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Southeast Asia Report

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE

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SPECIAL NOTICE

Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

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The changes that are of interest to readers of this report are as follows:

The SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT (SEA) will be titled EAST ASIA/SOUTHEAST ASIA (SEA).

The JAPAN REPORT (JAR) will be titled EAST ASIA/JAPAN (JAR).

The KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT (KAR) will be titled EAST ASIA/KOREA (KAR).

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KOREA: KULLOJA (AKU) will be issued as a separate series under EAST ASIA.

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AUSTRALIA

LIBERAL, NATIONAL PARTY HEADS SAVE OPPOSITION COALITION

'Written Coalition' on Pact Continuation

BK151321 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 15 Apr 87

[Text] The leaders of the opposition Liberal and National parties, Mr Howard and Mr Sinclair, have released a written coalition agreement saying the overwhelming majority of their party members wanted the coalition to continue.

Under an 11-point agreement, joint meetings of the two parties will continue with only coalition Nationals attending the meetings with the Liberals. The agreement says the coalition should comprise 73 Liberals and a minimum of 40 National Party members.

Mr Sinclair referred to the coalition Nationals who would attend the joint party meetings as the committee of the National Party. Mr Sinclair said he did not know how many of the 12 Queensland Nationals wanted to withdraw from the coalition, but so far only two had resigned.

The coalition has been under threat because of the move by Queensland premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, to run for federal parliament and to encourage the federal National Party members to stand alone in the process.

The Queensland premier said the latest attempt to preserve the federal coalition was doomed to failure. He said the agreement was a sell-out of National Party principles and that it would only serve to make Mr Sinclair and other federal National Party members of parliament a subservient branch of the Liberals.

2 Queensland National Party MP's Quit

BK101020 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] Queensland members of the National Party pulled out of the federal opposition coalition with the Liberal Party. The decision was made at an important meeting of the Queensland National Party in Brisbane.

The Queensland premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, and the National state president, Sir (Robert Sparks), made the announcement after the meeting. More from (Camille Phenal) in Brisbane.

[Begin (Phenal) recording] Sir (Robert) says this afternoon the vote was unanimous with only one or two members expressing some concern. He says all Queensland federal shadow ministers are immediately out of the shadow cabinet and all Queensland federal parliamentarians are out of joint policy committees with the Liberal Party. Sir (Robert) says the decision is in line with one taken at (Harvey Bay) in February. He denies suggestions that the move will split the National Party federally as he says there is no need for Queensland members to resign from the federal National Party. [end recording]

The federal opposition leader, Mr Howard, will now have to decide what action the Liberal Party takes. In Canberra, (Graham Wells) looks at the prospects:

[Begin (Wells) recording] The big question now is whether the Liberal Party will agree to a coalition with half the Nationals. Two weeks ago the Nationals leader, Ian Sinclair, said the benefits of coalition was such that it should only be broken when there was a fundamental difference between the two parties. He does not believe such a difference exists.

Liberal leader John Howard describes the coalition as the most effective instrument to defeat the Hawke government. But he says if an honorable coalition cannot be preserved, the Liberals will (?try) to become the majority party in Australia. Mr Howard's immediate problem is the diverging views with his party on the question of maintaining the coalition. Several senior Liberals, including Andrew Peacock, do not favor coalition with a divided National Party. [end recording]

/9599
CSO: 4200/508

AUSTRALIA

BRIEFS

SINGAPORE'S DHANABALAN ARRIVES--Singapore's foreign minister, Mr Dhanabalan, has arrived in Australia for a 4-day visit as a guest of the minister for foreign affairs, Mr Hayden. It is Mr Dhanabalan's first visit to Australia as Singapore's foreign minister since he took up the post 7 years ago. While in Australia he will have talks in Canberra with the prime minister, Mr Hawke, as well as Mr Hayden and the minister for trade, Mr Dawkins. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0030 GMT 1 Apr 87] /9599

BILATERAL TALKS UNDER WAY IN DEHLI--In New Dehli, 3 days of talks between senior Australian and Indian public servants have been extended for 1 day. No reason has been given for the extension but an Indian Government spokesman said discussions so far had been divided into four subgroups dealing with trade, coal, science and technology, and cultural relations. He said that talks had been very constructive and cordial. The Australian team is led by the secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Dr Harris, and the Indian delegation by a secretary of the External Affairs Ministry, Mr (A. B. Gokhale). Both governments say the talks will help identify new areas of bilateral cooperation in an atmosphere of improved relations following the Indian prime minister, Mr Gandhi's, visit to Australia last October. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 15 Apr 87] /9599

CSO: 4200/508 ...

BRIEFS

SPANISH DEFENSE MINISTER DEPARTS--Spanish Defense Minister Narciso Serra I Serra and delegation left Jakarta yesterday for home after concluding a visit to Indonesia starting 12 April. Speaking to newsmen at Sukarno-Hatta International Airport, the Spanish defense minister said President Suharto had attached importance to the promotion of cooperation between Spain and Indonesia not only in the aircraft industry undertaken with the IPTN [Nusantara Aircraft Industrial Corporation] but also in other fields such as electronics. [Text] [Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 0500 GMT 18 Apr 87 BK] /9738

PALAPA B2P FUNCTIONING WELL--The Indonesian telecommunication satellite Palapa B2P which was launched last month by a Delta rocket from Cape Canaveral, U.S. is now functioning as a back-up for the existing Palapa B1 satellite. A general check and operating trial of the 24-transponders of the Palapa B2P satellite were carried out successfully last 15 April. Since its launching, the satellite has been heard undergoing various tests and causing tension among the technicians at the main ground control in Cibinung, Indonesia, West Java. The satellite is a substitute for the Palapa B2 satellite which failed to enter its geo-stationary orbit. The launching of the Palapa B2P satellite had also been postponed several times following the mishap of the Challenger space shuttle killing all its crew members. [Text] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 21 Apr 87 BK] /9738

MOCHTAR ON ASEAN-PACIFIC MEETING--ASEAN views Asia and the Pacific as an increasingly important region, especially in regard to recent developments. Thus, the ASEAN foreign ministers will meet in Jakarta to discuss preparations for the planned ASEAN-Pacific meeting scheduled to be held in Singapore in June 1987. Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja was answering questions from newsmen in Jakarta today on the upcoming arrival of the Thai and Singapore foreign ministers in Indonesia. Mokhtar said Singapore, as chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, certainly wants to obtain inputs from its partners in Southeast Asia. Thai foreign minister Sitthi Sawetsila will be here for among other things, consultations with Foreign Minister Mokhtar on his planned visit to Moscow in May 1987. Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila and Singapore Foreign Minister Suppiah Dhanabalan are scheduled to visit Indonesia at the end of this month to discuss latest developments in Cambodia. These visits are related to the recent talks between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev about Cambodia. [Text] [Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 1200 GMT 21 Apr 87 BK] /9738

CSO: 4200/513

GENERAL THONGLAI LECTURES ON RELATIONS WITH PRC, THAIS

Vientiane KHONGTHAP PASASON LAO in Lao 25 Dec 86 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Army LPRYU Offices Assemble for Speech on Restoration of Lao-Thai Relations and Lao-Chinese Relations"]

[Text] The LPRYU office under the Central Political Department of the Army organized a gathering of 200 LPRYU Army and Ministry of Defense representatives to hear a speech about the restoration of relations between Laos and Thailand and between Laos and China the morning of 18 December 1986 at the Army's Central Political Department clubhouse.

General Thonglai Kommasit, Central Party Committee member and deputy chief of the Army's Political Department, was the honored speaker. After his speech, the gathering had an opportunity to ask questions and express their opinions. Gen Thonglai correctly explained the global and regional situations, the plans and policies of the various countries in Southeast Asia, and the unwavering intentions of the party and the state toward neighboring countries. These are supported widely by allies and people who love justice around the world, including the Thai and Chinese peoples themselves, whose wishes coincide with the intentions of the Lao people as well those of people in neighboring countries. He said that we all must support and participate in implementing correct policies to make these wishes materialize.

He said that if we want to succeed, we must continue to search and absorb these intentions for peace, be united with the party and the state, and raise our revolutionary alertness to destroy all the enemy's schemes. We must exert our efforts to implement the measures of the Fourth Party Congress, primarily the state plan, especially during 1987, which is the year to continue to score achievements to commemorate the upcoming 38th anniversary of the formation of the Lao People's Army.

After Gen Thonglai's speech, representatives of the LPRYU offices suggested detailed tasks for the LPRYU committees around the Ministry of Defense in order to score achievements to commemorate the upcoming 38th anniversary of the formation of the army.

12587/9190
CSO: 4206/68

RESOLUTION 51, 'PEOPLE'S WAR' CONCEPT NOTED AS SECURITY IMPROVES

Vientiane KONG THAP PASASON LAO in Lao 8 Jan 87 p 3

[Article: "1986 Results of Grassroots Development for Entire Country"]

[Excerpts] The year 1986 was the first symbolic year when the entire party, army, and our people successfully worked hard together to develop the country and continue to implement the Politburo's Central Party Resolution No 5 concerning the strong development of the grassroots as production areas for the people in various regions so that the entire country will have peace and stability. The self-defense corps and guerrilla militia units around the country in particular carried out their duties efficiently and increased their knowledge and abilities in political and military theory and in the task of developing the grassroots. These efforts have continuously strengthened the people's war.

The western and northern provinces of Phongsaly, Nam Tha, Po Keo, Oudomsai, Sayaboury, Vientiane, Vientiane Municipality, Borikhamaai, Savannakhet, Saravan, and Champassak have continuously improved their guerrilla militia units and their self-defense corps. These provinces have all developed reasonably good people's war networks, which have enabled them to destroy the enemy quickly. Other provinces in the rear areas have all continued to develop their villages, cantons, and districts, and they are strongly and enthusiastically following the direction of the party and the state. In developing their localities, they have all followed and struggled to implement the four directions of the Politburo's Central Party Resolution No 51.

There have been outstanding performances in effectively suppressing bandits in jungle and mountainous areas. In 1986, all remnants from the old regime were eliminated and new people's administrations in mountainous areas and in some plains areas were improved. In addition to development, grassroots forces have also encouraged the people along Route 13 to pool their strengths with guerrilla militia units to defend themselves better and to maintain peace. Along with this, in the grassroots areas the people have also built a strong sanctuary for actively attacking bandits and have taken charge of defending the border at many points and stopping the trade in forbidden goods.

In 1986, all guerrilla militia units, self-defense corps, every level of administration, and the hill tribe peoples worked hard to develop and strengthen the grassroots in every area. All this has improved the quality of life in the grassroots areas, and the people are enthusiastically contributing to national defense and the development of socialism.

12587/9190
CSO: 4206/68

FURTHER REPORT ON UNIT POLITICAL OFFICER ROLE

Vientiane KHONGTHAP PASASON in Lao 1 Jan 87 p 3

[Article: "Political Officers During Attacks on Enemy"]

[Text] If we want to attack the enemy, we must hit him when he is still poised for action, when he is in a stationary position. The enemy surely knows well the geography of the country; he will use it to counterattack us. In addition, the enemy has also built strong trenches with very strong firepower. Our troops must be mobilized from long distances. As the situation changes, it is urgent that the political officer change our fighting strategy to be ready to attack the enemy and preserve our troop strength. Therefore, the unit political officer must be in control in certain tasks.

He must encourage officers and military men to absorb their urgent duties, develop decisive decision-making in increasing the number of men and firepower to coordinate battles successfully, guarantee supplies, pay a great interest in developing solidarity within the party, cadres, and fighters, and perform coordination well between commanders and their deputies for attack readiness.

The commander and the unit political officer must have time for preparations to organize attack plans. Unit political officers must be in control of every situation in terms of ideology and organization. The political officer must inform the commander promptly about every unsolved matter. He must draft a plan of political activities to exchange with the commander.

The unit political officer must call for party committee meetings to encourage cadres and party members to overcome difficulties and absorb the duties that the high level has delegated to each unit and department. The political officer must be able to identify the advantages, difficulties, and abilities of his unit. He must discuss matters with party chapters and committees and make unanimous decisions about the leadership, activities, and work of the party and politics. The political officer must delegate duties to responsible cadres to implement orders correctly.

The unit political officer also has the duty to distribute work to political cadres at different levels. He must make specific plans for

political tasks, promotions, and competition to score achievements during attacks.

The unit political officer must go on patrol with commanders and be in control of the situation and the enemy's activities. There should be gatherings to inform the unit about the situation, continuously promote competition, be close to all units, promote battle preparations, and give summary reports to the higher level.

During battle, political cadres must perform these tasks well:

They must follow up and have tight control over changes at each stage of the battle. The chief and the unit political officer must make clear-cut decisions together about every case. The political officer in particular must always encourage soldiers to fight well. He must spread the news of victory constantly, and he must promptly praise outstanding soldiers.

He must promptly improve and strengthen the unit in ideology and organization in order to enable the troops to fight nonstop. He must pay attention to changes in opinion and morale that might occur, such as despair or fear of sacrifice; in that case he must improve the organization promptly.

He must be in control when there are opportunities to combine military and political attacks successfully. There should be propaganda to attack enemy politics, and to make the enemy's soldiers crack and lose morale in fighting, so that they will surrender or revolt by themselves.

He must warn all units always to follow regulations strictly, follow all orders and measures, and follow the policies toward prisoners of war and persons who have surrendered.

After a battle has ended, the political officer should hurry to take control of the situation of the unit. He should assess the situation in the beginning, be united with the chief, and assess and observe the leadership of political cadres at various levels in party and political tasks.

He should supervise the improvement of his own unit quickly and promptly and be prepared to take over new duties delegated by the higher level.

The unit political officer must organize meetings with the chief to draw lessons from previous battles. In particular, the unit political officer must concentrate on party and political tasks and continuously come up with additional plans. There should be praise for those who have done good deeds and kept up productivity and solidarity.

The unit political officer with the chief and the local administration near a battle site must continue to complete unfinished work after the fighting and take care of the injured and dead. He must agree with the chief about the number of soldiers to be drafted to increase the staff in each company and battalion. He should take every situation under consideration unanimously with the chief and inform the higher level.

BRIEFS

LUANG PRABANG ROAD REPAIR--The technicians and workers of the Route 1 Bridge and Road Construction Company under the transportation and post section in Luang Prabang are continuing to put all of their efforts into 62 km of road repairs from Xieng Ngeun to Pak Khon in order to score achievements for the 4th Party Congress and the coming 11th anniversary of the establishment of the LPDR. Last October the company also constructed 5,400 km of new road from Houai Fek to Ban Pak, which was 61.36 percent of the annual plan for construction, by working together with provincial and district youth union members. They repaired 24 km of roads in the area of Phonsai District along with three steel bridges. They constructed culverts in 3 places, made repairs on the road from Xieng Man to Na Gnom, and also made successful repairs in 10 places to a bridge on this road 6 meters long. They cleared brush along the side of the road for 13 km, repaired a road in the municipality area and paved 1,500 meters of the entrance to Na Dou School, patched asphalt pavement along 400 meters, repaired the Nam Khan and Meaung Khai bridges in four places, repaired 26 km of the road in Meaung Khai District from Ban Pak Ou to Ban Tha Pen, etc. [Text] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 29 Nov 87 p A13] 9884/9190

CHAMPASSAK ARMY RECRUITMENT--The national defense and security work in Champassak Province is now being improved and steadily strengthened in terms of both quality and quantity. Up to now over 200 youths in the province have volunteered to serve the nation in the military forces in order to defend the nation and to construct socialism. [Text] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 18 Oct 86 pp A5, A6] 9884/9190

KHAMMOUAN MILITARY RECRUITMENT--National defense and security work in various localities has now become the duty of all Lao people who are carefully and steadily making it strong in every way. Since September, 86 youth from 16 cantons in Tha Khek, Khammouan Province, have awakened and volunteered to serve the nation in national defense and socialist construction. [Excerpt] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 17 Oct 86 p A3] 9884/9190

LUANG PRABANG MILITARY RECRUITMENT--In mid-September a total of 24 youth in Visoun, Xiengman, and Xiengmouak Cantons under Luang Prabang District, Luang Prabang Province, have awakened and volunteered to

serve the nation in the ranks of the military. [Excerpt] [Vientiane
KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 25 Oct 86 p A4] 9884/9190

KHAMMOUAN ROAD REPAIR--Since the end of September many thousands of people in 13 cantons and cadres in various work sections around Gnommalat District, Khammouan Province, have organized themselves to undertake the responsibility for rapid repairs on Routes 12 and 8. While repairing Route 12 they cleared brush from the sides of the road, filled holes in the surface, and dug water drainage in several places along Route 12 from the intersection at Gnommalat to the border of Boulapha District. The repairs to Route 8 from the intersection at Ban Boun to Km 20 in Ban Na Pe, Khamkeut District, for a total of 130 km are now mostly finished and are expected to be completed soon. [Excerpt] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 24 Oct 86 p A4] 9884/9190

WORLD CONCERN AID--On 27 November the hospital for skin diseases ended the fourth training session for specialized skin diseases, leprosy, and sexually transmitted diseases that have been held for 56 days. There were 22 medical cadres from 9 provinces and 3 departments who attended. The training was funded by World Concern, an organization that is concerned with the world. Up to now the hospital for skin diseases has been able to train a total of 59 specialized-task cadres. [Text] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 28 Nov 86 p A5] 9884/9190

CSO: 4206/88

MALAYSIAN, FRG DEFENSE MINISTERS TALK IN KUALA LUMPUR

BK210803 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0751 GMT 21 Apr 87

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 21 Apr (OANA-BERNAMA)--The government welcomes West Germany's offer to train more Malaysian military officers, Defense Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi said Tuesday.

The offer--made by his West German counterpart, Dr Manfred Woerner, who called on him at his office here Tuesday--was suitable for the country's needs, he said.

At present some Malaysian naval officers are already training in West Germany.

Speaking to reporters after the visit by Dr Woerner, Abdullah said their discussions focused on cooperation between Malaysia and West Germany, especially in research and the defense industry.

Also present were West German Chief of Navy Rear Admiral Hans-Joachim Mann, Malaysian Chief of Defense Forces General Ghazali Che Mat and Defense Ministry Secretary-General Mohamad Yusof Abdul Rahman.

Dr Woerner, on a one-day visit to Malaysia, was received by Gen Ghazali on arrival at Mindef (Ministry of Defense) where he later inspected a guard-of-honor. He leaves for Australia later Tuesday.

Meanwhile, a Mindef source said Rear Admiral Mann also held discussions with Chief of Navy Abdul Wahab Nawi. The [words indistinct] centered on Malaysia's plan to buy a submarine. Rear Admiral Mann had put forward his country's offer to sell used submarines to Malaysia.

Plans to purchase a submarine was announced by Deputy Defense Minister Datuk Abang abu Bakar Mustapha on 29 March last year. He had said Malaysia was expected to have its first submarine in the early 1990's.

According to the source, several Royal Malaysian Navy officers had been sent to West Germany for training connected with the handling of submarines.

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CSO: 4200/514

UMNO OFFICIAL ON PARTY RIFT, ECONOMIC POLICIES

BK150425 Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 4 Apr 87 p 6

[Text] Kangar, Friday--UMNO (United Malays National Organization) Secretary General, Datuk Sri Sanusi Junid, said the attempt by the UMNO vice president to topple its president is in opposition to the party Constitution.

He said, "I wish to reiterate that according to the UMNO Constitution, the duty of the vice president is to assist the party president, not to topple him." According to him, those who wish Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamed to continue to lead UMNO should appoint a vice president who can assist him.

After inaugurating the 28th MAYC (Malaysian Assembly of Youth Congress) annual general assembly meeting in Perlis at Rumah Tetamu [Guest House] this evening, he told reporters, "Similarly, those members who choose someone other than the prime minister to lead the party should also bear in mind to choose a vice president who is able to assist him."

Datuk Sri Sanusi Junid said that those members who prefer trade and industry minister, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, to be UMNO president, they must choose a vice president who is able to assist him. He said Tengku Razaleigh also cannot be the party president if his deputy is unable to assist him because efforts to topple him will surely occur. He said according to the UMNO Constitution, the vice president should assist the president, but what is currently happening is in opposition to the UMNO Constitution because the vice president is reluctant to assist him.

He said, "It was most unfortunate that an attempt to topple the president was made by urging certain leaders to stand against the party president. This is the nucleus of UMNO's current problem and it has no connection whatsoever with the country's economic issues." Concerning the proposal by certain party leaders to improve the country's economy, he said this is "an old tune" which the government is currently taking steps to correct.

Datuk Sri Sanusi said the government under the leadership of Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir had used up a huge amount of the allocations for rural development and agriculture through its various ministries and agencies but

the issue was not exploited. He said, "On the other hand, certain quarters who are opposed to the prime minister are over-ambitious and love to distort certain issues relating to big projects."

Concerning development of medium, small, and cottage industries, Datuk Sri Sansui said this has always been the responsibility of the Trade and Industry Ministry as well as of the National and Rural Development Ministry. He said Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir reactivated the National and Rural Development Ministry because he is of the opinion that more effort is necessary in the rural sector.

According to him, the ministry was dropped during the administration of the former Prime Minister Tun Hussein Onn, but it was reactivated in 1981. This is clear proof that the government has not neglected the agricultural and rural sectors.

He said, "For national development, especially in the rural sector, a large amount of funds is utilized compared to the funds allocated toward extensive projects as claimed by certain quarters."

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CSO: 4200/514

DEPUTY MINISTER SAYS MUSA RESPONSIBLE FOR INCIDENT

BK220432 Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 19 Apr p 3

[Text] Alor Gajah, Saturday--Deputy Home Minister Datuk Megat Junid Ayub, said today the police storming of a house in Kedah's Kampung Memali in 1985 which left 18 people dead was the responsibility of the then home minister and was not referred to the cabinet beforehand.

He said Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamed had left the matter to the home ministry and it was up to the minister concerned to use his discretion in launching the operation. Datuk Megat Junid said the prime minister had confirmed the action was not referred to the cabinet before police moved in on Ibrahim Libya and his followers on 19 November.

Eighteen people, four of them police personnel, were killed in the incident. "I believe in my prime minister. I support what he said and I do not believe other people," he told reporters after handing over firearms to 25 Rela [Voluntary Corps] members from this district.

He stressed that the cabinet's clarification on the matter was the truth. On Thursday, Chief Secretary to the Government Tan Sri Salehuddin Mohamed, who is also cabinet secretary, issued a statement that the cabinet had never ordered or given prior approval to the action against Ibrahim Libya, a self-styled religious leader, and his followers. He said the cabinet was informed of it only a day later, on 20 November, during its weekly meeting.

Tan Sri Salehuddin issued the statement to clarify a claim by Deputy Industries Minister Datuk Radzi Sheikh Ahmad, who was then deputy home minister, that the action against Ibrahim Libya had the approval of the cabinet.

UMNO (United Malays National Organization) Deputy President Datuk Musa Hitam, who was at that time home minister, had on Thursday also alleged that the prime minister, the cabinet and the UMNO Supreme Council had been briefed before police took action against the group.

Datuk Musa said he had reported to the prime minister as soon as the operation was launched.

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CSO: 4200/514

PAPER SEEKS TO PUT MEMALI INCIDENT TO REST

BK210611 Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 18 Apr 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Memali Question"]

[Text] It is not unfortunate that the Memali incident [19 November 1985 religious riots] has been resurrected. A number of lives were lost in that instance as a result of action against self-styled religious leader Ibrahim Libya and a number of his followers who cocked a snook at the law.

The question that has now been raised is whether the then Home Affairs Minister, Datuk Musa Hitam, had gone to the cabinet for a collective decision on steps to deal with the problem.

Datuk Radzi Sheikh Ahmad, the then deputy home affairs minister, said recently action had been taken with cabinet approval. Chief Secretary Tan Sri Salehuddin Mohamed, who is also cabinet secretary, says no such approval was given and that the cabinet was only informed of the incident a day later at its weekly meeting. A civil servant has been drawn in but for the purpose of setting the record straight.

Datuk Musa said in Kuala Terengganu on Thursday that he reported to the prime minister as soon as the police operation was launched. Datuk Musa also said he had suggested that the prime minister defer his trip to China he was about to embark on at the time. Given the nature of the visit (it was Dr Mahathir's first official trip to China and there was no question of him just picking up the telephone to say he was not coming at that late stage) an impossible request to meet, really.

Having been represented with a fait accompli it would appear that Dr Mahathir had no option but to get Datuk Musa to handle the situation as best he could.

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CSO: 4200/514

PAPER SEES NO HOPE FOR SARAWAK RECONCILIATION

BK210619 Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 18 Apr 87 p 8

[Editorial: "No Family Reunion"]

[Text] There are close to two dozen communities in Sarawak. That's a multitude of voices that has been the potential of turning the state into a Tower of Babel, particularly when tolerance and accommodation get lost in the divisive acrimony of family disputes. And the latest Sarawak elections can be seen as a familial disagreement, symbolized by the fact that two nephews took on their uncles, and brother contested brother. Underlying the electoral contest may have been the motif of Dayak voices seeking a new mouthpiece in Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS), but coloring the whole contest was an uncle, Tun Abdul Rahman Yakub, challenging the leadership of his nephew.

Datuk Patinggi Taib is the chief minister again, while Tun Rahmad, leader of the breakaway Maju group, was defeated in Matu-Daro. The results demonstrate the appeal of a coalition form of government in a plural society.

The chief minister has pledged to safeguard the interests of all communities in Sarawak. That worthy intention will be made difficult by the presence in the State Assembly of 20 assemblymen (over 41 percent of the total) who are opposed to him. (Despite its protestations to the contrary, PBDS cannot possibly remain in the coalition, but when it had taken on the candidates under its own banner.) The fact that 21 of the contests were decided by majorities of less than 1,000 votes suggests that there will not be a family reunion dinner in the near future.

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CSO: 4200/514

PROGRAM ENCOURAGES DEEP SEA FISHING VENTURES

Bk201147 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 1055 GMT 20 Apr 87

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 20 Apr (OANA-BERNAMA)--The Agriculture Ministry has drawn up a special program to encourage more foreign and local investors to venture into deep sea fishing.

The minister, Sanusi Junid, said Monday the ministry planned to pool the resources of local fishing boat-owners and investors, both local and foreign, through the setting up of a "deep sea fishing corporation."

He told this to reporters after launching a campaign to collect used tires for artificial reefs in 70 coastal areas in Malaysia. Sanusi said the ministry would for a start discuss with 4,000 fishing boat owners in the country on the potential of deep sea fishing. [sentence as received]

The ministry was prepared to issue deep sea fishing permits free to investors interested in joining the program.

Sanusi was confident that the program would succeed as the amount of fish landed in the country yearly was valued at M\$1 billion (about U.S. \$400,000), of which M\$300 million (U.S. \$129 million) was from deep sea fishing.

The program would also help reduce the outflow of the (Malaysian) ringgit, where fish imports at present totaled M\$337 million (U.S. \$134.8 million) as well as increase exports, he said.

On the campaign to collect used tires by the ministry, he said this was for the building of artificial reefs in 70 areas in Malaysian waters.

The ministry had so far collected more than 51,800 used tires, out of a target of one million tires.

