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# Southeast Asia Report

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10 MARCH 1987

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## NU LEADERS NEUTRAL ABOUT ELECTION

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 24 Dec 86 pp 1, 12

[Text] K.H.R. As'ad Syamsul Arifin, the general advisor of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), has called on ulamas and particularly NU missionaries and directors of Muslim boarding schools to avoid campaigning actively for any of the contestants in the 1987 general election. He said that in this way they will not detract from the credibility of the NU and will help maintain equilibrium, adding that ulamas have an obligation to shepherd and to serve as a guiding light for all of the Muslim community without distinguishing between groups.

The call was contained in a statement given to a KOMPAS reporter last week at the Salafiyah Syafiiyah Muslim boarding school in Sukorejo by Zahrowi Musa, LLB, the school secretary. The statement also affirmed that facilities owned by the NU are not to be used for campaign purposes by any group.

Meanwhile, H. Mahbub Djunaidi, an intellectual and one of the key leaders of the NU, has stated that the NU must learn to be tolerant about the differences of opinion among ulamas regarding the election, and that NU members can exercise their right to vote as stated by the organization. "This really is a cultural transformation for the NU," he said.

## No Blank Ballots

According to K.H. As'ad, with the reinstatement of the 1926 creed by the 27th NU Congress and with the Pancasila as its foundation, the NU is no longer tied to any political organization, not even the United Development Party (PPP). In the 1987 general election, unlike the two preceding elections, the NU is not required to support the PPP. The NU and the PPP each have their own worlds, and the NU must maintain an equal distance from all three contestants, he said.

He said that NU members are not required to vote for the PPP, are not forbidden to vote for Golkar, and will do no great wrong if they vote for the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). It is up to the NU members to decide who has the best program and people, and they are certain to vote for a contestant that has a responsible program and candidates and one that will benefit the Pancasila, the state and the Muslim community, he said.



"And if they are all good, then vote for the best of the three," he said. He added that even though the NU no longer has ties with the PPP, one must be just in choosing between the three contestants. He also said that it would be entirely wrong not to vote, for that would be the same as supporting the blank ballot group.

He said that persons who do not mark their ballot or who vote for all contestants on the ballot commit a destructive act prohibited by law. And while voting in the election is a right, as Muslims we are obligated to make the election successful by exercising the right to vote and thus strengthening our leadership, as the law requires. Quoting from the Islamic canon he said that it is obligatory to do things that lead to improvement, and that observance of the law is also obligatory.

#### Confusion

Mahbub Djunaidi said that it is understandable that NU members should be confused at being given the freedom to vote as individuals, or at not being instructed to vote for a contestant that has been picked by an ulama. "This really is a new culture in the NU, for in each of the earlier elections they waited for the instructions of a religious leader," he said.

Mahbub said that the confusion of NU members also stems from the difference in the political attitudes of religious leaders. Some leaders tell members they must vote for Golkar, while others are for the PPP. He said that this may have an impact on the political psychology of the NU masses, but added that differences of opinion are rare and that tolerance of these differences is growing. "We want to see pluralism in the NU, and this involves a cultural transformation," he said.

Mahbub said that no little time is required to develop a critical attitude, but at least the process is now beginning. The more critical the masses of voters are in their thinking, the more careful the contestants will be in presenting their programs and candidates. He also said that he hopes a district system will be used in future elections instead of the proportional system now being used.

Mahbub said that an increase in the number of people who exercise their right to vote is one of the criteria that can be used in gauging the success of the election. This criterion, that is, the desire of NU members to exercise their right to vote, is also used by the NU.

However, this is not an absolute criterion because the failure of large numbers of people to vote could be an indication of an increase in critical thinking among the masses. For example, if they feel that Parliament cannot serve as a means to achieve their aspirations then they may also feel that they have no direct interest in the election, he said.

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CSO: 4213/38

INDONESIA

FOREST CONCESSION LICENSES MAY BE REVOKED

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 20 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] Information obtained Wednesday by KOMPAS from a source in the Department of Forestry indicates that the licenses of some 200 recipients of forest concessions (HPH) may be revoked because the licensees have not actively engaged in logging operations for some time.

Apparently the government, the Department of Forestry in this case, intends to take firm action against HPH licensees who do not produce logs. It should be noted that plywood and furniture industries have begun to complain about a shortage of feedstock.

Directive of the Minister of Forestry No 291/Kpts II/86 dated 20 September 1986, which deals with the procedure for revoking forest concessions, states that the concessions can be revoked without prior warning.

If HPH licensees have not engaged in logging operations for a period of 2 consecutive years following the issuance of this ministerial directive, their licenses are subject to immediate revocation.

After an HPH license is revoked the director general of forest concessions will regulate the handling of the unsettled financial obligations of the former licensee to the government, along with the utilization of assets in the forest concession and other matters that remain the obligation and responsibility of the former licensee.

Abandoned

Some 200 forest concessions have been abandoned. There are some 589 operating units with HPH licenses in Indonesia, but only 394 of these units remain active and many of them are operating below capacity.

From 1970 to 1980 economic conditions favored the growth of forest concessions and the forestry sector became one of the largest producers of foreign exchange after oil. The peak year was 1978/79, when log production reached 26.5 million cubic meters and more than 100,000 workers were employed.

But the HPH licensees did not use the large earnings they received from the sale of logs to develop a wood and lumber industry, even though the forestry agreements specifically state that licensees must make preparations for the establishment of a wood and lumber industry within a period of several years.

And when log exports were cut back and eventually terminated, the situation of the HPH licensees deteriorated because they had failed to develop a wood industry. They found the logs they produced were increasingly difficult to market and that they were receiving low prices, occasionally even less than production costs.

It was at this time that many of the HPH companies collapsed. They abandoned their logging operations in the forests and, year by year, their tractors, trucks, power saws and other logging equipment have been growing older and falling into a worse state of disrepair. The companies also have difficulty obtaining bank loans for new investments because of their poor credit ratings.

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INDONESIA

PRIORITY FOR ROAD CONSTRUCTION IN IRIAN JAYA

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 26 Dec 86 p 12

[Excerpt] Irian Jaya province continues to receive priority for road construction even though construction funds are limited. New road construction in this East Indonesia province is continuing but practically no new roads are being built in other provinces.

Speaking to reporters in Jakarta on Saturday, Irsan Ilyas, head of the Planning, Information and Administration Unit of the Directorate General of Road Construction, Department of Public Works, said that Irian Jaya had received an allocation of 13 billion rupiah from the national budget for the 1986/87 fiscal year and that this is the largest amount received by any province.

Irsan said that in giving Irian Jaya priority for road construction, the intention is not to set that province apart from other provinces. "This is being done because it has long been recognized that Irian Jaya is somewhat behind the other provinces, particularly in the area of infrastructure," he said.

He said that the need to assign priority to the development of Irian Jaya has been felt since 1982 but clear-cut action was not taken until the 1985/86 fiscal year. Many obstacles are encountered. "For example, the terrain in Irian Jaya is the most difficult terrain ever encountered in road building operations in Indonesia," he said. He also said that the shortage of technical personnel, the difficulty in mobilizing equipment in remote locations and the difficulty in working in the swampy area around Merauke are problems that must be overcome.

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TRANSMIGRATION FROM EAST NUSA TENGGARA

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 20 Dec 86 p 2

[Text] The East Nusa Tenggara Regional Office of the Department of Transmigration is planning to move 5,000 families during the 1987/88 year. The project will begin with the transfer of some 50 to 100 families.

Muhibba Ganie, the head of regional office, spoke of the planned transfer in Kupang on Tuesday evening at a briefing session held in connection with Transmigration Commemoration Day. He said that the plan for the transfer of 5,000 families was submitted to the Department of Transmigration and involves part of 15,000 families that have registered for transmigration.

Muhibba Ganie stated that the regional office is optimistic that the target can be met next year, noting that it sent out 200 families last September. Although the national program was just introduced in the area last year, the regional office is not concerned about plan implementation because there is very good coordination with all of the government agencies involved in transmigration affairs in East Nusa Tenggara.

In transferring people out of East Nusa Tenggara, priority will be given to persons residing in areas subject to natural disasters and occupants of densely populated areas, he said.

He noted that the governor of East Nusa Tenggara, Ben Mboi, had stated on one occasion that the amount of land in critical condition in the province is increasing each year because farmers use the traditional slash-and-burn method to clear fields and then abandon the fields after the harvest. The slash-and-burn method also is being used in conservation forests.

Not only that, he said, people establish settlements in the conservation forests in the interior and as a result no less than 400 villages in East Nusa Tenggara are located in conservation forests.

Consequently, these settlers have been included in the priority group and will be transferred under either a local or a conventional transmigration program, he said.

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PLANNED RESETTLEMENT OF DISPLACED TIMORESE

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 24 Dec 86 p 10

[Text] Population resettlement is to be the main program of the Department of Transmigration in East Timor province, and it is hoped that the program also will support transmigration to East Timor.

Basoeki Adisoekma, head of the East Timor Regional Office of the Department of Transmigration, told a KOMPAS reporter last week that implementation of the program will begin in the 1987/88 fiscal year and that all of the necessary resources have been prepared.

Effect of Civil War

The civil war and disorders of 11 years ago (1975) had the effect of displacing a large part of the rural population from their home areas. And some of the conditions in these areas are no better than they were before, for example, there is no certainty about the ownership of agricultural land.

Noting that the people want to return to their native villages now that the security situation has improved, he said, "The resettlement program will begin with the placement of 300 families in Baucau district."

He said that there is an adequate supply of agricultural land and water in this area and that roads have been built connecting the villages in the subdistricts, the district and even outside the district.

