up a certain amount of money as a guarantee if the agreement is violated. I don't think that anyone can do that. Even the government hasn't been able to suppress heroin trafficking in Thailand. The same is true for the association. We can announce that members are prohibited from violating the copyrights and copying the tapes and videos of others. But whether people adhere to this is another matter. But we will not ignore the matter if we discover that a violation has been committed. We will file charges."

Mr. Charoenchai said that "as long as I am the president of the Thai Tape and Record Dealers Association, I won't allow association funds to be used to stand guarantee. That is not right. According to this agreement, we have proposed that after the grace period, when people will be forbidden from violating or copying the tapes and videos of others, if people continue to violate the copyrights, the association will not take responsibility and will allow the I.F.P.I. to take action."

Because an agreement hasn't been reached, the I.F.P.I. will have to take action against those who violate copyrights by itself. The association has announced that it will not become involved, because it can't stand guarantee. Later

on, a reporter contacted the I.F.P.I., but officials declined to provide any details, claiming that senior officials were gone and that they couldn't say anything.

Amaret on Costs, Conflict with Bangkok Officials

92SE0092C Bangkok NAEO NA (LOK THURAKIT SUPPLEMENT) in Thai 8 Nov 91 pp 7, 8

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Colonel Winai Somphong, the deputy governor of Bangkok, was interviewed on 7 November about the problem of hawkers selling their wares on public sidewalks. He said that police officials are now cooperating and taking steps to establish order. At the same time, Bangkok has sent a letter to the Ministry of Commerce asking it to end the Thong Si Fa [Blue Flag] Program by the end of November. Many people and merchants have complained that the people involved in this program sell things on the sidewalks, too. In some places, there are only tents and flags but nothing for sale.

"Bangkok does not oppose this program. But if it wants to sell cheap goods, the Ministry of Commerce should find a suitable public place to sell these goods. They shouldn't sell the goods along the sidewalks. That is not proper."

Colonel Winai said that the important thing is that now that Bangkok has asked the police to take action against the hawkers who sell goods along the sidewalks, it would not be right to allow the Thong Si Fa Program to sell goods on the sidewalks. Actually, it's uncertain whether this program is really helping the people to save money. What is certain is that this is causing problems for municipal and police officials.

That same day, Mr. Amaret Sila-on, the minister of commerce, and Mr. Somphong Kiattiphaibun, the director-general of the Department of Internal Trade, visited five open-air markets and food shops in the Wong Wiang Yai area that are part of this program. These shops sell pork, chicken, eggs, and vegetables at prices that are lower than those at other markets.

In an interview, Mr. Amaret said that even though the price of barbecued pork has declined from 72 baht to 66 baht per kg, he is still not satisfied, because the price is still 12 percent higher than at the beginning of the year. The wholesale price of chicken has dropped from 27.50 to 25.75 baht per kg, and the price of a whole fresh chicken has declined from 37.50 to 36 baht per kg. He said that he is not satisfied with this either, because these prices are 3 percent higher than at the beginning of the year. The price of most vegetables has declined greatly. But if the people in an area are still troubled by high prices, they can file a complaint with the Ministry of Commerce, and the ministry will start a Thong Si Fa program in that zone.

Mr. Amaret expressed great dissatisfaction with the proposal made by Major General Chamlong Simuang, the governor of Bangkok, who has said that the Ministry of Commerce should end this program, claiming that it is blocking the sidewalks and dirtying the streets. He said that he will soon go to talk with Bangkok or municipal officials. This program is scheduled to run for six months. It got underway only a little over a month ago, that is, on

16 September. There must be a good reason for ending the program ahead of schedule. It can't just be called off.

"This program is being carried on on behalf of the people. I am not doing this to win votes, because I am not running for election. I am not interested in becoming an MP [member of parliament] or in becoming the governor of Bangkok. Thus, I don't care whose voting base this affects."

The minister of commerce also said that some people fear that the implementation of the value added tax at the beginning of next year will cause prices to rise. But the Ministry of Commerce has never said that prices will rise. It's others who have been saying that. He said that the value added tax will not cause prices to rise. Whether prices rise or not has nothing to do with taxes. Rather, this has to do with hoarding and shortages. The Ministry of Commerce has made preparations to encourage greater competition. However, prices have now dropped. In particular, the disposal of stocks has benefited the people, who have been able to purchase items at a cheaper price.

Important Parts of Commerce Patent Law

92SE0077A Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 13 Nov 91 p 9

[Ministry of Commerce document dated 8 Nov 91]

[Text] 1. Reasons for having to revise the patent law: Today, it is essential that we revise the current patent law, that is, the 1979 patent Act. The reasons for this are as follows:

1.1. The country's economic and industrial changes:

(1) During the past several years, Thailand's economy has expanded greatly. In 1989, the economy grew 11.7 percent, and during the period of the Seventh Development Plan (1992-1996), the target is to have an average annual growth rate of at least 8.2 percent.

(2) The economic structure has changed. The industrial sector is now the main production sector, accounting for 24.7 percent of the gross national product. At the same time, the percentage accounted for by the agricultural sector has declined to only 14.4 percent.

(3) The country's economy now depends more on exports. The export products that earn revenues for the country are industrial goods. The value of these goods accounts for more than 70 percent of the value of exports while the value of agricultural exports accounts for only 20 percent.

(4) Thailand's industry has changed greatly from in the past, when we used very old and outmoded technology. Today, most industries use modern and highly efficient technology. The government has implemented a policy of promoting the development of high technology such as bio-technology, computer software, and integrated circuit layout-designs.

In order to ensure that the country's economic and industrial change and development proceeds in an efficient, secure, and continuous manner, it is essential that we revise the patent law. This will encourage both industrial

and agricultural producers to develop their goods so that they can compete on world markets. This law will protect research and development results, which will result in goods of higher quality, and prevent others from producing imitations. This will give producers confidence in investing.

1.2. World economic and trade changes:

(1) The world's economic and trade system has expanded, and there is greater interdependency. The countries of the world now have to rely more on each other. No country can develop its economy without relying on other countries, particularly countries that must rely on exports.

(2) Thailand's economy must rely more and more on exports. Thailand's largest export markets are the United States, the European Community, and Japan. The value of our exports to these countries accounts for approximately 59 percent of our total export value. These three trading partners want Thailand to revise its intellectual property and patent laws.

(3) The free trade policy has gained greater acceptance among countries, even the socialist countries. In order to adhere to this policy, various countries such as the Soviet Union, Hungary, Mexico, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Indonesia have revised their patent laws.

(4) Today, various countries, including Thailand, are holding negotiations in order to stipulate regulations concerning international trade. These are referred to as the "Uruguay round of multinational negotiations." It is clear that an agreement will be reached that will require member countries to revise their laws in order to protect intellectual property (which includes trademarks, patents, and copyrights) more efficiently. It is expected that an agreement will be reached around the end of 1991 or the beginning of next year.

In order to maintain trade relations with the countries that are important export markets and to make adjustments in line with the Uruguay talks, Thailand must quickly improve its system for protecting intellectual property. What we have done so far has to do with trademarks. The National Legislative Assembly issued a resolution announcing the implementation of the new law effective 6 September 1991.