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CSO: 4200/514

BRIEFS

SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR SINGAPORE TOURISTS--Johor Baharu, Thursday--Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamed has shown interest with the Johor State Government's proposal to issue special visitation cards to Singapore tourists who enter the country through the Johor Causeway. Johor State Chief Minister Haji Muhyiddin Haji Mohamed Uassin said the proposal was made to the prime minister when he held a meeting with the Johor State UMNO (United Malays National Organization) representatives here yesterday. However, Haji Muhyiddin said the prime minister wanted the proposal to be forwarded to the federal government before it could be implemented. He said, "If this is approved, Singaporean tourists who enter via the Johor Causeway will be issued special cards which would require all personal information. They will not need to fill out any other forms." He said there is a possibility that tourists from the neighboring country will not have to pay toll fees to avoid any inconvenience or traffic jam at the causeway. He said, "This is another way to encourage the improvement of the state tourism industry." If the proposal is implemented, Singapore tourists will only have to purchase the cards, which will be good for a year, from the Immigration Department at a low price. The Immigration Department will also be equipped with computers at the causeway to facilitate speedy service to the tourists. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 10 Apr 87 p 1 BK] /9738

NEW VESSEL COMMISSIONED--Deputy Commander of the Royal Malaysian Navy (RMN), Datuk Haron Datuk Mohammed Salleh, said that the Navy will detain whoever violates the country's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). He said the Navy, which has been given the responsibility of controlling the region, will not give consideration to anyone who commits the offense and will be forced to detain them. Speaking to newsmen after commissioning a Navy vessel, "KD Marikh," he stressed that the RMN has the authority to detain those who intrude into the EEZ region. He said the RMN is using all its facilities to safeguard the national waters. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 10 Apr 87 p 1 BK] /9738

MFP, OMAN AMBASSADORS--Kuala Lumpur, 15 Apr (OANA-BERNAMA)--Malaysia's Yang Di-pertuan Agong (king) on Wednesday received the credentials of the new Mongolian Ambassador to Malaysia Buyantyn Dashtseren. Mr Dashtseren, 59, who has been with Mongolia's Foreign Affairs Division since 1952, was ambassador to Japan prior to his posting here. Later the king received the credentials of

the new Oman Ambassador to Malaysia, Salim bin Muhammad bin Salim al-Qusaybi, who was previously ambassador to Pakistan and Nepal. [Summary] [Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0927 GMT 15 Apr 87 BK] /9738

HAMIM PARTY POSTS--Hizbullah Muslimin Party [Hamim] Secretary General Haji Hassan Mohamed announced in Kota Baharu that Datuk Asri Haji Muda defended his post as party president and Haji Wan Ismail Wan Ibrahim was elected deputy party president. The party will hold its general congress on 16 April. [Summary] [Kuala Lumpur RTM 1 Television Network in Malay 1200 GMT 14 Apr 87 BK] /9738

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED GOODS RISE--Kuala Lumpur, 13 Apr (AFP)--Malaysia's exports of manufactured products rose 24.5 percent to 15.1 billion Malaysian dollars (U.S. \$6.04 billion) in 1986 partly because of their increased price competitiveness, the Export Promotion Council said Monday. Total gross exports for the year, however, declined 5.6 percent to 35.9 billion Malaysian dollars (U.S. \$14.4 billion) due to a drop in prices of major commodities--rubber, palm oil, tin and timber, the council said in a statement. [Excerpt] [Hong Kong AFP in English 0638 GMT 13 Apr 87 BK] /9738

CSO: 4200/515

NEW ZEALAND

BRIEFS

ANTARCTIC COOPERATION WITH ITALY--New Zealand has signed an agreement for cooperation in Antarctic research with Italy. New Zealand's prime minister, Mr Lange, said the agreement was similar to those signed with West Germany in 1981 and Sweden last year. He said the agreements showed the increasing international interests in Antarctica and using New Zealand as a gateway to the continent. The latest of two major Italian expeditions to Antarctica led to the establishment of a permanent Italian base at Terra Nova Valley in the Ross Dependency. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0700 GMT 8 Apr 87] /9599

CSO: 4200/509

LICHAUCO COLUMN ALLEGES FERRER TIES TO 'CIA OPERATION'

Manila THE MANILA TIMES in English 3 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Alejandro Lichauco in the "Here and Abroad" column: "Covert Help"]

[Text]

IN its issue of March 23, *Newsweek* reported on "a multimillion-dollar CIA operation against communist insurgents in the Philippines." The story was titled "Covert Help for Cory Aquino."

We know now what that operation is most likely about. It is most likely about the nation-wide network of civilian vigilantes which Secretary Jimmy Ferrer is assiduously organizing, and which Pres. Aquino has recently endorsed.

What else could it be?

An operation of this nature and magnitude requires extensive funding. No one is likely to enlist in an anti-insurgency brigade voluntarily without some compensation, knowing what the risks are. The recruits will have to be trained, and fed, to say the least. And armed, even if only with homemade weapons. And provided with at least pocket money.

That is why, as *Newsweek* described it, the operation is a "multimillion dollar" one. But more than being a multimillion dollar operation, it is, as *Newsweek* also disclosed a "CIA operation". And because it is a "CIA operation" it must necessarily partake of a "covert" nature. And covert means secret, concealed, disguised.

If this hypothesis is correct, that is, that the vigilantes operation is a CIA covert operation, then Mr. Ferrer who is openly in charge of this operation has a lot of things to explain.

He must explain the mechanics by which the funding of this operation works out. Who gets the money? Is the money given to one man only, or is it given to, and administered, by a group? And, if by a group, who constitute that group?

How is the accounting done? Or is there no accounting that needs to be done? How much is supposed to go directly to the recruited vigilante who risks his life?

Is President Aquino aware of the funding involved, and the procedure by which the funds are to be disbursed?

If Mr. Ferrer should deny that this is a CIA operation, then he must establish how the whole project is being financed.

Is it being financed out of the budget of his department? Or of the military? Is it being financed out of the budget of the presidential office?

And how much will the project entail a year?

Either this vigilante operation is a foreign-financed operation or it is an operation financed entirely by public funds.

If it is the former, then Mr. Ferrer is a foreign agent, or the instrument of foreign agents, and he has no business being in government.

On the other hand, if the operation is purely home-grown, conceived by Filipinos, and financed

by the taxes paid by Filipinos, then such fact must be established beyond reasonable doubt.

If Mr. Ferrer feels he doesn't owe such an accounting to the taxpayers of this country, he at least owes it to the vigilantes he is recruiting, because it is these vigilantes who are risking their limbs and their lives.

Whatever one's feelings and views might be concerning Mr. Ferrer's project of involving civilians in the government's war against insurgents, there should at least be a consensus that the project must be an absolutely Filipino one financed only by Filipino funds, and that no agency of any foreign government is involved.

The CIA, Mr. Ferrer must be reminded, is at war not only with the communists but also with the nationalists and any group that challenges US interests in this country. If the vigilantes project, which is now under the supervision of Mr. Ferrer, is actually a CIA operation, then that operation can only be construed as one that is directed ultimately against the national interest, using the communists only as a pretext.

Mr. Ferrer must give a public accounting of his project. He must account for the source of funds as well as the application of funds. This is the only way that the project can escape suspicion of being foreign-financed, and of being the CIA covert operation that *Newsweek* wrote about.

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CSO: 4200/521

MANILA DAILY BLAMES LOCAL VIGILANTISM ON U.S.

Manila THE MANILA TIMES in English 3 Apr 87 p 5

[Article by Manuel F. Almario in the "Reflections" column: "Vigilantism, an American Export"]

[Text] VIGILANTISM is an American indigenous institution. To paraphrase black radical Stokely Carmichael, whose racial brothers had frequently been victims of white mobocracy, vigilantism is as American as apple pie.

"Vigilantism arose as a response to a typical American problem: the absence of effective law and order in a frontier region," says Richard Maxwell Brown in an official report for the US President's National Commission on "Violence in America," 1969.

There has been no such institution in Europe, Asia or other parts of the world. Lawlessness in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire resulted in feudalism, wherein a professional soldiery headed by a lord defended peasants from marauders.

In the Philippines, prior to the Spanish conquest, there was no need for vigilante groups. The barangay was a peaceful community developed solely for collective living and production. The first emergence of what could be considered vigilantism in our country occurred during the Japanese occupation, when the authorities organized "neighborhood associations," supposedly to protect the community from lawless elements, but actually to spy on anti-Japanese guerrillas.

After the war, political warlords backed by private armies appeared. They were ideologically justified, especially in Central Luzon, as anti-communist civilian guards, the precursor of the present Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF). Their abuses led instead to general dissatisfaction among the masses and spurred the Huk and other dissident movements. It was only after Defense Secretary and late President Ramon Magsaysay disbanded the civilian guards and the private armies, and relied solely on a reformed and professionalized Armed Forces of the Philippines, that the Huk movement was suppressed in the 50's.

In the 60's, particularly with the advent of the Marcos administration, private armies were clandestinely encouraged. The "Iligas," a "Christian" armed group furtively backed by Christian politicians, rampaged the Muslim communities of Mindanao, grabbing lands for Christian landlords and multinationals engaged in agri-business. This forced the Muslims to organize the "Barracudas" as their own vigilante groups. The "Barracuda" vigilantes were the prototypes of the MNLF insurgents.

While vigilantism in the US started as a collective movement by pioneers to maintain law and order in the absence of a strong government maintaining regular police forces, it later degenerated into a movement which itself violated law and order.

"In shortrun practical terms, the vigilante movement was a positive facet of the American experience," Brown says. "... From a longer perspective, the negative aspects of vigilantism appear . . . Powerfully nurturing, American lawlessness has been the vigilante tradition." This in turn has triggered a counter-philosophy of anti-vigilantism."

Brown adds that "Political radicals have often undergone vigilante harassment; one of the most striking was the arrest of thousands of communists and radicals in the 'Red raids' of January 1, 1920." McCarthyism encouraged vigilantism against communists, before it was itself discarded in disgrace by the American people.

In Vietnam, the CIA armed and trained members of semi-primitive tribes to fight the Vietcong. Religious sects under South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem's brother were organized to fight the communists. They subsequently degenerated into mere criminal gangs engaged in drug smuggling and large-scale gambling. Needless to say, vigilantism proved ineffectual against the communists in Vietnam.

Today, vigilantism is being tried in the Philippines as an anti-communist antidote. As in the United States, it is attracting well-meaning and decent citizens, but also rough-necks, sadists, opportunists, criminal elements and other social dregs. The "Tadtad" is typical of the religious cults organized as anti-communist vigilantes by the CIA in the underdeveloped countries, and their atrocities rival those of the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot.

If anti-communist vigilantism works in the Philippines, it will be its first success in history.

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CSO: 4200/521

CONCEPCION READIES TRADE ACCORD WITH NEW ZEALAND

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Apr 87 p 3

[Text]

Officials of the Department of Trade and Industry and the New Zealand Ministry of Trade are finalizing a bilateral agreement which is aimed at improving the balance of trade between the two countries, sources in the private sector said.

At least 114 new Philippine products have been identified for possible export to New Zealand, most of which are fresh and processed foods.

The agreement is also expected to contain an exchange of information and technology particularly on the New Zealand system of internal transport.

POTENTIAL. Among the potential Philippine exports to New Zealand are fruit juices like those of pineapple, mango, melon and passion fruit; cocoa butter, desiccated coconut, raw sugar and bananas. Other products identified for export are infant clothes, knitted and crocheted items, fashion accessories, travel goods, imitation

jewelry, handbags, furniture, footwear, gift and household wares, toys, chinaware, tobacco, plywood, electronic microcircuits, tennis balls and acrylic yarn.

Bananas are seen to have a potentially large market in New Zealand which has the world's highest per capita consumption of the fruit. The Philippines currently provides 30% of that country's total banana market.

Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion, Jr. met last week with officials of the ASEAN-New Zealand Business Council and the New Zealand MII to hammer out details of the trade agreement. Philippine trade officials are also scheduled to meet with trade officials of Australia to arrange for similar agreements.

STATISTICS. Total Philippine exports to New Zealand last year amounted to US\$16 million as against imports of US\$25.8 million. Indus-

try sources said the Philippine government is projecting exports this year of US\$37 million or an increase of 104% over last year's export levels.

Regarding the new technology from New Zealand, Philippine officials are looking into the viability of a new marine locomotive system used for rivers and small bodies of water. A new processing plant for hiki and sheepskin may also be set up by New Zealand here in Manila.

The officials are also discussing ways to persuade New Zealand importers into buying more products from the Philippines.

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CSO: 4200/521

COTABATO CLERGY STATEMENT ON PARAMILITARY GROUPS

Cotabato City THE MINDANAO CROSS in English 21 Mar 87 pp 1, 10

[Excerpts]

In a meeting on March 2 and 3, the clergy, representing the Church of Cotabato, enunciated a stand on the forthcoming elections and on the religious fanatical and paramilitary armed groups.

Done by the clergy of the Archdiocese of Cotabato in union with the Bishop, the stand may be interpreted as the official stand of the church of Cotabato.

The document was signed by the Vicar-General, Fr. Romulo de la Cruz, DCC, for Archbishop Philip F. Smith, OMI, DD, who is still recuperating at the Clark Air Base Hospital.

FANATICS.

Contrasting the government policy of peaceful approach to the insurgency and the proliferation of anti-Communist religious fanatical and para-military groups, the clergy adopted the dialogue approach as a means to peace.

The clergy said:
1. It has nothing to do with the religious fanatical and para-military armed groups.

2. It appeals for the implementation of the one nation, one army concept enshrined in the Constitution.

3. It demands not only the stopping of support for these groups but also for their dismantling.

4. It asks that all avenues for dialogues be availed of for a just and equitable peace settlement.

While the document disagreed with the armed groups' means of fighting the communists, it adopted the stand of the Church of Mindanao made during the MSPC conference in Zamboanga City denouncing "Communism as a philosophy and a way of life" but addressing "the social issues and problems raised by those who call themselves Communists - but in accordance with Christian principle of non-violence." - ppd.

/9274

CSO: 4200/523

'CHURCH' GROUP HITS PROLIFERATION OF ANTICOMMUNIST GROUPS

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Apr 87 p 4

[Commentary by the "Institute of Church and Social Issues" in the "United Nations" column: "When Vigilance Goes Too Far"]

[Text]

In view of the ongoing controversy sparked by the rise and spread of armed civilian anti-communist groups in rebel-infested areas around the country, it is perhaps important for us to reexamine certain basic considerations which help keep the debate in the proper perspective. With the government's open support and endorsement of such vigilante groups, social, political, legal, and moral questions have been raised by various sectors concerning the continued existence of these groups. The US hand has even been brought into the picture and the government's anti-insurgency campaign has already been branded as patterned after the US strategy of low intensity conflict. Yet such labels only serve to heighten emotions and further confuse the issues. What is needed is for us to focus on the roots of the controversy, on the causes or reasons for the emergence of such right-wing groups, and not merely dwell on a description of the effects.

To begin with, these vigilante groups sprouted as spontaneous expressions of protest against the continuing violence inflicted by NPA rebels on innocent and helpless civilians. The people have finally grown tired of being always caught in the crossfire and are now determined to put a stop to NPA atrocities. The present democratic atmosphere has given them renewed courage to overcome their helplessness

in the face of NPA abuses and new hope to resist the communist challenge.

In other words, the basic motive for the formation of vigilante groups is self-defense, the defense of basic human rights, the right to a peaceful and meaningful existence. These are rights guaranteed by the Constitution itself and, as such, the Constitution cannot be construed in a manner that nullifies these rights. In fact, our penal law makes self-defense a lawful act, provided the necessary conditions obtain, for two reasons. First, it is unthinkable for a person to succumb to an unlawful aggression without offering any resistance at all. Second, it would be quite impossible for the state in all cases to prevent aggression upon its citizens and to offer protection to the person unjustly attacked.

The government's endorsement of vigilante groups is both a recognition of this right to self-defense and an admission of its inability to provide the necessary and adequate protection of civilians against armed intrusions on their rights. Hence, it has enlisted civilian assistance and has integrated vigilante groups in its anti-insurgency campaign. The existence of such groups has also served as a convenient halfway house for rebel returnees who are thereby guaranteed protection against their former comrades.

Apparently, this government strategy of enlisting civilian support in fighting the rebels is gaining success. So far thousands of rebels and sympathizers have surrendered and the government appears to be gaining the offensive hand in the war.

Hence, from a purely legalistic, political, and military view, it seems that the existence of vigilante groups makes good sense. Yet, as voiced by those who have already sounded the alarm, the dangers in resorting to such a strategy are many and serious.

The greatest danger lies in the abuse of these groups. Already accusations have been made that membership in these groups is not a voluntary as the proponents claim, that they extort "taxes" and have committed human rights violations, and that they act as prosecutor, judge and executioner at the same time. These groups tend to simplistically classify people either as pro- or anti-communist in a war where there is no middle ground. Hence, civilians, nuns, and priests, and other progressive groups who do not agree with the vigilante con-

cept are called enemies, reminiscent of the Marcos tactic of labeling all anti-government activists as subversives. Furthermore, there is also the fear that such groups could degenerate into civilian death squads.

The danger is aggravated by the difficulty of checking their abuses. Putting them under the constant supervision of local military leaders is no guarantee of their discipline as past experience has taught us. Moreover, who will protect or defend victims of their abuses?

Another question is the problem of disbanding them. The disbandment of private armies and armed groups has continuously been a frustrating campaign for all past governments since independence. And if disbanded, the "security void" created would have to be filled.

However, even if all these fears are allayed and a mechanism is devised to ensure discipline and check abuses, will this solve the insurgency problem? And more importantly, the deeper question is: Is this the way we as a Christian nation should go? Is this the Christian way to treat "our misguided brothers?"

—*Institute of Church and Social Issues*

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CSO: 4200/521

CACHO-OLIVARES COLUMN SPECIFIES ILLS OF VIGILANTISM

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Ninez Cacho-Olivares in the "My Cup of Tea" column: "Towards a Blood-streaked Landscape"]

[Text]

Has this country gone mad? We have a President who publicly endorses an anti-communist vigilante group. We have a local government secretary who proudly announces to the media that new, unarmed anti-vigilante groups have been organized in Southern Mindanao. In Surigao del Sur, mayors have expressed their interest in establishing their own modified versions of vigilante groups within the first week of this month. In almost every part of the country, it seems, vigilante groups are being organized almost overnight. And to top it all, Comelec chairman Ramon Felipe, who earlier ordered the disbandment of these vigilante groups, has backtracked on his statement and announced that the Alsa Masa and other vigilante groups are legal and will therefore be allowed to continue with their activities as long as they do not carry their arms in public.

How did these anti-communist vigilante groups become legal? That these fanatical groups are being conferred legal status by the Comelec is bad enough. What is infinitely worse is that the nation is being made to believe that private armed groups have a right to exist and can continue with their

activities "as long as they do not carry their arms in public."

Since these groups are not officially affiliated with the AFP, one must question why the government allows such armed groups to continue with their activities. One must question as well why the government does not make any effort to disarm these vigilante groups.

The government keeps on saying that these vigilante groups are unarmed, but the camera has caught these vigilantes carrying arms, whether they be firearms or machetes. The government knows that many of these vigilantes are former NPA members who have cut their ties with the CPP-NPA. It does not take too much brains to figure out that most of these firearms they carry are unlicensed, and yet government does nothing to disarm them. Government does nothing to stop the dangerous growth of such fanatical vigilante groups.

To government, the communist insurgents are the enemy. Fine. So be it. Government then has the duty and obligation to protect the state and itself. But it should not rely on, or encourage vigilante groups to do the job that rightfully belongs to government. Government should not encourage citizens to arm and organize themselves for their own protection, for this is making a mockery of the law.

It also encourages the growth of private armies, which have plagued this nation for so long. Why are so many politicians so interested in establishing their own vigilante groups? Because they can serve as that politician's private army. And all that politician has to do is to raise the Red scare, draft his followers as members of a new vigilante group, claim that the group is unarmed, i.e., no firearms, scare and terrorize the townfolk into submission, and remain the kingpin of that area or province.

Is this what we fought for in EDSA? Is this what street parliamentarians marched for? Is this what Escalante victims died for?

During the Marcos regime, we saw the CHDF used by politicians and cronies as private armies. We showed our protest. We screamed. We railed and we ranted. When Marcos ordered cops and soldiers to ride shotgun in buses and jeepneys to do away with hold-uppers and other criminal elements, we raised our voices in protest and pointed out that even criminals deserved due process; that these cops and soldiers would serve as death squads.

And as proven, too many citizens were shot to death by these shotgun-riding cops and soldiers.

Many believed that when they ousted Marcos, they also ushered in a government that would uphold and respect human rights as well as the due process of law. Many also thought that the new government would do away with private armies and the CHDF.

But what has happened a year after? A few days after being installed in office, the President released political prisoners and gave the impression that she was going to uphold that freedom of political belief. And yet, a year after, government encourages the whipping up of anti-communist hysteria and encourages further the organization of fanatical vigilante groups that are intolerant and that take the law into their own hands. Due process be damned.

What have we done? Did we fight so hard to bring down a blood-thirsty regime only to replace it with another blood-thirsty one?

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CSO: 4200/521

'FANATICAL' ANTICOMMUNIST GROUP INITIATION

Manila THE MANILA TIMES in English 3 Apr 87 p 1

[Photo]



RELIGIOUS CULTISTS

A MEMBER of *Alimaong*, a fanatical anti-communist group in Davao Sur, prepares himself for the final initiation rites to be administered by the group's chieftain, Datu Alimaong, a Higaonon tribal leader. Datu Alimaong claims his group is affiliated with

Nakasaká, an anti-communist group supported by the local government. He also claims that *Alimaong* has a total membership of 10,000, including some 500 military men. (MMNSphoto by Serafin Ramos, Jr.)

WEEKLY, CAGAS, MAGNO, OTHERS VIEW NAKASAKA ANTICOMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Manila MR. & MRS. (Special Edition) in English 3-9 Apr 87 pp 15, 16

[Article by Editha Eco, Media Mindanao News Service--"Nakasaka: Unarmed Vigilantism"]

[Text]

IT IS meant to be People Power all over again. And the fact that it is allegedly grassroots-based should make Nakasaka (Nagkahiusang Katawhan Alang Sa Kalinaw or United People for Peace) in Davao del Sur more acceptable. But things are not that simple.

While conceding a kinship with Davao City's Alsa Masa — both are anti-Communist movements — OIC-Governor Douglas Cagas and provincial commander Lt. Col. Jesus Magno, Nakasaka's original proponents, take pains to differentiate the two. Nakasaka, they say, uses peaceful means while Alsa Masa employs arms.

Magno, however, emphasizes continued military operations. He likens the situation to the environmental relationship of lake and fish.

The military (fish) is useless without the lake (people).

"If Communism seemed to succeed, it was because of civilian support," reads the Nakasaka concept paper. Question is, how is the support to swing the other way?

Of Davao del Sur's 15 municipalities, 11 are tagged rebel strongholds by the military. This spurred the top-speed implementation of the Nakasaka.

Begun a few days after the Yuletide-born ceasefire collapsed, the unarmed group mushroomed quickly around the province. Gov. Cagas claims that the Nakasaka is organized in 12 towns. He predicts that insurgency in those areas will be crushed in four months.

Nakasaka employs five strategies: a massive educational campaign on the "evil purposes and ways of

Communism vis-a-vis the godly purposes and ways of democracy; creation of vigilante squads on the *purok* or *sitio* levels; installation of a monitoring, alarm and communications system using indigenous instruments; encouraging the people to arm themselves with so-called "indigenous defensive weapons" ("to be used when necessary"); and initiating the surrender of rebels and their sympathizers.

Wherever the Nakasaka is organized, its opening spiel consists of *pulong-pulong* (mass meeting) called by the barangay captain. It is assumed that the villagers are supporters, so speakers unleash anti-Red rhetoric that sometimes border on the absurd.

Gov. Cagas' style is to admit that he was once a rebel. He explains that this was only because the deposed

President was so despotic and the military, atrocious. Armed struggle then, he intones, was a viable alternative.

But look, he continues, President Marcos was dethroned bloodlessly and the new President's ascent has seen the military's transformation to a disciplined force.

There is no more reason to rebel, he concludes.

Lt. Col. Magno, on the other hand, speaks of Communism's effect on Vietnam, Russia and Nicaragua: "Only those holding top positions grow old there, the rest are converted to fertilizer."

Magno discusses the rebel rehabilitation and amnesty program of the government and urges the villagers to appeal to their relatives and friends to return to the fold of the law. He promises that surrenderees will not be hurt and any firearms turned over will be paid for — enough for a new lease on life. The people, says he, should coordinate with each other in repelling rebel attempts to penetrate the villages. He then explains the mechanics of the alarm and monitoring system and the *ronda* (patrols).

With this system, his estimate of a victory over Communism is six months.

The speechifying is not devoid of threat. Magno ends with a chilling scenario should the rebels not be defeated: Your place will be declared No Man's Land (free-fire zones). We will conduct aerial and ground operations. All living thing's

— animals or human beings — considered enemies of the state. Crops will be destroyed. Houses suspected to shelter rebels will be burned. You will have no choice but to abandon your farms and houses.

He woefully concludes: "I'm sorry but that's our job."

Three to four hours are spent on such declamatory processes. Once the words have flown, a Nakasaka chapter is organized. Details are laid down by local leaders and the lecturers leave and occasionally return to monitor the implementation of tasks and the gains made.

Cagas reveals that by the end of February, over 2,000 rebels surrendered, 200 of whom were armed. In barangay Sinawilan of Digos Town, he reports, an NPA Sparrow was driven off by residents with the use of stones. In Tuban, Sta. Cruz town, two rebels were apprehended after Nakasaka vigilantes tipped the military of their whereabouts. A top NPA commander was shot dead in Cogon (also of Sta. Cruz) when Nakasaka called the police.

Cagas' problem now is how to sustain the movement's momentum. He exhorts the administration and the private sector to lend material and spiritual support.

Local governments Secretary Jaime Ferrer endorsed the movement after conducting a fact-finding mission last month where he conferred with top civilian officials of Regions X and XI.

President Aquino's expressed "fascination" for the movement has turned into open endorsement.

While on the campaign trail in Mindanao, she lauded Nakasaka for its use of "people power".

Cagas has requested P1.2 million for Nakasaka operations. Ferrer may endorse the proposed budget which, if approved, will be taken from the P1 billion rebel rehabilitation program.

Nakasaka has become a problem to the COMELEC's gameplan which is attempting to prevent the mobilization of any groups which may be used to terrorize polls in May. Alsa Masa has jumped into the fray. Alsa Masa leaders Rolando Cagay and Ric Sardinia, in a television newscast, charged the Nakasaka with sabotaging their scheduled consultation with Aquino last week.

Cagay charges that Nakasaka is "riding" on the Alsa Masa propaganda.

Others claim that Nakasaka violates human rights because many are forced into involvement with the group. Said one observer: "We have paid and trained military men. Now, if they want blood, they should spare civilians." **MM**

GOVERNMENT, MILITARY ATTEND DAVAO ALSA MASA RALLY

Davao City MINDANAO TIMES in English 9-16 Apr 87 pp 1, 6

[Article by Bong S. Dizon]

[Text] Davao City--Controversial anti-communist movement, the Alsa Masa, said it will never tolerate abuses that will cause fear among the populace.

Speaking during a rally for the celebration of first founding anniversary of the vigilante group, Alsa Masa leader Rex Sardinia of Talomo District said, "we will not tolerate an atmosphere of fear in the city."

Saying that the Alsa Masa will continue its role to maintain peace and order, Sardinia asked thousands of Alsa Masa members at the Rizal Park yesterday afternoon to report any complaint of abuses.

He also reiterated the Alsa Masa's commitment to struggle for justice, freedom and democracy.

During the mammoth rally which was participated in by government and military officials, the Alsa Masa recognized the support of President Aquino, Gen. Fidel Ramos, Presidential Adviser Jesus V. Ayala, Mayor Zafiro Respico and Davao Metrodiscom chief Lt. Col. Franco Calida. There were blue-letter streamers denouncing the "atrocities of the CPP/NPA." Paramilitary-

men with red bandana and armalite rifles were conspicuous.