Mario Viegas Carascalao, the governor of East Timor, fully supports the resettlement plan. "And if the resettlement of the East Timorese themselves goes well then there will be no problem for or obstacles to a transmigration program from outside East Timor," he said.

It is known that plans have been made to begin resettlement but KOMPAS could not find any indication as to when the program will be completed. The main reason for this is that there are many villages with displaced populations.

The governor expressed the hope that there will be close cooperation and coordination among the agencies involved in organizing and implementing the resettlement program, saying that he views the program as a humanitarian act.

Since 1982

Basoeki said that 825 families (3,419 people) have been placed in East Timor since 1982. Of this number, 426 families (1,933 people) families already resided in East Timor. The remainder came from Bali, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, East Java and Central Java. All of these families were placed in the districts of Bobonaro and Kovalima.

"These two districts have the highest per capita income in East Timor, and one of the reasons for this is that the residents have changed their farming methods and are following the methods used by their 'brothers' who came from outside of East Timor," he said.

Since 1983 the Department of Transmigration has built roads and bridges costing 1.02 billion rupiah to support the transmigration program. Some of these roads and bridges connect East Timor province with East Nusa Tenggara province, and the existence of this transportation infrastructure makes it easier to move agricultural produce to Atambua in East Nusa Tenggara and also strengthens social and cultural ties.

Plans have been made to build another 27 km of highway that connects Malaka Timur subdistrict in Kovalima district with Atambua. This will reduce the time it takes to travel the 100 km between the two locations.

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LEGAL AID INSTITUTE SEEKS VOLUNTEERS

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 27 Dec 86 p 3

[Text] The Jakarta office of the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) is experiencing a shortage of public defenders as a result of the increase in its caseload and is therefore planning to recruit law school graduates and students to serve as voluntary lawyers.

Abdul Hakim G. Nusantara, SH, LLM, the director of the Jakarta LBH, announced the plan in Jakarta on Friday afternoon at a press conference that was called to present an annual evaluation of the handling of cases.

Abdul Hakim said that the volunteers will be helpful not only in improving the service provided to members of the public who seek justice, but also in overcoming the imbalance in the ratio of cases to public defenders. He said that this is important since the Jakarta LBH has only seven public defenders and six assistant public defenders. In 1986 alone they handled 1,440 cases, including 250 civil cases, 300 criminal cases, 200 labor cases and 100 land cases. The remaining cases dealt with housing, consumer affairs and other matters.

Cooperative Program

He said that the case load was down from last year, when 1,553 cases were handled, because there are many other LBH offices and some cases were transferred to LBH posts in Bogor and to the Women's Legal Aid and Consultation Institute. Even so, the 13 public defenders are under great pressure in trying to handle the cases that come in. "But we are tightening up on the requirements that must be met by LBH clients. These include an income of less than 250,000 rupiah, a certain number of family dependents, restrictions on the amount of family assets, the position of the client in the case at hand and the nature of the case," he said.

Abdul Hakim said that he hoped that the law schools would be willing to promote the idea of having volunteers provide legal aid. And the head of the Jakarta LBH Research and development Commission, Luhut M.P. Pangaribuan, SH, who accompanied Abdul Hakim, said that they will explore the possibility of establishing a cooperative program under which students who volunteer will receive some sort of credit for the semester.



In describing the casework handled in 1986, Abdul Hakim also mentioned some of the obstacles encountered by the Jakarta LBH in serving people in low income groups who seek justice. He said that funding problems, in addition to the shortage of staff, impede the work of his office.

He said the Jakarta LBH needs a large subsidy because the average cost of handling a case is 300,000 rupiah and the client's financial contribution comes to only 1 to 7 percent of this amount. The Jakarta regional government did provide a monthly subsidy of 3 million rupiah but this was cancelled last year and has not been restored.

Abdul Hakim said that the Jakarta LBH also feels that the bureaucracy is not completely straightforward in providing it with information it needs for the cases it handles. He said there are also problems with the courts, which often charge large unofficial fees for case administration. "For example, we or the client must sometimes pay out 50,000 rupiah when applying for a copy of the court's decision," he said.

Mas Achmad Santosa, SH, the public relations officer of the Jakarta LBH, said that 75 percent of the clients have an average income of 50,000 rupiah a month and that most of the clients have a high school education.

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## COMMENT SCORES U.S.-JAPAN MILITARY COOPERATION

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Nov 86 p 6

[Commentary: "United States Continues Drawing in Its Allies To Join Its Strategic Plan for Conquering the World"]

[Text] Since 27 October the U.S. and Japanese armed forces have been holding large-scale military maneuvers in the Sea of Japan. There are approximately 13,000 soldiers, 100 warplanes and over 10 ships. This is the first time that Japan and the United States have joined in large-scale military maneuvers, combining the three armed forces (army, navy and air force). An interesting point is that the U.S. Army in South Korea has also joined the maneuvers. This shows the world that the leading circles in Washington are stubbornly continuing to put pressure on Japan to make it join their strategic plan for conquering the world.

As part of its Asian and Pacific strategy, after the 1970's the United States has increased its military buildup in Japan, South Korea and the Pacific Ocean. The United States currently has 32 military bases in Japan and 40 in Korea. What is more harmful is that the United States has deployed nuclear weapons and cruise missiles along with many other modern fighter aircraft at various military bases on the Korean peninsula.

With the Japanese-U.S. armistice agreement Washington has steadily increased its efforts to pressure Japan to join in military cooperation with the United States, and to revive military forces in Japan. The U.S. effort to revive the bloodthirsty and warlord ideology in Japan, the increased presence of U.S. troops in South Korea and Japan, and the clever U.S. plan to create three-sided military relations between Tokyo, Washington and Seoul are dangerous for the peace and stability of the Asian and Pacific regions. Since the start of this year the United States has pressured Japan to join 40 large-scale military maneuvers.

With its persistent hope for peace, the government of the USSR has tried to work in cooperation with the nations in the Asian and Pacific regions in order to ease tensions, encourage talks and eliminate military confrontation. An outstanding Soviet [peace effort] was the proposal announced on 28 July by the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, which included a proposal to stop the deployment and expansion

of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific, to decrease military movements and forces in Asia, and to build up confidence and the use of a nonviolent approach to solving problems in this area.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made many proposals and has unilaterally carried out measures to remove bombs in the Korean peninsula, and has encouraged talks for purposes for Korean unification by peaceful means. The people and many progressive military parties in Japan have fought unyieldingly against the presence of U.S. forces and have demanded that U.S. ships be kept from anchoring in Japanese ports. They have also demanded that Japan become a nuclear-free nation, and many districts in Japan have declared nuclear-free zones. This achievement has become the masses' movements. Given this situation the United States has continued to be stubborn in pushing Japan to join military maneuvers, so that Japan would be willing to join their arms race, a plan that goes against the hopes of the Japanese people and the people in the Asian and Pacific nations.

The actions of the Washington warlord and bloodthirsty imperialists that have been mentioned reveal their schemes to maintain tensions and to threaten the stability, peace and happiness of the nations in these regions.

Along with the people in Asia and the Pacific, the Lao people condemn in no uncertain terms the threatening actions of the imperialists of America and its henchmen. The Lao people support the struggle of the Japanese and Korean peoples of north and south to resist the U.S.-Japanese military maneuvers, which are in violation of the Japanese-U.S. armistice agreement, to fight against having military peacekeeping bases in Japan and South Korea, and to make the Asian and Pacific regions free of nuclear weapons.

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CSO: 4206/46

USSR-AIDED FIRM IN BUSINESS REFORM MOVE

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Nov 86 p 1

[Article: "Transport and Post Ministry Hands Over Rights for the LAOS-USSR Friendship Auto Repair Factor To Convert to Business"]

[Text] Last Thursday the Ministry of Transportation and Post held a ceremony to hand over the right of production of the Laos-USSR Friendship Auto Repair Factory in Dong Chong, Saithani District, Vientiane Capital, to carry out the policy of a complete conversion of the main economic units to business according to the new mechanism.

Mr Phao Bounnaphan, minister of Transportation and Post, Mr Phali, the director of the Laos-USSR Friendship Auto Repair Factory, and representatives of the labor union in the factory all signed the memorandum on converting the factory to business. The memorandum indicates the agreement of the government to give production capital along with production equipment to the workers to control and to use directly in production on the basis of payment and to expand the funds on their own. The job of the factory is to carry out its obligation to the government. The government gives the factory the rights to organize their production according to the regulations for enterprises, and has the right to do whatever is necessary and useful within the policies and laws of the government.

The Laos-USSR Friendship Auto Repair Factory is the second factory for which the Ministry of Transportation and Post has announced the turning to carry out business, the first being the Laos-Sweden Auto Repair Factory which was previously announced.

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## OUDOMSAI SECURITY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

## Agriculture, Transportation

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Nov 86 pp 3, 4

[Article: "Oudomsai Province"]

[Excerpts] Oudomsai Province is located in the middle of the five northern provinces of our country. Its border adjoins Luang Prabang, Sayaboury, Bokeo, Louang Namtha, Phongsaly and the PRC. Oudomsai Province has 15,995 square kilometers and nine districts: Sai Beng, Beng, Pak Beng, Paktha, Na Mo, La, Mai, Nga and Houn. It has a total population of 189,000.

Throughout the past 10-year period there were weather conditions that had a bad effect on production for many years in a row. In some years there was drought, floods, and damage from worms and other insects, and in addition there were very few technical bases to serve production, thus causing many difficulties. The party committee and all levels of the administrative committees have made agricultural production, irrigation and co-ops a priority task in economic construction and transformation, resulting in the expansion of this aspect of the work.