2. The new laws are being drafted very carefully, and data and ideas are being obtained from all sides. The draft patent act has been submitted to the National Legislative Assembly for consideration. This has been considered very carefully. Careful attention has been given to the data and ideas presented by the sectors concerned. This has been carried on very openly instead of having things rammed through by the Ministry of Commerce, which is what some have complained about. This can be summarized as follows:

2.1. Data have been compiled, studied, and analyzed carefully.

(1) Conferences and seminars: Ideas and data have been sought from all the sectors concerned, such as domestic

and foreign drug producers, the Industrial Council of Thailand, qualified people, academics, and so on. Since 1986, nine conferences, seminars, and debates have been held.

(2) Research: The Ministry of Commerce conducted several studies concerning intellectual property in 1989 and 1990. There were two research projects on patents. The Legal Affairs and Development Research Center at Chulalongkorn University was hired to conduct the studies. These studies generated data that have greatly benefited the drafting of this law.

2.2. People from every sector concerned have participated in drafting the law.

(1) The draft patent act was formulated by the committee to revise the law and develop the intellectual property system. The cabinet formed this committee in October 1989. This committee is composed of representatives from the public and private units concerned:

The Ministry of Public Health (the Food and Drug Administration).

The Ministry of Science, Technology, and Energy.

The Ministry of Education (The Fine Arts Department).

The Office of the Royal Decree Board.

The Ministry of Commerce (the Department of Commercial Registration and the Department of Business Economics).

The Industrial Council of Thailand.

The Chamber of Commerce of Thailand.

In addition, there are also qualified people from various research institutes:

Mahidol University (Dr Phonchai Matangphasombat).

Chulalongkorn University (Dr Loeisan Thanasukon).

Thammasat University (Mr Kaoson Atipho).

(2) This draft law has been carefully considered by the cabinet. The prime minister gave great attention to this before submitting it to the National Legislative Assembly for consideration.

3. Protecting pharmaceutical products will have little impact, and it will be several years before this has any impact. There are fears that the patent act to protect pharmaceutical products will have a harmful effect. In particular, there are fears that this will cause problems for the people, because the price of drugs will increase, that the government will have to spend more money on public health, and that domestic drug producers will be put out of business. But such fears are groundless. The facts have been twisted by the few companies that produce drugs patented by others and that stand to lose profits. The facts about this are as follows:

3.1. Drug prices will not increase more than normal. This is true for the following reasons:

(1) There are few new drugs. There are very few pharmaceutical products for which patents will be requested. The patent act will protect only new drugs discovered after this new law goes into effect (articles 5 and 6). This new law will not protect drugs that are already being produced and

sold either here or abroad. Statistics show that only about 50 new drugs are discovered each year. [Data from SCRIIP and WORLD PHARMACEUTICAL NEWS, which state that in 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, and 1990, 47, 61, 53, 35, and 43 new drugs were discovered respectively.]

(2) The protection of new drugs will go into effect only after these new drugs have been registered with the Ministry of Public Health, which will take about five to seven years after a patent has been requested. The steps that must be taken are as follows:

The person who discovers the new drug or active ingredient must request to register the patent with the Ministry of Commerce. During this period, the new drug cannot be used to treat patients. It will take about two years to register the patent. Studies must be done to determine if this is really a new substance. Data from several countries must be studied.

The person who has discovered this new drug will improve this new substance so that it can be used to treat diseases. The ingredient can be combined with powder, water, or other inactive ingredients and marketed as a tablet, solution, capsule, or drug that can be injected. This is called the "formula." The owner of the new drug must be sure that it is safe. It must have been tested on animals and humans. This step will take one to three years.

The formula must be registered with the Ministry of Public Health. Normally, it takes about two years to obtain permission to register the formula.

This draft act proposes that there be a 180-day grace period after this is announced in the government gazette in order to make sure that it will be possible to prepare for the implementation. This includes promulgating ministry regulations and readying personnel within this period. There won't be any effects in the short term. For these reasons, there is no need to wait four years to put this into effect.

(3) There is no evidence that protecting patents will affect domestic prices. Some interesting data are:

Drug prices in countries that have revised their drug patent laws, such as Italy, Malaysia, South Korea, and, in particular, Canada, have not increased faster than the consumer price index. Before these countries revised their drug patent laws, drug prices increased an average of 7.1 percent a year. But after the laws were revised, drug prices rose an average of only 5.5 percent a year. This price increase is related to the consumer price index.

The prices of certain types of drugs that have been registered in those countries that protect drug patents are lower than in Thailand, which does not protect these drugs. Examples are:

Ceclor (used to treat bacterial infections). In Hong Kong, this drug sells for 1,700.18 baht per 100 tablets. In Malaysia, it sells for 1,535.67 baht, and in the Philippines it sells for 1,638.81 baht. But in Thailand, it sells for 2,200 baht per 100 tablets.

Dobutrex (used to treat heart conditions). In Hong Kong, this drug sells for 499.84 baht per 250 mg. But in Thailand, it costs 585 baht per 250 mg.

Feldenx (used to treat rheumatism). In Malaysia, this drug sells for 385.65 baht per 60 tablets, and in the Philippines it sells for 349.77 baht. But in Thailand it sells for 424.50 baht per 60 tablets. (See the data in the accompanying table to compare prices)

After the promulgation of the 1979 Patent Act, the price of protected goods did not increase more than normal. This was true for goods such as chemical fertilizers, herbicides, and insecticides, which some people had feared would increase sharply in price.

3.2. Protecting patents will not affect the public health budget. With respect to the public health budget, the following aspects need to be considered:

(1) Because protecting patents will not cause drug prices to increase immediately as explained in paragraph 3.1 above, affording protection will not affect the public health budget, particularly in the short term.

(2) Serious problems that affect the public health budget include the improper use of drugs, that is, more drugs are taken than necessary and the wrong types of drugs are used. For example, an imitation of the drug Fansidar was used to treat malaria instead of using the drug produced by the company that discovered this drug. The generic drug was used because it was cheaper. But it did not have any effect, because it could not be absorbed by the body.

3.3. Protecting drug patents will not affect our domestic drug industry, particularly the small plants. The facts are as follows:

(1) Our domestic drug plants cannot produce active ingredients by themselves. They have to import most of these from abroad (with the value of imports being about 95 percent of the value of all active ingredients used in manufacturing drugs). Very few active ingredients used in producing drugs are produced in Thailand (only about 5 percent). And we cannot produce new types of active ingredients.

(2) There are now about 190 drug production plants in Thailand. Most of these produce common drugs. They cannot produce new drugs for which patents have been granted. Thus, they will not be affected if we protect the patents on new drugs. There are only four large plants capable of producing new drugs that will be protected.

4. Measures to control and relieve the effects stemming from protecting drug patents: Even though protecting drug patents is not expected to have any major effects, in order to reassure people, the draft patent act stipulates necessary measures and means. These can be summarized as follows:

4.1. Data on drug prices: The act stipulates that the owners of the patents must periodically provide data on drug prices, production costs, sales costs, and revenues so that we can monitor and control things closely (Article 55-2).

4.2. A drug patent committee will be established. This committee, which will be chaired by the undersecretary of public health, will have the following powers and duties (Article 55-5):

(1) Order that drugs be sold at a suitable price if it appears that prices are too high.

(2) Request prosecution if it appears that the owner of a patent has violated the price stipulation and antimonopoly laws.

(3) Request that action be taken to require compulsory licensing for the production, sale, or import of pharmaceuticals.