Wildly cheered was controversial radio commentator Jun Porras Pala. He read a Cebuano poem sent by a radio listener criticizing the alleged one-sided stand of some priests and nuns on human rights issues.

Pala, who is this week's cover of the Asia-week, said there is always a deafening silence if a militaryman is killed by the NPA. "Are they not also children of God?" he asked.

He urged the people to continue their cause to attain justice and freedom.

Pala, who was introduced by the master of ceremonies as "our chief propagandist," con-

demned the communists and corrupt officials.

The rally was also attended by Rolando Cagay, alias "Boy Ponsa," an undisputed founder of the Alsa Masa. The vigilante group, which is the object of controversy in Malacñang due to its alliance with armed paramilitary units, was organized by former rebels who abandoned the communists' armed struggle. Senseless killings and forced taxation imposed on the people are among the reasons cited by former rebels for turning against their comrades.

Alsa Masa, which claimed to have driven the communist insurgents out of the region, is described by leftist groups as a CIA-initiated program against the insurgency.

ANTICOMMUNIST GROUPS ALLEGED FORCING ID FEES

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 12 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Edralyn L. Benedicto]

[Text]

Aimed anti-communist groups operating in the mountain areas of Metro Cebu were allegedly forcing hinterland residents to become their members with corresponding payment for identification cards and for "membership fee."

This matter was raised before Provincial Board Member Ferdinand Jakosalem, Paul Hubahib of the National Economic Development Authority (Neda), Department of Social Services and Development (DSSD) provincial social worker Romeo Capangpangan and Msgr. Jose Borces by a Pamasu leader, Terry Pacquiao.

The alleged harassment to the mountain farmers, 90 per cent of whom are Pamasu members, forced them to flee their homes, Pacquiao said.

He said members of the Kadre and Caca/Tadtad allegedly asked for P10 membership fee for adults and P2

for the old folks. An identification card will cost some P15.

According to Pacquiao, these alleged activities of the anti-red armed bands are prevalent in the Balamban-Asturias-Toledo mountain areas. Those who refuse to become members, Pacquiao claimed, automatically become suspects as rebel sympathizers.

TARGET

Pacquiao added that the existence of the armed anti-communist groups had also polarized families.

He cited as an example the father-in-law of Alfredo Ampit, a Pamasu officer in the mountain area of Toledo, who sold his young carabao for a .38 caliber pistol to kill his son-in-law.

The father-in-law became a member of the Caca/Tadtad. Since Pamasu, among other organizations, was tagged as a communist front, Ampit became a target of his father-in-law.

Pacquiao said Ampit fled his home and evacuated to Cebu city. Ampit now temporarily resides at Oppra Village, Capitol area.

According to Pacquiao, the Caca/Tadtad recruiters told the farmers that the "fees" taken from them would be used to expand the anti-communist organization and to "buy guns to kill the communists." Such was the case of Ampit's father-in-law. It was, however, not known where the guns would come from.

SUSPECT

Among the persons identified as Caca/Tadtad leaders in Cebu city, claimed Pacquiao, were Venencio Ebrado Repunte alias Kumander Tatay, and Ever Duran.

Ebrado is presently facing a multiple murder charge for the killing of three farmers in Cadulawan last Feb. 28.

Ever Duran was named suspect by a fact-finding board in the famous Balamban massacre of the Anugot family on Oct. 9, 1985.

As had been earlier reported, the alleged Caca, Tadtad and Kadre members would like "application forms" to be filled out by mountain residents within three days.

Jakosalem, after the dialog with the Pamasu, said he will refer the matter to RUC 7 Chief Brig. Gen. Romulo Querubin.

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VERITAS REPORTS CONTINUING 'DISAPARECIDO' CASES

Quezon City VERITAS in English 2-8 Apr 87 pp 8, 9

[Article by Lorenzo B. Ziga: "A Long and Lonely Search for the Desaparecidos"]

[Text] If murder is as old as mankind, then the desaparecido (one who has disappeared) is the first murder victim. Cain's crime came to light only after the blood of his brother Abel had cried out for justice.

Each day farther from the Marcos past does not however still the same cry for justice from men and women who have vanished without a trace. Where they could not cry out, their families keep vigil, seeing that justice is done and, failing that, finding clues on the victim's whereabouts, even if these lead to unmarked graves. Perhaps, just perhaps, they will then dry their tears. They may even try to forget.

The Aquino government dramatized its commitment to uphold human rights when it created the Presidential Commission on Human Rights (PCHR). Operating and some say hampered by the legal framework, and even as it had relaxed some of the rules of evidence, the PCHR, say families of the disappeared, never stood a chance, not having been given the legal "teeth" and "muscle" that it deserves.

Despite their pain, and even with the change in government, the bereaved will have to wait as the PCHR investigations proceed. PCHR Spokesman Abelardo "Billy" Aportadera told *Veritas* that these delays have been due more to internal organizational problems and some personal problems (such as the fatal illness of the late former Chairman Jose W. Diokno) of the PCHR members.

Lawyer Ma. Lourdes Aranal-Sereno, PCHR technical consultant reveals that the PCHR is undermanned for the task it faces. While public hearings have been held, more volunteers from paralegal groups who could beef up the Commission's workforce are needed. FIND, an organization of families of the disappeared, asks that it be deputized to act as one of the PCHR's investigating arms. Sereno feels that the proposal is viable

since who else but the families would be expected to focus on the cases of their kin.

Relatives of the missing note that the primary handicap of PCHR is that it lacks its own investigating teams and personnel to probe the cases filed before it. While the NBI is deputized as the investigating arm of the PCHR, relatives of the victims find the arrangement uncomfortable. "What they need are people that would primarily be loyal to the mission of the PCHR itself," say some.

Despite its handicaps, Sereno notes that the Commission is winding up its investigation of the Luib case. (see box) One of the first cases filed before the PCHR, it was personally handled by no less than Senator Diokno, the former chairman.

If the PCHR finds it has a prima facie case in the evidence that had come to its possession, then the disappearance of Melecio Luib, the first case in which the perpetrators have been identified, may soon be filed before the courts.

BUT there remain so many other cases involving *desaparecidos*.

The Families of Victims of Involuntary Disappearances (FIND) reports that from 1970 to December 1985, 582 cases of disappearances have been documented. Even with the assumption to office of the Aquino government, the number continued to pile up, with 45 disappearances recorded as of October, 1986. The number is bound to soar with the government's decision to unleash an all-out anti-insurgency campaign.

Amnesty International considers that a "disappearance has occurred whenever there are reasonable grounds to believe that a person has been taken into custody by the authorities or with their connivance and the authorities deny that the victim is in custody." FIND observes that disappearances and political killings are frequently connected. Often victims of political killings are secretly abducted before being killed; the disappearance disguises the killing.

In the Philippines, *desaparecidos* fall into five general categories. In the first case the detainee is kept in complete isolation for an extended period before he surfaces in one detention center or another. In the second category, a political detainee is arrested in circumstances where there are no witnesses or where witnesses cannot positively identify the arresting persons. In the third case, the body of a political detainee or a dissenter is found in some isolated spot, or else a detainee is

supposed to have been released but is nowhere to be found. The last category involves the outright killing of those apprehended and the disposal of their bodies to hide any evidence against the arresting authorities. This last has come to be known as "salvaging."

The dead it seems have a way of coming back and haunting those who live after them. The Marcos regime's official line was that no human rights violations were committed in the country. President Marcos declared his government's commitment to human rights as "irrevocable."

When the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances asked the Marcos government to reply to reports of "salvagings" it had received from such sources as Amnesty International, the International Commission on Jurists, and the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines, it received a reply that was notable for the legalisms that were cited.

The UN group noted: "The remaining replies from the government indicated that either there was no information available on the reported disappearances, or the arrest or abduction of the persons had not been on police records, or their whereabouts could not be established because of the lack of more precise information, i.e. the exact location of the place of abduction. In some cases doubts were raised about the identity or names of the persons who were reported to have disappeared. In other cases, the government stated that the persons in question had joined subversive organizations or had gone into hiding."

RIGHT away the families of missing detainees are up against formidable odds. There is the lack of witnesses, since arrests are timed in the dead of night or take place in locales where the least attention will be paid to the incident. If there are witnesses at all, they are often cowed by fear of the perpetrators who more often than not continue to live among the witnesses and the mourning family.

Seeking justice for their kin, the families discover, entails a great sacrifice. Travel to the provincial capital where the mass media and more sympathetic authorities may be found costs money. Justice may have to wait for families who must struggle for a day's three square meals.

Psyche Roxas, FIND volunteer, admits that the

families and relatives of victims are divided on whether they should or should not cling to their hope that their loved ones are still alive. Psyche herself hopes stubbornly that her brother Marcel, missing for two years now after being arrested in Davao, is still alive. "Why else would I want to continue being with FIND?" she asks.

Organized in 1984 in the twilight years of the Marcos regime, FIND gathers the families of the missing. The initial meetings of the organization saw emotional and tearful breakdowns such as what happens when those sharing a common sorrow meet.

FIND Chairperson Mrs. Cecilia C. Lagman, mother of missing lawyer Hermon, echoes what must be the most widely shared pain of FIND members, the lost years of their loved ones. "After all this time, I still cannot go through my son's things all by myself. For me it is as if time had stood still. I expect my son to come home anytime." Her hands quiver as she holds up yellowing photos and letters.

THE issue of the *desaparecido* will linger while our society struggles for a political spectrum that has room for every viewpoint and opinion.

There is no doubt that some of those who disappeared may have been members of organizations advocating armed struggle. But their choices were made at a time when the Marcos regime crushed all other peaceful alternatives and crystallized the armed option as the most viable for anyone who sought change.

The right to life and survival is what gives meaning to any human community. That collectively men and women would win over nature, which philosophers define as "nasty, short and brutish." Those who accept the morality of capital punishment, do so only after recognizing that the due process observed by the courts and the legal system would avoid wasting one life society may have other uses for.

The breakdown of these institutions shall ultimately be marked by conflict measured in terms of anti-insurgency campaigns while the disappearance scoreboard mounts.

For the families of the disappeared, the agony of not knowing whether their loved one is alive creates the greater punishment. Along with their missing relative they die a thousand times and the more hardy of them, chafing at the absence of any information, conduct their own investigations, just so they would have something to hold on to, enough to sustain their hopes.

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CSO: 4200/521

"But families who can find some records about their son's or daughter's case or the slightest information on them can still be considered fortunate. When the Forensics society came over and we tried to assess the documentation problems we face, we found out that most of the victims do not even have dental records to begin with. Most of them come from the poorest sectors of our society," Psyche Roxas explains.

Psyche, together with Lynette Pardalis whose husband Emmanuel had been missing since 1985, and Mrs. Lagman run the FIND offices at the Philippine Social Sciences Center. When families of other victims drop by, it is as if their grief is forgotten for that moment. Stories are swapped and anecdotes shared — until one of them steals a look at the wall lined with pictures of their missing kin. Then laughter ceases, and each of those present retires to her own private griefs.

It is a grieving they refuse to forget. ▲

A Recent Disappearance

THE latest *desaparecido* case is that of Reynaldo Garcia, a KADENA community organizer, who was abducted March 28 at N. Domingo St. in San Juan.

Witnesses say three men sporting crew cuts accosted and hit Garcia and took him inside one of the two cars that had been parked in the area as early as 5 a.m. that day. The car had plate numbers NBM-729 and 125.

Garcia's wife is eight months pregnant with their first child. Any information as to his whereabouts can be relayed to FIND, tel. no. 9229621 loc. 334 and TFD, tel. no. 787851.

CEBU REACTION TO TADTAD-MILITARY 'MISENCOUNTER,' COVERUP

Groups Score Tadtads

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 3 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Text]

Militant and human rights organizations in Cebu yesterday issued separate statements denouncing alleged military links to the armed cultist Tadtads following a misencounter with policemen last Wednesday.

The Cebu Alliance for Human Rights (CAHR) said while the surrounding circumstances in the misencounter showed the Tadtads defied the law, Recom 7 Chief Brig. Gen. Edgardo Abenina allegedly "manifested his desire to cover up the incident and perhaps absolve the guilty parties by ordering an investigation, which in the past was used as an effective means of dampening demands for immediate dispensation of justice and disbandment of the armed fanatic group."

DENIAL

The Ama-Sugbo-KMU, meanwhile, charged the shooting incident did not only expose the threat posed to the country's democratic

institution, but allegedly also "unmasked their (Tadtads) unholy alliance with the military establishment, the NMFED (National Movement for Freedom and Democracy) and the PAAC (People's Alliance Against Communism).

Jojo Bersales of the Partido ng Bayan (PNB) charged Abenina's past denials that the Recom 7 is not aware of the existence of these vigilante groups now prove to be a hollow statement.

ALARM

The Tadtads had gone to the Recom 7 headquarters after the shootout with the policemen. Each group had believed the other to be Communist insurgents, thus the "misencounter."

Ama-Sugbo-KMU secretary general Edwin Tesaluna said the incident showed "warped perceptions," since they were unable to distinguish their real enemies. "How much more the people in the mountain barangays, who are mer-

cilessly killed on mere suspicion of being rebel sympathizers?" Tesaluna asked.

CAHR said it viewed with alarm the misencounter and the posture taken by Abenina in handling the case because of the following reasons:

VIOLATIONS?

- Despite what had happened, the military hierarchy still continues to defend and justify the existence of these anti-Communist fanatical groups;

- Despite the glaring confirmation of the Tadtads as being armed and even roaming freely around the city protected and supported by the military, still they insist on deceiving the people into believing the Tadtads are unarmed and working within the bounds of law; and

- The widespread increase of human rights violations is inevitable, if such posturing of the military will continue.

Tadtad Leader on Beliefs

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 3 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Leo S. Enriquez, III: "Don't Call Us Tadtads"]

[Text] A leader of the anti-Communist Sagrado Corazon Senor (SCS) yesterday asked Cebu media to stop calling them "Tadtad."

Speaking for the Sagrado Corazon Senor (SCS) in Cebu province, Leon Kilat said the name was coined by the Communist-led New People's Army (NPA) to discredit them.

In an interview conducted jointly by Sun•Star Daily, the "Los Angeles Times" and the "Australian National Times," he said the SCS name was used by the NPA to give them "a bad image."

"They were engaged in robberies and other crimes and utilized their holos and publicly announced themselves as SCS-Tadtad," Leon Kilat revealed.

'GOD'S SOLDIERS'

He explained SCS members are "deeply religious" and they follow the Ten Commandments of God, which accounts for their invulnerability with the amulets.

"Sagrado Corazon Senor

means the resurrected Jesus Christ, who is at Caimor and who is our master," Leon Kilat disclosed.

Caimor, the SCS leader said, stands for Cascolohan, Aloha, Initao and Misamis Oriental, where the "Kingdom of the Risen Saviour" is situated.

He told foreign mediamen that members of their religious cult are actually "soldiers of God or Christ" who fight the forces of evil personified by the Communists.

WANTON KILLING

Wearing amulets, around their necks, arms and around their waists, Leon Kilat stressed, is a part of their religious practice.

"Illustrated in our amulets are the persons of God and the warrior saints, like St. Michael the Archangel, St. Gabriel, St. Tomas Guerrero and Santiago," he said.

Leon Kilat denied reports they are engaged in wanton killing and said some of their members, like himself, were at one time with the New People's Army (NPA).

5 PRAYERS

"We have renounced Communism and reaffirmed our faith in God and any NPA member who does that will be spared and accepted, he said.

Our invincibility, Leon Kilat said, "lies in our strong faith in God and strict adherence to His commandments."

"In combat, we recite our incantations and the Lord is with us, which our enemies confirm, since they could see Him physically garbed in white fighting side by side with us," he said.

During the interview, he asked for a 15 minute break at high noon, since it was their praying time and revealed later that they pray five times a day in the direction of the light which represents the Almighty.

Tadtad Legitimatization Urged

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 3 Apr 87 p 5

[Editorial: "Vigilantes and the Military"]

[Text]

The Tadtad-police "misen-counter" has taken a toll of four wounded men on both sides, but the larger injury is on the credibility of the military with respect to its relationship with the vigilante group.

The military has long been deflecting suspicions and criticisms about its role in the creation of the vigilante forces and their operations.

The posture, though less candid than should be desired, can be appreciated the light of the reality that the vigilantes help the military in its fight against insurgency, but the laws restrict it from having anything to do with these groups.

The grapevine has been carrying rumors of direct military involve-

ment in such ragtag bands as the Caca and the Tadtads, but there is no solid proof, only suspicions fueled recently by the recent Tadtad-police incident in Cebu city.

The military may be bargaining with the devil. If it is, it surely can't admit that fact. To say that the military and the vigilante groups have some pact of alliance, no matter how informal, is for the law enforcers to own an act of illegality.

The concern of the local government officials is understandable, for armed bands that roam our hinterlands and, now, even our cities with the blessings of the military may give them unwarranted license to commit abuse on civilians and disrupt the

peace at will, using the anti-rebel struggle as their shield.

The situation is perilously close to the point where the military must take steps to absorb the vigilantes into its paramilitary force, or be ready for a collision with critical elements in the government and civilian

sectors that won't condone the illegality.

As we stated here earlier, the vigilantes serve a useful purpose to the military in these times of crisis and danger, but they must be legalized first for the mantles of supervision and accountability to cover their acts.

Capitalizing on Anticommunism Alleged

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 3 Apr 87 pp 5, 18

[Article by Wilfredo A. Veloso: "'Fighting' Reds Good Business?"]

[Excerpts]

PERHAPS tired of writing about politics, some newsmen have turned to spinners of yarn and tellers of fairy tales as new sources of stories. That's why we read in the papers about a fanatic with an improbable name yakking about amulets and a comedian talking ill about his former boss over siopao and coke.

What's so interesting about Cebu that foreign journalists have been coming here in hordes? I have been bumping into foreign correspondents at the lobby and dining halls of Magellan Hotel these past few days. Some of them have been tagging along Recom 7 commander Brig. Gen. Ed Abenina. Let's hope they don't get a distorted picture of the insurgency situation in Cebu from their frequent contacts with certain local newsmen.

Some coffee shop wag says the Tadtad group sought sanctuary at the headquarters of PC Recom 7 when they were being pursued by policemen because they had been told it was also their headquarters. This wag, of course, has a reputation for being thoroughly unreliable.

A lady, who identified herself only as a "concerned citizen", rang me up yesterday to say that she was disturbed by reports she had been getting about certain so-called "anti-communist" groups in our midst. She said one group headed by someone who, according to her, has a reputation as an extortionist, has allegedly been getting contributions from well-meaning persons and establishments to finance their "anti-communist campaign". This guy, she says, now has hundreds of thousands of pesos in the bank.

Another so-called "anti-communist" leader, the lady caller continued, has actually gone on a fund-raising tour of several countries, including Australia and the United States, and it's possible that this chap's own kitty is getting heavier by the day. What distressed her, she said, is that some well-meaning citizens have unwittingly lent not only their support but even their good name to these groups. If what the lady told me is true, then it merely confirms my suspicion all along that some people are

making anti-communism a very lucrative business indeed.

I'm afraid that certain so-called anti-communist groups have offered their "services" to some politicians who need the expertise of black propagandists to smear their political opponents. What better way to smear a candidate than dub him or her as a communist or communist sympathizer and producing "proof" to back up the charge? When I say "produce" here, I mean "manufacture."

Further Reaction

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 2 Apr 87 p 2

[Text]

Some 90 percent of the members of anti-communist vigilante groups in Cebu are former recruits of the New People's Army (NPA) who have shifted their loyalty to the Government, according to Regional Unified Command (RUC) 7 Chief Brig. Gen. Romulo Querubin.

Querubin said this in a government-sponsored Kapihan sa PIC forum yesterday, that marked the third anniversary of RUC 7.

In the same government forum, Cebu Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCCCI) president Philip Tionko confirmed that several local businessmen have been intimidated into paying "taxes" to persons claiming to be NPA members.

He would not discuss details as he admitted that local businessmen are still afraid of reprisal even as they remain unsure whether the letter-writers demanding money come from NPAs or plain extortionists.

"Some have paid quietly, some have ignored it, some have fought it," he said. Tionko added that he believed maintaining silence on the deal is wrong.

CONFIRMED

Querubin confirmed that the RUC 7 have received complaints

from businessmen who are threatened if they don't pay.

Recom 7 Information officer Capt. Inocencio Sanchez said authorities face two problems here, the NPA collectors and lawless elements who "ride on the notoriety of the NPAs.

VIGILANTES

Querubin said he based his estimate on local vigilantes on military reports, but would not elaborate on their contents when asked later.

He said the Tadtad members in Talisay and the NPA rebels they hunt down "know each other" and as much as 99 percent of anti-communist groups in Mindanao are composed of former NPA rebels.

Querubin refused to comment on the violent misencounter between local Tadtad devotees and Cebu city policemen the other day. He said he will wait for the investigation to be finished.

Nevertheless, he repeated his

view that any communist fighter who violates the law will be arrested and charged.

PnB

Meanwhile, the Partido ng Bayan (PnB) yesterday called for the immediate disbandment of vigilante groups here in a press release.

PnB external liaison officer Jojo Bersales said the misencounter last Tuesday is the start of a more violent scenarios of these groups as the elections near.

"The pet that certain elements in the military establishment have coddled for long now are turning to be monsters that cannot even identify whom to devour," Bersales charged.

/9274

CSO: 4200/522

CLAVERIA NP ASK MILITARY TO DROP CHARGES AGAINST PRIEST

Davao City THE MINDANAO DAILY MIRROR in English 3 Apr 87 pp 1, 9

[Text]

MISAMIS ORIENTAL (MMNS) — The New People's Army (NPA) has called on the military to drop charges against Fr. Diosdado Ladera saying the priest had no participation in an ambush in Claveria this province March 14 which killed five troopers and three civilians.

In a statement signed by Flor Calgao of NPA Claveria Command released to the Media April 1, the rebels said "no priest participated in the ambush." It added that "Ladera had no prior knowledge" of the offensive.

Calgao said that the only NPA priest they know in Mindanao is Fr. Frank Navarro who is based in the Agusan Surigao area.

Fr. Ladera, parish priest of Tagoloan town also of this province was accused of multiple murder and multiple frustrated murder. The military said two civilian witnesses claimed they saw Ladera proceed to ambush scene "while the firing was still going on."

The witnesses, Aniceto Sabenjon and Eliso Placam said they met Ladera while they were

fleeing from the ambush scene. Both are workers for businessmen with contracts cut falcatita trees in the area.

However, in an investigation ordered by Archbishop Patrick Cronin, D.D., a church probe body found out that Ladera's presence in the vicinity of the ambush site in sitio Tal-as, Manibay was "coincidental". In interview gathered from Ladera's party, including the businessmen indicated that Ladera went up only to a point 10 to 15 kms. away from the ambush site as his car struck in the mud.

In an interview, Ladera denounced the "disinformation on his alleged participation in the ambush. "It is the low intensity conflict at work," he said, referring to the counter-insurgency strategy of sowing falsehood and confusion among the public.

Fr. Rey Manuel Monsanto, who headed the church probe body wrote in the report's conclusion that in the interest of peace and harmony, the whole truth should have been dissected first before destroying the reputation of Fr. Ladera. —

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CSO: 4200/523

MILITARY ON NPA STATUS IN DAVAO, REFUGEES

Davao City THE MINDANAO DAILY MIRROR in English 4 Apr 87 pp 1, 9

[Article by Manuel T. Cayon]

[Text]

DAVAO CITY — "The moral fiber of the New People's Army (NPA) guerillas is now at its lowest and we will hit them on the run," Capt. A. Tarona, commanding officer of the Regional Special Action Force (RSAF) detachment in Mandug said yesterday.

The RSAF unit manning the Mandug detachment is only over a month old deployed to the place after the NPA guerillas overran the detachment last February 28. The Metrodiscom field forces, confirmed one died and scores were wounded during that attack.

Capt. Tarona laughed off reports by anti-communist radio commentators that the NPA is now wiped out from Davao City Davao del Sur.

"They (NPA) only splintered into small groups and our objective is not to allow them to regroup. In fact, there are still NPAs roaming around the city," he said.

"The attack at Malabog detachment early this week points to the continued presence of the NPA in the vicinity," he further said. He claims he received a telephone call late last week saying his detachment will be attacked. Last Tuesday (March 31) the NPAs overran Malabog. The military reported five NPAs, one civilian died while 4 others, including three army soldiers were wounded.

Capt. Tarona theorized the

call was meant to deceive the military the NPAs were after Mandug, but attacked Malabog instead.

He also alleged that the NPAs in Mandug can only count about 20% civilian support and that the civilian-military relationship is "better".

"We exploit the (better) relationship we have with the civilians by conducting dialogues with them. There's no better weapon to win this insurgency war than to win the people to our side," he underscored.

Meanwhile, civilians keep on complaining about the series of firing incidents in Mandug allegedly committed by Capt. Tarona's men.

"We always fear that there is another encounter everytime we hear gunshots," one resident said.

One resident added that it is "alright" even if firing always occur whether there is an encounter or not "as long as my children are inside the house."

"There is always the cemented bathroom we can run for safety," she said.

But Capt. Tarona dismissed these complaints saying that the firing were only to test their firearms to determine their combat effectiveness.

He noted that from the time the RSAF took over jurisdiction of the Mandug area, there were lesser insurgency-related

incidents. Capt. Tarona attribute this to the waning civilian support for the NPA.

"Even the evacuees left in the school while the bulk of the evacuees have already gone home feel secured here with our presence because they were threatened by the NPA in their place," he added.

However, the evacuees disputed Capt. Tarona's allegation that they were threatened by the NPA. They said that their place in sitio Ilihan, 7 kms. north of Mandug is still the scene of continuing NPA-Military encounters.

"We were not threatened by the NPA, but we fear that we will be caught in an encounter," Agapito de los Santos, evacuee-father of three children said. He related that the NPAs attacked their surrounding barangays.

"We can not rely on the statements of the military and city government officials that the NPA are already wiped out, that our place is already peaceful," he said.

"In fact, the latest NPA attacks on several detachments near our place might have embarrassed one government official who told us there are no more NPAs in our place", he surmised.

"He never visited us again," de los Santos said.

EX-CCP OFFICIAL GRANTED AMNESTY

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 11 Apr 87 p 2

[Text]

A former ranking official of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), his common-law wife and seven other former rebels were granted full and unconditional amnesty in separate case hearings yesterday by the Cebu Provincial Amnesty Committee.

Regional Party Secretary of the CPP/NPA in Northern Mindanao region from 1982-1984, "Leo," (an alias) was startled when addressed by the real name he had not used for over ten years in the hearing where he pledged allegiance to the Constitution and the Government.

Newsman covering yesterday's session were asked by committee chairman lawyer Tranquilino Ortega to withhold the real names of "Leo" and his wife, "Chato," so as not to jeopardize his current, job as a 'junior executive' in a local business firm.

The former rebel leader told the committee how he joined the revolutionary movement in 1971 as a student activist in Kabataang Makabayan (KM) and rose through the ranks until his resignation sometime 1984.

"Chato" joined the underground movement in 1977 but never became a communist party member since her services were more "auxiliary" in nature. Both

decided to sever ties with the CPP saying they want to live a normal family life.

"Leo" related the trauma experienced by their children during their years in the revolutionary movement. He said they were bewildered why their parents were called by different names and the restrictions imposed in dealing with fellow children.

"Chato," sitting in the Capitol session hall's side bench, wept quietly when her husband told committee members that none of their three children, know their parents' real names.

But beyond the need to give their children a normal life, "Leo" told newsmen he had already formed doubts over the war waged by the insurgency movement.

He said the rebels' aspiration to reach a "communist society was a eutopia."

"Until then, how much more violence can our people take?" the rebel leader asked.