Rice growing was increased by a factor of 2.16. Wet rice production was increased by a factor of 1.25 and 370 kg per capita on the average for paddy rice. Oudomsai Province has become self-sufficient in terms of food and is also able to carry out its obligation to the center.

By the use of new growing techniques (using good strains of rice which are able to tolerate drought, fertilizer, and barbed wire fencing for the area), the productivity of lowland and highland rice growing was increased, amounting to a 1.3 percent increase in lowland rice growing and a factor of 1.6 increase in highland rice cultivation.

In 1978 Oudomsai Province mobilized the people in the rice cultivation areas to engage in collective production and organized four agricultural co-op units. There are now 118 agricultural co-ops throughout the province, amounting to 98 percent of the total rice cultivation area, 100 percent of the ricefield area, and 16.8 percent of the total number of families throughout the province. This means that the conversion of the farmers to cooperativization has been basically completed.

At each level the firm grasp of policy, learning on the job, making improvement a primary task and expansion important, and working from the lower to the higher level, Oudomsai Province has modified the production of the co-ops from the calculation of the working days to the collective work contract, and to contracting by areas and by individual capacity. This makes it convenient and more suitable for the levels of co-op cadres, encourages production, and provides better inspiration for the co-op members.

There has been a steady increase in the standard of living for the co-op members. Most of the actual total income of the co-ops is higher than the private production sector, and it is very rare to be the same as private production. Thus, none of the co-ops go bankrupt once they are organized.

Regarding exports and imports, by focusing on discovering the hidden labor of the province, the Export Company that is responsible for this matter was able to obtain basic goods such as [wood], cardamon, benzoin, sesame seed, etc.

We can conclude that over the past 10 years trade in Oudomsai Province has gradually progressed in the right direction, and has gradually changed from administrative subsidy trade to accountability business and state enterprise.

In communications and transportation over the past 10 years, besides being careful to make repairs and to maintain the old roads, the party committee and the provincial administrative committee also constructed big roads and mobilized the road-building process, and achieved the following: 28 km of road from Na Mo to Ban Khouang in Ai District, continuing the building of a road from Sai District to Nga District of which 15 km was finished, clearing 20 km of road from Paktha to Pha Oudom, as well as roads in Houn Beng and Sai Districts as based on the policy of the state and the people, with the province and districts working together. A number of roads were also done between districts and cantons.

Along with the traditional vehicles for transportation, transportation by modern vehicles has been expanding rapidly and fairly effectively. In particular, in the 9-year period they were able to transport 29,911 tons of goods.

Construction capital was spent as follows: 26 percent was spent for agriculture, 9 percent for industry, 7 percent for trade, 10 percent for communications and transportation, 5 percent for education, 18 percent for public health, 6 percent for culture, 10 percent for office and housing construction, etc. From this investment 30 projects have been successfully completed, including 8 medium-scale irrigation projects.

Oudomsai has also received assistance from the center and from abroad in the construction of a sawmill, a textile factory, a publishing plant, etc.

Data Provided

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Nov 86 p 3

[Text] Some Work Achievements for Oudomsai Province

		1976	1985
Rice			
	area	35,883 hectares	47,333 hectares
	yield	44,041 tons	67,995 tons
Assorted starchy root crops			
	area	656 hectares	1,300 hectares
	yield	4,795 tons	10,530 tons
Beans			
	area	1,864 hectares	4,566 hectares
	yield	1,163 tons	3,457 tons
Corn			
	area	3,488 hectares	4,000 hectares
	yield	2,934 tons	4,400 tons
Tobacco			
	area	33 hectares	135 hectares
	yield	147 tons	600 tons
Livestock			
	buffalo	32,100	51,300
	cattle	11,436	13,870
	pigs	86,121	142,100
	poultry	559,600	593,400

Security Work

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Nov 86 p 3

[Excerpt] Over the past 10 years Oudomsai Province has had many achievements, which have become a firm and solid base for future expansion. Here, over the past decade national defense and security work was a fierce battlefront because the imperialists and the reactionaries stubbornly and continuously attempt to dismantle us using weapons, politics, ideology, economics and especially psychological warfare.

However, under the correct direction and brilliant leadership of the Party Central Committee, all levels of the party committees of the province have a firm understanding of their own special characteristics and locations, and clearly recognize their primary, long-term and immediate enemies. Thus, the carrying out of their two military strategic duties of national defense and security has always been a priority task. They were able to dismantle all the enemies' schemes in a timely fashion and to strongly protect their land.

The past 10 years were also years of building and improving national defense and security one step at a time. Regional forces were organized systematically. Guerrilla and defense forces in the grassroots, offices, organizations, factories, schools, hospitals and canton and village levels have been rapidly improved, and have become a foundation to ensure the protection of the collective mastery of the masses, as well as having an important role in maintaining peace, happiness and order in the grassroots.

#### Cooperation With SRV Province

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Nov 86 p 4

[Article: "The Primary Outcome of the Oudomsai-Ha Nam Ninh Cooperation"]

[Text] One of Oudomsai's relations with foreign countries is its cooperation with its twin province Ha Nam Ninh of the SRV based on the agreement signed in 1979.

Since then there have been more and more projects in Oudomsai Province for which Ha Nam Ninh Province has provided assistance and cooperation, such as the cultural club named "Friendship," the mid-size irrigation in Nam Hin, Ban Thin, the Ko Noi Reservoir, a brick factory, a tobacco oven in Beng District, a 100-bed provincial hospital, and various small projects that are under construction. Ha Nam Ninh Province has also helped to train many hundreds of cadres in various specialized tasks.

The actual outcome of the mutual cooperation between Oudomsai and Ha Nam Ninh provinces also confirms its steady effectiveness and active expansion. The people of the twin provinces understand and are taking part in improving relations more than ever.

9884/13046

CSO: 4206/46



## SAYABOURY PROGRESS, BORDER SECURITY, ECONOMIC DATA REVIEWED

## Economy, Infrastructure Described

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 6 Nov 86 pp 3, 4

[Article: "Sayaboury Province"]

[Excerpts] Sayaboury is one of our nation's rice granary provinces and has large forests with numerous types of valuable trees. It has seven districts, Phiang, Paklai, Xienghon, Hongsa, Bo Then, Kenthao and Sayaboury.

Even though in some years Sayaboury Province has been threatened by natural disasters such as drought and floods, what is even worse is that enemies are still looking for weaknesses and unfinished work in order to interfere, propagandize and slander us. However, the patriotic Sayaboury people have promoted their brave heritage to unyieldingly struggle against the enemies. By working diligently they were able to unite themselves, and gradually they have transformed small and scattered private production. There are now 148 co-ops that have been set up, of which many are model co-ops, and the rest have been organized into labor exchange units that have helped the basic collective style to grow admirably.

Each year Sayaboury Province has carried out its obligation to the center by over 1,000 tons of rice. By doing this the province has participated in saving capital for national development based on their ability.

As for industry and handicraft work, besides improving and reviving the old factories and building new ones, such as a sawmill and factories that produce rattan, bricks, woodwork and other products, over the 10-year period of improvement and construction the province was able to cut many thousands of cubic meters of wood both for use within the province as well as for export. In 1985 the province cut 8,000 cubic meters of wood, of which 2,000 cubic meters was exported and resulted in income for the budget.

It is well known that two-thirds of the land in Sayaboury Province is mountains and forests. In former times communications and transportation were very difficult. It took many days to walk from village to canton, from canton to district, and from district to province. Even though it is still difficult, most of the roads have been modified and improved. Throughout the 10-year

period the province was able to repair and expand 200 km of old roads and to construct 100 km of new road from Sayaboury to Paklai, 25 km from Sayaboury to Hongsa District, and many hundreds of km from district to district.

Data Provided

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 6 Nov 86 p 3

[Text] Some Achievements of Sayaboury

		1976	1985
Rice			
	area	26,115 hectares	38,271 hectares
	harvest yields	37,232 tons	74,593 tons
Assorted starchy root crops			
	area	512 hectares	1,250 hectares
	harvest yields	4,075 tons	9,745 tons
Vegetables			
	area	305 hectares	440 hectares
	harvest yields	2,126 tons	3,520 tons
Soybeans			
	area	50 hectares	439 hectares
	harvest yields	35 tons	319 tons
Mung beans			
	area	30 hectares	320 hectares
	harvest yields	15 tons	220 tons
Peanuts			
	area	137 hectares	1,280 hectares
	yields	92 tons	940 tons
Cotton			
	area	475 hectares	650 hectares
	harvest yields	348 tons	400 tons
Livestock			
	buffalo	41,930	71,600
	cattle	11,231	12,910
	pigs	47,313	86,100
	sheep and goats	1,611	3,630
	poultry	99,000	653,400

Security Problems, Three Villages Issue

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 6 Nov 86 p 4

[Article: "To Maintain Peace in Localities"]

[Text] Over 10 years of fierce and confusing struggle, all the enemies have collaborated with the reactionaries in this area to unyieldingly carry out their clever schemes to propagandize and slander our republic's fine regime every day. They organized clandestine movements and sent spies and terrorists in to destroy the peace and happiness of the people in Sayaboury Province. The harmful incident occurred on 6 June 1984 when the Thai ultra-rightist power-holding cliques who were in collaboration with the international reactionaries, sent Thahan Phran Irregulars and cavalry in to overtly encroach upon the three villages of Ban Mai, Ban Kang and Ban Savang in Paklai District. They illegally took the people, animals and property of the villagers to Thailand. These insane acts of the reactionaries revealed the bellicose face of the enemies, and were strongly condemned by the people of the world. The soldiers and people in Sayaboury Province punished them appropriately and made them withdraw from the three villages.