4.3. Compulsory licensing: If the owner of a patent does not produce products, produces too little, or sells drugs at too high a price, licenses may be granted to others to allow them to produce, sell, or import pharmaceuticals (Article 46).

4.4. Government units may, in certain cases (government use), produce, import, and sell pharmaceuticals in accord with the patents. They may do this in cases in which this is necessary in order to prevent or relieve severe drug shortages. Government units may produce the drugs themselves or authorize others to produce the drugs instead (Article 51).

4.5. The government has the right to produce, import, and sell drugs in times of war or in an emergency (government use) (Article 52).

4.6. Revocation of patents: If the patent holder does not use his rights properly, for example, if he does not produce drugs, thereby causing a shortage, or sells his drug at an excessively high price, his patent may be revoked (Article 55).

4.7. Authorizing the production, use, or sale of pharmaceuticals in certain cases, particularly in the following cases, will not be construed as a violation of the patent (Article 36):

(1) A drug can be produced if the raw materials are obtained honestly. This includes the use and sale of drugs.

(2) Drugs may be readied in accord with the prescription of a doctor or other medical practitioner.

(3) It is not a violation to request to register a formula if the requester wants to produce, sell, or import a patented drug once the patent has expired.

5. It is urgent that we revise the patent law. This can be summarized as follows:

5.1. Revising the patent law will enable Thailand to adjust to the changes taking place in the world, which is moving in the direction of free trade. This will stimulate investment and the transfer of technology. In particular, this will help build large industries and high technology such as industries that produce computers, equipment, and components and industries that produce electronic gun mechanisms. This will require having long-term plans. Revising the outmoded laws will affect the decisions of investors.

5.2. Today, Thai producers, too, are experiencing problems with people copying their products. This includes gasoline pumps, saw handles used with electric saws for cutting metal, plastic takraw balls, and silk clothing lined with fur or artificial fur. In particular, there is imitation in product designs. This is because the present law has many loopholes.

5.3. It was the government of Gen Prem Tinsulanon (the Prem 4 government) that took the initiative in 1986 in revising the patent law. The present government is aware of the benefits to be gained by the country in revising this law. Thus, it is taking urgent action in order to achieve results.

Ministry of Commerce 8 November 1991

Table Comparing Prices of Patented Drugs in Various Countries (Unit: baht)

Name of drug	Type of drug	Drugs in Various Countries					
		Countries that do not provide protection		Countries that provide protection			
		Korea prior to the revision of the law	Thailand	Hong Kong	Malaysia	The Philippines	Singapore
1. Ceclor	capsule/250 mg/100 capsules Syrup/60 cubic cm	3333.85 —	2200.00 150.00	1700.18 121.72	1535.67 —	1638.81 170.46	2772.40 —
2. Dobutrex	Injection/250 mg	—	585.00	499.84	600.30	—	717.00
3. Feldene	Tablet/10 mg/60 tablets	462.85	424.50	552.64	385.65	349.77	566.43
4. Mandol	Injection/1 gram	255.20	194.00	181.28	—	196.11	—
5. Minipress	Tablet/1 mg/250 tablets Tablet/2 mg/250 tablets Tablet/5 mg/250 tablets	358.80 665.27 1868.75	554.00 815.00 1776.00	619.52 887.04 1752.96	610.20 906.76 1811.20	1519.60 2181.15 —	896.25 1331.83 2663.36
6. Cefobid	Tablet/1 gram	278.37	270.50	362.56	282.32	—	—
7. Nebein	Injection/80 mg	99.69	132.00	190.08	148.68	158.68	277.87
8. Noxam	Injection/1 gram	448.89	450.00	492.80	—	—	510.86
9. Eldisine	Injection/5 mg	—	5117.00	—	—	—	5691.19
10. Vancocein	Injection/500 mg	598.00	784.00	968.00	762.75	—	835.31

Note: 1986 data from the Ministry of Public Health for consideration by the special subcommittee to review policies and modes of operation in protecting intellectual property.

Amaret Explains Rationale for Patent Law

92SE0092B Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 9 Nov 91
pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A reporter reported that at parliament on 8 November, the National Legislative Assembly held a meeting chaired by Mr. Ukrot Mongkhonnawin, the president of the National legislative Assembly. Those at the meeting discussed an urgent matter, the draft patent act submitted by the government. Concerning this draft patent act, Mr. Amaret Sila-on, the minister of commerce, explained that this will expand protection to include such items as food, beverages, and drugs. But it will not afford protection to certain items found in nature such as crops and animals. Mr. Amaret provided some background information and discussed the need to have a patent law. He said that the present 1979

patent act went into effect on 12 September 1979. This act was promulgated in order to stimulate research, the invention of new products and processes, and the design of new products by prohibiting others from copying or imitating those inventions or designs without paying compensation. In 1985, Thailand's important trading partners, particularly the United States and the European Community, asked Thailand to revise this law to protect three types of intellectual property, that is, patents, copyrights, and trademarks. Bilateral talks were held, and Thailand indicated that it would revise its patent act. But there were constant delays. In October 1989, the then minister of commerce sent a letter to the U.S. trade representative stating that a draft patent act would be submitted to parliament in 1991.

Mr. Amaret told those present at parliament that on 31 October 1989, the cabinet formed a committee to revise

the law and develop the intellectual property system as proposed by the Ministry of Commerce. The under secretary of commerce serves as the chairman of this 15-man committee, which is composed of representatives from the public and private units concerned and other qualified people. The committee's task is to discuss revising the laws on intellectual property. In doing this, it must take into consideration the nation's interests and the country's economic and social situation. Moreover, this must be in line with international practices. The committee submitted a draft trademark law that was approved by the Legislative Assembly on 6 September 1991. It has now submitted this draft patent law for consideration.

As for why it is necessary to revise the patent act, Mr Amaret told the assembly that the 1979 patent act has been in effect for more than a decade. The situation both here and abroad has changed. In particular, trade has developed, and the country's economy and industry have expanded greatly. This is why it is necessary to revise the 1979 patent act. That is, it must be revised so that it is in accord with the country's economic situation. Our export industry has expanded greatly. In 1990, industrial exports accounted for 70 percent of Thailand's exports. At the same time, the percentage of other types of goods declined. Having a good system for protecting industrial property will enable us to bring in modern technology that can be used to increase production so that we can compete with other countries. Besides this, we must do things in line with international practices. Today, the intellectual property issue is one of the issues being discussed at the Uruguay round of talks. Those attending these talks are considering stipulating property protection measures that member countries can follow in order to prevent countries from gaining an advantage or being exploited. It is expected that this will be completed in 1991 or 1992. The most important reason for revising this act is to reduce the effects of the actions taken by Thailand's important trading partners, particularly the United States, the European Community, and Japan, which have used the issue of protecting intellectual property, particularly patents, trademarks, and copyrights, as a bargaining chip during bilateral negotiations. They are considering using retaliatory measures in order to block the export of Thai goods. That would do great harm to Thailand's export industries, because these countries are important export markets for Thai goods. Exports to these countries accounted for 59 percent of the value of Thailand's total exports in 1990. [passage omitted]

Businessmen, BOI on Indochina Investment

92SE0092D Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 18 Nov 91 p 7

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Dr. Prasoet Prasatthong-osot, chairman of the board of the Bangkok Airway Company

As one of the first companies to invest in Cambodia and open the door, during the two years that we have been carrying on operations in cooperation with Cambodians, Bangkok Airway has for the most part been involved in

leasing aircraft. Most of our income has come from customers such as the United Nations, Japanese organizations, and other international organizations that have secretly tried to aid the Cambodians.