Describing the rise of President Aquino to power as "a new dawn and a new beginning," "Leo" said he had approached Cebu Archbishop Ricardo Cardinal Vidal and former Political Affairs Minister Antonio Cuenco sometime March 1986 for possible amnesty. Since there was no clear-cut policy guideline then. He and his wife waited until the President issued Presidential Proclamation No. 80 which spelled out the Government's reconciliation and amnesty program.

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CSO: 4200/523

CONCERN GROWS OVER 'POLITICIZATION' OF MILITARY

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 21 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Phillip Melchior]

[Text]

LIKE genies escaped from their bottles, dissident soldiers in the Philippine army have developed a taste for politics which neither government nor generals seem able to make them forget.

The politicisation of the military peaked with the army-led, civilian-backed overthrow in February last year of President Ferdinand Marcos and his replacement by Corazon Aquino.

That coup was acceptable. It was led by top generals and the defence minister and backed by millions of ordinary Filipinos who turned a small army rebellion into a vast but near bloodless "people power" revolution.

Four coup attempts and mutinies later, dissident soldiers are still taking on the government and neither Aquino nor her military chiefs appear to have either the will or the power to make them return to their barracks.

More than 100 officers and men from the army and air force are still waiting to face "the full force of the law" Aquino promised after loyal troops crushed a coup attempt in late January.

There has been little sign of the "justice and retribution" she vowed to extract from the mutineers and other investigations into military misdeeds also appear to be going nowhere.

Last month's bombing at the Philippine Military Academy in the mountain city Baguio is still being probed but investigators, who have quizzed more than 100 suspects, have acknowledged they have little chance of bringing charges.

The bombing, which killed four people and injured 40, was termed an assassination attempt by

Aquino and has been blamed on military mavericks loyal to Marcos.

None of the pocket rebellions, riddled with elements of farce and macho posturing, have looked serious enough to topple Aquino or even make her wobble.

But there is increasing cynicism amongst a public which stills adores "Cory," about her true control of the military.

A leading Manila newspaper predicted after the short-lived Easter rebellion that the handful of soldiers who seized army headquarters would also escape lightly, despite Aquino's orders to "throw the book" at them.

The army was like an over-indulgent parent with hyperactive children, treating coup plots and rebellions like "adolescent waywardness," the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* complained.

Political and military analysts say the ill-disciplined, rag-tag army inherited from Marcos is at the root of the problem.

Troops are poorly educated and equipped and often earn less than a housemaid. They are still veterans of Marcos' 20 year rule when the army was kept in line by his personal patronage and loyalty to him was above what many regarded as the good of the country.

It was made worse during the "people power" revolt and not helped by Juan Ponce Enrile — the defence minister who helped install Aquino but openly challenged her months later and lost his job in a power struggle.

"Johnny Enrile has a lot to answer for," one senior Western diplomat told Reuters. "He led his followers in the army to believe they had a legitimate place in the politi-

cal system and they felt because they did it once (when Marcos was deposed) they can do it again."

Analysts agree Aquino must carry out her threats to get tough if she is to stop the sputtering rebellions, rumoured and actual. They also recognise that cracking down could simply increase the restiveness which has simmered inside the 150,000 regular army since Marcos fled to his exile in Hawaii.

"It's a problem for which there is no easy answer," one said.

Analysts say they expect more unrest within the military as the country returns to full democracy with congressional election next month and local polls in August.

On the line, they say, is not Aquino's short-term survival as much as her long-term credibility.

"It can't be good for any government that the military has all these things going on all the time and appears to be unable to do anything about it," another diplomat said.

Although the coups are likely only to help "Cory's candidates" in the May 11 election, the opposition is making political capital out of Aquino's apparent impotence.

"This is the only government I know where soldiers are on full alert every weekend," Marcos supporter and senatorial candidate Pacifico de Leon said.

Independent analysts say the rebellions also underline the basic fragility of Aquino's administration. The ever-present fear is that a lone assassin in a country full of guns could penetrate the security net surrounding her.

"There is only Cory," one said. "She is holding the whole show together. If anything should happen to her, there will be chaos."

CPP-NPA ACTIVITIES, INFLUENCE IN SAMAR REPORTED

Bangkok THE NATION in English 21 Apr 87 p 13

[Article by Pam Belluck]

[Text]

CATUBIG, Philippines — Well armed but variously clad, a fierce-looking band of some 30 young men raced down the hill, shouting war cries.

From the corner of a muddy rice field, 20 more men crossed the tall grass and joined them. Simultaneously, several other contingents, most barefoot and wearing T-shirts and cotton pants, converged on the grassy field.

At a word of command, barked through a megaphone, the fighters arranged themselves in three lines and snapped their rifles to attention.

They appeared well-disciplined and well-equipped. Most carried M-16, M-14 or Garand rifles. Some had grenade launchers and wore bulky belts filled with small rocket grenades. A few shouldered heavy M-60 machineguns.

There were about 120 in all, one of the largest concentrations of guerrillas from the 23,500-strong Communist New People's Army to gather in one place in the history of the Philippines' 18-year-old insurgency.

Later they were to be joined by almost 300 more guerrillas for an intensive month-long basic combat training course before launching attacks against government forces.

A senior commander, whose nom de guerre is Ka (comrade) Philip, said his forces planned to launch an offensive involving use of home-made land mines against the military's armoured personnel carriers.

A visit to the training camp in the province of Northern Samar revealed more than mere force, however. This is the heart of rebel territory.

The NPA says it controls about three-quarters of the 560 villages in the marshy and mountainous province, some 320 km south-east of Manila, and is expanding its influence into the province's six large towns.

The insurgency appears well established in Eastern Samar and Samar, the other two provinces on Samar. The island is the third largest in land area of the 7,000 that make up the Philippines.

While President Corazon Aquino in Manila alternately dangles concessions and orders displays of force to persuade the communists to resume peace talks, in places like Northern Samar the government looks like a secondary factor, according to some observers.

The rebels' training camp, far up the Catubig river but only 24 km from the nearest army detachment, appears well organized.

Collapsible bamboo huts are situated on small hills, each higher than the next. The layout is designed so that an attack on one hut can be repulsed by fighters in the remaining structures.

Two rivers and a mountain ridge mark the borders of the camp, which is miles from the nearest road.

An approach by land entails a five-hour trek through rice fields knee-deep in mud or a treacherous

canoe journey up the Catubig, a shallow river only six feet (2 m) wide at many points.

More than 2,000 army, constabulary, and militia troops are stationed in the province, but possess only two helicopters, the most effective counter-insurgency vehicle.

NPA commanders say the military knows the rough location of the camp, but is unwilling to use valuable helicopter fuel or risk damage to the aircraft by staging an ill-timed attack on the training site, which is surrounded by palm and banana trees.

The guerrillas say their walkie-talkies and high-frequency military radios give them a province-wide communications system.

The NPA claims considerable political support in the region, with nearby villages inhabited by sympathizers willing to warn of the first sign of military presence.

During the past seven years, the communists say, their strength in Northern Samar has grown from 25 fighters to more than 600.

Analysts blame government neglect of the region, dating back to the regime of ex-President Ferdinand Marcos.

For years, Northern Samar's 340,000 residents were not considered a sizeable enough voting population to merit much government attention, and the province remains one of the poorest in the country.

Until January, for example, the provincial capital of Catarman was

without electricity, because the government failed to link an elaborate system of overland cables and transmitters, installed more than a year ago, to a geothermal power plant in neighbouring Leyte province.

Observers say little effort was made to involve the province in this year's constitutional referendum. Few villages carried posters advertising the referendum, and in some cases polling stations were so far away that many villagers were physically unable to reach them.

Local people say the military failed to improve its image among civilians during the January-February ceasefire. Instead, armoured personnel carriers often were seen taking soldiers and their families on shopping trips.

By contrast, the NPA played the ceasefire to the hilt in Samar. "It was a big help in political work," said Ka Puling, commander of the Catubig training programme.

"Some comrades paraded through towns and were able to go and visit their families," Philip said. "It was good for the morale of our forces,

and very good for alliance-building."

Rebel life is not easy. Fighters in the Catubig camp are allotted a few cents worth of food — rice and occasionally dried fish — per day and get a monthly allowance of 20 cents for cigarettes, raw tobacco rolled in newspaper.

The youngest trainee is 12-year-old Rasley, who said he joined the NPA after soldiers killed his father.

Lisel, 16, and Aaron, 19, two of the women in the group, fight alongside the men. And 20-year-old Steve, who lost an eye from a burst by a rocket grenade, continues to soldier with the group.

In training, rebels learn how to ambush, scout, assemble firearms and set up camp. Their strategy, Puling said, was to stage three or four attacks per month against the military.

Analysts consider Samar the centre of gravity of the insurgency, and Philip said part of the movement's strategy was to concentrate government forces in Samar so that rebel forces in other provinces would have a chance to

expand — the goal being a nationwide rebellion.

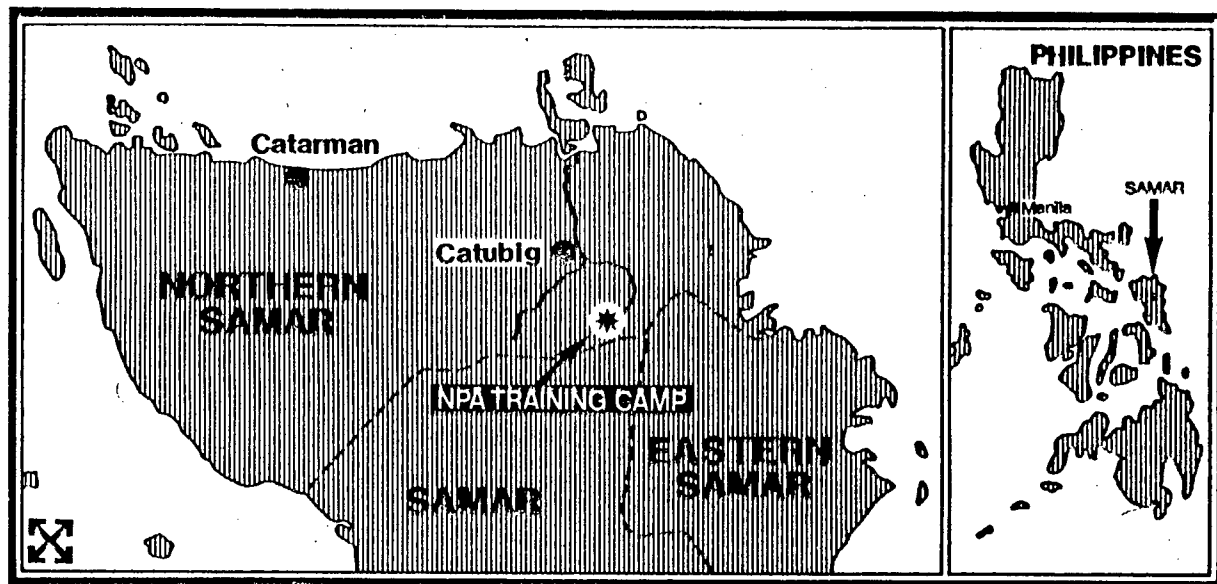
"We cannot launch a national offensive without evening out the national situation," he said.

Analysts say government efforts to defeat the insurgency show little understanding of the physical war being fought in areas like Samar.

To many, the government appears to be fighting a war of words, calling the communists' refusal to continue peace talks a sign of their "insincerity" and describing their demands that the government address the root social causes of the insurgency as "unwarranted, self-serving, and presumptuous."

Aquino's tremendous personal popularity, however, is likely to keep the insurgency at a manageable level in the foreseeable future. "We still cannot see an immediate victory," Philip conceded.

"People look at Cory as though she's bringing some sort of hope — they are expecting something new from her." — Compass News Features.



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CSO: 4200/524

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS ALSA MASA RETENTION

Davao City THE MINDANAO DAILY MIRROR in English 4 Apr 87 pp 1, 10

[Text]

Presidential Committee on Human Rights (PCHR) Region XI Chairman Fiscal Emmanuel Galicia said today that they will recommend to PCHR Manila the retention of Alsa Masa in Davao City following results of the survey conducted by the PCHR here.

The survey which was conducted over the weekend, Fiscal Galicia said was an offshoot of the report made by a team from PCHR Manila recommending for the disbandment of the Alsa Masa.

Conducted primarily to gather opinions from Davao City residents, the survey had total of 498 respondents representing the various sectors, Fiscal Galicia said.

Eighty-six percent (86%) of the total respondents, he added, favored the retention of Alsa Masa while only 9% did not favor its existence. Only 5% of the respondents showed a neutral stand of the survey.

Those who favored the retention of Alsa Masa, he further said, recommended strengthening the group but also cautioned that they be closely supervised to avoid possible abuses.

Fiscal Galicia said, that the recommendations will be sent as soon as possible coupled with a request for PCHR Manila to hold in abeyance whatever has been recommended by the PCHR team who visited Davao City sometime in the later part of March, was sent last week.

On the other hand, Metrodiscom Commander Franco Calida said that the team of PCHR lawyers who went to see him sometime last month reversed what he had told the group.

He said he told the group that people were not forced to join Alsa Masa and that their act was voluntary in nature and that Alsa Masa members were never given arms but only the ICHDF men. But what appeared was the opposite of what they discussed he said.

Fiscal Galicia also said that he was in Manila when the team arrived and that they never requested to coordinate with the ongoing investigation at that time.

The PCHR Davao office, he further said, the pilot office of PCHR was programmed to serve for 3 months only but Manila seemed to have found valid grounds for its extension. PC

HR Davao was established on November 15, 1986 and hold office at the Office of Development and Management (ODM) then Ministry of Human Settlements (MHS) grounds.

The PCHR Fiscal Galicia said is tasked to conduct investigation of cases related to human rights abuses and propose procedures and safeguards so that human rights are not violated or abused. The PCHR is also authorized to issue subpoenas/summons and solicit assistance from other government instrumentalities, he further added.

The PCHR Region XI unit is composed of the following: Atty. Jesus Albacite and Atty. Dominador Calamba II as Regional representatives; Fiscal Emmanuel Galicia, chairman; and Fiscal Rolando Delima representing the Prosecutor's Office; Maj. Angelito Moreno and Capt. Marito Abragan from the Judge Advocate General's Office; Atty. Benjamin de Guzman and Atty. Lualhati Hilario from the Integrated Bar of the Phils. Davao Chapter; and Fr. Angelo Diana and Gil dela Banda from the Task Force Detainees. -

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CSO: 4200/523

NDF PUBLICATION CITED ON 2 REQUIRED REGIONAL COUNCILS

Davao City THE MINDANAO DAILY MIRROR in English 9 Apr 87 pp 3, 8

[Text]

ILIGAN CITY (MMNS) — The "North-Western Mindanao" chapter of the outlawed National Democratic Front (NDF) has successfully established a "provincial regional council" of the Christian for National Liberation (CNL) and a full-fledged regional council of the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) or Patriotic Youths.

'Sulong Masa' (Mass Advance), official publication of NDF-NWM in its February issue dubbed the two occasions a "success and a great victory." The publication, in Visayan and mimeographed, was received by MMNS two days ago in a mail postmarked "Iligan City".

NDF-NWM is the latest of the seven regions the leftist underground formed in Mindanao. During the 60-day truce between the government and the NDF, Ike de los Reyes, chief rebel negotiator in Lanao del Norte, told MMNS that NDF-NWM held its first regular conference-with-elections only last month. This was corroborated in the January issue of 'Sulong Mas' which was distributed during a march, rally attended by the Lanao del Norte Provincial Ceasefire Com-

mittee.

'Sulong Masa' said the CNL conference was attended by priests, sisters, pastors, seminarians and lay leaders. It did not cite the date nor the number of participants in the conference. A charter member of the NDF, the CNL was formed in the early 70s. The leftist church organization which anchors its faith "on the God of history who struggles with his people for liberation from oppression," is opposed to the conservative current in the church. 'Sulong Masa' quoted a Ka Francis, representative of CNL-Mindanao who guested the conference as criticizing Church conservatism which considers the Church "as an institution where God is detached from the people, all powerful and feared by the people who are made to rely for their salvation only on the sacraments." It did not elaborate.

Elected members of the provisional councils executive committee were: Sophie Mercado, chairman; Meldoy Vasquez, secretary-general; Stephanie Silang, finance officer; May Aragon, education-propaganda and Mikki Tan, information officer. Other members include Steve

del Mundo and Caloy Cruz.

The founding conference of KM-NWM was February 1-3, the same issue of Sulong Masa disclosed. The underground paper further implied the KM's more elaborate machinery than that of the CNL by saying that the meeting was participated by youth sub-sectors from farmers, workers, students and urban poor. SDUs, Sulong Masa read, "defined the organization and launch small TOs (tactical offensives) against the enemy."

Some leading officers elected during the conference included: Hensen de Jesus, chairman; Guiller Ponseca, first deputy chairman; Mayette de la Torre, second deputy chairman, and Ines Incarnacion, secretary-general.

NDF-NWM's territorial scope was not mentioned in the publication. But Sulong Masa January issue claimed the underground region encompasses two "guerilla fronts and one partisan front". It did not elaborate. The military led by RUC 12 chief Brig. Gen. H. Jesus Hermosa disclosed the existence of one of its fronts, Front 17, which the 2/1 Army Brigade combed October last year. —

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CSO: 4200/523

CEBU DAILY ON GRAFT PERVASIVENESS IN SOCIETY

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 12 Apr 87 p 5

[Editorial: "Fighting Graft"]

[Text]

If one were to believe administration senatorial candidate Teofisto Guingona who said graft under the new government is small, there is no justification nor need for the creation by President Aquino of an anti-graft super agency.

Apparently, the former chairman of the Commission on Audit's sense of proportion has been shaped largely by the amount of corruption under the previous administration. Any stealing compared to the mega graft of the Marcos regime is minuscule, Mr. Guingona and many others share the view.

But how small is small? Thousands of pesos a day? Millions, or billions?

The extent of graft, to our mind, should not be measured in terms of pesos, but in the width and breath of the practice. Is graft and corruption committed in almost every office of government? Do the slow wheels of bureaucracy move only when greased by bribery? Does every transaction smell of overprice and bloated commissions? Has graft be-

come such a part of the way of life of the government official and worker that honesty is extraordinary and even incongruous?

President Aquino must have perceived the wider dimensions of corruption when she created the super body. Fortunately, she must have realized that graft, though smaller compared to that in the Marcos days, has so permeated every layer of the government structure that a huge instrument must be used to remove it.

Her former presidential adviser, now senatorial aspirant, Rene Saguisag had all but given hope in combating successfully corruption, saying it has rooted itself for so long in the body politic that it can't be taken out unless society itself is overhauled - and how does one overhaul society?

Still, losing hope is never productive. We keep no illusions, but we hope that the super agency formed by President Aquino will make some headway in fighting corruption.

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CSO: 4200/523

COTABATO CHURCH PAPER URGES LAND REFORM

Cotabato City THE MINDANAO CROSS in English 14 Mar 87 p 4

[Article in the "Political Scene" column by Eliseo R. Mercado, OMI: "Land Reform"]

[Text]

A year after the EDSA Revolution, the greater majority of our people, specifically the peasants and the workers, still awaits the fruit of the new age inaugurated by the ouster of Marcos and the ascendancy of Cory Aquino to the presidency. The most awaited program is the implementation of the genuine land reform program.

It is almost unbelievable for a country like the Philippines where social unrests from the time of the Spaniards to the present have agrarian roots, not to have a blueprint of genuine land reform for over 70 per cent of our nation's population. History tells us that uprisings and revolts, past and present, originated from land problems. Again history tells us that no amount of military solutions can quell social unrests. Social peace does not come from the barrel of a gun.

Tragically, many still believe that the AFP can still prevent social unrest

or in case of bloody revolution the AFP can still bring about peace. Yet, it is clear by the number of casualties that any military solution brings untold suffering to innocent peasants. The peasants are not going to accept suffering any longer. They have been freed from the passive attitudes of the past.

While it is true that, by and large, landlords will resist any scheme of genuine land reform, the government must come out with a program that would make the landlords surrender their lands. Social scientists believe that no land reform is feasible without being accompanied by equally genuine industrialization. As a matter of fact, a genuine industrialization program is a crucial key to the implementation of any land reform.

Landlords with the help of NEDA will determine which industries are most suited for their region. Industrial factories will then be built by the government and when fully constructed will be given to

the landlords on a turn-key basis of repayment for their farmlands that have been subjected to land reform. Given a chance of a well-planned industrialization, most of the landlords will readily accept the change from being landlords to industrialists.

It is an illusion on our part to see the establishment of Congress as the stabilizing factor of the present government. History tells us that the existence of Congress from 1946 to 1972 and that of the Batasang Pambansa from 1984 to 1986 did not, in any serious way, solve the social ills of the Philippine society. Unless the land reform issue and that of genuine industrialization are faced, no amount of face lifting and "packaging" of the present dispensation will guarantee stability in government.

The Aquino Government is still vested with awesome power to address squarely our social ills. More than ever, President Corazon Aquino must act now, otherwise the whole issue of land reform and industrialization will be thrown back again for the nth time to the wrangling of the new Congress to be established in July 1987. The present dispensation must declare the liberation of all peasants from the

bond of landlordism in all lands. It must present to the nation a blueprint of land reform and the accompanying program of genuine industrialization.

Without genuine land reform accompanied by an initial industrialization, the EDSA revolution will be meaningless to the vast majority of our people. A year has gone by since the EDSA revolution, and our people still hope to see the day of their true liberation.

COTABATO WEEKLY VIEWS CHURCH IN 'CRISIS'

Cotabato City THE MINDANAO CROSS in English 21 Mar 87 p 4

[Editorial: "All Eyes on the Catholic Church"]

[Text]

With the two latest documents issued by Jaime Cardinal Sin and the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines regarding the involvement of priests and nuns in politics and communist organizations, the eyes of the nation turn on the Catholic Church to see how she would come out of a crisis.

By her very nature, the Church is non-partisan, her mission transcending partisan politics of men and nations. But in spite of admonitions from Rome, Filipino priests and nuns including some foreign missionaries have been actively involved in partisan politics -- many of them through covert or open endorsements of candidates against the party of the then President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

By her doctrines and history, the Church is anti-communist. But during the oppressive rule of the then President Marcos, her mission to liberate the people from injustice and other social ills incidentally found common cause with the communist insurgency. Communists infiltrated her ranks, won over some of her leaders and rode on her social action programs.

Drawn together in one common

cause to liberate the people, communist insurgents, priests, nuns and lay social action workers were viewed by the military and the government as one in the plot to overthrow the government. This belief was strengthened by the active membership of priests in the National Democratic Front, by lead involvement of some priests in the armed struggle, and by reports about moral and material support of the insurgents by Church institutions and organizations.

This has plunged the Church in the Philippines into a crisis -- a crisis of mission and a crisis of leadership. The socio-political imperatives in the life of the people have to be addressed according to the Gospel. But this has given the communist insurgents a good ride, endangering more and more our Democracy and Religion itself. And the Catholic Hierarchy appeared to have lost control of many of the priests, nuns and lay workers who make no distinction between God and Caesar, between the Gospel and ideology, between the Catholic Religion and Communism.

By the two documents issued by

the Cardinal and the CBCP:

1. Priests "should not campaign for any political party or candidate. He should not speak or act as if the candidate or party he supports provides the only legitimate choice to the Christian. Any exception to the above must be given by competent ecclesiastical authority."

2. Priests are forbidden "to join or support such organizations or movements that advocate the use of violence or class struggle."

According to Bishop Teodoro Bacani, "It is not possible for a priest to become a member of the Communist Party of the Philippines and still be in good terms with the Church."

And to press the resolve to discipline the Filipino priests, Cardinal Sin was quoted by the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (March 18) as having said that he would ask the Vatican to allow militant clergymen who joined the underground to leave their priestly vocation.

Can the Bishops make the militant priests abserve the church's teachings? If not, the crisis will deepen to the detriment of the Church and the country. And the nation is watching, praying.

/9274

CSO; 4200/523

DAILY QUESTIONS LEGALITY OF DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT OFFICE

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Apr 87 p 2

[News Analysis by Alejandro V. Almazan: "Cory's Delegation of Powers to ODM Head Unconstitutional?"]

[Text]

The President may have violated the Constitution when she issued Administrative Order No.9 creating the Office of Development Management (ODM) and Administrative Order No. 10 defining its organization.

The ODM, which took over many of the functions and agencies of the defunct Ministry of Human Settlements (MHS), serves as the development arm of the Office of the President.

The two administrative orders which were signed by the President last January 12, 1987 when the Freedom Constitution was still in effect, however, contain certain provisions which have been interpreted by critics as unconstitutional as they delegate legislative power to an office (ODM) and an officer who is merely a deputy executive secretary.

Section 3, article II of the Freedom Constitution states that, "until the Legislature is elected and convened under a new constitution, the President shall continue to exercise legislative powers."

POWER DELEGATION. The President, however, in section 3 of AO no.9 has in effect delegated her administrative powers to the ODM with regards to agencies transferred to the said office as the section states that the ODM shall be authorized to "repeal or amend the charters, articles of incorporation, or by-laws, of any of said organizations, offices and agencies; merge or consolidate any of said organizations, offices and agencies and it is also authorized to dispose of their assets."

Implementing these legislative powers is the deputy executive secretary who has been authorized under section 2 of AO no. 10 to "be responsible for the exercise of the mandate of the ODM."

Then deputy executive secretary Hermino S. Aquino by virtue of the delegated authority in section 2 of administrative order no. 10, issued on January 26, 1987 memorandum orders 1 to 5.

These orders provide for the renaming and reorganization of several agencies attached to the ODM. Reorganized were the Technology Resource Center into the Technology and Livelihood Resource Center; the Human Settlements Development Corp. into the Strategic Investments Development Corp.; the KKK-Processing Center Authority into the Livelihood Corp., the Philippine Human Resource Development Center; the Sacobia Development Authority; the Southern Philippines Development Authority; the Bagong Pagkain Bayan and the KKK National Secretariat. With the issuance of the orders several basic laws pertaining to the charters of these agencies were amended: PD1097 pertaining to the Technology Resource Center, PD1396 pertaining to the Human Settlements Development Corp., EO866 pertaining to the KKK-Processing Center Authority and EO785 pertaining to the Philippine Human Resources Development Center.

Government lawyers consulted by *Business Day* described the modifications of these charters which were a result of executive orders and presidential decrees by a mere memorandum order as "unusual." They explained that the charters of these agencies were created through legislative enactments that only the President can amend, modify or repeal either through and executive order or a presidential decree. Thus a mere memorandum order cannot be used to alter the charters of these agencies.

Furthermore, as the power to legislate is vested on the President alone under the Freedom constitution, an exercise by an office or subordinate could constitute undue delegation and could be interpreted as unconstitutional.

/8309

CSO: 4200/521

NASUTRA FUNDS 'FINALLY' ALLOCATED TO SUGAR PLANTERS

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Apr 87 p 3

[Text]

Finally, the P487-million obligation of the defunct National Sugar Trading Corp. (Nasutra) for cropyear 1984-85 production has been ordered for release to sugar producers.

President Corazon Aquino has signed executive order 148 directing immediate implementation of an earlier EO (114) which authorized the long-delayed release of the amount. There was a further delay in the release, however, because EO 114 specified as a condition for the fund release implementation of the so-called 60-30-10 plan involving land use in Negros Occidental.

Negros Occ. governor Daniel Lacson said ex-

ecutive secretary Joker Arroyo worked out EO 148 which amends EO 114 and does away with the required implementation of the 60-30-10 plan before release of the payments to sugar producers.

The Sugar Regulatory Commission had also earlier made representations with Pres. Aquino and Finance Secretary Jaime Ongpin for payment of the Nasutra obligation.