Even though they have withdrawn from the three villages they are continuing to create unrest in the area, and the people in the three villages still face the enemies' threats. Although there is now peace in their own locality, many youth union members and youth in this province have regularly volunteered to carry out their duty to protect the nation, thus boosting the patriotism and love of the Sayaboury people for their locality one step further.

9884/13046

CSO: 4206/46

## 'TALK': THAILAND'S NORTHEASTERNS VICTIMS OF SOCIETY

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Nov 86 p 5

[Text] "I am a northeasterner who has come from the boondocks, I came to look for a job in the capital, Bangkok. I exchange my sweat and energy for money to make a living. Though it is not an easy life, I must be patient and bear it".... This is not a happy song, but instead a complaint of the northeasterners who are suffering and who are being exploited, and who are struggling for a living. It is the voice of all the Thai people who are asking for sympathy.

The northeast of Thailand is inferior to the other regions of the country in every way. It also lacks sympathy and attention. Starvation, hardship and backwardness threaten the lives of the northeasterners such as this person and others. They have no sympathy from the administrators as they should. Every year, and especially in the years that face drought northeasterners who hope to find a job migrate in groups headed toward the capital to sell their labor. The tall hotels, the large bank offices, and the factories and other buildings in Bangkok all have the sweat of the northeasterners mixed in. But they are not the owners, they cannot use those facilities. On the other hand, 61 percent of the beggars in Bangkok are all children of northeasterners. When they failed to get a job, some of the northeasterners have to wander off to sell their labor abroad in order to feed themselves and their families. Some were even punished for wrongdoing abroad, and never able to return ever again to the land of their birth, or they came back with absolutely nothing. The rest of those who remained in the country become unemployed between the seasons. Of a total of 4.5 million unemployed persons, 2.8 million are northeasterners.

The people of the northeast have a lot of land, but this part of the land is not developed. That is why they fled their hometowns to go anywhere to make a living. Those capitalists and wealthy people who lived on the land and robbed it of its rich natural resources have not come back to rebuild it. Everything was forgotten, even the human beings who shared the same land. The northeast is also being neglected in terms of education. Although it has 42 percent of the whole country, it receives only 3 percent of the annual education budget. As for income, while other regions in Thailand have an average income of at least 10,000 to 30,000 baht per year, those in the northeast receive only 6,000 baht. In fact, according to Wibun Serichaiphon in the

"For You Only" column, many families in Srisaket Province have only about 2,000 baht (the issue for 9-15 June 1985). Along with their hardships, the people of the northeast should be given aid and sympathy by the people who live in the same country. On the contrary, they are looked down upon by the [social] class that thinks it is the highest [social] class.

This pain has given them a new realization, the realization of humanity and equality. Their hope is not to lead their children and the new generation face the same pain again and again, and never again to have to sing their song of pain and ask for sympathy as they are doing now.

9884/13046

CSO: 4206/46

## FOREIGN ARMS MANUFACTURERS WOODED

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 15 Jan 87 pp 1, 16

[Article by Loh Sook Wan]

[Text] MALAYSIA is prepared to offer favourable incentives and the necessary infrastructure to foreign arms manufacturers seeking to set up production bases in the country, Deputy Defence Minister Datuk Abu Bakar bin Datuk Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha said yesterday.

"There are a number of defence-related technologies and potential markets in the region for foreign producers to consider setting up bases in Malaysia.

"The Government is prepared to discuss the matter with interested overseas principals at any time," he added.

Datuk Abu Bakar said this at a news conference where he announced details of DSA '88, a major defence-services exhibition and conference to be held in Malaysia in March 1988.

He said one of Malaysia's objectives in hosting the event is to provide an opportunity for its armed forces personnel to examine, compare and evaluate the comprehensive range of products and services available in the international market.

"Malaysian defence personnel and those involved in weapons supply will also benefit greatly from the conference that will accompany DSA '88," he added.

He said the exhibition will attract foreign arms producers who may find it suitable to manufacture their goods here.

As an indication of its seriousness to encourage foreign arms manufacturers to set up production bases in Malaysia, he said the Government will offer incentives like export allowance, lower adjustable taxable income and extended pioneer status.

"Our people are intelligent, industrious and skilled. Our labour is cost-competitive and not prone to industrial strife. Our infrastructure is well laid out, extensive and efficient. Our energy is more than sufficient and our political climate very stable despite the occasional twist," he added.

Referring to a message by Defence Minister Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, he reiterated that the purpose of DSA '88 is not to propagate the arms race.

"The ministry's support for the event is due to its importance in the development and maintenance of the country's defence capability.

"The decision to host DSA '88 only reflects the Government's awareness of the need to update its security forces amid rapid changes in technology," the minister said in his message in the DSA brochure.

DSA '88, the four-day exhibition and conference scheduled for March 23 to 26 1988, is expected to draw 400 delegates from 15 countries in the Asia Pacific region.

The event, organised by Malaysian Exhibition Services and the Overseas Exhibition Services, based in London, will be held at the Putra World Trade Centre in Kuala Lumpur.

JOINT PETROLEUM PROJECT WITH THAILAND PLANNED

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 6 Jan 87 p 2

[Text]

**MALAYSIA** and Thailand are currently working on an arrangement to exploit petroleum deposits in the Continental Shelf.

Petronas president Tan Sri Abdullah Mohamad Salleh said a technical group had been formed to conduct geological and geo-physical studies in the joint development area.

Both governments had established a joint authority, which enjoy rights to the area and are responsible for the sharing of costs and benefits, the latest issue of "Nada Petronas", the company's newsletter, quoted him as saying.

Tan Sri Abdullah made these disclosures in his paper on "Malaysia's role in the Asean energy scene" at the Lawasia '86 International Energy Conference in Bangkok last November.

He said drilling activities in the joint development area had indicated hydrocarbon potential.

Should drilling activities in the area become successful, this will mean more petroleum reserves for the region. This will also signify the fruit of Asean cooperation, he added.

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CSO: 4200/343

## IRAN NEGOTIATING PALM OIL DEAL

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 13 Jan 87 p 14

[Text] MALAYSIA and Iran are very close to striking a deal for the purchase of Malaysian palm oil, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Datuk Abdul Kadir Sheikh Fadzir said yesterday.

And he added that Malaysia has been identified as a priority country in economic cooperation by Iran.

Datuk Abdul Kadir said that Iran's decision to purchase palm oil would help Malaysia tremendously as the former uses a large amount of vegetable oil daily. He said the relevant authorities in Iran were in touch with officials from the Palm Oil Research Institute of Malaysia (PORIM) to work out the technical details before an agreement was finally signed.

He was speaking after an hour-long meeting with the visiting Iranian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Javad Mansoori at Wisma Putra.

Datuk Abdul Kadir also said Malaysia has offered to help the Iranians in agriculture and forestry and in the reconstruction of Iran after the war.

He said the Iranian Minister of Trade will be arriving on the Jan 23 for a three-day visit to hold discussions on increasing economic cooperation between the two countries. He will be accompanied by a 14-member delegation.

Datuk Abdul Kadir said he hoped to persuade the Iranians to buy more Malaysian manufactured goods and primary commodities.

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CSO: 4200/343



DRASTIC REDUCTION IN RICE IMPORTS ORDERED

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 9 Jan 87 p 1

[Text]

**ALOR STAR, Thurs.**

— The Government will reduce 50 per cent of its rice import from this year to control the production and quality of local rice.

It is understood that the country has been importing about 400,000 tonnes of rice each year from Thailand and Burma under the agreement, which was signed every two years.

A director of the National Padi and Rice Authority (LPN), Encik Zakaria Said, said the import will be reduced when a new term of agreement is signed.

Speaking to reporters after launching the 1987 budget of Kedah/Perlis Malays Rice Millers' Association general

meeting here today, he said reducing rice import, including from Bangladesh, will help boost the country's padi and rice industries.

Encik Zakaria said presently, the Government had to import rice to fulfil local needs as farmers could only produce 60 per cent of the national requirement.

This was also to check the balance of exports from this country, he added.

However, he gave an assurance that the Government would assist farmers in getting a better market before importing rice.

"Local rice has not been popular among the people because the imported rice is found to be of a better quality."

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CSO: 4200/343

## PBB-UMNO MERGER CALLED INEVITABLE

Penang THE STAR in English 6 Jan 87 p 4

[Text]

KUALA LUMPUR, Mon. -- A merger between Sarawak's Parti Pesaka Bumiputra Bersatu (PBB) and Umno "is inevitable and just a matter of time," PBB assistant secretary-general Datuk Haji Abang Ahmad Urai said today.

Abang Ahmad, who is also Dewan Negara Deputy President, that it was in the interest of the Sarawak Malays to join Umno.

"I am confident that in time to come, the Malays and the people of Sarawak will accept the changes.

"Umno is the backbone of Malaysia in Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia, and spiritually we are one. When Umno leaders come to Sarawak, the PBB headquarters is naturally used as theirs," he told a Press conference.

However, the decision to merge PBB with Umno will be discussed with members and will materialise if accepted by all, he said.

He also said that PBB had applied in 1965 to join Umno but due to technical problems, the idea was shelved but not forgotten.

Abang Ahmad, who is also a member of Sarawak Malay Association (SMA), which provides the core of members for the PBB, said he had been asked to take over as president of the association.

He said the SMA is in the midst of a power struggle between two factions and feel that the struggle was not in the interest of the Malays in Sarawak.

He added that deputy State secretary Datuk Safri Awang Zaidil and SMA president Datuk Wan Yusoff Tun Tengku Bujang are fighting for the presidency.