But now that the war has ended, during the past two to three months, the air business has picked up considerably. The company's revenues should increase substantially. But it will probably be another six months before we will know for sure how well the business is doing. Personally, I think that it will be worth the cost, because the company plans to build a hotel to receive tourists. And because we have a good relationship with the Cambodian government, we should be able to become the main airline instead of leasing aircraft as at present. The company plans to purchase six short aircraft at a cost of 90 million baht for use in Cambodia. These will be used to carry consumer goods from Thailand. We will also build godowns to store the goods. We also hope to be the only airline allowed to transport Cambodian refugees in Thailand back to Cambodia. There are still about 300,000 Cambodian refugees in Thailand.

In the long term, investment in Cambodia will be profitable for the Bangkok Airway Company. As for other businesses, I don't know when they will invest there.

Mr. Phiphat Phaniangwet, the managing director of the Thai President Foods Company, a subsidiary of the Saha Phattana Phibun Company

The company plans to build a hotel and open a semifinished noodle market in the Indochina market. All we are waiting for is to see if Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam are ready to deal with businessmen and how heavy the taxes will be. Today, we are looking at the data and studying the possibilities.

I just returned from a trip to Cambodia. We will have to consider this carefully, because Cambodia has a very small population. If we invest, we will have to invest in all of Indochina to make it worthwhile. If these countries all make the same tax commitments, we will probably decide to build a plant in Cambodia. But if these countries don't make tax commitments, I think that we will have to shift targets and invest in Vietnam instead.

Mr. Kangwan Tantiphong-anan, the managing director of the Nanaphan Enterprises Company Ltd.

At present, our company has no plans to invest in any new projects in Indochina. Last year, we cooperated with the Lao Government in encouraging farmers to plant castor bean plants in Vientiane, Savannakhet, Khammouan, and Sayaboury provinces. We provided planting techniques and seed and purchased their produce at a guaranteed price.

As a businessmen, before we invest somewhere, we have to be sure that we will make a profit. That is an important element. Also, those countries must revise their laws and tax systems before we will invest there, because the money that is invested has to be borrowed. You can't expect to make a quick profit. It will take time. The important thing is that to achieve results, you must have expertise.

Police Captain Surat Osathanukhro, the chairman of the board and managing director of the Osathasapha Company (Tek Heng Yu)

After looking at the possibilities, we feel that Vietnam will probably be the first country in which we will invest. We are looking at pharmaceuticals. But we will have to look at demand there. Some countries may wait and not rush to invest. If they need glass, for example, we must go look at things, because glass factories are major plants. You have to invest huge amounts of money. Besides this, we need to look at their laws to see how secure our investment will be.

Mr. Sutthisak Wilanan, the managing director of the Reeds Tradex Company Ltd.

The two times that our company held Indo-Chimamex trade shows, the shows were very successful, even though the industrial goods that we showed were household or light industrial goods. That's because their buying power is only \$8-10,000. There are quotas on the import of machinery. But we have been granted special rights and are not subject to the quotas. The Vietnamese people in the south, particularly Ho Chi Minh City, are easy to deal with and are business oriented. During negotiations, they understand things quickly. But the people in the north are different. They are still very moralistic.

There are still many opportunities for investing in Vietnam in the tourist, telecommunications, and frozen seafood sectors. Also, Vietnam has many resources. During the past two years, the countries that have been most active in investing there have been Taiwan, which has invested \$441 million, followed by Japan. But Thailand has invested very little, only \$36 million. Perhaps this is because we are still very conservative. There is still much land in Thailand, which is not the case in Taiwan. Taiwan is an island and must expand its investment base in order to find sources of cheap labor. There, the unofficial cost of labor is \$90 a month. But the official rate is \$300 a month, which is not cheap.

In Cambodia, the situation is still very uncertain. Investment projects are joint projects with the government. It's wouldn't be worth it for the company to hold a machine trade show there. But from the standpoint of Cambodian-Thai relations, we have the advantage in terms of customs, society, and living conditions. It will be a long time yet before we start investing there.

Mr. Saphaphon Kawitanon, the secretary general of the Board of Investment (BOI)

I want to warn Thai investors not to rush into investing in the Indochina countries without first obtaining data. Because today, the political situation there is still not good, and there are still no guarantees for foreign investors.

Thus, investments in Indochina should be short-term investments, because those are the least risky. Long-term investments require large amounts of capital and patience.

The BOI is preparing to establish an Indochina Section in order to conduct studies and gather data on investing in these countries. Thai investors should wait until the BOI

has gathered clear data on investing in the Indochina countries. They can then use the BOI's data when making decisions about investing there. The important thing is that this won't be so risky.

Narong Wongwan, Other Burma Investors Noted

*92SE0075A Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai
31 Oct 91 pp 1, 8*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] DAO SIAM has learned that a large number of investors and former politicians are now investing in Burma. All of these people have established contacts there through Saw Mong. Thus, there are a large number of Thai industries operating all along the border, from north to south. There are two former politicians who are heavily involved in activities in Burma. One is Mr. Sa-at Piyawan, or Ko At. The other is Mr. Narong Wongwan, a prominent person in Phrae. These two former politicians have their own companies operating there, and they are involved with almost all the share-holding companies that are operating in Burma.

Thai investors have invested mainly in two-three types of activities. The most well known are timber and fishing activities. There are now 40 Thai companies that have received timber concessions and that are carrying on timber operations. There are 12 companies that are carrying on fishing activities. Each of these companies has hundreds of small and large boats. There are 10 companies that are carrying on mining operations. There are five factories that are producing goods of various types and 10 companies that have opened hotels. There is one financial company and one factory that is producing drugs and chemicals. There are also two-three companies that are surveying and drilling for oil. Besides this, there are several other important activities that are now being carried on in Burma. Of the companies now operating in Burma, it is "Ko At" and Narong who are the most heavily involved in business activities there.

As for the companies that have invested in Burma, our reporter filed the following brief report: 1. The Atlantic Company, which is carrying on large-scale fishing operations and which has 60 modern fishing boats and 225 small boats. 2. The B and F Company. 3. The Chai Thanakan Company. 4. The Chao Phraya-Irrawaddy Company (the Thai Glass-Asahi group). 5. The Chok Panya Company. 6. The Khun Thong Sawmill of former MP Udomsak Thangthong. 7. The Mae Moei Timber Industry Company Ltd. 8. The Mae Sot Timber Company. 9. The Seafood Production Company of Ranong Province. 10. The Mar Thailand Company, which has approximately 200 large and small fishing boats. 11. The Phana Company, which is engaged in timber operations. 12. The N and N Company of the Osotsapha-Tek Hengyu group. 13. The Thanachai Timber Company of the Mae Hong Son group. 14. The Phat Industrial Company, which makes beer, cigarettes, and other products. 15. The Pathumthani Sawmill of Sa-at Piyawan. 16. The Santi Timber Company, in which Ko At holds a large share, and timber companies in Burma, in which Ko At is the major shareholder.