The SRA said the payments would enable the planters to pay their long-standing obligations with the Philippine National Bank and the Republic Planters Bank, their major sources of crop loans.

/8309

CSO: 4200/521

WEEKLY REPORTS EXPLOITATION OF TRIBAL MINORITY

Manila MR. & MRS. (Special Edition) in English 3-9 Apr 87 pp 21, 22

[Article by Louise Williams: "Slave Trade in Dumagat Country"]

[Text]

In a remote mountain village northeast of Manila, the old man resting on his stick by the river could not remember his age, but could not forget his worth.

He said he had two young children at the time of the Japanese occupation, the time when he and his family were sold as laborers for ₱600. Now, Marinito Ramos said, he and his sons would fetch about ₱1,600 on the local market.

In the isolated Sierra Madre Mountains, the old man explained, families who gathered rattan for the local furniture industry had always been bought and sold by village entrepreneurs — that was just the way things were.

He said he thought his owner was quite fair, but wanted the rattan cut very fast. He said he was getting old and slowing down but was deeply offended when one owner complained that his people were lazy.

"The only time we don't work is when we are sick or asleep," he said.

It was only last year that a local Catholic priest unwittingly stumbled upon the last remaining pocket of an ancient system of Filipino slavery in this impoverished mountain community, less than 150 kilometers from the capital.

Father Apolo de Guzman was attending Christmas gift-giving when he overheard the local officials casually pricing the crowd of rattan cutters who had come down from their mountain village for the celebration.

At a later meeting Fr. Apolo found the local rattan agents quick to complain about their profit margins.

Not only did they have to provide their laborers with rice and salt, they had to employ guards to ensure they fulfilled their quotas, as well as pay for the jeepneys which picked up the enormous bundles of rattan sticks and delivered them to the market.

With a family of four going for an average price of ₱1,000 these days, it was the rattan furniture makers and not the rattan suppliers who were making the big money on the hot, dusty plains about two hours drive from Manila, they said.

Fr. Apolo was astonished, even more so when he realized that no one else in town was.

It seemed that the lowlanders who supply the raw materials for the local rattan furniture industry had traded entire communities of Dumagat tribespeople from the nearby Sierra Madre Mountains for as long as both master and slave could remember.

And when this same Catholic priest and an entourage of church workers made the difficult journey up into the mountains recently to perform a baptism ceremony, they found both master and slave only more than willing to talk.

About 70 members of the Dumagat tribe had forfeited their day's ration of rice and salt to meet Fr. Apolo and Fr. Edwin Beyley — the women came wearing bright lipstick and rouge, the children bearing gifts of mountain orchids.

Esteban Domingo, a tribal leader, had recently been moved by his owner with nine other families to the denser forest at "big river", an extra one day's walk from the point where the old logging road falls away into the river and even the old World War II army surplus jeeps stop.

He speculated that he was about 60 years old and said that nowadays he could carry only 1,000 sticks, or about 40 kilograms of rattan at a time.

Neither Esteban nor his family have ever been paid for the work they have done all their lives. For the 1,000 sticks they are able to cut in two days at "big river", they receive only rations of rice and salt, handed out by their guard once the rattan is delivered.

For all other rations they must rely on church handouts or "borrow" money from their master. A tally of their accumulated "debt" is kept in a thick book which is paraded like some official document before the illiterate Dumagats should they venture a complaint.

The market price of a family of rattan gatherers is determined largely by this

debt. Just as families of slaves are passed down from slave master to son, the oldest Dumagat son inherits the debt of his father.

When buying up a new family of laborers the local businessmen, known as *tabongs*, must pay the previous owner the total debt before he is entitled to make control.

A young man named Jimmie Gonzales watched as Father Apolo's party fussed over "certificates of baptism" and the tiny children wearing an odd assortment of pink satia and lace and old cotton T-shirts.

He was the grandson of Primitivo Gonzales, a man with something of a reputation as a "king *tabong*" in the mountains.

Primitivo once owned 20 families but now he is very old and sick. When his grandson, Jimmie, prematurely inherited his empire there were only nine families left.

When he was 15 years old Jimmie left the village on the plains to live in the mountains and guard the family fortune which he now owns.

Jimmie, now, 28, explained the *tabong* system in great and earnest detail, adding that his aim in life was to improve the lot of the poor Dumagats.

Each family, he said, is expected to supply at least three bundles of 1,000 sticks of rattan a week. For each bundle Jimmie "pays" one third of a sack of rice worth about ₱110, for each bundle Jimmie earns about ₱200 at the market.

Jimmie's idea is to send his Dumagats further into the forest to areas richer in rattan, so that the families can gather more sticks and earn more food. But, Jimmie explained, his families had already eaten thousands of sticks worth of rice which they had not paid for.

"If you don't watch them, they just eat and sleep all day. Last week I was offered another family for ₱1,000, but I turned them down because I didn't want any more of their debts. I give my families free salt already — that's all they like to eat with rice, they don't like things like tinned sardines."

Of the master/slave nature of the rattan business he said: "It's just the custom here."

Life in the mountains and on the plains below is just how it is.

The manager of the local electricity cooperative stole thousands upon thousands of pesos of payments made by local people and rice mills so the National Power Authority cut off the electricity and water is again pumped by hand and fires light the streets at night.

The illegal loggers, whose trucks rumbled freely past the military checkpoints

under the Marcos regime, managed to keep the road open and their business going until President Aquino purged her Cabinet of "inefficient" ministers late last year.

Decades of logging have left the foothills denuded and dusty and without the loggers' bulldozers, the road which leads to the Dumagats' village is negotiable only on foot.

At the market in General Tinio, the last town before the foothills, the rattan buyers deal only with the *tabongs* — just like their fathers and grandfathers before them.

The Dumagats are severely malnourished. Their children die of malaria, their women nurse grotesque goiters, yet they cling to their owners who are responsible for their miserable lot.

Esteban explained that even runaway slaves would end up volunteering themselves to a new *tabong* in another area, there was no other way to survive.

The economic bondage of the Dumagats is centuries old. The Dumagat tribe who once lived as hunters and gatherers on the coast to the East of the Sierra Madre Mountains were pushed inland by the lowland rice cultivators and could no longer gather enough food to live. They became dependent on the lowlanders for their meager rations and this remote community has remained dependent.

The Dumagats said they would be willing to cultivate

their own rice but would be immediately "cut off" by their *tabongs* and would starve waiting for their first crop to be ready for harvesting. They said they would sell their rattan direct if there was anyone to buy.

According to Fr. Apolo, the government department responsible for tribal minorities allocated P40,000 to assist the Dumagats after he marched a Dumagat leader into a government office in Manila to tell the Dumagats' story.

The story got back to the mountains and the Dumagat has since run away.

The Department of Social Services confirmed that none of their officers had yet visited the district and the story told by one tribal minorities group is that the funds have already been lent out to a group of Muslims making their pilgrimage to Mecca.

"This is blatant exploitation, we must investigate this immediately." The Director of Assistance at the Department of Social Services, Ms. Milagros Llanes said in response to an inquiry. "We will send a fact-finding team right away."

Meanwhile, the Dumagats gratefully partake of their ration of salt and rice.

MSM

BRIEFS

JAPAN ANTICOMMUNISTS AWARD GENERAL--Brig Gen Romulo Querubin, RUC 7 chief, receives medals and an appreciation letter from Japan's largest anti-Communist organization, the Nihon Seinen Shiya, for his help in rescuing a Japanese civilian kidnapped last 4 December. Presenting the appreciation letter is Leo Orii, a businessman from Hawaii, who had sought the general's help when the kidnapping occurred and who related to the organization about the rescue. Presenting the medals is Tony Miyashiro, who came as a representative of Kusuo Kobayashi, chairman of Nihon Seinen Shiya. [Photo caption] [Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 8 Apr 87 p 10] /9274

ANG BAYAN ON ELECTIONS--The CPP claimed that foreign and local reactionaries have four significant objectives in holding the May 11 elections. These are: --To spread the illusion of democracy, to trap the people to parliamentarism and draw them away from the revolutionary path, --To pacify the intensifying contradictions in the ranks of the local ruling classes through economic and political accommodation and power-sharing. --To strengthen the political infrastructure for counter-revolution to support and legitimize its wanton and brutal repression of the people. --To facilitate the legalization of policies that merely intensify imperialist exploitation and strengthen foreign domination. [Excerpts] [Baguio City THE GOLD ORE in English 11 Apr 87 p 6] /9274

CSO: 4200/523

ARMY MAY RELAX GOODS BAN ON PRK BORDER

Bangkok THE NATION in English 10 Apr 87 p 5

[Text]

THE eastern border army force is considering relaxing the restriction on some strategic goods allowed into the Thai-Kampuchean border area in Prachinburi, local officials in the province told *The Nation* yesterday.

The officials said the provincial authorities late last month proposed to Burapa Force that the number of strategic goods, whose quotas are controlled by the military, be reduced from 59 to 19 items.

The authorities proposed that the military lift the restriction on the quotas of 40 items including storage batteries, battery cells, mono sodium glutamate, radio equipment, cassette recorders, watches, bicycle spareparts, fuel, electricity generators, clothes and rice.

The Burapa Force, which is responsible for border defence in Prachinburi, currently controls the quotas of 59 items allowed into the districts of Aranyaprathet, Ta Phraya and Wattana Nakhon as well as Klong Had Sub-district bordering Kampuchea.

The goods to be left on the restricted list include medicines, medical equipment and items which can be used for military purposes, such as military maps, combat gear, combat uniforms and compasses, they said.

The district chiefs, who attended a meeting held at the provincial seat, commented that the regulation, which was instituted in 1981, has been out-of-date and cannot be adapted to the current situation along the border.

They said the restriction might block the economic growth in the border districts and the number of the controlled goods is insufficient to meet the demand of the people in the area.

They said the population in the three border districts and the sub-district has increased considerably from that in 1981, causing a jump in the demand for the consumer goods.

Local military, civil and police officials from the border area met on March 25 at the Burapa Force's headquarters to review the border situation and to consider the relaxation of the restriction on the strategic goods.

Merchants in Aranyaprathet had earlier blamed the strict control on the goods for discouraging business growth and at the same time promoting corruption among local military and civil officials.

However, some security officials have expressed concern that the lifting of the restriction might lead to a boom in smuggling and black marketeering along the tense Thai-Kampuchean frontier.

Some military officers said the strategic goods might be smuggled across the border to be sold to the Vietnamese or Heng Samrin soldiers in Kampuchea.

Border troops have frequently clashed with the Vietnamese or Pro-Hanoi Khmer troops along the frontier and the military officers are concerned that the smuggled goods might be used to strengthen forces supporting the Phnom Penh regime.

Local officials contended that the smuggling and black marketeering activities have decreased since the Vietnamese dry season offensive wiped out all major strongholds of

the Kampuchean coalition guerrillas along the border between 1984 and 1985.

Some local commanders of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), one of the two non-communist factions in the tripartite anti-Vietnamese coalition, were known for their active involvement in black marketeering along the border in Ta Phraya.

A Press release issued by the Burapa Force on Wednesday said that the move to relax the restriction on the strategic goods is being worked out. The measure needs to be approved by the First Army Region which has the authority to enforce it.

/9317

CSO: 4200/519

HMONG ILLEGALS, CAMP LIFE IN LOEI

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 28 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by Rungruang Preechakul]

[Text]

Ban Vinai, Loei — Despite the diplomatic furore this past week resulting from the US protest over the March 15 repatriation of 38 H'mong hilltribesmen from this sprawling camp, provincial authorities here remain adamant that long-term measures are needed to control the H'mong population.

As far as provincial authorities are concerned, they have long been fighting a losing battle — and the situation will worsen if nothing is done.

Although the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) figures show there are nearly 42,000 H'mong in the camp, Loei Governor Cheevin Suthisuwana told the *Bangkok Post* this week that the number is closer to 45,000.

The number of illegal H'mong tribesmen in Ban Vinai has been estimated by various sources to be around 2,000 but local immigration and police officials say the number is much higher — almost 15,000.

Governor Cheevin said Ban Vinai is a magnet for the H'mong in Laos because Thai-H'mong smuggling racketeers have spread the word that once inside the camp, the hilltribesmen will be resettled in third countries and that they will get plenty of food and medical care.

Provincial officials say there are several reasons why controlling the number of illegals in the camp has been an uphill task.

The governor said the size of the sprawling camp, divided into nine sections for administrative purposes, covers about 1,000 rai of land and poses a problem for local officials responsible for the camp: 71 defence volunteers, 18 policemen and 21 Interior Ministry officials.

Although the four roads entering Ban Vinai have checkpoints, no barbed-wire fence exists, unlike at Khao-I-Dang holding centre in Prachin Buri Province.

"A double barbed-wire fence and a road surrounding the camp should be built so as to make night patrols around the perimeter easier," said Governor Cheevin. "Ban Vinai is an open camp; the checkpoints are useless."

The only reason a fence has not been built, Interior Ministry officials say, is because the cost is too high.

Once inside the camp, the illegals — some of whom pay about 8,000 baht each to Thai-H'mong smuggling racketeers — escape detection not only with help from their H'mong brethren but also because some local defence volunteers refuse to report the illegals they discover and continue black-mailing them for money, local immigration and police officials said.

"If a thorough search of the camp is made, if the ground beneath some of the homes is dug up one of

the things you will find are human remains," said an immigration official who asked not to be identified.

The official said that local authorities have trouble keeping track of the H'mong because "they all look alike." But another reason is because deaths are not reported. The dead H'mong's daily food rations, delivered to the camp through the UNHCR and 16 aid agencies, is a prized privilege and is often given to an illegal or another H'mong, the official said.

Governor Cheevin's concern over control of the influx of the H'mong stems also from what he describes to be a low resettlement rate: 39,807 H'mong were resettled in third countries between 1976 and 1985.

According to the governor's statistics, the rate of resettlement is as follows: 1976 (4,210 resettled), 1977 (3,874), 1978 (4,260), 1979 (4,705), 1980 (12,926), 1981 (3,067), 1982 (1,684), 1983 (905), 1984 (2,305) and 1985 (1,710 resettled).

One underlying reason why camp officials feel stern action should be taken on the problem of illegal H'mong seems to stem from

the feeling that they are being bypassed with regard to control of the camp itself.

A number of the local officials complained about what they perceive to be "interference" from aid workers and the UNHCR whose duty is to protect and ensure that the rights and well-being of the refugees are maintained.

"The H'mong seem to think that they are able to stay in Thailand because of the UN and not because the Thai Government, through its policy of first asylum, allows them to be here," said one camp official.

For this reason, considerable suspicion exists on behalf of local camp officials that the UNHCR is playing "detective," snooping around to see what the local officials are up to.

Apart from the influx of illegals and keeping track of the H'mong in the camp, one problem associated with the size of the H'mong population in Ban Vinai is the high birthrate.

Governor Cheevin said that when the camp was first opened in 1975 there were about 12,000 houses in Ban Vinai. "But the

growth rate has increased dramatically and could increase fourfold from the present rate by 1992," he said.

"The birthrate is about 5.5 per cent or 200 babies a month," the governor added. Provincial authorities said that teaching the H'mong birth control is difficult, with a couple averaging at least two to three children. The children born in the camp automatically receive what is called BV (Ban Vinai) cards which makes them eligible for food rations supplied each week.

"The camp is expanding," the governor said with concern. "There needs to be a review of the situation to search for a long term and permanent solution (to the H'mong refugee problem)."

Governor Cheevin believes that a step-by-step programme ought to be seriously adopted and implemented whereby the H'mong would be repatriated to Laos; otherwise, he said, Thailand would be left with a problem like the one it now faces over the Khmer refugees at Khao-I-Dang holding centre: "Nobody seems to want them."

A Reasonably Comfortable Life in Camp

Ban Vinai, Loei — Without doubt most of the H'mong refugees living in this northeastern camp lead a reasonably comfortable life compared to the hardships they face on the other side of the border.

And like many other refugee camps throughout this country, a number of Thais benefit financially from their presence.

The presence of refugees, however, also leaves openings for unscrupulous opportunists to exploit and abuse — and Ban Vinai is no exception.

Before 1985, when provincial authorities allowed the H'mong to leave the camp between 7.00 a.m. and midday, the collection of illegal exit and entry "taxes" was rife, informed camp officials admitted to the *Bangkok Post*.

"A number of defence volunteers used to collect money from the H'mong tribesmen leaving or entering the camp. They charged

between four and 10 baht per head," said the official. Even pigs, it seems, failed to escape the tax, with large one being charged four baht and piglets, two baht.

Officials estimate that during this period about 11,000 H'mong left the camp daily to buy everyday essentials such as washing powder, soap, cloth and other foods to supplement their daily rations. These purchases were made at the 100 Thai shops set up just outside the camp.

This "toll" collection irritated not only the H'mong but also shop-owners, the officials recalled, and a joint delegation asked the provincial authorities that the H'mong be allowed to leave the camp freely between 7.00 a.m. and midday — a regulation which still stands today.

But even then, camp officials said, exit and entry "taxes" are still being collected by certain defence volunteers, particularly at night

when the H'mong want to visit the occasional fairs and festivals in the provincial town.

Police and camp officials say that drug smuggling exists in the camp; they also say that a number of arrests have been made but did not mention specifics. Some of these officials claim that the drug racket may be bigger than is evident and suspect that shipments are even sent overseas.

The officials believe that the H'mong involved in drug smuggling cannot operate without help from outside and strongly suspect Thai collaborators to be among the shopowners outside the camp, particularly those allowed by the Post Office to mail parcels for the refugees.

Police admit facing difficulty in tracking down smuggled drugs because of the large number of shops that do business with the H'mong.

One shopowner given the right to send parcels, Mr Thongdaeng Khamphrom, told the *Post* that the H'mong send "several basketful of letters" to relatives in third countries each day, particularly the United States.

"I usually check the parcels very carefully," he said, adding that most of the items sent overseas by the Ban Vinai hilltribesmen are pieces of embroidery, table cloth and bedspreads.

Mr Thongdaeng said he had no knowledge of drug smuggling among the Thai shopowners.

Camp officials say that the sweep that led to the repatriation of 38 illegals earlier this month followed the death of a camp official believed to have been connected with drug smuggling.

Originally the officials planned

to sweep all nine sections of the camp for drugs and illegals but since the diplomatic furor erupted, provincial officials have been told by the Interior Ministry to halt the drive.

Despite the taxes, considerable business is conducted between the H'mong refugees and Thai shopowners.

Mr Thongdaeng said that Thai cloth is in constant demand by the H'mong who use the material to sew traditional clothes, tablecloths and bedspreads for sale and for relatives overseas.

During October and November each year business booms. H'mong relatives overseas send money to buy the traditional clothes and materials, Mr Thongdaeng said, adding that shops which accept US dollars each handle about \$2,000 during these two months. Usually each shop would change about \$200 a month.

The H'mong handicrafts generate a reasonable income: a small tablecloth which takes about 10 to 20 days to embroider is sold for 300 baht each. A larger one could cost 800 baht while bedspreads may cost 1,000 baht.

Making clothes and handicrafts, including silverware and traditional ornaments generates reasonable income for the refugees who sell and use the money to buy necessities to supplement their daily food quotas.

"I would estimate that between 7.00 a.m. to midday each day, about 200,000 to 300,000 baht of business is done between the H'mong and the shops outside the camp," Mr Thongdaeng said.

/9317

CSO: 4200/519

CROWN PRINCE DISCUSSES PERSONAL AMBITIONS, FAMILY IN INTERVIEW

Hong Kong SUNDAY MORNING POST in English 1 Feb 87 p 1

[Article by John Dikkenberg]

[Text]

HE has two wives, Prince Charles is one of his best friends and China's paramount leader Deng Xiaoping uncharacteristically attended his ordination as a monk in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok.

Not only that, but Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn of Thailand is a man born to be a king and trained to be a soldier, poet, paratrooper, musician, jet pilot, leader . . . and a man of humility.

He is much more influential than many people realise. Japan's Emperor Hirohito and Nepal's King Birenda are among his mentors and almost every major politician in Asia is an acquaintance.

One day the Crown Prince might well have a hand in the regional balance of power – and, given Asia's growing influence and importance in the world – a hand in international politics.

Or he might get killed. The 34-year-old heir apparent is head of the 900-strong Battalion of the King's Own Bodyguards, which has already been in action several times on the volatile Thai-Kampuchean border.

Thailand's golden sun was streaming through the ornate pagodas and Siamese towers of Bangkok's Grand Palace on the day the *Sunday Morning Post* interviewed the Crown Prince. The domed shadows of an ancient Siamese kingdom fell sharply upon the Royal Bodyguards' giant parade ground and barracks.

The intelligent and powerful soldier-Prince sat at a small coffee table. There was a bare patch on his right shoulder which is usually adorned with a badge that only he and one other Thai soldier are legally entitled to wear.

He noticed the look. "Yes, one of my aides forgot to sow on my Australian SAS parachute wings," he said mock-sternly. "I'll have to chip him about that."

It was just two hours after the birth of his third daughter, and only a few hours after the announcement that Britain's Prince Edward was to step down from the Royal Marines. Only minutes before, the Crown Prince had officiated at the wedding of his Police Major Bodyguard. He was in a relaxed mood.

"I am enjoying this interview," he said about 90 minutes after we started. It was obviously a break from organised palace routine and the daily grind of military life. "Ask me more questions. Anything you like."

That, coming from a man who only rarely gives press interviews and is as much an enigma to some of his own people as he is to the West, was an astounding invitation.

It was also disconcerting. Standing at ramrod attention only two metres away were his three handpicked aides-de-camp, all colonels or equivalent. They were there as court functionaries, but also to make sure the *Sunday Morning Post* observed the complex Grand Palace protocol – which certainly includes making sure the Crown Prince is not embarrassed in any way.

We followed up his invitation with a soft ball – the continuing question of succession between the Crown Prince and his sister, Crown Princess Sirindhorn. Many Thai people would like to see the highly popular Crown Princess succeed the revered King Bhumibol to the throne instead of the Prince.

There was a great silence after this question, in which we could hear the bull-roar of a parade ground drill instructor in the middle-ground and the clatter of a helicopter in the background.

There was no-one in the proximity except armed bodyguards, who are the best soldiers

in Thailand (and on their way to Australia for Special Forces exercises), and ghost-like household staff.

"I don't care if I become King or not," he said at last, in the down-to-earth manner of those days in 1978 when he was a saffron-robed Buddhist priest who begged with a bowl on the streets of Bangkok.

(King Bhumibol incidentally, shaved the Crown Prince's head before the ordination, and Queen Sirikit presented him with a begging bowl and an alarm clock).

"I don't even care if I become a general," Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn said, referring to an expanding career in which he is now the brigadier in charge of the Battalion of King's Own Bodyguards.

"And, what's more," he said in the biggest cruncher of all, "I don't care if they kick me out of the palace or out of the military, as long as I end up doing something useful.

"If some people think that my sister, Crown Princess Sirindhorn should get the throne instead of me, well that is their business. This is a free country and the people are free to think what they want.

"But I don't go on gossip, I follow my own opinion. I don't like bullshit either.

"I am just Joe Average," the Crown Prince declared firmly, getting nods of agreement from his three aides-de-camp, whom, it later transpired, were also among his closest friends and confidants.

"I am, above all, a human being. I have good points and bad points. I serve the King of Thailand and discharge my duties as best as I can and to the utmost of my abilities.

"In fact, it is a pleasure to work for the King. I try to help him in every way possible, including taking up regal and ceremonial duties when my parents are out of town.

"But if my father and the people want me to be a doctor like my grandfather, then I will be a doctor. If they want me to be a soldier, then I will be a soldier. If they want me to work in the fields to help the farmers, then that is what I will do."

The conversation inexorably steered its own course back to the succession, Thailand's most talked about subject since the reigning monarch, King Bhumibol, who turns 60 on December 5, subtly let it be known that he would not mind stepping down from the throne.

"I am not personally ambitious," Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn said. "People who are too ambitious are no good. I am happy with my life. I am happy with myself as a person, and I am content with the future, whatever that might be.

"Sure, as Crown Prince, I get to participate in many events, meet many people and absorb many ideas, but in the end, no matter what happens, my world comes down to myself. Despite all the training and influence, I still create myself and my own state of well-being."

It was the Buddhist priest, and not the soldier, talking.

Prince Vajiralongkorn is not only a straight-shooting, but a colourful young royal. His good points are obscured by the pervasive "playboy" image, which upsets some Thai people's sense of tradition and awe of the throne.

"Ask more questions," he urged again, and so we breached the unbreachable — we asked him about his playboy image, which arched his aides' eyebrows to the very limits of protocol.

His reply was straight from the shoulder; a man's reply — a man who has definitely been outside the cloistered walls of the palace.

"I am sure you've sown a few wild oats and nobody made a fuss of it, and everybody else has sown a few wild oats and nobody made a fuss of it so why pick on me?" he replied, forgetting for one moment that he was the Crown Prince of Thailand and therefore more accountable for any "transgressions".

"Sure I like girls, but girls are not everything in life. My family is the most important element in my life.

"Besides, life changes as it flows along and so do people. I strive to be a good Crown Prince, a loyal son, an especially good citizen and a good father who does his best for his children.

"Look mate, I'm just a human being. Humility has a wide, abstract, intangible meaning, but I know there is a time, a place and a reason to be humble."

However, he admitted he knew about the "prophecy of the six sons" which forecasts that the Crown Prince will become King when his sixth son is born. So far, he has five sons and three daughters by his two wives.

The Thai monarchy modelled itself on the British constitutional monarchy in 1936 and the two royal families — with their strong military ties and mostly military sons — are firm friends.

"We exchange Christmas cards every year," Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn said off-handedly.

The fact that the Crown Prince is friendly and open — indeed he scrunched up a list of prepared questions and was willing to ad lib the interview — does not take away from his sense of duty.

"The military is not a game for me," he said suddenly, with the menace instilled into an SAS officer. "I take it deadly seriously. It is no royal whim, but a forum in which I may one day well have to fight for the life of my country."

Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn teaches counter-insurgency techniques, guerilla tactics and counter-terrorist warfare at all of Thailand's major military and staff colleges — much-needed subjects, given the developing military envelopment.

Crown Princess Sirindhorn and her sister, Princess Chulabhorn, are both prizewinning academics who also teach at tertiary institutions.

THE exceptional reverence in which Thais hold the royal family was mirrored by the taxi driver who brought me to the barrack gates of the Battalion of King's Own Bodyguards.

Just 30 minutes before, in the cluttered streets of Bangkok, this driver and I had bargained bad-temperedly over the taxi fare to the Grand Palace. He figured I was a tourist who wanted to go and look and have a look at one of Thailand's premier landmarks.

When it transpired that I actually had permission to enter the royal compound, he immediately offered to waive the fare.

The Crown Prince keeps close contact with many of his classmates from Australia's Duntroon Royal Military College and SAS colleagues, who are sometimes guests at the Palace. "I like to sit around and talk to them . . . actually, to keep in contact with people and what's been happening."

He also maintains close contact with the Australian Governor-General, Sir Ninian Stephen, who was in Thailand on a state visit only last week.

Prince Vajiralongkorn is noticeably impressed with the SAS, an admiration that has flowed on to the four regiments of the Thai Special Forces at Fort Narai in Lopburi Province.

Thailand's high-altitude military freefallers, for instance, wear a black uniform and a black balaclava, a clear similarity to the SAS style which was first observed at the storming of the Iranian Embassy in London.

"Military training has taught me a lot of good values," he said. "It's given me guidelines on which to base my military and personal life."

It has also given him a penchant for fitness, something he also inherited from his

exercise-conscious father.