"Now I feel the need to lead the SMA back to the right course as it was during the heyday of the British colonisation when the association attacked the British and killed the Colonial Governor Dunstan Stewart," he said.

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CSO: 4200/343

## PBS, GERAKAN FORM CONFEDERATION

Penang THE STAR in English 13 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by K. Baradan]

[Text] KOTA KINABALU, Mon. — Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) and Gerakan have decided to form a "confederation" within the Barisan Nasional but gave conflicting views on whether this was the first step to an eventual merger of the two parties.

PBS president Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan, who is also Sabah Chief Minister, told reporters: "Let us be clear. This is not a merger. Neither the PBS nor the Gerakan wants a merger."

But Gerakan chief Datuk Dr Lim Keng Yaik, who is also Primary Industries Minister, told a separate Press conference: "We have decided to hold hands now. It is natural that after holding hands, you might want to go further."

The confederation, likely to be called Parti Bersekutu Sa-Malaysia (Pan-Malaysian Consolidated Party), will also be open to other multiracial parties of the Barisan.

Dr Lim told reporters he briefed Prime Minister and Barisan chairman Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad two weeks ago on the talks leading to the confederation.

Datuk Pairin, in his news conference, said he understood that Dr Mahathir had "no objections" to the discussions.

The two party presidents met for three hours yesterday at Datuk Pairin's residence to finalise the setting up of the confederation.

Dr Lim arrived here yesterday on a three-day visit. He was present at the 18th annual Geological Survey Conference opened by Datuk Pairin this morning.

He told reporters that the Gerakan and the PBS had arrived at the idea of the confederation "spontaneously, following increasing co-operation."

"We found we have similar ideologies and were aiming for similar things. Both parties began their co-operation when the PBS was undergoing its birth pains and turmoils after it came to power in Sabah following the April 1985 State election.

"Since then our co-operation had intensified and, naturally, led to opening of talks on a confederation," Dr Lim said.

He denied the confederation was a "non-Malay grouping or power bloc."

Dr Lim also stressed that the decision was not a response to Umno's expansion to Sabah and the reported Umno-PAS dialogue.

"The PBS and the Gerakan believe in the Barisan spirit and have no intention of leaving the coalition. We are not a threat to anybody," he added.

Dr Lim said the full details for the confederation were being finalised by a joint committee comprising representatives from the two parties.

"This include the organisational structure, methods of co-operation, draft constitution and power sharing," he said.

He said, however, that under the confederation, the structures of each party would be maintained although a joint supreme council and a joint delegates conference would be set up to run the confederation.

"We are still working out whether to have a single, a joint or an alternate presidency. Once the details have been worked out, the recommendations will be submitted to the central committees of the two parties for a decision," he said.

Datuk Pairin, meanwhile, said the confederation would be an "organised forum" for exchanging ideas between multiracial parties within the Barisan.

He said the confederation would not duplicate co-operation already existing within the coalition. "On the contrary it will further enhance existing co-operation and understanding," he said.

Datuk Pairin said that at the moment, the Sarawak National Party (SNAP) was not involved in the discussions but "we will give out invitations once the details have been worked out."

Sources here said the idea of a confederation was first mooted after last year's State election when the PBS was returned to power with a more than two-third majority in the Assembly.

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CSO: 4200/343

## 1985 POPULATION FIGURES PROVIDED

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 13 Jan 87 p 10

[Text] KUALA LUMPUR, Mon. — The country's population rose to 15.8 million in 1985 from 13.9 million in 1980, representing an average annual increase of 2.7 per cent.

However, the increase was not uniform throughout the country as East Malaysia's population grew faster than Peninsular Malaysia during the period.

Sabah registered a growth rate of 3.9 per cent and Sarawak, 2.7 per cent, while it was 2.5 per cent for Peninsular Malaysia.

These data, published in the Fifth Malaysia Plan, were reported in the first issue of the National Population and Family Development Board's in-house journal, *Pofam*.

The annual population growth rates differed significantly among the different ethnic groups.

In Peninsular Malaysia, the Malays and other Bumiputera populations grew at an average rate of 2.9 per cent compared

with 1.7 per cent for the Chinese and 2.1 per cent for the Indians.

Consequently, ethnic proportions continue to change.

In 1985, Malays and other Bumiputera populations comprised 56.5 per cent of the population, the Chinese 32.8 per cent, and the Indians 10.1 per cent.

The corresponding proportions in 1980 were 55.1 per cent Malay, 33.9 per cent Chinese, and 10.3 per cent Indian.

With the higher growth rates in East Malaysia, Peninsular Malaysia's growth rate fell slightly from 82.7 per cent in 1980 to 82.1 per cent in 1985.

In Sabah, Bumiputeras accounted for 84.2 per cent of the population while Chinese constituted 14.9 per cent, compared with 82.9 per cent and 16.2 per cent respectively, in 1980.

In Sarawak, 70.1 per cent of the population were Bumiputeras, while 28.7 per cent were Chinese, compared with 69.9 per cent and 29.2 per cent respectively, in 1980.

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CSO: 4200/343

## NEW REGION TWO MILITARY COMMANDER PROFILED

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 12 Jan 87 p 4

[Text]

**KUCHING, Sun.** — New General Officer Commanding (GOC) of Region Two (Sabah and Sarawak) Mej Jen Datuk Haji Mustapha bin Awang has assumed his new posting here in Kuching. It took effect on January 1.

Jen Datuk Mustapha, 48, who arrived here last week takes over from outgoing Mej Jen Datuk Haji Ahmad Haji Kadir who has been posted to Malacca as Commander of the Third Infantry Division.

A former Chief of Staff (operations) at the Defence Ministry, Jen Datuk Mustapha is a graduate from the Royal Military Academy of Sandhurst.

He also holds a Masters degree in political science from the University of Lancaster, United Kingdom.

Commissioned in 1958, Jen Datuk Mustapha saw action during the Emergency in Perak and Kedah before being sent to Congo with the Malayan Special Force in 1962.

The following year he was appointed liaison of-

ficer at the United Nations headquarters in Leopoldville.

During the Indonesian confrontation between 1964 and 1965, he was Company Commander of Sehatik Island. He was promoted to the rank of Lt Kol in 1970 as Staff Officer at the National Operations Council.

Jen Datuk Mustapha has also headed Armed Forces Staff College between 1973 and 1975 and a year later became commandant of Pulada for three years where he was promoted to the rank of full Kolonel. In 1980, he served at the Rajang Security Command (Rascom) in Sarawak.

As a Brigadier General in 1981, he was commander of the Second Infantry Brigade in Ipoh before being promoted to the rank of Mej Jen three years later and appointed Chief of Staff Operations.

Jen Datuk Mustapha who has received higher military education in other institutions such as the Indian Defence Services Staff College and Australian Joint Services Staff College is also an avid sportsman excelling in polo, golf and hockey.

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CSO: 4200/343

## VERITAS COLUMNIST HITS MULTINATIONAL INFLUENCE ON TV

Quezon City VERITAS in English 1-7 Jan 86 p 9

["It Was Like This" column by Mario P. Chanco--"Television: The Unseen Public Menace"]

[Text]

AST Sunday's morning newspapers quoted President Cory Aquino as saying she had decided to backtrack on an election pledge to dismantle the government propaganda machinery. This equipment, one recalls, saw frequent and active use during the time of the former President Marcos. Immediately after having been sworn into office, Ms. Aquino said she saw no more need for this apparatus. She said so in the sincere belief that once her new government began setting a few things in place, there would be no need for a state-owned propaganda machine.

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Today, ten months after the February revolution, Ms. Aquino has issued an executive order saying all the government information offices and communications outlets will be retained and will henceforth be under Press Secretary Teodoro Benigno. In what must loom as the new government's Understatement of the Year, the President said: "Sometimes I think you will have to agree with me about the conflicting reports in some publications. It is not clear to the public which side is the government's. So I don't think the people will begrudge the government for informing them exactly what our stand is."

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Truer words could not have been spoken. In the continuous drumfire generated by more than 20 new daily newspapers, the so-called crony press of both sides, the hundreds of radio stations and television

channels, getting at the truth of public policies has not been an easy job. The sudden unleashing of media power after 14 years of suppression produced shockwaves which have not settled. It is not merely the media practitioners themselves who seem to be flying off in all directions. The media ownership issue has come in also for criticism. In the face of these distractions, government resort to its own information arms became not only inevitable, but a simple matter of self-defense.

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However we might view the Presidential change of heart, vis-a-vis the recreation of an office at first despised, one wonders whether the President might have truly seen it all, or whether her advisers looked at the issue of information from every side, and not just one. One gathers from Ms. Aquino's concern over the current state of mass media that it is the print media that is responsible for much of the current disinformation. The pro-Marcos radio stations, perhaps a few periodicals, may also be held to book.

The truth of the matter is that it is not just pure politics alone that is driving the media juggernaut to an irrevocable climax. It is the question of *economics*, of the *economics of survival*, principally.

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As many of the print media that erupted after the Revolution may soon have to cease publication if for no other reason that they will have run out of funds. Even

for those believed to be supported by the deposed regime, the future is bleak for the new mass media. Either they will be forced to merge, cut pages, staff, or go out of business entirely. And since their capability to uphold a given sponsor's views and interests are limited by their ability to gain public acceptance, a chancy thing enough except in the heady weeks after February, 1986, their ultimate fate seems a foregone conclusion.