Besides this, the Silom Complex Company is involved in a wide variety of trading activities. One of the people behind this company is the son of a senior military officer. The Sirichai Fishing Company has approximately 100 boats. Other companies active in Burma include the Skyline Tourist Company, the Siridenchai Suphanburi Company of Mr Prasitpraphat Phothisut, the Joint Thai-Burmese Company, the Thai Phong Sawmill, the Thip Thanthong Company, and the Drug Company of Cpt Surat Osathanukhro. In particular, the Thip Thanthong Company is involved in large-scale mining operations and exports gemstones throughout the world. Besides this, there are also tourist hotels and other business activities. There is also the Thip Phanthong Company. And the Toyota group has sent machinery from Japan to Burma. All of these companies are raking in money without any interference from the Burmese government.

Minister on Vietnam Fisheries Deal, Investment

92SE0068B Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai
29 Oct 91 pp 1, 14

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Reporters interviewed Mr. At Taolanon, the deputy minister of agriculture and cooperatives, at the Ministry of Agriculture on 28 October about the matter of Thai-Vietnamese cooperation on fishing activities. He said that both Thailand and Vietnam want to reach an agreement on fishing so that this can serve as a framework for engaging in joint business activities based on the principle of mutual benefit. This will benefit Vietnam's economy because of Thai investments in the fishing industry. This will create jobs for Vietnamese. At the same time, this will reduce production costs for Thailand, which will benefit Thai businessmen. This agreement will also protect Thai investors who invest in Vietnam.

Mr. At said that this agreement calls for the establishment of a joint Thai-Vietnamese committee, which will be responsible for resolving fishing disputes and coordinating fishing activities between the two countries, including raising and catching fish in Vietnamese waters, modifying the fishing industry, and cooperating on the technical front.

The deputy minister of agriculture said that "with respect to the cooperative fishing agreement, both sides have agreed to this in principle, but there is still disagreement on the exact wording of the agreement. There is still some disagreement on how things are to be construed. Thus, the agreement has not yet been signed. Thailand has expressed its views and informed Vietnam. But because the Vietnamese prime minister has been out of the country, Vietnam has not yet considered this. Because of this, the Vietnamese prime minister has not been able to visit Thailand to sign this agreement."

The deputy minister of agriculture said that even though this joint agreement has not yet been signed, this won't affect joint investments. Investments have already been made. Besides this, we are already cooperating through the joint fishing committee. Signing this agreement will give Thai investors greater confidence and facilitate fishing activities. [passage omitted]

Agriculture Official Sees Lower Output

92SE0068C Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai
28 Oct 91-3 Nov 91 pp 2, 3

[Text] Mr. Narong Minanan, the director-general of the Department of Agricultural Extension, talked about the problem of Thai agricultural yields in the future. He said that yields probably won't be high enough to meet domestic needs. Yields have been declining year after year. This is because agricultural land is being used for other purposes, such as building golf courses, resorts, and housing developments. At the same time, our population is increasing, but yields have not increased. The Department of Agricultural Extension can't help increase yields, because the department's duty is to use technology to increase yields per area. This will take time.

Bunchu Seeks Government Intervention in Rice Market

92SE0068D Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 6 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Bunchu Rotchanasathian]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Few farmers in the country can take the paddy to market themselves, because the markets are located far away. They have to rely on middlemen who have trucks to come and purchase the paddy from them. The organizations close to the farmers, such as the cooperatives, can't buy their rice at fair prices because they don't have the money. They have had to cut back activities. And they lack knowledge and skill in managing things. Because they have to rely on middlemen and don't know what the market situation is like, the farmers don't know how much they should sell their paddy for. Even though paddy prices are posted daily at the major rice landings, these are landing prices, not field prices. And prices depend on the type of rice. If they are told that the quality of their rice is poor and that they will have to accept a lower price, there is nothing they can do.

Besides this, they have to obtain money to pay for the fertilizer they bought and to pay the people who harvested and threshed the paddy. And they have to repay the money they borrowed to plant the rice. Their creditors come and demand payment almost every day. If they wait to sell their rice, they don't know if they will get a better price or not. Also, they are afraid that their creditors won't help them next season. Thus, most agree to sell their paddy to the merchants immediately after the threshing. And if the merchants who had been coming to buy rice at the threshing yards don't show up for a few day or if the merchants start to offer a lower price for the rice, the farmer rush to sell their rice.

The farmers are at a disadvantage, because they don't know the market situation. This is why I am calling on Prime Minister Anan to quickly disseminate knowledge about the market situation on both radio and television so that the farmers will know why rice prices change and so that they can make judgments about whether prices will rise or drop in the next week, month, or quarter. The farmers will know if they are being offered a fair price for their paddy. Actually, the government should use radio

and television time to inform farmers about the movements of agricultural crop prices instead of using the time to analyze share prices, which is what it is doing today.

I have called on the government to explain its policy on what steps will be taken to improve the domestic rice marketing situation so that the farmers will be able to sell their paddy at a certain price. The government must also explain what methods it will use to control the market mechanism in order to ensure that prices reach the level stipulated. This is something that the government must do, because informing people of the policy and of the methods that will be used in order to hit the targets before the paddy reaches the markets will make it more difficult to exploit the farmers. For example, if the government announces that it will allow farmers to pledge their paddy and pay interest of only 3 percent a year to the BAAC [Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives], with the minimum paddy price being 4,000 baht per kwian [1 kwian equals 2,000 liters], the farmers will have money to spend without having to sell their rice at a low price at the beginning of the harvest season. They will be able to wait until paddy prices have risen.

To ensure that paddy pledges are received everywhere and that poor farmers with little paddy can pledge their paddy too, which is not the case today, the prime minister should take steps to have the BAAC relax its conditions. Concerning this, I have proposed that granaries be built to store the pledged paddy. There should be a granary in each village that grows rice. It isn't too late to start building these now, and this will create jobs for farmers. They won't have to come to Bangkok to look for work. If there are granaries throughout the country, it will certainly be possible to keep paddy prices from falling below the stipulated levels.

However, at a time when the farmers are still encountering obstacles in pledging their paddy because of the lack of granaries, the government should urge the merchants to purchase large quantities of paddy at the beginning of the season in order to keep prices from falling below the stipulated level. The local rice merchants and rice mills should be given a chance to pledge paddy to the commercial banks, too.

Today, the paddy purchase price at the mills depends on the milled rice prices offered by the rice exporters. If the exporters want to put downward pressure on paddy prices, all they have to do is lower the purchase price for milled rice, delay making purchases, or not make any purchases. Because of this, the mills will have to lower the price that they offer for the paddy. Thus, in order to prevent exporters from controlling the fate of paddy prices, the government should purchase milled rice from the mills and keep reserves. It should require the mills to turn over some rice each month from January to June. During the first several months, they should be required to turn over 200-300,000 tons, with the amounts declining in later months. Prices will rise each month. The pledged rice purchased by the government can be sold to other countries in accord with the government-to-government contracts. This rice should be stored at government sites such as the storehouse that was built near the wharf in Nakhon

Sawan Province. It should not be left with merchants, as was done in the past, because the cost of transporting the rice is lower than the cost of being cheated.

Stockpiling rice for sale in accord with the government-to-government contracts will help prevent rice exporters from controlling domestic rice prices as they have done in the past. Rice should no longer be purchased from the exporters.