"I work out every day and I don't attend wild parties," he said. "I enjoy a glass of gin and tonic and maybe a pipe now and then. In the evenings, I like to sit about with quiet music and read — mainly military matters aimed at improving my job."

"In the palace, there is also physical and mental solitude so that I can maintain a mental balance amid the pressures of duty," he said. "But I am never lonely being the Crown Prince. I have many friends including my aides-de-camp, whose homes I visit, and members of my bodyguard."

The Crown Prince has set up an education fund to help the children of his crack bodyguards. "If you look after your men, your men will look after you," he said, expressing one of the basic rules of military leadership.

Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn has also set up more than 20 Crown Prince Hospitals around Thailand, some in very remote areas where medical help is otherwise not available.

The Crown Prince attended the King's School in Sydney's Western Suburbs for two years before entering RMC Duntroon. He loves Australia and asked a typical Australian question at the end of the interview.

"What do you think of me?" he enquired softly. "Do you think I am such a bad fellow?" It was the artist coming out.

"Not at all," I replied, absolutely truthfully. The Crown Prince had come across as a strong, intelligent, talented character. His country is lucky to have him.

And then he was gone, with household staff, aides-de-camp and armed bodyguards running after him and Royal Bodyguards snapping salutes from as far as 300 metres away.

The Dashing Prince Who Is Destined To Succeed

CROWN Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn may not be as well-known in the West as the three Princes of Britain, or the two Princesses of Monaco, but in Thailand he belongs to an unusually highly-revered royal family.

There is hardly a house in Thailand that does not carry a portrait of his father, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, or his mother, the beautiful Queen Sirikit.

To even the lowest beggar in the street, insulting the Thai royal family is a grave mistake and can lead to anything from an immediate cold-shoulder to straightforward physical violence, and even the death penalty for *lese majeste*.

The tall and handsome Crown Prince is potentially one of the most powerful leaders in Asia.

As heir apparent to one of the last great eastern democracies, he may ultimately become the rallying point for his nation, which is increasingly hard-pressed on all borders by Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Burma and the Malaysian communists.

In line with the previous nine kings of the Chakri Dynasty, Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn is supremely gifted and diversely talented.

His great-grandfather was the legendary King Chulalongkorn the Great (often thought to have been

the role model for *The King and I*) while his grandfather, Prince Mahidol of Songkha, was a US-educated doctor now labelled "the father of modern Thai medicine".

The current King is not only the real (albeit apolitical) power in Thailand — the people listen more to him than they do to the Government — but is also a conservation expert, ordained Buddhist monk, pilot, weapons expert, Asian Games gold-medallist yachtsman, poet, painter, musician and composer of the acclaimed ode-to-his-Queen: "Falling Rain".

The Prince can equal or beat his father in most of these diverse and creative pursuits, but not many

people are aware of this "soft side". They only see his most visible profile - a love of the "uniform".

Prince Vajiralongkorn graduated from the Australian Royal Military College, Duntroon, in 1975 and the Army Command and general Staff College. He served as an officer in Australia's most elite unit, the crack Special Air Service Regiment (SAS).

He is also a qualified gunship helicopter pilot, the Brigadier commanding the Battalion of King's Own Body Guards, and, according to those who should know, "one of the hottest F-15 fighter pilots in Thailand".

But Maha (meaning Crown

Prince) Vajiralongkorn has an image problem and some of the smiling but tradition-conscious people of Thailand would like to see his sister, the benevolent Crown Princess Sirindhorn, accede to the throne.

Quite simply, the natural heir to the throne is known as a womaniser and playboy.

Shortly after he returned from Australia in 1977, the Crown prince married his cousin, Princess Soamsawali. The couple were given US\$10 million in wedding gifts, perhaps one of the biggest wedding showers ever received. They now have two daughters.

But the Prince has also taken a

second wife, a former film actress, with whom he has six children . . . five sons and a daughter.

By sheer coincidence, child No 6, the daughter, was born two hours before I interviewed the Crown Prince . . . almost fulfilling Thailand's best-known and most talked-about prophesy right before my eyes.

The prophesy, forecast by a senior Raman Priest, is that when the Crown Prince has six sons, he will become the King of Thailand.

The King turns 60 on December 5 and has been on the throne for 35 years. It is no secret that he wants to step down.

Ruling by the Rules

"WE shall reign with righteousness for the happiness and welfare of the Thai people."

This was the pledge the King Bhumibol Adulyadej made at the moment of his coronation on May 5, 1950, and is the same pledge Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn will have to undertake if he assumes the throne.

The meaning of "righteousness" is clarified in "Tossapit Rajatham," the tenfold Buddhist Code of the King, observed on oath by all the Kings of Thailand since time immemorial.

The 10 precepts included in the Code are:

Alms-giving, morality, sacrifice, straightforwardness, courtesy, self-restraint, non-anger, non-violence, patience and impartiality.

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PAPER REPORTS ON GROWING FARM DEBT CRISIS

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 30 Mar 87 p 3

[Text]

FARMERS in Thailand's more than 50,000 villages have debts totalling more than 100,000 million baht, Magsaysay award-winner Dr Praves Wasi has said.

The debts have resulted from losses from the sale of farm products, shrinking output and low prices, he said.

Their debts crop up every year because farmers are short on income to pay for loans they need every year to start a crop, Dr Praves said.

Though they could draw loans from several financial sources such as the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives and the Agricultural Land Reform Office, farmers often used them to pay for previous debts, he said.

Citing his recent nationwide survey on farming, Dr Praves said a ton of rice that was grown by relying on rainfall and on irrigation cost 2,995 and 2,525 baht respectively. A ton was sold for about 2,400 baht.

Each of the 74 households in Ban Tak Daed in Wang Sai Phun district of Phichit province, where poverty is officially described as non-existent, had only 359 baht left after the sale of their crops.

Cultivating more than 2,600 rai, Tak Daed farmers had to set aside their income to pay for debts ranging from 7,000 to 70,000 baht.

A large number of them paid more than 690,000 in rent each year on an estimated 1,500 rai, the report said.

More than 40 households in Ban Laem Chedi had income from farming of about 697,000 baht a year, as against an aggregate debt of 2.9 million baht. Each family was about 56,000 baht short, the report said.

The report quoted farmers in Ban Khurang in Phayakkhaphum Phisai district of Maha Sarakham province as saying output for last year was only seven per cent compared to previous records, due to drought.

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LEGAL SPECIALIST DISCUSSES INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

Bangkok THE NATION in English 6 Apr 87 p 25

[Text]

THAILAND should seek all possibilities to multilateralize the issue of intellectual properties (IP), probably in a joint effort with other developing countries at such forums like World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) or GATT New Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN).

The above suggestion was made by Dr Surakiart Sathirathai, Faculty of Law, Chulalongkorn University. In his paper entitled "Some Aspects of International Movement on Intellectual Property and GATT" he said since developed countries have attempted to bilateralize the IP issue Thailand should discuss IP protection at the multilateral forum.

His paper was prepared for a seminar on Pharmaceutical Patents for Developing Asian Countries, organized jointly by the International Organization of Consumers Unions, Penang; the Drug Study Group, Bangkok, CU Social Research Institute (CUSRI) and the Coordinating Committee for Primary Health Care of Thai NGO's. The seminar took place last Saturday at CUSRI.

The paper says as far as the patent issue is concerned, although the pressure is not yet on a formal government level's request, there have been discussions surrounding the question of whether an amendment should be made on Section 9 of the Thai Patent Act of

1979 which contains exclusionary list for non-patentable items including pharmaceutical products.

Various studies seem to indicate that the patentability of pharmaceutical products at present, is likely to hurt the country than benefit it, it says. Therefore, Thailand should adopt the following approaches including the attempt to bilateralize the IP issue.

It says that in GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) although there could be a cross sectoral exchange during the negotiation, the participation of a large number of countries (majority of which are developing countries) will slow down the conclusion of IP protection topic and will expand the horizon of issues to be included in the IP negotiation in GATT.

The time-consuming process of negotiation will help a developing country to have time to conduct a deep study on IP especially on the pharmaceutical issue and its impact on the society. It gives time for people in developing countries to formulate rational policy and planning on legal, economic and technological aspects of patent protection.

It says that the expansion of issues horizon helps alleviate problems of assuming agreements on various issues and come to only a discussion of how the patent could be effectively enforced along the line of western conception of patent protection and enforcement.

The same benefit would be obtained in commencing and pursuing the discussion of IP in

WIPO. With a number of participating developing countries and the fact that WIPO concentrates only on IP, a cross sectoral exchange may be less than in the GATT forum.

Accordingly, bilateralization must be avoided because it reduces drastically the bargaining power of a developing country which negotiates with a developed country. It is conceivable that the less economically powerful country will, in the end change almost all laws and regulations on IP "requested" by a more powerful partner in exchange of items offered by the latter.

The key is that developing countries would have real right to choose whether or not the offer is truly attractive. Instead often an offer (like the Generalized System of Preference or GSP) is rather a threat.

It says that if a bilateral confrontation can not be avoided, Thailand should attempt to defer any commitment in a bilateral negotiation and should stress the developed countries commitment to negotiate IP in a multilateral forum. Their participation in and support of the ministerial declaration to launch the GATT New Round of MTN is a clear manifestation of that commitment.

In addition, Thailand should stress the obligation under the provision in the aforesaid ministerial declaration that the negotiation to seek IP protection shall not in itself become obstacles to legitimate trade.

The country should also emphasize that patent protection must correspond to stages of economic and social development. At one time in the past, the US itself did not provide protection of pharmaceutical products. Each country nowadays has adopted diversified measures and levels of protection in accordance with the country's need.

For example, some have imposed different time period on the expiry of patent protection, others have laid down policies that the patentability of any product is subject to the authority's determination that such technology is in tune with the economic social development.

As far as patent on pharmaceutical products is concerned, a study

has shown that such protection does not induce real transfer of (appropriate) technology to developing countries.

It says that since GSP has been used as a stick to pressure government of developing countries to amend their laws on IP, (including Thailand on copyrights) a rethinking of GSP benefits is needed when considering costs-benefits in exchange of IP protection with GSP. First, GSP is a unilateral extension of benefits which imposes no legal obligation on the countries extending it.

Secondary, a granting country can attach any conditions to the GSP benefits. For example, a recipient country must remain a developing country, a criteria of which is, in many cases, arbitrary. Furthermore, a granting country, like in the case of the US, can also set forth minimum competitive need limit, ie an item would be deleted from the GSP list if the total export of the product to the US in the previous year has exceeded 50% of the total US import of the product.

Worse yet, if this minimum competition need requirement is reduced to 25% (in which case there is a likelihood to be so), many GSP items will be excluded from the list.

Thirdly, the data shows that approximately 80% of export from Thailand to the US do not utilize the GSP scheme. It had been reported that Thai exporters have faced difficulties in reporting cases for raw materials and labour used in production. Often Thai exporters view that the US import duties are low, and thus are willing to pay the duties rather than going through complicated procedure to receive GSP benefit which incurs a very high transaction cost.

Furthermore the US importers agree to pay import duties for the product from Thailand eligible to receive GSP in order that both parties can avoid a time consuming process to present documents showing the origin of the product.

Finally, the most important reason is the oft-made statement of GSP benefits Thailand has received from the US to be approximately \$235 million. This figure is misleading because it shows the total volume of trade under the GSP but not benefits from the GSP margin.

In other words, if a GSP is withdrawn on product A (ie for example, the tariff of 0% is increased to 10%), that does not mean that product A can not be sold at all in the US. Ten per cent import duty will definitely drive up the price, but whether or not the product is still demanded or the price still competitive depends on so many other factors such as the demand of that product in the US, competition from other exporters ability to reduce cost of production and so forth.

Look at the issue in totality, even if the GSP for all items were withdrawn, the \$235 million trade does not totally disappear because a slight increase of tariff (withdrawal of GSP benefits) does not wipe out the total volume of trade in those products.

The above discussion does not

suggest that GSP benefits are not important nor useless, yet, the benefits should not be overestimated. Such an estimate misleads policy makers in comparing costs benefits of losing GSP with amending the law to enforce IP protection, especially when it comes to the issue of GSP and patentability of pharmaceutical products, which may be the case in the future.

Furthermore, it has been reported that Mexico just recently experienced the US pressure for Mexico to amend its IP law in exchange of GSP. After the amendment, the US was still dissatisfied with the Mexican action thereby withdrawing GSP benefits. This should be a good example to remind policy makers before a decision to amend IP laws in exchange of, either directly or very in directly, the GSP benefits.

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STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS IN CENTRAL BANK VIEWED

Bangkok THE NATION in English 6 Apr 87 p 17

[Article by Vajara C. Santikul]

[Text]

THE Bank of Thailand is faced with two problems — one is the increasing shortage of senior executives who will be responsible for future monetary policy, and the other is the urgency to amend the Bank of Thailand Act for it to have a more clearly defined role and independence to prevent intervention from politicians.

For the first problem, Deputy Governor Chavalit Thanachana will spend two weeks to follow up the progress in the study by students with central bank scholarships abroad after attending the semiannual meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington this week.

Sources in the central bank said that the shortage of high-level executives will have growing pressure in a few years because the bank has to recruit more capable manpower to fill various senior positions.

“There is the need for a new generation of central bankers to take charge of the country’s monetary policy in the future,” said one source who pointed out that the personnel problems include a generation gap. There is also a big gap in the capability between executives and directors of department level and chiefs of various divisions.

At the same time, there is no gap between the top level — between the governor, his deputy and assistants and the department directors who were formerly students of the bank’s scholarships. They have taken charge of the departments of banking, international, banks supervision and examination, financial institution supervision and examination, and economic research.

During the next few years, the top executives including the deputy governor and assistant governors are due to retire. Until then, the directors of the bank’s departments have to gain experience and show their capability to take over the top jobs. But there must be capable officials who can assume the positions of directors of important departments.

Deputy Governor Chavalit will spend two weeks after the IMF meeting to see students under the central bank’s scholarships and affirm to them that they should gain experience by as much as possible.

The scholarship programme was started in 1960 when Dr Puey Ungphakorn was the central bank governor.

For the second urgent issue, the central bank wants to amend the Bank of Thailand Act B.E. 2485 for the institution to have a clear scope of

authority and operations so that it can effectively function as the agency in charge of monetary policy and stability.

The central bank has so far assumed the responsibility in providing assistance to troubled financial institutions and intervening in the money market, commercial banking systems and non-bank financial institutions when they face problems and need help.

Well-informed sources in the central bank told *The Nation* that there was the necessity to review the Act due to the changing economic situation, while the country is entering a period of aggressive international trade.

"It is necessary for the central bank to improve its role so that it can effectively control the monetary policy. The bank has to become an organization with more efficiency, quality and flexibility in operations," said the sources.

They pointed out that the most important thing is for the central bank to have a clear stand in implementing monetary policy and without intervention from politicians.

The sources said the plan to review the Act was made while Dr Snob Unakul was governor during 1978-1979 period, but it was temporarily abandoned when Dr Snob quit the governorship after Raja Finance Co Ltd collapsed following its financial crisis arisen from securities trading activities. The company folded in 1979 after its share price soared from 100 baht par to over 1,000 baht and plunged to below par. Manipulation was suspected.

There are four major areas which need revision. The first involves the scope of operations of the central bank which has extensive responsibility. It has to maintain financial and monetary stability which involves banks and financial institutions such as finance,

securities and credit foncier companies. The central bank has to provide rediscount facility for export financing, stock financing and industrial export manufacturing.

The sources said the wide scope of responsibility tends to affect the decision making process when the central bank wants to solve problems. There was obvious delay and the lack of enthusiasm among the units concerned. As a result, problems have become deep rooted and later snowballed into big crises.

"At times, when the central bank was able to pinpoint the problem, it was almost too late. This was clearly demonstrated when there were two major financial crises in 1979 and 1983 and the problems threatening the survival of Asia Trust Bank, First Bangkok City Bank and Siam City Bank during 1984 to 1986.

The second point which needs a review involves the two levels of administrative jobs. On one side is the governor and management and the other is the Court of Directors. "The governorship means leadership and prestige which must be accepted by the public and private sector as far as monetary policy implementation is concerned," said one source.

The Court of Directors currently has the role to supervise the management and operations of the central bank but it does not have a role to define the monetary policy. "A question is whether the Court of Directors should have a role in day-to-day operations or it should just serve as the monetary board. The main task is to find competent people to be members of the Court of Directors," said the source.

The third point is the requirement for a third party to handle conflicts between the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Thailand. "There must be a

third party to clearly present the conflicts of the two institutions for settlement," said the sources.

The fourth point is to fix the term for governorship to prevent intervention from politicians when there is a change of government or finance minister. "Fairness must be maintained in case a governor loses his job without any wrongdoing," the source said.

Sources close to Governor Kamchorn Sathirakul told *The Nation* that the central bank has spent many years to streamline the operations for more stability in the monetary and commercial banking system, because there was no other specific unit to take that responsibility.

"It's time to improve the Act of B.E. 2485 to become more modern including the governorship should have a four-year term as the government," said one source. "We do not want to see the same incident when Governor Nukul (Prachuabmoh) was sacked," said an official.

Governor Nukul was dismissed by the then Finance Minister Sommai Hoontrakool when the country was rocked by a series of problems affecting financial institutions.

"The conflict between Minister Sommai and Governor Nukul was based on the difference in their ideas on how the country should pursue monetary policy," said the same official.

The sacking was unprecedented in the history of the Bank of Thailand. Many central bankers felt at that time that the institution's independence was tampered with and that its respectability could be impaired by the minister's action.

The present governor succeeded Nukul who is now chairman of the Siam Motors Co Ltd.

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CENTRAL BANK RESTRUCTURES REDISCOUNT FACILITIES SYSTEM

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 9 Apr 87 p 13

[Text]

THE Bank of Thailand restructured its rediscount facilities system yesterday and introduced higher interest margins as incentives to encourage commercial banks to extend more loans to exporters.

According to a central bank spokesman, the restructure was designed to enable the central bank to build up a new mechanism to control the injection of money through the rediscount facilities (packing credits) into the banking system.

Moreover, it would also make the packing credit facilities system more flexible, he said.

The spokesman said commercial banks facing high liquidity problems could extend more money to exporters and rely less on rediscount facilities from the central bank, and vice versa.

Not only this, the new mechanism would also help absorb the high liquidity in the banking system, he said.

The spokesman said the central bank had set five ratios for the packing credits and interest incentives for commercial banks.

Commercial banks asking for 100% rediscount facilities on exporter requests would be

charged 5% interest per annum, while banks asking for 80% rediscount facilities, with the balance financed by themselves, would be charged 4% interest.

The packing credit interest would be reduced to 3%, 2% and 1% if the percentage of packing credits sought by the commercial banks decreased to 60%, 40% and 20% respectively.

However, the interest rate commercial banks charge exporters has been set at a flat 7%.

In the past the central bank financed up to 80% of exporter requests through commercial banks, charging the commercial banks 5% interest per annum and they, in turn, charged exporters 7% interest.

Normally, the central bank sets the amount of rediscount facilities and this year's volume was set at 32,000 million

baht.

The central bank spokesman said the restructure meant commercial banks could earn higher interest margins if they used more of their own funds to finance exporters.

It was calculated that if all five ratios were used, the commercial banks' interest margin would average between 2.5% and 3% depending on the liquidity situation.

Moreover, the new mechanism was expected to help commercial banks reduce their combined excess liquidity by as much as 3,000 million baht, while at the same time enabling them to reduce the cost of their deposit funds.

The central bank earlier launched two measures designed to reduce the excess liquidity — the redemption before maturity of rediscount fa-

cilities from commercial banks and interest incentives in the repurchase market. It is soon expected to issue bonds to further help absorb the liquidity.

However, the central bank warned commercial banks and exporters to abide closely by the new regulations regarding the use of packing credit facilities previously practised in the past.

It also warned that any exporters found violating the regulations would be fined 8% interest per annum.

Meanwhile, informed sources said 24,000 million baht in rediscount facilities had already been used by the commercial banks, although Thai Farmers Bank recently returned about 3,000 million baht, thus reducing the outstanding amount to 21,000 million baht.

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NAM HA REEDUCATION CAMP VISITED BY FIRST WESTERN REPORTER

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 22 Mar 87 p 10

[Article by Janne Bengtsson: "A Hard School for the Defeated Army"; first paragraph is SVENSKA DAGBLADET introduction]

[Text] The entire Saigon Army, one-half million men, has since the end of the war in 1975 gone through reeducation camps in Vietnam so that they will have "better thoughts." In the Nam Ha camp, 10 miles south of Hanoi, there are still 350 senior officers being held. They are considered to be dangerous war criminals. SVENSKA DAGBLADET's Janne Bengtsson is the first western journalist to visit the hardest of the remaining reeducation camps.

Nam Ha, in the Red River delta 100 km south of Hanoi, consists of seven or eight whitewashed brick barracks. Rice fields and apricot cultivation are spread around the area.

It looks inviting in the pretty landscape, like a summer camp for school children on vacation. But Nam Ha is no children's camp. Twelve years after the end of the Vietnam war, 350 senior officers of the defeated Saigon Army are held here.

They are all considered dangerous war criminals. Nam Ha is the hardest of the remaining reeducation camps, the special institutions which have held the entire defeated Saigon Army and many of the former officials of the Saigon regime.

"We call them students, not inmates," clarified police colonel Luu Van Han, commandant of the Nam Ha camp.

No western journalists have previously been allowed to visit the camp.

Close Guarding

Nam Ha is a few miles east of the main road between Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon). The last miles are difficult to travel, and even a Land Rover sometimes has difficulty crossing the small streams which have washed away part of the road, or made deep holes in it.

The town of Ba Sao is over a kilometer from Nam Ha. Ba Sao means "Three Stars", and that is fewer stars than were once worn on the shoulders of the 350 in Nam Ha. Here there are former colonels and other senior officers.

During the daytime there are no guards patrolling outside the white walls which surround the prison barracks, but at night there are a total of 30 police on guard, armed with rifles and dogs.

"Nobody escapes from here," said Luu Van Han. "We have excellent cooperation with the people who live around the camp."

According to accounts a "student" tried to escape. He was captured the same night after being turned in by villagers and detected by dogs.

Prisoner for 11 Years

An escape from Nam Ha would be very demanding physically, and there are no physical athletes being held in the camp.

Most are over 60 years old, hardly any under 45. Nor would a fugitive have a chance to remain hidden very long.

Former Colonel Pham Ba Hoa (56) has been in Nam Ha since several days after the war in 1975. Pham Ba Hoa was a colonel in the reserves, but he is primarily a dedicated anticommunist.

"I was taken prisoner by PRR troops (Provisional Revolutionary Government, FNL) immediately after the capitulation. Almost all of my unit had deserted. At first I thought I would be executed."

Now he is managing the library at Nam Ha, and is doing a good job according to the camp leaders.

"I urge the other students here to read and learn about our new society," said Pham Ba Hoa. It sounds like a well-rehearsed lesson.

Broken Dignity

Pham Ba Hoa maintained the same low voice the entire time. He was humiliated, his officer qualities had received a real blow.

"Colonel Pham Ba Hoa himself executed many of the soldiers in his unit when they wanted to surrender," said Luu Van Han. "If he had been judged according to the laws applied in the Nurnberg trials, (when the Nazi war criminals were tried after World War II) he would have been executed."

Pham Ba Hoa has conformed. Now he looks after the collected works of Lenin and Ho Chi Minh's speeches in the camp library. He runs the party newspaper NHAN DAN (The People) and the Army's QUAN DOI NHAN DAN (The People's Army).

"I hope to be free soon, when I am considered to be an ordinary person," he said in a low voice.

He did not smile and did not raise or lower his voice, although we were speaking English, quite alone.

Their Own Sleeping Pads

Pham Ba Hoa and his fellow prisoners live a meager life. The Nam Ha camp is not especially large, the work in the rice fields and the apricot groves--or in the distillery where the very popular apricot brandy Houg Tich is made--is monotonous. Pleasures are few.

The prisoners are always dressed in blue-gray uniforms with the name of the camp on the back.

Fifty men live in each barrack, each with his own sleeping pad, two blankets, hygenic articles and a few personal belongings. A warm sweater, photos of relatives, some mementos from the home town. Nothing to remind of their former military greatness.

The camp is clean, the smell of soap is strong in the barracks and the classrooms. The courtyard is swept clean and a volleyball net droops in the oppressive heat. Nobody can manage to play volleyball, although it is Sunday and they all have free time.

Political Examination

In a shady corner a sextet was playing with four guitars, drums and a harmonica. "Twas on the isle of Capri..." The soloist was former Lieutenant Colonel Pham Kim Quy, who bravely played the harmonica.

There were flowers everywhere, indicating human care and artistry.

Normally the inmates rose at five o'clock--the usual time in Vietnam--and did their morning exercises. Then they worked in the fields or in the distillery, and then there was "reeducation," political discussions, criticism or self-criticism.

Every six months the inmates are examined: Have they learned their lesson? Have they followed the three main rules which will gradually lead to longed-for freedom?

Neither Luu Van Han nor anybody else believes that the system is watertight. Therefore the liberated inmates are kept track of carefully. They would not have a chance to conduct any kind of activity against the regime. The omnipresent people's committees send regular reports about how they conduct themselves in their new residences.

Learn New Trades

"But they learn a new trade. They have a chance to be useful citizens." said Luu Van Han. "And here we see a demonstration of good attitude."

Former Colonel Lai Duk Chuan (60) wants to show a little extra good attitude. He has learned that liberation is within reach. Although it is a day of leisure he has assembled his entire work brigade for a little "overtime reeducation."

Document

The former head of the South Vietnamese Army Security Forces now works for the Army Staff in Hanoi.

"We are translating two documents which we received from the Army Staff in Hanoi," said Lai Duc Chuan.

Carefully the seven men cut page after page out of the two books and pass them around the table where they are translated to Vietnamese.

Lai Duc Chuan and his six men speak and write perfect English. The books were published in the United States, but are obviously antiamerican: "War Without Friends" by Thomas T. Thayer and "Rise and Fall of the American Army" by Shelby L. Shanton.

Lai Duc Chuan has learned fast. He came to Nam Ha in 1983 after eight years in another camp. Now he is hoping to be released soon.

"My family is waiting for me in Saigon. I have a wife and two children. And grandchildren whom I have only seen once."

Lai Duc Chuan says that he is honest when he talks about why he has learned to think in a new way--he realizes that the old life was wrong.

According to the camp commandant, Lai Duc Chuan's release is near at hand. In Ho Chi Minh City he will get a job which will relate to his linguistic ability.

Rice Rations

Even though the ideological readjustment was painful for Lai Duc Chuan and many, many others, neither he nor his fellow prisoners have experienced any physical need. The rice allowance is 15 kilo per person each month. The guards who do not work in the fields get 13 kilo. The inmates grow vegetables themselves, fish and meat are supplied according to the ration regulations, which is rather seldom.

There is a clinic at the camp with one doctor and two nurses. Furthermore some of the inmates are former military doctors.

Once a month the inmates can have visits from their relatives. Lieutenant Colonel Bui Duc Thai was among the leaders of South Vietnam's CIA. His wife Nguyen Minh Choung has not visited him for three months.

"It is very difficult to get here from Ho Chi Minh City," she said. "But I try at least once every three months."

Sells Furniture

She is dressed in a pretty embroidered blouse, the 180 mile trip and the occasion require a little extra. The couple had 24 or 48 hours together in a house outside the prison itself.

"I hope that my husband gets to come home soon. It is not easy to get along without him," said Nguyen Minh Choung. "The entire family is urging my husband to conduct himself so that he can come home."

"We are trying to get our students to understand that the Americans cheated them, that they are Vietnamese and they are needed in our new society. Family pressures make them realize that there is a life outside these walls," said Luu Van Han.