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The real media peril that confronts Cory Aquino, her government and her people comes from television. Both its public and private ownerships are currently controlled by multinational and national firms, the latter also influenced by the former. Together, these sponsors pour 80 per cent of their advertising money into programs designed to produce a progressively mediocre, an aggressively anti-Filipino culture. The fantastic sums that TV gets is at the expense of print media and radio, which together account for less than 20 per cent of all ad money spent. With their deadening investments in TV, the multinationals and satellite Filipino firms chip away remorselessly at the Filipino way of life, poke fun at our institutions, and by indirect omission make it appear to audiences bigger than all print media circulation combined, that poverty is a crime, that only the West is Best.

Everything is of course done sophisticatedly, even to the commercials that extol Filipino beer fiestas -- but their total subterranean approach remains devastating. If the new Cory information package can somehow temper this insidious materialistic subversion of our founding democracy, the messages she wants to deliver to her countrymen will be heard. But unless the enemy is *first recognized for what it is*, a thousand daily newspapers singing hossanas to the Cory government will not make any difference.

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CSO: 4200/344

RESERVE EVIDENT IN VERITAS PRAISE OF AQUINO

Quezon City VERITAS in English 1-7 Jan 87 p 7

[Editorial: "Woman of the Year"]

[Text] **I**T IS a different Cory Aquino who graces *Time's* cover as "Woman of the Year."

She looks out at the world, fist clenched under her chin, eyes flashing confidence from behind spectacles that she refused to remove. The look is calm and authoritative, there is even a hint of a smile in the lips that says — what? — that all will be well in '87, that a 'Yes' vote will prevail, that the Communists will come and lie down with the NAFP, that she will finally root out corruption from the body politic? Could it be all of the above?

The new government has succeeded in setting a triumphant mood that on this cusp between the old and new year, we are inclined to join in the spirit of these high-flown hopes. Ten months of reality have of course shown us that, as a sage noted long ago, "the more things change, the more they stay the same." But beneath our patina of pessimism, lurks the lingering hope that Cory, with the people behind her, can pull it off.

She herself has said: "It is the Filipino people together who were able to believe in themselves because of what they were

able to do in the election and then in the revolution."

And this is why we as a people are thrilled to pieces with this latest feather in her hat which we will wear communally as the fillip to our own efforts. It is as if the *Time* editors had put each of our faces on their cover, for to honor Cory is to honor all Filipinos who fought for freedom and defended it so gallantly.

Perhaps this is what makes the *Time* cover so striking. There is a Filipino phrase that describes the President's new look: *bilib sa sarili*. [strong self-confidence]. There is a pejorative tone to the expression and we blame this to the historical experience which conditioned us to belittle ourselves, and to downgrade self-confidence as a quality and a virtue.

After nearly a year of trial and testing and triumph, Cory has good reason to believe in herself. If we are able to stay the course with her, the Filipino people will have enough reason to believe in themselves as well.

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## BERNAS CLARIFIES CHARTER STEPS TO AUTONOMY

Quezon City VERITAS in English 1-7 Jan 87 p 8

["Occasional Reflections" column by Joaquin G. Bernas, S.J.: "Muslim Mindanao!"]

[Text] IN A recent trip to Zamboanga City I found that the constitutional provisions on "autonomous regions" were disturbing some Christians in the area. From what I could gather it seemed that the disturbance was due to some deliberate misinterpretation of the provisions. I say "deliberate" because the names cited to me as responsible for the disinformation were those of people who, by the use of ordinary intelligence, with which I am sure they are endowed (although I could be wrong), should have known better.

What I heard being spread in Zamboanga was that a vote for the draft constitution would automatically place all of Mindanao under Muslim law, or something to that effect. Which, of course, is not what the draft constitution says. Especially for the inhabitants of Mindanao, therefore, let me outline the steps that will lead to the effective organization of the autonomous regions.

The first step will be the plebiscite of next February 2. If the electorate ratifies the new Constitution, it will mean the "go signal" for the establishment of two autonomous regions, one in Mindanao and one in the Cordilleras. But the February 2 vote will NOT yet identify the components of the two autonomous regions NOR will it establish the autonomous regions. The identification of the components of the autonomous regions and the establishment of the autonomous regions will come in the next steps.

The second step will consist of a referendum in the geographical areas designated as Mindanao and Cordilleras in order to determine which areas within these two regions wish to be part of the autonomous

regions. Section 18 says that "only provinces, cities, and geographic areas voting favorably in said plebiscite shall be included in the autonomous region." Which means that it is possible for a cluster of municipalities or barangays within one province to opt not to belong to the autonomous region.

The third step is the formulation of the Organic Act which will set out the details governing the autonomous regions. In the formulation of the Organic Act, sectoral representatives from the autonomous regions will take part. (Which is why I say that the component geographic areas of the autonomous region must first be determined before the formulation of the Organic Act.)

At any rate, whether the formulation of the Organic Act comes before or after the determination of the geographic areas, there is no such thing as automatic Muslimization of all of Mindanao. The second plebiscite (after February 2) is precisely for the purpose of determining which parts of Mindanao would be considered Muslim Mindanao and therefore governable by Muslim traditions and customs. Which brings us to the rationale of the establishment of autonomous regions.

Section 15 says that the autonomous regions shall consist of "provinces, cities, municipalities, and geographic areas sharing common and distinctive historical and cultural heritage, economic and social structures, and other relevant characteristics within the framework" of one sovereign nation. The understanding is that there are such provinces, cities, municipalities, and geographic areas in Mindanao (i.e., the Muslim part of Mindanao) and in the Cor-

dilleras, but that between the areas of Muslim Mindanao and of the Cordilleras there is a more or less homogenous culture. Thus, only the extreme North and the extreme South are given the distinctive privilege of forming autonomous regions. Privilege?

I would even say that it is more than just a question of privilege. It is a question of right. One of the riches of the Filipino nation is the diversity of cultures found in it. These diverse cultures, as a matter of right, must be allowed to flourish. No one culture should be allowed to crush any other. Thus, the basis for the establishment of autonomous regions is diversity of cultures and not just geographic accidents. I would consider any movement towards autonomy which is not based in identity of culture (such as Minsupala seems to be) as of suspicious motivation. Autonomy based on geographic considerations could be inspired by motivations no less ignoble than what inspires gerrymandering!

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WEEKLY CRITICIZES BUSINESS RESPONSE TO RECOVERY NEEDS

Quezon City VERITAS in English 1-7 Jan 87 p 6

[Editorial--"For Philippine Business: An Examination of Conscience"]

[Text]

**S**O FAR, the presidential magic wand has failed to wave economic recovery into reality. Christmas 1986 was no different from the celebrations of the past in this country of the very rich and the very poor. Only a few could enjoy the festive bounty. For many Filipinos, the season's generous display of material goods has only left them feeling more hungry and more deprived, the outsiders looking in over the walls at the rich neighbor's grand fiesta. The February revolution has not changed that for them.

The Aquino government has clearly placed the responsibility for economic recovery on the private sector. It has taken steps to reduce government control of and intervention in the conduct and management of business enterprises.

The question is: Will the Philippine business community rise to the occasion? Can it muster the will to commit its resources to get the country moving again? Will business be willing to take the risks?

So far the Philippine business sector has been gingerly about testing the waters for new investments or even for expanding on old issues. This has had a negative ripple effect on foreign investments. Indeed, the foreign investors will have to take their cue from their local counterparts. For all the promotional and publicity gains of a superstar president however, the Filipino businessman has so far decided to hold out on the President, on the Filipino people and on the future of the country itself.

And they've built up a pretty good case for their withdrawal from the fray. They say they want assurances of continued stability. They've asked for a new Minister of Labor more sympathetic to their needs. They've questioned what they have perceived as the drift of government to the left and are alarmed at the propaganda gains of the NDF-CPP-NPA.

The picture does not quite match the portrait of the daring captains of trade and commerce, of the builders of industrial empires. These are not the movers and the shakers whose energies will start up the motors and rev up the engines of a beleaguered economy.

Rather the image is closer to the whining spoiled brat or the simpering maidenly aunt who is afraid of getting her elbows wet on Good Friday.

Perhaps the hyped-up myth of the businessman as visionary questor of the grail of success really does not fit the reality of Philippine business. Philippine business largely originated from the secured interests of the landed gentry who inherited political power from the colonial masters of Spain and America. Combining these twin legacies, the Philippine businessman never had to take the risks. For many of them, the pool of Philippine enterprise and investment has been a life in a goldfish bowl.

It seems pretty obvious to most observers that stability follows on the heels of economic recovery, that political reconstruction can be directed and shaped by capital inflows, by jobs, by economic and social benefits for those who do not as yet enjoy them. Even the fight against insurgency can be eased with increased livelihood opportunities, with more food on the table, with better homes, with more cash in the pockets of the poor.

How can Cory Aquino convince the rebels that her assurances of reform are more than just rhetoric, if her government cannot persuade Filipino businessmen to back her leadership and her promises? We recall that in the seventies Martial Law was welcomed by Philippine business and that Mr. Marcos was hailed for his authority and his control. His curtailment of press freedom and his cutting away of human rights were justified as an exchange for economic goods.

It seems to us that Philippine business would like Mrs. Aquino to be like Mr. Marcos so that they can be more comfortable and more at ease with the new regime, to feel at home, so to speak. For indeed, the businessman had never had it so good as during those times when legitimate dissent was hounded as subversion, when strikes were declared illegal, when monopolies and protective measures safeguarded his capital. He was not forced to compete for his profits and his gains. He never had to show that he delivered a better product, that he gave more for the money. He never had to demonstrate that his interests in the environment of his trade were on the long term, and that his partnership with the consumer was writ larger than the cash transaction.