From what I have said here, I am sure that Prime Minister Anan, who understands prices in a free market system, can see both the problems and a way to help farmers on the price front. The important thing is to think about how to help the farmers sell their paddy at the stipulated price. This must be clarified as soon as possible, because the harvesting will begin in just two more weeks.

Union Leader Objects to Privatization

*92SE0075C Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai
29 Oct 91 p 3*

[Text] On the morning of 26 October at the Ministry of Communications, Mr. Mit Charoenwan, the president of the Employees Association of the Telephone Organization of Thailand, submitted a letter to Mr. Nukun Prachuapmoh, the minister of communications, concerning the revision of the Telegraph and Telephone Act. The association opposes revising this act, because this will allow private individuals to invest in the Telephone Organization. It feels that the 1954 Telephone Organization Act is sufficient.

Mr. Mit said that this act is being revised without stipulating things clearly. The minister of communications will be authorized to consider things and make decisions, which could create problems in the future. He opposes allowing the private sector to gain a monopoly over this activity, because it will be the people who suffer. The only goal of private investors is to make a profit.

In an interview concerning this, Mr. Nukun, the minister of communications, said that revising this act must be considered in stages. After being approved by the cabinet, the National Legislative Assembly must consider how to revise this. In his view, private individuals will be allowed to invest in order to change the form of this organization, but this will not give the private sector a monopoly. In any event, this matter must be considered by the Legislative Assembly again.

A reporter reported that there have been reports that General Wirot Saengsanit, the deputy minister of communications, is unhappy with Mr. Nukun over the matter of revising the Telephone Organization Act. After reading this, Gen. Wirot told a colleague that he didn't know how they could have written that, because he was the one who proposed this and so how could he be unhappy about this?

Solution Sought for Farm Economy Problems

92SE0075B Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 13 Nov 91 p 3

[Article by Bunchu Rotchanasathian]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Even if a farm family of four-five people lives very frugally, it will still have to spend at least 6,000 baht. But this is an estimate from 18 years ago. If a farmer has an extra 5 kwian [1 kwian equals 2,000 liters] of rice after deducting the amount that must be set aside for personal consumption and seed and if he can sell this rice for 2,500 baht per kwian, he will earn 12,500 baht. After deducting the 6,000 baht in personal household expenses, he will have 6,500 baht left to pay his debts. If a farmer borrows only 5,000 baht and has to pay 5-10 percent interest a month, the interest for six months alone will be between 1,500 and 3,000 baht. From these figures, it can be seen that after a farming season, a farmer can only break even at best. Or he will be in debt. Actually, most farmers cannot pay all their debts and are in debt from one season to the next.

But the situation described above is a relatively good situation. It is not very bad. This is because the price of paddy is approximately 2,500 baht per kwian. Before the administration of MR [royal title] Khukrit Pramot implemented a policy of guaranteeing agricultural crop prices, the price of paddy at the beginning of the season was around 2,000 baht per kwian or even lower.

For this reason, at the beginning of each new season, farmers have to borrow money to invest. If there is a severe drought or if there are floods or their crops are destroyed by insects, even though the price of rice will increase, because they have little rice to sell, they will suffer losses and their debt will increase. And if they are really unfortunate and harvest little rice for several consecutive years, they will be deeply in debt. They won't even be able to pay the interest. And their plight will grow even worse when they can no longer borrow money. When that happens, they will be forced to give up their land and work as tenant farmers. Once that happens, it will be even harder for them to make ends meet.

Today, even though farmers in many localities have a chance to plant a second rice crop or grow other crops in order to supplement their income, that means that they need more capital, too. Besides this, they face the risk of natural disasters. And there is the risk that prices will decline. If they can't earn enough to pay the high interest, they will go even deeper into debt.

Frankly, most farmers would not be able to survive without the income that household members earn by working in other localities. This extra money is used to help pay household expenses, and it is used as working capital. Because with the money earned from growing crops, after subtracting the household expenses, the farmers don't have enough money left to pay all their debts. Even though the price of paddy is higher than before, the cost of the goods that the farmers have to buy has increased greatly, too.

Thus, farmers have little chance of paying their debts even though the price of paddy has risen, particularly at a time when paddy prices are uncertain.

Farmers are suffering, because they are in debt to local financiers, who have been referred to as "thao kae" [rich Chinese] ever since they began providing capital to farmers. By the time the BAAC [Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives] began operating, the farmers were already in debt to the "rich Chinese." But initially, the BAAC did not make funds available to the farmers so that they could pay off the "rich Chinese" and stop having to pay such high rates of interest. And the BAAC did not allocate new funds that farmers could borrow at a low rate of interest and repay over many years. Instead, all it thought about was loaning the farmers just enough money to plant crops each season. And it required the farmers to repay all the principle and interest after the harvest. The farmers were not allowed to borrow any money for the next season until they had repaid their old loans. Sometimes, the farmers could not repay the loans because the harvest was poor or they couldn't get a good price for their crops. Thus, they had to borrow money from the "rich Chinese" to pay the BAAC. After that, they borrowed money from the BAAC in order to repay the "rich Chinese." Because the BAAC has made seasonal loans like this, the "rich Chinese" have been able to squeeze the farmers by charging high rates of interest.

In making capital available to farmers, the BAAC should use the cooperatives as tools, because the cooperatives have long had a close relationship with the farmers. These have offices in every district. This will help the BAAC distribute funds everywhere. At the same time, this will reduce the management expenses of the BAAC. But the BAAC has been trying to distribute funds to the farmers directly. It has not considered supporting the cooperatives and providing them with large sums of money in order to expand the role of the cooperatives in accord with the original intention. This is particularly true now that the BAAC is being managed more like a commercial bank, with its main target being to earn a profit. Originally, the BAAC was established to help the farmers who were mired in debt to the "rich Chinese." But that is no longer the intention of the managers of the BAAC.

It is still not too late for Prime Minister Anan Panyarachun to take action to help the farmers get out of debt. Even if he can't finish things before he leaves office, the farmers will at least see a way out. That would be a very good deed.

It would be easy to mobilize savings by issuing 20-year tax-free agricultural assistance bonds that pay up to 10 percent a year. About 65 billion baht worth of these bonds could be sold periodically, with 20 billion baht worth sold each time. This money could be turned over to the BAAC, which could then make loans to farmers so that they could pay the money owed the "rich Chinese." The farmers would be required to repay the loans over a 15-20 year period. This could be done in just two months. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Seeks To Reduce Foreign Borrowing

92SE0068A Bangkok SIAM RAT THURAKIT in Thai
29 Oct 91 pp 7, 9

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Mr. Suthi Singsane, the minister of finance, talked about a meeting held last week by the National Debt Committee. He said that those at the meeting discussed the policy of borrowing from abroad. Some at the meeting felt that less money should be borrowed from abroad for use in various projects here. Instead, more money should be borrowed from domestic sources in order to reduce foreign borrowing and reduce the risk stemming from foreign exchange rates, which fluctuate constantly.

Mr. Suthi said that if we turn to borrowing money domestically instead, what needs to be considered is the effect that this will have on inflation and our international reserves. Thus, we must be very careful in changing this policy. If we reduce foreign borrowing and turn to domestic borrowing instead, taking steps to ensure that

this does not affect inflation or our reserves, we should be able to effectively implement the policy of reducing foreign borrowing.