The "national reconciliation policy" is based largely on the traditional family bond. Almost every family had members on both sides. An example: South Vietnam's last president, Doung Van Minh, also a general in the Saigon Army, was not executed when he was captured in the presidential palace in Saigon. "Big Minh" had two brothers in high posts in the Saigon Army, but also a brother in the North Vietnamese Army, Colonel Doung Thanh Nhut.

"Blood feuds would have been understandable, but idiotic," said Luu Van Han. "It would have destroyed our policy of reconciling the country after a bitter war. It would have created tensions and oppositions which we did not want. Now we are showing humanity instead, that is the traditional Vietnamese way."

The entire Saigon Army, one-half million men and nearly 100,000 from the administration have gone through the reeducation camps since 1975. At least three days for the ordinary soldier, longer for higher officers and officials. According to several Vietnamese sources there are no more than 6,000 inmates in the entire country.

In 1975 Nam Ha had 3,800 inmates, now there are 350. Several of the inmates have been moved there from other camps in the country. They are the last, the hardest core of the defeated army.

"None of them will be here forever. We believe that we can reeducate even the hardest," said Luu Van Han.

Hardly. Former Colonel Nguyen Phuc (63) is being treated at the camp clinic for a bad cold.

Incorrigible Colonel

Nguyen Phuc was a colonel in the Riverine Forces on the Mekong River. As early as World War II and the Japanese occupation Nguyen Phuc was known as an energetic anticommunist. During the last weeks of the war in 1975 his Riverine Forces were mobilized into the Saigon Army, and they set up flying squads of martial law against deserters and soldiers considered to be

disloyal. Captured communist soldiers were not considered to be worth a formal trial. They were executed on the spot.

The former colonel speaks perfect English, but would not answer when I asked him about his life in Nam Ha. He just looked spitefully out the window, and then turned away. After a few diplomatic comments, Luu Van Han said:

"He is very dangerous, a mass murderer. We have problems with him. He has learned nothing."

Captions:

1. Nguyen Phuc, former colonel in the Riverine Forces on the Mekong River, refuses to let himself be "reeducated." As early as World War II and the Japanese occupation Nguyen Phuc was known as an energetic anticommunist. "He is very dangerous, a mass murderer," said Luu Van Han, commandant of the Nam Ha camp.

2. Former colonel Lai Duc Chuan, 60, has despite a day off assembled his work brigade for a little "reeducation overtime."

3. Lieutenant Colonel Bui Duc Thai is visited by his wife Nguyen Minh Choung every third month.

4. Pham Ba Hoa, former colonel and 56, has been in the camp since the end of the war in 1975. Now he manages the library at Nam Ha.

5. "We say students, not inmates," said the commandant of Nam Ha, police colonel Luu Van Han.

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CSO:3650/103

EDITORIAL SEES NEW DIRECTIVE AS RESTORING DEMOCRACY TO ELECTIONS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 24 Feb 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Complying with the Directive of the Political Bureau Concerning the National Assembly and People's Councils Elections"]

[Text] The Political Bureau directive on the upcoming 8th National Assembly election, a directive that takes a new approach in keeping with the spirit of the 6th Congress, has been hailed by the people of Ho Chi Minh City and has their support and confidence. It is the overriding spirit of the directive that has drawn most attention: "The election must be conducted on the basis of adopting new thinking and new procedures."

This spirit must be correctly reflected in the selection of candidates. Persons nominated for election to the National Assembly and people's councils, in addition to meeting the standards of being loyal to the fatherland, recording achievements, setting good examples, being practical, knowing the thoughts and aspirations of the people and wholeheartedly serving the people, also must: "Possess the spirit of change, boldly present the opinions and aspirations of the people, forthrightly struggle to defend the interests of the citizen and combat mistakes and negative phenomena. Standards must not be lowered just to meet the requirements regarding the make-up of the National Assembly and people's councils. The election must be truly democratic without pressure being brought to bear on anyone and attention must be paid to the opinions of the people and worker collectives in nominating persons for election. There must be more candidates for election than there are deputies to be elected."

The Political Bureau directive reflects the long-held thinking, concerns and questions of the people concerning the lack of democracy in recent elections and satisfies the desire of the people for true democracy in the election of the National Assembly and the election of the people's councils on the various levels. Only in this way is it possible to select persons who truly represent the basic interests of the laboring people and are able to insure the performance of tasks in the new stage of the revolution. It must be said that more than a few deputies of the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels have long failed to fulfill their task of representing the people in the areas of presenting the opinions and aspirations of the citizen, protecting the interests of the citizen and combating mistakes and negative

phenomena. This situation exists partly because these persons were not truly selected by voters through elections. Pressure has been brought to bear in the nomination of candidates at many places. The number of persons nominated for election has been very small compared to the number of deputies to be elected. At some places, the number of candidates has only equalled the required number of deputies to be elected, thus depriving voters of the opportunity to select persons they trust. It is thus easy to understand why some deputies elected under these circumstances have displayed a lack of responsibility to the people. Many places that have consulted citizens, have surveyed and solicited their opinions have actually only been practicing democracy in name only because, in practice, they have failed to act on the basis of constructive opinions offered by citizens. In some cases, the names of persons who have the trust of the broad masses and were nominated following careful examination of their qualifications have not appeared on ballots. On the other hand, at more than a few places, the various party committee echelons and levels of administration have not respected and upheld or truly respected and upheld the role of the agencies elected by citizens. This has led to elections that have failed to meet qualitative requirements and have violated the law. At some times and places, elected representatives of the people who perform their duty in accordance with the provisions of the law have been viewed with contempt and even extorted by a number of party and administration cadres.

Due to the lack of democracy, although voter turnout has been very large with each election, it must be acknowledged that few persons have felt any enthusiasm for a very important duty that should generate among the masses a sense of confidence, a sense of specific responsibility regarding their right to be the masters of society. The majority of voters have been performing their duty out of consideration for the party and the administration and also to avoid being considered as "lacking a constructive spirit." The political significance and influence of recent elections, therefore, have been very limited.

Public opinion in the city is expressing the hope that the upcoming elections will truly reflect a change, will truly be democratic in keeping with the spirit of the Political Bureau. The people also hope that following the election of these executive agencies, the various party committee echelons and levels of administration will truly respect the supreme authority of these elected bodies as stipulated in the Constitution. Only this will verify and mark a true change in political thinking as we struggle to gradually establish a system of socialist democracy that truly reflects the character and principles of Marxism-Leninism, a system of democracy which Lenin said is "100 times more democratic than bourgeois democracy."

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CSO: 4209/389

FURTHER REVISIONS TO WAGE POLICY SUGGESTED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 24 Feb 87 pp 1, 2

[Speak Frankly, Speak the Truth Forum by Le Tung Hieu, Ho Chi Minh City University: "The Viewpoints and Value Standards of the Wage Policy Must Be Re-Examined"]

[Text] The economy and production of the country can only be stimulated and developed by means of a basic motivating force that cultivates and builds upon the economic interests and class awareness of the laborer. We frequently talk about productivity, production costs, volume of business, business revenues, profits and so forth at a time when the material interests of the laborer are only being looked after in a partial and piecemeal fashion and, to some extent, in a way that suits convenience. The recent "reforms" in the fields of prices, wages and money have made the situation more confused, reduced real wages and increased the egalitarian nature of wages. At present, wages are not, generally speaking, sufficient to fully replenish the energies expended in work and the trend is downward. The basic wage makes up a very small percentage of the overall wage. Income differentials are not based on anything. The subsidy and bonus policies are also unsystematic. At any one point in time, a cadre, manual worker or civil servant receives income under dozens of different "standards" but his or her combined income generally does not exceed a few thousand dong! These "drop by drop" allotments only serve to cause the "blossoming" of an administrative management-living conditions-financial affairs-bookkeeping apparatus that is extremely cumbersome and busy and also very bureaucratic and often not involved in any way with the work of the unit.

The "red alert" concerning wages is now past the point of signalling an emergency. A Ph.D. in nuclear physics earns 600 dong per month, "less than the guy who sells noodles on the street!" A writer's compensation is not enough to buy a cup of coffee. Even educators "go around in rags"! Or, viewed from a different perspective, the salary of an "orchestra conductor" is higher than that of an enterprise director. A college instructor is remunerated under standards that are no different than those that apply to administrative personnel on a much lower level. The wages (and other standards) of the commerce and service sectors are higher than those of the

production sectors! No honest worker, regardless of how high a level of productivity, quality and efficiency he achieves, can support himself on his wage.

In summary, the current wage and salary policy still does not provide incentive to work. It has reached the point where more than a few persons seeking a job in economic units and the apparatus of the state are doing so more for the "standing" they will achieve than the wage they will receive. Some of these persons are using this "standing" to gain income in ways that are unwholesome. The combination of all these factors creates a practice of earning "illicit wages" and pervasive social injustice.

However, as long as the production situation is not truly "cleared up" and money and prices are unstable, this will be an area in which we cannot act impetuously and demand "instant reform." Rather, we must take the time to conduct thorough research and adopt concrete measures that are "certain to succeed" one step at a time, in one sector at a time in a systematic and well coordinated manner. In this process, in my opinion, it is necessary to redefine the views and take another look at the value standards that form the basis of the wage and salary policy. I think that we should directly include compensation for losses and price subsidies in wages and, on this basis, establish wage scales that are "less backward" for the different sectors and trades. The wage and salary policy must be based at least on the following four factors: 1. qualifications in the basic sciences and skill in management, the technical sciences, a special field, a profession and so forth (this factor demands that units and society assume higher responsibility in the training and assignment of cadres, particularly cadres in the technical sciences); 2. the contributions made by sectors in the following order of priority: the scientific-technical sectors--the culture, education, public health and public security sectors, which especially demand absolute purity--the direct production sectors--the indirect production sectors and commerce--the administrative sector...; 3. the interests related to one's position, seniority and skill: clear wage and salary differentials must be established among different positions and, consequently, different levels of contribution to and responsibility for the results of the unit's work must also be established (thus, leadership and management cadres who have much seniority and are highly skilled or whose training is expensive and requires much time absolutely must receive a salary that is many times higher than persons who have no responsibilities, only have secondary responsibilities or are unskilled and have less seniority; 4. other bases: distinctions must also be made in accordance with the following order of priority: mental labor, manual labor, complex labor, simple labor, strenuous, dangerous labor, idle light labor, direct production, indirect production, productive labor and work in distribution and circulation.

Uniform standards for the subsidies and aid paid for from the welfare funds of localities, units and the trade unions must be established. The number of persons receiving aid must be reduced and the quality of aid must be increased so that we put an end to the practice of granting "sweeping" aid, so "sweeping" that aid is given to families who have good businesses in the household economy but aid does not help in any way to make things better for those persons who are truly experiencing difficulties and shortages.

As regards bonuses, they must be directly based on the specific results of work and the method and manner in which work is completed. We must stop basing bonuses on general "ethics," a practice which is used, more often than not, to camouflage a passive, irresponsible attitude, activism that is only on the surface or personal feelings and relationships. In particular, we must re-examine the practice of placing limits on bonuses. why do we not place limits--specific and official limits--on items that should be limited: funds for banquets and receptions on the upper level and for inspection groups, also for "official trips" overseas and the "official missions" to remote provinces which many units spend very generously! A director in the textile sector lamented: placing limits on bonuses for cadres, manual workers and civil servants is to limit how hard they work! And units, to help their cadres, manual workers and civil servants, must do so by greatly increasing the product bonuses they pay. The result is that many merchants have had an opportunity to buy up goods!

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CSO: 4209/389

HO CHI MINH CITY CADRES STUDY 6TH CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 22 Feb 87 p 1

[Article: "Municipal Party Committee Holds Cadre Conference To Study the Resolution of the Party Congress"]

[Text] (SGGP).--A cadre conference to study the resolution of the 6th National Congress of the party and the resolution of the 4th Municipal Party Organization Congress was held by the Municipal Party Committee on 19, 20 and 21 February with the participation of more than 700 cadres.

At the various discussion sessions, having studied and gained a thorough understanding of the basic views set forth in the resolution of the 6th Congress, many delegates analyzed the situation in Ho Chi Minh City in light of these views and contributed many specific ideas to the agenda of the Municipal Party Committee in 1987, the first year in the implementation of the resolution of the party congress. In 1987, under this agenda, the Municipal Party Committee will focus its efforts on providing leadership in the following major areas:

- 1) Gaining a thorough understanding and organizing the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Congress, the agenda of the Municipal Party Committee for 1987 and the socio-economic plan of the municipality for 1987;
- 2) Formulating a plan for the implementation of the three major economic programs: grain-food products, consumer goods and export goods;
- 3) Adopting a resolution on the development of the municipality's industry in order to support the implementation of the three goal-oriented programs, socio-economic development within the entire region and economic cooperation with Cambodia and Laos;
- 4) Adopting a resolution on the development of science and technology within the municipality;
- 5) Adopting a resolution on ideological work and a plan for carrying out the three major campaigns to build the party, increasing the management effectiveness of the state apparatus and making inroads against and abolish negative phenomena in and outside society;

6) Adopting a plan for revamping the organization, planning and training of management cadres and formulating work regulations of the Municipal Party Committee;

7) Formulating the municipality's socio-economic plan for the 5 years from 1986 to 1990 and its socio-economic plan for 1988.

Addressing the conference, Municipal Party Committee Secretary Vo Tran Chi analyzed the basic views and stressed the important contents that must be thoroughly understood of the resolution of the 6th Congress. He pointed out: at this conference and the upcoming conferences to be held on the various levels to study the resolution, it is necessary to guard against merely arriving at a simplistic consensus. Rather, we must deeply analyze and study the resolution of the 6th Congress in order to truly gain a good understanding of it for the purpose of translating this understanding into actions, not to simply commit the resolution to memory and not express our understanding of it in practical actions.

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CSO: 4209/325

CASH SHORTAGE CURTAILS HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION IN HO CHI MINH CITY

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 21 Feb 87 p 1

[Article by D. C.: "Due to Shortages of Cash, Industrial-Small Industry and Handicraft Production in the 11th Precinct Has Yet To Return to Normal; Many Basic Units Have Temporarily Halted Production or Reduced the Level of Production"]

[Text] (SGGP).--As of mid-February 1987, as is the case at many other places and due to difficulties with cash, production within the 11th Precinct--a key small industry and handicraft production precinct--has yet to return to normal. Many basic units have temporarily halted production or are only operating at a reduced level of production with the aim of providing the smallest possible amount of work to their workers. Production at the basic units within the glass sector, one of the precinct's leading sectors, is stagnating. In the 7th Subward, as many as seven basic units have sought permission to disband entirely. Hundreds of cooperative members at Jute Rug Cooperative Number 1 and the Rattan and Bamboo Cooperative are encountering many difficulties in their daily lives due to their low incomes, many persons are out of work...

During the past few weeks, many basic production units within the collective sector have had to borrow cash from the people at high interest rates or been forced to sell furniture and ornamental accessories to pay wages. The Quyet Tien Aluminum Cooperative recently had to borrow more than 560,000 dong in cash to pay wages and bonuses to its members. The management boards of a number of cooperative teams in the 6th Subward (Thien Hang, Minh Chanh...) had to sell ornamental accessories, motorbikes...

In addition, the 2,000 basic production units in the precinct are also contending with many other acute difficulties, such as soaring material prices and the steady erosion of their business capital.

It has been estimated that, in February 1987, the value of the output of the 11th Precinct's industrial-small industry and handicraft sector declined by more than 10 percent compared to January.

The basic production units within the precinct suggest that they be given true autonomy in their production and business and be treated as equals in trade

relations. When they sell products, they must be paid promptly so that they can use this money in reproduction. Their capital should not continue to be tied up at the bank. Only in this way is it possible to resolve some of the difficulties and obstacles being encountered today.

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CSO: 4209/325

HOAN KIEM WARD CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON NEW REGULATIONS

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 11 Mar 87 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Pham Van Hong, chairman of the Hoan Kiem Ward People's Committee: "The Specific Problems Must Be Resolved..."]

[Text] Question: the policies adopted to date by the party and state and by the municipality have, generally speaking, been correct and opened new prospects for production and living conditions. However, the impact of these policies has often been limited, simply because their implementation has not been thoroughly organized, thus causing a lack of confidence on the part of the masses.

The new regulations of the municipality, of course, are welcomed by everyone. However, persons still complain: will this policy be thoroughly implemented on a permanent basis? Do the cadres and people of Hoan Kiem Ward share this attitude?

Answer: yes, they do. The attitude is the same throughout Hanoi. Some persons still jokingly say: "When I'm earning a high income, will I have to go explain myself to someone?" Of course, this is the old way of thinking. But it does reflect an attitude with which leaders must openly concern themselves. The party committee and people's committee of our ward have asserted that we must combat the thinking of being afraid that producers will earn high incomes. Anyone who earns a high income by legitimate means will be encouraged and protected by the state. When the people are prosperous, the country is strong.

Question: but the concept of "becoming wealthy by legitimate means" is frequently understood in many different ways...

Answer: many documents of the state and legal and economic management agencies provide rather specific regulations concerning this matter. As we implement the new policy of the municipality, I am confident that the public security, finance, commerce, tax affairs, small industry and other sectors will issue specific instructions and regulations of their own to insure that this new policy quickly becomes a part of life and makes an impact at an early date.

Question: within the scope of its function and authority, what regulations can the ward issue right now to begin to assure persons who are still reserving judgment?

Answer: while awaiting specific instructions from the sectors on the municipal level, our ward is issuing regulations requiring the sectors within the locality and the administration on the lower level to only conduct inspections and take action, in exact accordance with the law, in cases that clearly involve speculation, black marketing, the manufacture of fake goods and the operation of an illegal business. Arbitrary inspections and arrests are prohibited.

Within the scope of the responsibility assigned to it, the ward is requiring that the functional offices and committees of the ward formulate regulations governing the responsibilities of each cadre and all personnel and requiring that these regulations be strictly implemented. The ward will conduct routine inspections, offer timely praise and awards and take prompt action against violations of regulations, especially willful violations, action which will include prosecution under the law.

Question: under the new policy, how does the ward benefit from the standpoint of the circulation of goods and market management in Hoan Kiem?

Answer: in our economic ties with the various localities within and outside the municipality, the purposes of which are to develop potentials and support one another in the areas of capital, materials and technology in order to accelerate the development of production and the services, our ward will attach very much importance to developing the supply of agricultural and food products through a two-way flow of goods. The subwards will also be guided by the ward in expanding their economic ties in this direction.

In the management of the market, we will continue to reorganize the product sectors at the outdoor markets and along the streets and create the conditions for businesses and producers to market the products they make in the spirit of developing their own sources of materials and marketing their goods on their own. At the same time, we will suggest that the municipality eliminate those forms of joint marketing businesses that are ineffective.

Question: "Do the temporary regulations of the municipality need to be amended in any way in order to improve these regulations before they become official?"

Answer: in my opinion, the municipality should adopt specific policies and regulations aimed at encouraging overseas Vietnamese as well as persons who are working or studying abroad to send equipment, materials, capital and so forth home for use in production. These policies must include provisions guaranteeing the value of the capital sent home and telling the ward how to use these types of materials and capital. At present, practically everyone is sending back consumer goods and some luxury items.

As regards economic contract relations, private producers have long been prevented from signing production contracts with agencies and ordering units.

Only production teams have been able to do this. Therefore, many places have forced household producers to establish teams. We suggest that household producers also be given the full status of an individual under the law so that they can sign production contracts directly with agencies.

We are taking urgent steps to strengthen production teams. Any team that is very weak and is not making an impact will be disbanded and returned to household production.

On the other hand, the policy on bank deposits has not been revamped since the money exchange. The value of the money that cooperatives, production teams and producers have on deposit in the bank is the old value. Meanwhile, material prices have risen many times. More than a few units no longer have enough capital to operate. We suggest that appropriate interest rates be set for the various types of funds deposited in the bank by producers. Only in this way is it possible to guarantee the value of capital in production-business operations.

Once the specific problems have been solved, I feel certain that our ward will undergo strong changes in the development of production and the services.

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CSO: 4209/391

NEW BANK REGULATIONS ENCOURAGE PRIVATE PRODUCTION IN HANOI

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 10 Mar 87 pp 1, 4

[Article: "The Municipal Bank Stipulates: Private Producers and Members of the Household Economy May Open and Use Accounts as They Wish Without Having To Submit a List of Estimated Expenditures in Advance and Without Limits on the Amount of Money Withdrawn; in Addition To Taking Out Loans To Pay Production Costs, Loans Can Also Be Taken Out To Buy Tools; the State Bank Is Prepared To Buy in Cash and at Prices Close to Market Prices Gold, Silver and Precious Gems from Anyone Without Demanding That Papers Be Presented and Without Inquiring as to the Source"]

[Text] In order to create the conditions for and encourage the development of the private and household economies in accordance with the latest decisions of the Municipal People's Committee, the Hanoi State Bank has concretized a number of matters in the field of banking activities:

1) Private producers or businesses in the household economy may, on their own initiative, open an account at a savings fund, a credit cooperative or the nearest ward or district state bank. Upon proving themselves to be trustworthy, they may deposit money, make payments to persons with whom they do business and borrow capital when necessary, depending upon the nature and scale of their activities:

--Small-scale businesses that have no need for trade relations with other businesses may open an account at a savings fund or credit cooperative.

--In cases (either individuals or organizations) involving widespread trade on a relatively large scale requiring the procurement of raw materials from and the sale of products to customers in and outside the municipality, an account can be opened at the ward or district state bank.

All that is needed to open an account is a request by a producer or businessman. The only procedures required by the savings fund, credit cooperative and bank will be those that are necessary to insure the safety of the account-holder's property.

2) Persons who open an account and deposit money in a savings fund, credit cooperative or the bank may withdraw cash as state-operated units do to

procure raw materials for production, pay workers and make household expenditures. Withdrawing money from the account is the right of the depositor, who need not submit an expenditures estimate or plan, need not state the purpose for the withdrawal and need not limit the amount of each withdrawal to anything more than the balance in the account. Account-holders, depending upon their trustworthiness in the eyes of customers and the bank, may use one or more forms of payment, as cooperatives and state-operated units do.

3) Regarding the interest rates on deposits and loans, while awaiting official instructions from the bank on the upper level, the Hanoi Bank has adopted the following temporary regulations:

--Ordinary producers and businessmen who do not have relations with the state, regardless of where they have their account (at a savings fund, credit cooperative or the bank) are governed by the current deposit and loan interest rate policies of the savings funds.

--In cases involving economic relations with the state (for example, contract work for the state), the current low interest rates of the bank on deposits and loans apply.

As regards creating sources of capital and borrowing capital when necessary:

Producers and businessmen are encouraged to utilize all the capital they have acquired on their own to organize production, produce additional goods for society and increase their own incomes.

In the case of a producer, businessman or someone in the services who needs capital and wants to sell gold, silver or precious gems, the state bank (the Gold and Silver Corporation) is ready to buy gold, silver or precious gems from them in cash at negotiated prices close to market prices without demanding that papers of any kind be presented and without inquiring about the source. If the items are personal jewelry and this jewelry is a keepsake with which the customer does not wish to part, the bank will loan money by the pawn and redeem method (that is, will provide pawnbroker services).

Producers and businessmen, once they have made full use of their self-acquired capital, can borrow money from the bank not only to meet production costs, but also to purchase production tools (including small machines). For the first 2 years of the loan, producers will be charged the minimum interest rate in the interest rate scale set by the Central Bank (with the exception of the food and beverage sector).

7809

CSO: 4209/391

HANOI READER SUGGESTS DOCTORS BE ALLOWED TO MOONLIGHT

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 5 Mar 87 p 1

[Readers' Opinions column: "On Permitting Medical Examinations and Treatment To Be Provided After Hours"]

[Text] As a citizen who has an average standard of living, I heartily welcome the policy of the municipality permitting retired doctors to give private medical examinations and provide private medical treatment. This policy not only has the effect of improving the living conditions of retired cadres, but also truly meets medical needs of the people. To ignore the skills of retired doctors at a time when all hospitals are "overcrowded" is a waste.

However, in addition, I would like to say that many persons want the municipality to also permit doctors who are currently on the job--particularly talented persons--to work after their regular hours as the Vietnam-Cuba Hospital has done in its dentistry department. In life today, if it costs several thousand dong to repair a motor vehicle, it seems perfectly reasonable to me for a doctor whose goes to a home to assist a woman in childbirth to receive remuneration, and thousands of women would register for this service provided that they know who the doctor will be. That is, it must be a doctor they trust. In the case of surgery for a hernia or a tonsillectomy, if performed personally by a skilled surgeon, even if performed after regular work hours and for a charge, patients will be willing to pay, which would still be better than receiving medical treatment during regular hours and having to wait, to keep coming back. And, the cost of filter cigarettes and gifts is not cheap either.

Our society should not be egalitarian. Anyone who is skilled and respected by the people should be compensated in a manner befitting their talent and dedication. For this reason, we suggest that skilled, trusted doctors be allowed to work after regular hours, either in their private homes, at public health facilities or at the homes of patients. And, it is only through this struggle, through this selection process that hospitals will become hospitals, doctors will become doctors and the practice of greasing palms and giving gifts will be stopped.

Some will ask, where is medicine to be obtained? We should not worry about this. Because, if durable goods such as refrigerators, autoclaves and Honda Cub motorcycles are brought in from foreign countries, medicine will be much more readily available. With both doctors and medicine available, the citizen will not hesitate to contribute...

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7809
CSO: 4209/370

READER HAILS NEW REGULATIONS IN HANOI

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 6 Mar 87 p 1

[Readers' Opinions column: "Hopeful and Confident"]

[Text] I am a resident of Hanoi and am currently working in Tien Giang. I am a regular reader of HANOI MOI Newspaper and NHAN DAN Newspaper, mainly to keep abreast of developments in Hanoi.

I was very happy to see that both HANOI MOI and NHAN DAN carried a very important piece of news on their first page, namely, the recent adoption by the Hanoi People's Committee of temporary regulations concerning a number of policies that encourage private production, the household economy and the service trades, encourage the introduction of scientific and technical advances in production and the expansion of the circulation of grain, agricultural products and other food products for sale within the municipality, concerning a number of policies regarding retired manual workers and civil servants and concerning several policies regarding the responsibility of administration agencies to the people.

In my opinion, the above mentioned regulations of the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee are a very new expression of the adoption of a new style of work in the capital and are not only of interest to the compatriots and cadres of Hanoi, but are also being attentively followed by many cadres and compatriots nationwide.

With regard to increasing the responsibility of administration agencies to the people, the regulations of the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee are quite specific: the subward people's committees are responsible, within the scope of their jurisdiction, for reporting to the specialized agencies matters occurring within the subward that are related to the living conditions of the people, such as matters related to water and electricity service, sewer lines, roads and so forth. The responsible agencies must send personnel to correct the problem immediately. If a problem persists for more than 2 days, the director of the service or sector must use the mass media to inform the people about the situation and the measures being taken to deal with it.

As a person from Hanoi who is currently living far away, I think that if the administrations on the various levels within the capital do a good job of

implementing these regulations (even if only 70 percent of these regulations), they will successfully fulfill their valuable function as the servant of the people.

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7809

CSO: 4209/370

HANOI CONTROL SECTOR OUTLINES TASKS FOR 1987

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 6 Mar 87 pp 1, 4

[Article: "In 1987, the Municipal People's Control Sector Will: Bring to Light and Promptly Prosecute Crimes That Impede the Implementation of the Three Major Economic Programs; Combat Negative Phenomena That Thwart the Display of Dynamism and Creativity in Production; and Combat Abuse of Authority and Intimidation of Law-abiding Persons"]

[Text] The Hanoi People's Organ of Control has held a conference to review its work in 1986 and discuss and adopt its guidelines and tasks for 1987.