Much has been said of the role of Filipino businessmen in ousting Ferdinand Marcos. It was admittedly their turning against the dictatorship that clinched the downfall. But for a few notable exceptions, Philippine business held back their participation in the protest movement until the very last minute, when the political dynamics had assured them a winning hand.

Are we asking too much of business to prove now that the system can be made to work without having to give up on democratic gains, without having to yield on human rights and civil liberties — all those political goods that Mr. Marcos said we had to trade off for economic progress? Are we not right in wanting to prove him

wrong, in exposing the hypocrisy of his political vision?

Philippine business proved a willing and effective partner of Mr. Marcos and his friends in the pursuit of the New Society. That grand design left the Philippines as the basket case of Asian economies. It was an experiment that forced us in the end to trade in our pride and to hang our heads in shame.

Philippine business must now realize that there can be no turning back to reconsider once again the options that in the past gave the majority so little substantial benefits.

The posture of Philippine business is a crucial one.

On the eve of the New Year, we ask Philippine business to take pause and to examine their conscience with the question: In their effort to reduce their risks, are they not also cutting down the options of President Corazon Aquino and are they not, in effect, diminishing the opportunities for genuine democratic reform in this country?

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THAILAND

COMMERCIAL ATTACHE SLOTS FOR U.S., EEC TO BE UPGRADED

Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 13 Nov 86 p p 7, 10

[Unattributed report: "Commercial Attache Slots Upgraded to Level 10 for Strategic Trade Points in World"]

[Text] Plans have been made to overhaul the entire foreign commercial network. The commercial attache slots for the United States, EEC, Japan, and other strategic trade points in the world will be upgraded to C-9 or C-10, which is equivalent to an ambassador. In addition, the chain of command will be changed, too.

A high-level news source in the Ministry of Commerce told NAEO NA that Mr Phachon Isonsanao, the under secretary of commerce, is making radical changes in the foreign network of the Ministry of Commerce.

The foreign network of the Ministry of Commerce consists of two parts: the commercial advisory offices, which are subordinate to the Office of the Under Secretary, and the commercial centers, which are subordinate to the Department of Commercial Relations.

Recently, three factors led Mr Phachon to decide to overhaul this network. First, the roles played by these two parts overlap. Second, many of the people sent abroad to work are inefficient. And third, nothing has been done to improve the structure or roles of these units in accord with the economic and trade situation in the world and in Thailand.

According to the plan formulated by Mr Phachon, the task of promoting exports will be given to the commercial centers. The commercial advisory offices will be responsible for conducting negotiations and monitoring international trade matters or reaching international trade agreements. In effect, the commercial centers will be responsible for promoting the sale of Thai products abroad. Thus, it is necessary to choose locations where there are markets for Thai goods or which are targeted for development as markets for Thai goods. The people assigned to the commercial centers must be salesmen or sales promotion people.

It isn't necessary to have as many commercial advisory offices as today. Offices should be established only in strategic points for international

trade, in the places where international trade headquarters are located, or in countries and cities that are important to Thailand, such as the United States; Japan; Brussels, Belgium; Geneva, Switzerland; and Indonesia, which is where ASEAN has its headquarters. Commercial advisory offices should also be established in places where there are world trade markets, such as London, England.

Thus, the commercial advisory offices play a major role, because they must conduct negotiations and monitor EEC, U.S. and Japanese activities that could affect Thailand. The people assigned to the commercial advisory offices must, therefore, be selected very carefully. According to the plan of Mr Phachon, zones will be created. In each zone, one of the commercial advisory offices will be selected to serve as the zone center. It will be responsible for the work of both the commercial advisory offices and the commercial centers in the zone. All reports sent to the Ministry of Commerce and orders issued by the ministry will go through the zone center.

"For example, in the upper Asian zone, the commercial advisory office in Beijing will serve as the zone center. It will be responsible for overseeing things in China, Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan," said the news source.

The news source said that Mr Phachon will try to find a way upgrade the level of commercial advisors from C-8 to C-9. And if possible, he wants to raise the level of those in particularly important locations, such as the EEC and the United States, to C-10. Because based on the plan, the tasks that the commercial advisors will be assigned will require them to be very knowledgeable people who are capable of fulfilling heavy responsibilities. Also, the commercial advisors who are assigned to important spots should be of sufficiently high rank that they can negotiate with EEC or U.S. officials.

Mr Phachon has already begun overhauling the system. In October, he put 24 of the commercial advisory offices under the control of the Department of Commercial Relations. Only seven are still subordinate to the Office of the Under Secretary. The 24 offices that were transferred will be converted into commercial centers. They will be involved in export promotion activities.

The seven offices that remain include the offices in Washington, DC, Geneva, Brussels, Beijing, Jakarta, Tokyo, and London.

At the same time, personnel changes are being made at all seven of these commercial advisory offices. Mr Chaimongkhon Phonlasai, the commercial advisor in Tokyo, and Mr Thammanun Chieusakun, the head of the trade promotion unit, Planning and Coordination Division, will switch positions. The present commercial advisor stationed in Jakarta will be recalled to Thailand in order to send someone who is more qualified. The problem in changing personnel is finding positions for the commercial advisors who will be transferred to the ministry. This is because the C-8 slots at the ministry are already filled.

In changing the duties of these 24 commercial advisory offices and placing them under the control of the Department of Commercial Relations instead of the Office of the Under Secretary, one problem is that in some countries, the Department of Commercial Relations will have two or three units whose duties overlap. This problem can be solved by combining units into just one unit in order to save money. And if necessary, some units can be converted into branch offices.

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CSO: 4207/90



SOURCES CITE COMMERCE-MFA RIFT OVER U.S. TRADE ISSUES

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 13 Dec 86 pp 1, 16

[Unattributed report: "In Exchange of Trade Factors, United States Comes Out on Top of Thailand"]

[Text] The United States has gained the advantage over Thailand once again. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to exchange factors without consulting the Ministry of Commerce. As a result, the value of trade that Thailand will gain from the Generalized System of Preferences is much lower than the profits that the United States will make from Thailand.

A high-level news source in the Ministry of Commerce revealed that the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently held talks with and reached a trade agreement with the United States. The two sides agreed to an exchange of trade preferences. The terms of the agreement can be summarized as follows:

1. Thai goods exported to the United States will continue to come under the Generalized System of Preferences as before. However, there are conditions:
2. Thailand must revise its measures on controlling the import of soybeans. It must switch from a quota system to a tariff system.
3. Thailand must reduce the present import tax on tobacco.
4. Thailand must reduce the import tax on cotton.
5. Thailand must abide by the law on intellectual property rights.

The news source said that it was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that made the decision to exchange these trade conditions. Senior people in the Ministry of Commerce were not informed of this. As a result, the United States has again gained the advantage over Thailand. The reason is that the value of trade that Thailand will gain from the Generalized System of Preferences is much less than the profits that the United States will make from Thailand.

The news source added that if efforts are made to solve the trade problems using politics to lead the way, which is what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did in this case, and if matters are not studied very carefully, the benefits

gained will be mostly political benefits rather than trade benefits. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should have discussed this with the Ministry of Commerce before concluding an agreement with the United States.

As for the Generalized System of Preferences that the United States uses with Third-World countries, that is something that the United States has given of its own accord. No one asked for that. Thus, the United States should not have used this as a condition in bargaining with Thailand. Besides this, the Generalized System of Preferences sets quotas on imports. If the quotas are exceeded, the exporting country must pay taxes at the normal rate. In actuality, Thai goods can still compete on U.S. markets even if we have to pay the normal rate. For example, Thailand has not received any import-tax preferences on the canned tuna that it exports to the United States. But Thai tuna is still able to compete there. Sales are even improving, said the news source.

"In view of the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in such a rush and concluded a trade agreement without discussing this with the Ministry of Commerce, if there are any losses as a result of this, it is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that will have to take responsibility," said the news source.

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COLUMNIST: U.S. NOT SUPPORTING THAILAND ON MANY ISSUES

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 15 Nov 86 p 2

[Around the World column by Trairat: "Look first, Yankee"]

[Text] A seminar on Thai-U.S. problems was held in Uttaradit Province. The seminar was attended by former diplomats, scholars, and others. Based on the views expressed by the Americans at the seminar, it is clear that the United States still views Thailand as an underling who must do the bidding of its boss in Washington. Whenever we fail to follow its lead or stray off the path, the United States flies into a rage. An example is when the United States attacked Libya and Thailand voted against it in the United Nations. A U.S. delegate complained that Thailand had betrayed the United States. They also claim that it is perfectly all right for the United States to implement protectionist measures and export agricultural goods to dominate world markets. They say that this shouldn't hurt Thailand, which enjoys a trade balance with the United States. Besides this, the U.S. delegate claimed that the Korean and Vietnam wars benefited Thailand.

From just this, it is quite clear that everything that they do is aimed at benefiting themselves. No one should expect them to be sincere. In particular, who lives and who dies is of no concern to them at all as long as the United States survives. The United States fought in Korea and Vietnam because it wanted to limit communism to China and North Vietnam. But after Vietnam fell and the United States withdrew, communism expanded throughout Indochina. The United States wanted to help. But when China and the Soviet Union split apart, the United States pulled out and passed the ball to China and ASEAN.

Thailand should have realized long ago that it made a mistake by following the butt of the United States. Thai soldiers were sent to fight in Korea and Vietnam just because we thought that the United States would help us. But in reality, they tricked us into fighting and dying to protect American soldiers.

As for their setting tariff barriers and flooding the markets with agricultural goods, from now on, we shouldn't expect the United States to show any sympathy for small countries such as Thailand. What we must do is find bargaining chips or join with other countries to fight back against the United States. Otherwise, we will always get hurt when the United States betrays us.