“As for using treasury reserves, at the meeting, the committee felt that if the government and the state enterprises reduce foreign borrowing and use money borrowed domestically, that will be the same as making indirect use of the treasury reserves. The government has allocated budget funds for various projects, with the amounts budgeted exceeding projected revenues. Thus, treasury reserves will have to be used to fund these projects, because revenues won't be sufficient,” said Mr. Suthi.

The minister of finance added that treasury reserves will be used indirectly, not directly, and so this won't violate the law on the use of treasury reserves. To ensure that the use of the treasury reserves does not violate the law, we will probably have to revise the law on the use of treasury reserves so that the reserves can be used without having to set a budget in which expenditures are higher than revenues, which is what we are doing now.

POLITICAL

Party Building Following Ho's Thinking

922E0046A Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 15 Oct 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by Tran Dinh Huynh: "Resolution of the Seventh Party Congress Introduced Into Life: Let Us Build Ours Into a Pure and Strong Party According to Ho Chi Minh's Thinking"]

[Text] The seventh congress of our party unanimously affirmed: Along with Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thoughts are the ideological foundation and guide of our action. Enunciated against the current complicated international background, that affirmation was in fact a step forward on the road to the truth, a correct perception of our nation designed to sustain our continual search for a way and a system of solutions to build Vietnam into a strong and prosperous country advancing to socialism.

This is no easy task. Many obstacles and difficulties still stand in front of our party and people. But, as President Ho Chi Minh once advised us: "*If we know the right way to do a job and if we are of the same mind and join efforts, we will certainly be able to finish it.... Whether a job is difficult or easy depends on ourselves; we can do it if we set our mind on it.*" [Footnote 1] [Selected Works by Ho Chi Minh, Vol 2, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 239]

In our opinion, to successfully implement the resolution of the seventh party congress, our party should thoroughly understand the following recommendations of Ho Chi Minh:

First, "*We must awake the people*" because "renovation and construction are the responsibility of the people... and power as well as force rest with the people." In all major matters such as striving for socioeconomic stabilization and development, building a prosperous and strong country, advancing to socialism, renovating the organization and operational methods of the political system, renovating and reorganizing the party...we must see to it that the people understand them and believe in them, and that they "are of the same mind and join efforts with us" because only in this way will we be able to ensure an effective implementation of the resolution. If a resolution is correct but the people are not awakened to it and have neither confidence nor resolve, then everything will fall through.

Second, "*We must explain our theories and ideology to the people.*" In the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, our people understood and believed in the revolutionary ideal. The slogans "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," "We would rather sacrifice everything than lose our country and be enslaved," "If we still have our mountains, our rivers, and our people, then once the U.S. aggressors are defeated we will rebuild our country and make it ten times as beautiful as it is today"...had become a material force, an adhesive that binding all the people together as a monolithic bloc

"resolved to split the Truong Son Range to go south to save the country," with everyone "feeling his heart a flutter with hopes for the future."

After decades of atrocious war, our country has entered a period of construction fraught with difficulties. But our party has committed serious mistakes and shortcomings, our country has fallen into a grave socioeconomic crisis, and order and morality have declined critically. Meanwhile, socialism around the world has been afflicted with crisis, many socialist countries have lost power, and Marxism-Leninism has come under fire from several directions. Opportunists and reactionaries at home and abroad have raised their heads to frenziedly oppose and sabotage the revolution.... All this to vacillate, become skeptical, and lose confidence in Marxism-Leninism and in the road to socialism.

On the strength of the correct orientation set forth by the various resolutions of the seventh party congress, our party should renovate and strengthen its theoretical research and training by means of reviewing practice and providing correct information for party cadres and members and the people.

Explaining theories and the ideology to the people" is a basic and urgent matter that must be done regularly and continually. The most serious crisis of all—the one that causes all other crises—is the crisis of confidence in one's ideal and ideology.

Firmly maintaining independence and freedom and building a prosperous and strong country advancing to socialism must become the raison d'être and the credo of the more than 60 million Vietnamese. This must be the primary task of the entire party and should not be belittled.

Third, the party must exert its leadership in such a way as to strengthen the bloc of unity of all the people, with the upper and lower echelons being of the same mind, thereby ensuring that all citizens have a right to become the master of the country and are responsible for the handling of state affairs.

A revolution requires great moral and material strength. Disunity, factionalism, and regionalism will cause the dispersal of force and weaken the revolution's strength in the same way division would weaken a bundle of chopsticks if the individual sticks are separated from one another, or a band if its musicians are out of tune with one another. *National unity and unification and party leadership are two closely linked matters; they also are the condition that ensures each other's existence and development, with the existence of national unity inevitably implying the existence of party leadership, and vice versa.* "Therefore, to carry out a revolution, there must be centralism; and to practice centralism, there must be a revolutionary party. The centralized, unified leadership of a revolutionary party over society is unquestionable; it is as natural as a demand of life itself.

Fourth, the party must renovate and reorganize itself to be up to its mission of leading the entire people in the current

revolutionary undertaking. Ho Chi Minh's thoughts concerning party buildings are extremely important guidelines. In our opinion, they must be affirmed as the fundamental principles to follow in the current renovation and reorganization of our party.

1. The party must improve itself in the theoretical field because only a vanguard theory will enable a vanguard party to fulfill its missions. Theory and ideology are the party's wisdom. In a party that leads the revolution, there must be absolutely no doctrinal differences. A strong party must, first of all, be a party with ideological unity built on the foundation of a correct doctrine. Ho Chi Minh wrote: "If a party wishes to be stable, it must have an ideology as its core; and in such a party, everyone must understand and follow that ideology. A party without an ideology is like a man without intelligence, a ship without a compass." [Footnote 2] [Ibid, p 240]

The resolution of the seventh party congress affirmed: "Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thoughts are our ideological foundation and the guide of our action. This is the primary requirement of all those who carry the noble title of member of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

2. The party must enhance its intellect to promptly set forth correct policies and resolutions. All its "slogans and directives must be practical and proceed from the people's interests. The party must rely on the people to "check to see how its resolutions and directives are implemented." Only in this way can party organizations at all levels formulate correct, effective, and popular resolutions. "Otherwise, those resolutions and directives would become hollow words and would also hurt the people's trust in the party." [Footnote 3] [Ho Chi Minh's Complete works, vol 4, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, pp 463, 464]

3. Party organizations must be capable of fulfilling its missions entrusted by history. "The party is not an organization one joins to gain in position and wealth. The party must fulfill its task of national liberation and *must make the fatherland prosperous and strong and the people happy.*" (emphasized by the author of this article) [Footnote 4] [Ibid]

Special privileges and prerogatives, corruption, opportunism; a lack of ethics, industriousness, thriftiness, integrity, impartiality, a sense of serving the people, political awareness, and capability; a failure to match one's words with deeds...all are at variance with the conduct of a genuine revolutionary party.

4. The party must have correct operational methods, that is, "it must have a firm grasp of the methods of struggle and organization" and must know "how to combine the people's daily interests and their long-term ones." In all its activities, the party must see to it that "each piece of its work *firmly retains its revolutionary character.*" The party must also make "*skillful use of lively ways of implementation.*" At the same time, it must regularly and "*closely associate itself with the masses.*" (emphasis by the author of this article.) [Footnote 5] [Ibid, p 463] "*Revolution*" and

"*association*" identify with each other; they are the condition for each other's existence. The party must associate itself with the masses in order "to lead them," "to learn from them," "to be aware of their views," and, finally, "to elevate the masses."