During its first work session, Nguyen Thanh Binh, secretary of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee, presented to the conference a number of basic views set forth in the Resolution of the 6th Congress and suggested a number of requirements concerning outlook and measures to be adopted when performing the control function in order to effectively support the process of implementing the Resolution, particularly in the field of socio-economic management. He stated: in view of its weighty responsibility of defending the law on behalf of the state, the control sector, as well as its cadres and personnel, must constantly cultivate revolutionary thinking, a revolutionary style and revolutionary ethics in order to possess an unbiased, pure attitude and not do anything that adversely affects the people's confidence in the party and state. On the other hand, on the basis of thoroughly comprehending the revolutionary views set forth in the resolution of the 6th Congress, it is necessary to quickly grasp and deeply understand the new positions and measures concerning the development of production, the improvement of living conditions and the creation of jobs that were recently promulgated by the municipality in order to defend that which is correct, support dynamism and avoid being rigid and mechanical. It is also necessary to take determined action against those who intentionally and seriously violate policies and principles. Control cadres and personnel must be clear-sighted and calm when examining the various situations that arise in production activities and everyday life following the adoption of the Resolution of the 6th Congress.

Guided by the thoughts expressed by the secretary of the Municipal People's Committee, the conference seriously evaluated the work of the sector in 1986, the salient aspects of which were:

Criminal control work provided relatively close support of the municipality's political tasks. Progress was made in control work in the areas of arrests and detentions, thereby reducing to some extent the number of mistakes made in these areas. Importance was attached to receiving the people and examining their complaints. A pure corps was built. The shortcomings that must be corrected are: many jobs are performed slowly and in a way that is not well coordinated and little preventive work is being performed. Efforts to assess and deal with the crime situation are limited and ineffective.

As regards the tasks and guidelines for 1987, the three major economic programs are the focus of the efforts of the Hanoi people's control sector. In the process of struggling against violations of the law and crimes, importance will be attached to the force of the law.

As regards the economy, control work will focus on the implementation of policies and laws on the management of capital and materials, the signing and implementation of economic contracts and the management of prices, product quality and the collection and delivery of products. Crimes and other violations of the law that impede the implementation of the three programs or are committed against socialist property or the life of the people will be brought to light and dealt with promptly. Importance will be attached to such key sectors as industry, the handicraft trades, the grain and food sector, the commerce sector, the communications-transportation sector and the export-import sector.

In addition, importance must also be attached to supporting the transformation and management of the market by bringing to light and promptly dealing with speculation, black marketing, the manufacture of fake goods and illegal businesses and insuring that the state controls money, goods and strategic materials.

Violations of the law against socialist property will be harshly prosecuted, with attention to important cases. Determined action will be taken against cadres and personnel who degenerate, become deviant or use their authority to violate the law. The protection of socialist property must always be closely tied to establishing the new mechanism, strengthening and protecting the new production relations and helping to restore order and rule of law.

Administrative prosecution by those sectors that have this function will be inspected with the aims of guiding their actions to insure compliance with the law and combating negative phenomena that impede the display of dynamism and creativity by basic production units and producers, with attention to the ward, district, city, subward and village levels and the public security, tax affairs and commerce sectors.

As regards protecting the democratic rights of the people, a relentless struggle will be waged against persons who abuse their authority and suppress and intimidate law-abiding, honest persons. Unlawful arrests, searches and confiscations of property will be effectively stopped. Violations of judicial law will be dealt with harshly in keeping with spirit of the Code of Criminal Law.

More inspections will be conducted into the handling of complaints and denunciations by the people in all sectors and on all levels, with attention to those sectors that have frequent contact with the people and places where the people have filed many complaints, with a view toward putting a stop to violations of the democratic freedoms of the people and resolving cases of unjust accusations among the people.

Arrests and prosecution will be more closely inspected. From the municipality to the wards, districts and cities, it is necessary to build upon the results that were achieved last year. At the same time, it is necessary to rectify shortcomings and learn from the experience gained in applying the different work methods with the aim of improving the quality of inspections.

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CSO: 4209/370

READERS URGE SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW REGULATIONS IN HANOI

Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese 6 Mar 87 pp 1, 4

[Readers' Opinions column: "The New Regulations of the Municipality Must Be Implemented Well"]

[Text] The Municipal People's Committee recently issued regulations and temporary regulations concerning a number of policies that encourage private production, the household economy and the service sectors. We are both happy and concerned. We are happy because these important policies are designed to stimulate production, provide jobs to workers, provide additional goods to society... However, we are also concerned because the experience of many years has shown that a rather large number of policies of the municipality have not been thoroughly implemented by the various levels and sectors. Permit us to cite a few examples: the regulations governing state-operated and private commerce concerning the registration of prices and the sale of goods at posted prices were only supervised by the price, tax affairs and market management sectors for a short time and were then ignored. The practice of "closing rivers to traffic and banning markets" has been abolished but some agencies that have the authority to inspect goods at piers and bus depots and along roads still operate in a very arbitrary manner...

In order for the new regulations of the municipality to produce good results, allow us to make the following three suggestions:

The Municipal People's Council should soon study and ratify the temporary regulations and make them official.

The responsible agencies and sectors, such as the Association of Interbranch Handicraft Cooperatives, the tax affairs sector, the labor sector and the market management sector, together with local administrations, should take urgent steps to gain a thorough understanding of the spirit of these regulations in order to take specific measures to enable producers to expand and develop the trades and the circulation of goods.

Units and individuals that implement the regulations well must be promptly praised and rewarded. Persons who create difficulties and pose obstacles to

the production and circulation of goods must be harshly dealt with and the action taken against them must be publicly announced in order to serve as a deterrent.

Hoang Van and a number of other readers

Concern for the Development of Household Livestock Production

Recently, household livestock production in urban Hanoi has been accelerated. However, there are still some problems that need to be examined and resolved. Many families raise large hogs and fat chickens but because the price policy is unreasonable and inflexible and due to a lack of concern for developing sources of goods on the part of responsible agencies, a rather large number of these hogs and chickens wind up in the hands of private merchants. Little concern is being shown for providing breeding stock and feed for household livestock production and the veterinary service network is still underdeveloped, consequently, the results of livestock production are not good. Many families have all the conditions they need to raise livestock but cannot because they lack capital.

In my opinion, if the responsible agencies give their attention to resolving the above mentioned problems, household livestock production will develop more strongly and yield considerable economic returns.

Ha Phuong

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CSO: 4209/370

NEW PROCEDURES IMPROVE HANOI VEGETABLE PROCUREMENT

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] Since signing a contract to purchase vegetables directly without going through district trade corporations, vegetable purchasing by the Hanoi Vegetable-Fruit Corporation has been extremely convenient. Cooperatives are responsible for delivering vegetables in accordance with the plan. The corporation receives vegetables and delivers exchange goods. The corporation picks up rice at the grain service granary and transports it all the way to the vegetable growing cooperatives. Nitrate fertilizer and vegetable seed are also delivered directly in this manner. The corporation maintains original exchange goods prices and does not charge cooperatives for transportation.

For rapid goods delivery, the corporation requests that cooperatives send someone along to the exchange goods warehouse to make a "tripartite" receipt and to accompany the corporation vehicle back to the cooperatives.

Impediments in goods exchange have been that the corporation does not supply sufficient rice and nitrate fertilizer according to plan. At the end of 1986, the grain sector owed the corporation 820 tons of rice and the agricultural sector owed 110 tons of nitrate fertilizer. Beginning the first quarter of 1987, these sectors repaid only 50 tons of nitrate fertilizer and had an order to repay 170 tons of rice. This not only caused the corporation difficulty in acquiring sources of vegetables but only caused difficulty for the producer.

From a situation of goods exchange figured by the ton of delivered vegetables, the corporation has now improved methods of calculating the proportion by the vegetable type (high level or common) and by the vegetable delivery period. April and December are the preharvest months each year. If a cooperative has vegetables to deliver during those periods, a much greater goods exchange ratio is received. For example: the sale of 5 kilograms of kohlrabi during the preharvest season is worth 1 kilogram of rice. When vegetables are abundant, this proportion is 6 kilograms of kohlrabi for 1 kilogram of rice. The purchase price of vegetables is also flexible. For example: the price of the same variety of vegetable during March is 1.5 times greater than the January price and the April price is doubled.

The timely methods above have assisted the corporation to purchase large quantities of kohlrabi and cabbage during this present period at the end of March, and have contributed toward reduction of the tense situation during the preharvest period.

RAW MATERIALS PROBLEM FOR CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 24 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Nguyen Ky, Ministry of Light Industry: "Developing Raw Materials To Support Consumer Goods Production Program"]

[Text] In our country, the material and technical base for creating a source of raw materials is still too small and nonsymmetrical, and there is still no firm raw material source to answer the needs of consumer goods production facilities. In the 1981-1985 5-year plan, the proportion of imported raw materials accounted for 55 to 58 percent, including a number of which 100 percent had to imported.

Raw material requirements to achieve the consumer goods production program in the 1986-1990 plan are 1.5 to 2 times the volume of raw materials actually used in the 1981-1986 plan. This demands that the small industry sector coordinate with ministries, sectors and localities in gradually building a material base to create firm sources of domestic raw materials.

First of all, it is necessary to develop raw material region projection in traditional localities such as the cotton growing regions of Phu Khanh, Thuan Hai and Dong Nai provinces, and a number of other local areas with development conditions. Efforts must be made by 1990 for domestically produced cotton fiber output to supply weaving enterprises with about 5 percent of their requirements. On that basis, the cotton crop can be developed on a large scale by the beginning of the year 2000.

Recently, a development trend has occurred in sericulture although the rate is still extremely slow. The primary difficulty is that domestic consumption is still too small and more expensive than viscose silk. For export, the silk quality does not meet requirements. A few localities such as Quang Nam-Da Nang have solved the consumption problem and have assisted the sericulture sector there in a development trend. The problem is a need for major investment in the industrial processing and technical steps to raise the quality of silk production. The Federation of Weaving Enterprises (of the Ministry of Light Industry) is coordinating with the provinces of Lam Dong and Nghia Binh from the study and selection of mulberry varieties and raising of silkworms to final product processing, and has assisted the sericulture sectors of these localities to work effectively.

Jute regions have been formed and are developing. Provinces raising jute in the Red River Delta have stabilized the area and increased yields to a fairly high level. Jute raising provinces in the Mekong Delta are expanding the area in fields of unstable rice production.

Sisal has better quality fiber than jute and can be developed on a large scale in regions of sand and gravel soil where rice and subsidiary food crops cannot be grown in the coastal midland provinces from Thanh Hoa to Thuan Hai. The districts of Quynh Luu in Nghe Tinh Province and Minh Son in Thuan Hai Province are presently raising sisal on a large scale. In the not too distant future, after the soil is cleared of acid and salt, jute crops will give way to rice in the fertile fields and sisal will be projected to replace jute in the production of bags and other products.

Ramie is easy to grow, has many better expectations than all the other hard fiber crops, and can be strongly developed in the provinces of Lang Son, Ha Bac, Lai Chau, Son La, Thanh Hoa and Nghe Tinh, and a number of provinces in the Mekong Delta and in Dong Thap Muoi [the Plain of Reeds]. During the next few years, ramie can be projected and test grown in Ba Thuoc of Thanh Hoa Province.

Raw materials to support the food processing industry such as sugarcane, tea, oil crops, vegetables and fruit have and are being projected by the state and local areas.

The maintenance, raising and protection of 200,000 hectares of bamboo concentrated in the provinces of Bac Thai, Hoang Lien Son, Ha Tuyen, Son La, Thanh Hoa, Lam Dong, Dong Nai, Song Be, etc. must be properly organized to provide raw materials for the paper sector. The raising of broad-leafed trees for the Vinh Phu and Tan Mai paper mills in projected regions must be swiftly developed. The pine tree, the best raw material for paper, has long affirmed Lam Dong as its home, and the Ministry of Light Industry and Lam Dong Province People's Committee have projected 25,000 hectares for raising pine to serve as paper raw material in the year 2000 and subsequent years.

Kaolin is the main raw material of the pottery and ceramic sectors. Regrettably, kaolin has received no unified projection or management organization for a long time. A number of basic production units and people have freely exploited and excavated kaolin in an extremely wasteful manner. During the next few years, the Ministry of Light Industry and General Department of Mines and Geology will coordinate with ministries, sectors and local areas in organizing unified projection and management of kaolin raw materials throughout the country, and will simultaneously organize exploitation aimed at satisfying the requirements of all basic pottery and ceramic units.

Concerning investment, it must also be affirmed that without capital and labor, there can be no raw material production facilities. However, we cannot simply wait for a source of state capital but must mobilize sources of independently acquired capital, consisting of capital from the local area, enterprises, basic raw material production units and the people. Naturally,

it is not easy to mobilize these capital sources without an economic policy aimed at stimulating and ensuring the economic interests of the investor.

When speaking of investment, some think that full investment is required before raw materials can be created. Nevertheless, some types of raw materials such as cotton are from crops extremely difficult to calculate, and even if investment is complete, the state during the next several years will still not have the capability because the capital requirements are fairly large. However, the cotton crop is in a development trend. This is thanks to the determination of local party committee echelons and correct policies in the investment process for the cotton crop.

In science and technology, technical advances must be rapidly introduced to the raw material production process. Economic and technical sectors at the central level have a responsibility for disseminating and providing guidance for advanced industrial processes consistent with the economic environment of each locality aimed at effectively assisting basic raw material production units. The problem of propagating and organizing production of varieties with growth processes consistent with the climate and soil of Vietnam and with stable and high yields is extremely important. Many scientific agencies and especially the agricultural sector have hybridized, selected and bred many good varieties such as cotton, jute, legumes and silkworms, and the forestry sector has also imported a number of eucalyptus, Caribbean pine, etc. seeds.

During the past few years, the Central Cotton Corporation has organized a cotton raising technology service network that has been effective in assisting basic units and families. The Fiber Weaving Industrial Research Institute (of the Ministry of Light Industry) is studying and designing various types of manual frames to assist montagnards in becoming self-sufficient in clothing following tribal customs on the basis of self-raised cotton. The paper industry is coordinating with raw material regions in on-the-spot raw material mechanisms to on one hand fully utilize all the branches and tips, and on the other hand to rationally resolve the problem of transportation. The jute sector is disseminating and providing guidance in the technical processes of preliminary processing by microbiological methods and is promoting research in the preliminary processing of dried jute fiber.

In short, science and technology have an important effect in stimulating the development of raw material production units.

In economic policy, it is necessary to properly express a position of encouraging localities to develop raw material production in order to support the return of the industrial and small industrial and handicraft sector in the local area aimed at creating jobs and producing essential consumer products.

On the other hand, the raw material producer demands material compensation for the laborer to reproduce his labor strength and for the raw materials themselves to have conditions for "multiplying and changing." Therefore, the economic policy must satisfy material and technical requirements, including the grain and necessities required to supply the laborers, and of the raw materials themselves, in accordance with attrition levels established on a scientific basis. Economic policy does not permit the use of goods to "pad"

prices. Prices are the most effective economic lever in the present economic background. Nevertheless, price policy must create conditions for the raw material production unit and laborer to compensate for production expenses, to strictly achieve financial policies, and to make a profit. On each plot of ground and during each period of time, the production unit and laborer have the right to choose production of the most profitable type of raw material. There is no other way than for economic policy to use the price lever, actually profits, to guide production units and laborers in organizing production of the raw material types presently required by society. There are presently still many production units using both money and goods to purchase raw materials. No matter what method of settlement is used, there is actually only one price. The use of goods to procure raw materials creates many loopholes in management and causes trouble for the laborer.

In management organization, no one controls the resources and labor potential of each locality like the local administration. It is also only the local administration that knows how to firmly coordinate with ministries, sectors and scientific agencies. On the basis of state economic policy, enterprises using raw materials are responsible for and are obligated to participate in investing in and supporting the production processes, and in defining the proportions of economic return distribution. All of this must be guaranteed by long and short-term economic contracts.

Raw materials are a burning problem in the process of achieving the consumer goods production program. Ministries, sectors and local areas must have specific positions and methods in organizing the production of raw materials in order to create conditions for development of the consumer goods production industry.

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CSO: 4209/404

BRIEFS

SOVIET ASSISTANCE--On the afternoon of 20 February 1987, during a round-table meeting held at the Center for Soviet Culture and Science to commemorate the first anniversary of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, Deputy Economic Counselor Fedotov reported that the Soviet Union is preparing to assist Ho Chi Minh City in rebuilding and expanding the electric power network. This is one of 30 projects that are about to be built in the southern provinces under the guideline of not concentrating on projects that yield rapid economic returns and do not require large expenditures instead of building projects of an ostentatious nature. Also at this round-table meeting, the representative of the Federation of Friendship and Cultural Liaison with Foreign Countries Associations of the Soviet Union in the city, reported on the changes in the Soviet Union during the 1 year since the 27th Congress. [Text] [Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG 21 Feb 87 p 1] 7809

HONDA PARTS--During the past year, the Chien Thang Motorcycle Enterprise (of the city's Federation of Motorcycle and Bicycle Enterprises), which was once a bicycle parts plant and has been gradually shifting to the production of Honda motorcycle parts, has installed and repaired equipment, retooled and begun producing a number of Honda parts, such as exhaust pipes, mufflers, chain guards, "nhong," clutches and pocc-ba-ga [Vietnamese phonetics], front and rear. At the same time, it has established ties with a number of machine works and enterprises and some small industry and handicraft units, such as the General Services Corporation and the VINAPPRO AND VIKINO Factories, to produce cylinders cam shafts, spark plugs, cam gears, cylinder heads, valves, mufflers, mud guards, chain guards, shock absorbers, etc. At present, the enterprise is test-producing complete Honda frames. If, with its existing equipment and technology, the Chien Thang Motorcycle Enterprise were to receive an investment of some special purpose machines, enter into joint businesses and economic ties with factories and enterprises of the central level located within the city and establish contacts with the foreign market, it would certainly be able to produce many kinds of imported parts that are needed very much by consumers. [Text] [Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 21 Feb p 1] 7809

CSO: 4209/325

HO CHI MINH CITY EDITORIAL DECRIES CULTURAL DECAY

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 22 Feb 87 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "Let Us Quickly Erase the Dark Spots That Are Reappearing on the City's Cultural Landscape"]

[Text] Recently, on the cultural landscape of Ho Chi Minh City, many negative phenomena have emerged which cause concern and sadness in the hearts of fellow countrymen and comrades who live their lives with a sense of responsibility for the city today and tomorrow.

In conjunction with a number of other social ills, such as theft and muggings, gambling in public has been increasing for a long time and has even led to a person being beaten to death at one place. Superstitious practices have been "set free" at many places. At some places, these practices are being monopolized by merchants of religious items. Criticized by public opinion for several years and once resolved, this problem is now reoccurring. As regards prostitution at the familiar places, the attitude most commonly encountered is one of approval and acquiescence.

At the same time, more than a few phenomena that are unwholesome and reflect a lack of strict compliance with the law have arisen in our literary and artistic life. Despite many directives issued by the administration and cultural agencies of the city, illegal video cassettes are still circulating at places where admission is charged, within agencies and enterprises and have even made their way down dead end alleys. There are many indications that decadent foreign music tapes have been rather widespread since Tet. In addition to copying smuggled tapes, merchants of cultural products have now "alertly" gone into the business of printing and distributing smuggled foreign posters of nudes. Grief-stricken parents have written letters to journalists telling them about their families' distressing plight: their young daughters have been lured to back alley dance halls, been duped by unscrupulous persons and their lives have been ruined. A number of manipulators, some hiding in state agencies, some not, regularly organize lavish parties to satisfy a need to squander money and a desire to make quick money, thus leading youths into an immoral life. They have "moved to another playground" in a vain attempt to evade detection by the people and authorities! Reactionary, decadent books

and magazines that are banned by law are blatantly displayed for sale on streets. Even in schools, the number of students fighting as a result of playing "detective," or for many other reasons, is increasing.

Dark stains are marring the new cultural landscape which the compatriots of the city have been working for years to build. This situation is very alarming, coming as it does at a time when the people of the city and the entire country are struggling to stabilize the socio-economic situation. These negative cultural phenomena are disturbing to society and have caused countless families to worry and suffer. Who can work with peace of mind when they are worried about their children falling victim to decadent culture? Examined from the perspective that "the people are our base" and the perspective of liberating all production capacity, which are views supported by all the people, negative cultural and social phenomena must be considered crimes that undermine the strength of the people, be considered grievous affronts to the aspirations of the people to live a tranquil and comfortable life and have their children grow up to be intelligent and productive persons. These ills are exacerbating the injustices in society!

Some persons blame all the evils mentioned above on our difficult economic situation and low standard of living. This is a one-sided view or is a view that is defended for a deliberate purpose. It is not an argument based on confidence in the people. It discounts the strength of the people and the positive role played by the cultural and ideological revolution. The realities of the 12 years since liberation show that our most difficult economic and political situations have not always coincided with the strongest resurgence of decadent culture. Every family has had the same experience.

The issue that must be examined is that negative cultural phenomena are occurring with the support and protection of or, at the very least, with an attitude of feigned ignorance on the part of some guidance and management levels and a number of persons in positions of responsibility. Undesirable elements would not be able to print and put Western materials on the market if each printing shop were closely managed. Hot-blooded persons would not be able to lay out their gambling mats right in front of public security and administration offices were the law strictly enforced. Cultural manipulators would not be able to "act in the name" of state agencies if degenerate and deviant cadres and personnel did not support them and share in their gains. Banned films would not make their way into enterprises if the attitude of the director and party committee were strict. If there were full respect for the strict regulations of the administration concerning cultural activities, if there were respect for the people, if money were not a reason for giving light attention to the poisons of decadent, reactionary culture and if, to the contrary, shining examples were set at cultural centers, clubs, recreation areas, places where music is played and all other places where public performances are held, their power to persuade would be very large. Likewise, when some party members, cadres and soldiers forget the directive of the Municipal Party Committee forbidding drunkenness, they unintentionally help liquor to inflict tragedy upon our fellow countrymen. This has truly been denounced in a number of neighborhoods where the people have spoken out very frankly and truthfully. Our fellow countrymen do not endorse taking a liberal approach to business in cultural products in the name of "improving

the standard of living" when doing so provides immediate gains for some but harms the immediate and long-range interests of everyone else. We also must correct the attitude of some cadres--particularly on the basic level--that taking "tough" and "bold" steps to correct these ills will make them vulnerable to the charge of being "undemocratic." The key to this problem lies in adopting the correct view, taking the correct approach and truly acting in the interests of the broad masses. The field of ideology and culture, like every other field, demands the best possible implementation of the principles "the people know, the people discuss, the people act, the people inspect."

The responsibility of the upper levels and functional agencies to guide and manage is very important. Most decisive, however, is the role played by the party committees, administrations and cadres on the basic level. Re-examining cultural life at each place and taking measures to build upon strengths and correct shortcomings are efforts that must be immediately incorporated in the comprehensive and coordinated program of action of the various party committee echelons and levels of administration, particularly on the basic level and at agencies whose function it is to manage culture, in order to resolutely and quickly rid ourselves of the ugly phenomena in our cultural life today and continue to develop upon the basic achievements that the party organization and people of the city have begun to record in cultural activities in recent years.

This must be a part of the entire effort being made by our city to successfully implement the resolution of the 6th Party Congress and the resolution of the 4th Municipal Party Organization Congress, the most important targets of which are improving and stabilizing the material and spiritual lives of the laboring people.

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CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NORTH, SOUTH CONTRASTED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 31 Mar 87 p 11

[Article by Ingvar Oja: "Open Persecution of Vietnamese Catholics Ended"]

[Text] Hanoi--At dawn one Sunday morning I went to mass in the big cathedral in central Hanoi, a building that is a copy of Notre Dame in Paris.

When I arrived at the square where the cathedral is located, everything seemed quiet, unmoving. No people could be seen in the square and I halted at the foot of the broad steps in the belief that I had been given incorrect information and that no mass was being conducted that early.

While I hesitated and looked around me, I saw a few individuals, one by one, slide almost furtively through the small doors beside the big central portal. I went up the steps and into the church and was amazed. The church was almost full and before the mass even started many people were forced to stand in the aisles. I was suddenly part of a faithful congregation and had to follow the ritual. I squeezed onto a bench and had to stand and kneel with the rest.

Only once before have I experienced something similar and that was during a mass in Warsaw. On both occasions I felt compelled to take part in the ritual, anything else would have been an insult to the faith of those around me.

There were also some similarities between the two churches. They were both Catholic and located in a political environment whose openly expressed goal is to gradually eliminate all religious concepts because they are regarded as the "opiate of the people."

Persecution

But that is where the similarity ends. In Poland the Catholic faith is an all-embracing phenomenon, while in Vietnam it is and will continue to be a minority religion. The Vietnamese church has also been subjected to more open persecution than its Polish counterpart. That probably also explains the discreet way in which churchgoers assemble in the cathedral in Hanoi. There is no visible persecution today, but Catholics have learned to

"coexist" with a hostile power apparatus and have therefore also learned to avoid anything that could be regarded as a provocation.

Today there are around 4 million Catholics in Vietnam, two-thirds of them in South Vietnam.

"Those influenced by religion will become fewer in number and at present only a quarter of the people are religiously active," said Dang Thanh Chou, chairman of the state agency that supervises all religious activity in the country. The agency has 30 employees and is directly subordinate to the council of ministers, in other words the government.

Dang Thanh Chou is a jovial elderly gentleman. He looks like an old-fashioned prelate and when he laughs he reminds one of the Filipino cardinal, Jaime Sin. But he is far from being a man of the church. He has been involved in the communist revolutionary movement for approximately four decades. He is a chain smoker of "Liberation" brand cigarettes and in his office there is only one wall decoration, a portrait of Ho Chi Minh.

"We have heard allegations that we persecute Christians, but that is a misunderstanding," he said. "There is religious freedom in this country, but we have a requirement that people must not work against the government."

Retraining

Since the country was reunited there have been many reports of persecution of Catholics in the south and of hundreds of priests ending up in re-education camps. Dang Thanh Chou admitted that arrests were made.

"They mainly involved army priests who were engaged in the fight against the revolutionary movement. But most of them have now been released."

The reunification of the country in 1975 led to new problems between the communist regime and the Catholic Church. When the communist regime was established in the south, it encountered a church that was expressly anti-communist. Of the roughly 900,000 people who fled from the northern part of the country after the partition in 1954, around two-thirds were Catholics and the anticommunist tradition had been kept alive in what was then South Vietnam up until 1975.

"There were many people who were afraid when the communists came, but now we have learned to live together," said Truong Ba Can in Ho Chi Minh City, a priest and editor of a Catholic periodical. "If we obey the laws, the authorities do not interfere with our activities."

In spite of that the Catholic Church has encountered unexpected and paradoxical problems following reunification.

More Open

"They are so conservative up north," said Truong Ba Can.

The Catholic Church in the south is more open in relation to society and it has long been socially involved. It has also been influenced by the Catholic discussion of liberation theology and it has been radicalized. In the north the church was forced into an isolation after partition that it has not yet managed to break out of. In the south there is also a tradition of a critical attitude toward the temporal authorities while the church in the north tried to live discreetly in order to survive at all.

The two churches, whose leaders meet once a year, have different traditions and their worship services are also different. But both must learn to co-exist with an openly atheistic regime. For churches in socialist countries compromise is a way to survive. The spirit of compromise is vividly illustrated in the office of a recently constructed church in Ho Chi Minh City.

On one wall is a large wall hanging of the Last Supper. On the wall next to it hangs an obligatory portrait of Ho Chi Minh.

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END