5. The party must strongly push forward self-criticism and criticism and uphold its discipline.

A strong party is a party that knows how to criticize its shortcomings and mistakes openly, to work out plans and measures and to have the resolve to correct them. The party "must admit its shortcomings and rectify them by itself in order to make progress and to educate party cadres and members. The party must regularly carry out self-criticism and criticism in three ways: from the upper echelon down, from the lower echelon up, and from the people; and *it must maintain very strict discipline* from top to bottom." Party discipline is that "*there must be unanimity in both thought and action.*" This discipline is self-imposed "because each party member must clearly realize his responsibility to the party and the people." The party uses education and persuasion as the principal measures but, at the same time, it should mete out punishments to set examples and to strictly preserve the party's characteristics. Paying attention to expelling corrupt elements"; persuading and admitting outstanding persons from among workers, peasants, intellectuals, and other laboring people; and "choosing highly loyal and zealous persons and forging them into loyal leading groups" are a regular task that must be carried out to build our party into a pure and strong organization.

BIOGRAPHIC

Information on Personalities

92P30053A

[Editorial Report] The following information on Vietnamese personalities has been extracted from Vietnamese language sources published in Hanoi, unless otherwise indicated. An asterisk indicates that this is the first known press reference to this individual functioning in this capacity.

Le Huy Con [LEE HUY COON]

*Vice minister of light industry; recently he was interviewed by the cited source on his ministry. (HANOI MOI 7 Oct 91 p 3)

Nguyen Van Boi [NGUYEENX VAWN BOOIS]

*Vice minister of trade and tourism, in charge of inspection and ideology work; he was recently appointed to this position together with two new vice ministers. (Ho Chi Minh City THOI BAO KINH TE SAIGON 3-9 Sep 91 p 5)

Doan Ngoc Bong [DOANF NGOCJ BOONGR]

*Director general of the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industries; on 22 Oct 91 he talked to a group of journalists at the Vietnam Trade Fair in Hong Kong. (Ho Chi Minh City TUOI TRE 24 Oct 91 p 8)

Le Huu Duyen [LEE HUWUX ZUYEEN]

*Vice minister of trade and tourism, in charge of home trade; he was recently appointed to this position together with two new vice ministers. (Ho Chi Minh City THOI BAO KINH TE SAIGON 3-9 Sep 91 p 5)

Truong Quang Duoc [TRUWOWNG QUANG DUWOWCJ]

*Director general of the Customs General Department; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Tran Thi Duong [TRAAF THIJ DUWOWNGF]

Deputy director general of the Union of Textile Enterprises and director of the Phong Phu Textile Mill; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; she was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Pham Minh Hac [PHAMJ MINH HACJ]

Vice minister of education and training; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Binh Giang [NGUYEENX BINH GIANG]

*Secretary of the CPV Committee, Quang Ninh Province; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Ngo Hai [NGUYEENX NGOO HAI]

Secretary of the CPV Committee, Bac Thai Province; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Vu Ngoc Hai [VUX NGOCJ HAIR]

Minister of energy; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Thi Hang [NGUYEENX THIJ HAWNGF]

Vice minister of labor, war invalids, and social welfare; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; she was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Cu Thi Hau [CUF THIJ HAAUJ]

*Vice president of the Vietnam Confederation of Labor Unions; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; she was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Van Hieu [NGUYEENX VAWN HIEEUJ]

Director of the Vietnam Institute of Sciences; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Tran Dinh Hoan [TRAAF DINHF HOAN]

Minister of labor, war invalids and social welfare; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Tran Hoan [TRAAF HOANF]

Minister of culture, information, sports, and tourism; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Duc Hoan [NGUYEENX DUWCS HOAN]

Secretary of the CPV Committee, Quang Tri Province; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to this position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Vu Tuyen Hoang [VUX TUYEEN HOANGF]

Vice minister of agriculture and food industry; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Thi Kim Hong [NGUYEENX THIJ KIM HOONGF]

Member of the CPV Standing Committee, An Giang Province; secretary of the CPV Committee, Chau Thanh District; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; she was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Van Hon [NGUYEENX VAWN HOWN]

Secretary of the CPV Committee, An Giang Province; *member of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Pham Hung [PHAMJ HUWNG]

Justice of the People's Supreme Court; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Dinh Huong [NGUYEENX DINHF HUWOWNG]

Deputy Director of the Organization Department of the CPV Central Committee; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Le Minh Huong [LEE MINH HUWOWNG], Major General

Vice minister of interior; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Dang Huu [DAWNGJ HUWUX]

Chairman of the State Science Commission; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Pham Van Hy [PHAMJ VAWN HY]

Secretary of the CPV Committee, Dong Nai Province; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Cao Sy Kiem [CAO SYX KIEEM]

Governor of the Vietnam State Bank; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Vu Khoan [VUX KHOAN]

Vice minister of foreign affairs; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Ha Thi Khiet [HAF THIJ KHIETS]

Chairman of the People's Committee and member of the CPV Standing Committee, Ha Tuyen Province; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; she was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Nam Khanh [NGUYEENX NAM KHANHS], Colonel General

Deputy director of the Political General Department; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Khanh [NGUYEENX KHANHS]

Vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; *member of the Central Committee of the Seventh CPV National Congress; he was elected to the latter position at the congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Nguyen Anh Lien [NGUYEENX ANH LIEEN]

*Member of the CPV Central Control Commission; he was elected to this position at the Seventh CPV National Congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

Huynh Van Niem [HUYNHF VAWN NIEEMF]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; secretary of the CPV Committee Tien Giang Province; he was mentioned in an article about his province. (Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG 31 Oct 91 p 2)

Thep Moi [THEPS MOWIS] aka Anh Hong, Ha Van Loc, deceased

Deputy editor in chief and commentator of NHAN DAN newspaper; member of the Executive Committee of Vietnam Journalists Association; member of the Executive Committee of Vietnam Writers Association; born in Nam Dinh on 15 Feb 1925, he died suddenly at his residence in Ho Chi Minh City on 28 Aug 91. (NHAN DAN 30 Aug 91 p 1)

Nguyen Quang Quynh [NGUYEENX QUANG QUYNHS]

*Vice minister of trade and tourism, in charge of science, technology, and rural market; he was recently appointed to this position together with two new vice ministers. (Ho Chi Minh City THOI BAO KINH TE SAIGON 3-9 Sep 91 p 5)

Duong Dinh Thao [ZUWOWNG DINHF THAOR]

Member of the CPV Standing Committee and chairman of the Propaganda and Training Committee in Ho Chi Minh City; on 31 Aug 91 he attended the 16th anniversary of TUOI TRE newspaper. (Ho Chi Minh City TUOI TRE 5 Sep 91 p 1)

Nguyen Van Tong [NGUYEENX VAWN TONGF]

Director of the Culture and Information Service, Ho Chi Minh City; on 31 Aug 91 he attended the 16th anniversary of TUOI TRE newspaper. (Ho Chi Minh City TUOI TRE 5 Sep 91 p 1)

Ha Tuan Trung [HAF TUAANS TRUNG]

*Member of the CPV Central Control Commission; he was elected to this position at the Seventh CPV National Congress. (NHAN DAN 28 Jun 91 p 3)

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