The United States is now ignoring the Cambodian problem. During the period when hundreds of thousands of refugees began pouring into Thailand, the United States asked Thailand to help them, saying that, like other countries, it would provide support. But now, it has withdrawn, and it is Thailand that bears the burden alone. In principle, the United States should be doing everything it can to support the Khmer coalition, because the coalition is resisting the Vietnamese invaders. But in recent years, the United States has shown little interest in providing help. And again, it is Thailand that has suffered. The war in Cambodia has expanded, and sometimes the fighting spills over into Thailand. But the United States pays little attention to Thailand. They don't think of us as the frontline country. The United States is no longer interested in the war in Cambodia, a war that it started. As compared with the huge amounts of aid that the United States is giving to the Nicaraguan rebels and to Honduras, the United States has almost completely abandoned our region.

What is certain is that after the United States has stirred up trouble in Honduras and Nicaragua and discovers that it cannot cope with the situation there, it will flee the area just as it fled from this area. Who will trust the United States after that?

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UNBRO, ARMY COOPERATION ALONG PRK BORDER DESCRIBED

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 1 Dec 86 p 2

[An Interesting World column: "UNBRO and the Thai Military"]

[Excerpts] DAILY NEWS was invited to come observe things along the Thai-Cambodian border and observe the cooperation between the U.N. Border Relief Organization (UNBRO), which is part of the U.N. World Food Program, and the forces guarding the border, particularly along that stretch of the border for which the Suranari Force is responsible.

Today, UNBRO is helping villages in seven Thai-Cambodian border provinces that have been directly affected by the events along the border. It is providing 900 tons of rice a month. It has also provided 450,000 kg of salted and canned fish and 400,000 kg of vegetable oil. The villages that are part of this aid project include border villages in Ubon Ratchathani Province, which is located in the upper northeast, Sisaket, Surin, and Buriram provinces, which are located in the lower northeast, and Chanthaburi, Trat, and Prachinburi provinces.

UNBRO turns the food over to the Thai military, which then distributes the food. The Suranari Force distributes 262 tons of rice a month within its area of responsibility, which includes Ubon Ratchathani, Sisaket, Surin, and Buriram provinces. The Burapha Force, which is responsible for Prachinburi Province, distributes 527 tons. The Chanthaburi-Trat Force distributes 112 tons in these two provinces.

UNBRO has been providing such aid for many years now. It provides a total of more than 900 metric tons of food. The Thai military has established various aid programs. For example, school lunch programs have been started at more than 500 primary schools, and children's centers have been set up in approximately 70 border villages. The military has also started a food-for-labor program in order to encourage the villagers to help themselves.

Besides providing food, UNBRO has also provided financial support. More than 21 million baht has been provided, with the military passing on the money through the provincial governors. The provinces have used this aid money to

carry on various projects, such as the project to make cement water jars for the people who live along the border and to build water tanks. A total of 14,000 jars and tanks have been made.

The various aid projects carried out by UNBRO in cooperation with the military have played an important role in helping the military achieve its objectives in maintaining security along the border. In particular, the lunch program has achieved long-term results in building strong and patriotic Thai children, who know that the food provided by UNBRO has helped them grow. As a result of this aid, the Thai people living along the border in these seven provinces are able to lead normal lives, and their morale is high.

One reason for this is that the military has provided protection and given them a sense of security in terms of their lives and property. It has provided much development aid, with the guiding principle being to have the villagers gain greater self-reliance. In particular, development work has been carried on in the area around Ban Dan in Kap Choeng District opposite Samrong Province in Democratic Kampuchea. The Chom Pass is located there. This is a very important area strategically. The Suranari Force has implemented strategic and tactical plans in conjunction with carrying on development work in order to improve security in this area. This has achieved good results.

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POTENTIAL FOR ASEAN MILITARY COOPERATION

Bangkok MATICHON SUT SAPDA in Thai 21 Dec 86 pp 13, 14

[Article by Surachat Bamrungkuk: "ASEAN Military Cooperation, the Road Is Still Bumpy"]

[Text] It is generally accepted that ASEAN is an economic, social, and cultural organization composed of a group of non-socialist countries in Southeast Asia. ASEAN leaders have occasionally tried to keep this organization from becoming an organization for military cooperation as was SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), whose role came to an end in 1975.

However, since the change in the administrative systems in the Indochinese countries in 1975 and the withdrawal of the United States from Southeast Asia in 1976, more and more people have been talking about the possibility of military cooperation among the ASEAN countries. But this does not mean that ASEAN will be turned into an organization for military cooperation.

This article will discuss the issue of ASEAN military cooperation in order to help clarify future trends. The question of ASEAN military cooperation is a major issue that will affect Thai security matters and policies in the future.

ASEAN Unity

Normally, various important factors are necessary for establishing a cooperative military organization. One such factor is a perceived common threat, or a common powerful enemy. This factor is like a threat that binds together the intentions of the countries that will work together under a joint security agreement. But if there is no "common enemy," it will be difficult for the countries to work together based on a joint military agreement.

The military cooperation between Thailand and the United States is an example of countries perceiving a common threat. The same is true for the military cooperation between the United States and its other allies. As for countries withdrawing from cooperative military organizations because of holding views that are different from those of the leader of the group, there are examples in both the Western and Eastern camps. Sometimes, a country may remain a member of the group but not play an important role.

SEATO provides a clear example. Or it can be said that the perception of a common threat results in states sharing a common interest in implementing joint political-military measures in order to eliminate the threat or reduce it to a tolerable level. Considering this in the case of ASEAN, it can be seen that there is no clear common enemy. Even though opposition to Vietnam's actions in Cambodia has been voiced in the United Nations, if we consider things in detail instead of looking just at the action taken by countries in an international forum, it can be seen that Indonesia and Malaysia hold fairly similar views on the Cambodian problem while Thailand and Singapore have a different view. This is clear from the diplomatic policies implemented by these countries. Regardless of whether these differences arose because of specific reasons or because of the historical and political realities of these countries, this shows that these countries hold different views regarding the threat. Thus, it is unlikely that Vietnam will become a "common threat" that can serve as a factor to push the ASEAN countries into forming a military organization.

Another factor is how these countries view China. Thailand presently has close relations with China. But Malaysia and Indonesia still feel that China poses more of a threat to them than does Vietnam. As a result, instead of Vietnam or China (one of these countries) serving as a factor to push these countries into forming a military organization, they may well serve as factors to sow disunity among the Asean countries on the security front.

Besides the matter of unity in implementing foreign policy on the Vietnamese problem (including the Cambodian problem) and the Chinese problem, there are internal disputes among members of ASEAN that are weakening the unity of the group. Such disputes include the dispute between Malaysia and the Philippines over Sabah. Even though the matter has quieted down now, the problem could arise again at any time. The disputes over ocean resources, which stem from economic expansion, particularly the 200-mile limit of the coastal countries, and the claims made by these countries to rights over various islands could easily destroy ASEAN's internal unity.

The ASEAN countries are suspicious of each other, too. Because while ASEAN is trying to display unity, there is also great competition among the members of this organization. One example is the effort that each country is making to increase revenues by competing for tourists. Another is the struggle for foreign investment projects. Also, these countries produce similar types of products and so they must compete against each other for export markets. Although these things do not concern security directly, they are, however, factors that cannot be ignored when considering ASEAN's unity. No one expects there to be perfect unity, because this competition among the members of ASEAN has caused these countries to view each other with suspicion.

If the members of ASEAN want to expand the role of ASEAN and turn it into an efficient military alliance, these countries will have to have greater trust in each other. That is, they will have to stop viewing each other with suspicion. This is because political and military cooperation is a very delicate matter that requires mutual trust among the allied countries. If these countries really want to create a regional military organization, they will have to stop trying to hurt each other on certain fronts before these



matters develop into international disputes, which would put an end to the idea of cooperating on basic issues. If such problems arise, it will be difficult to talk about political-military cooperation.

### Cooperation Today

Even though ASEAN is not a regional military organization at the present time, there is military cooperation among some of the member countries. The only thing is that that military cooperation is of a bilateral nature. (That is, ASEAN is not the basis for this cooperation, and it has not arranged this military cooperation.)

An example of such bilateral military cooperation includes cooperation between Thailand and Malaysia in suppressing the communists along the Thai-Malaysian border. For example, the two countries launched the joint Dao Yai Musana operation in 1977. But after that joint operation, the two countries grew suspicious of each other. Malaysia believes that Thailand is supporting and giving sanctuary to the Malaysian communists, who are of Chinese extraction, inside Thailand. And Thailand feels that Malaysia is providing sanctuary and giving money and weapons to the separatists operating in southern Thailand. As a result of these suspicions, no more large-scale joint operations have been conducted since 1977. At one time, people viewed these operations as an excellent model for cooperation among the ASEAN countries.

There have also been joint military exercises, which is another aspect of military cooperation. But this, too, has been done on a bilateral basis. Most of the joint military exercises have been naval and air exercises. For example, Thailand and Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, and Indonesia and the Philippines have held joint naval and air exercises. There have occasionally been joint exercises involving three countries, one example being an exercise held by Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. (There have been few such exercises. Most of the military exercises have been bilateral exercises.)

In addition to these joint exercises, there have been exchanges of military students, and soldiers from one country has been sent to train in another country. For example, soldiers from Singapore have undergone jungle warfare training in Malaysia, soldiers from Malaysia and Singapore have trained in Thailand, and Malaysian soldiers have trained in Indonesia. Besides giving these soldiers a chance to learn about each other, this has given them experience in fighting in terrain that is different from that in their own country. This has also fostered good relations among the officers participating in these exercises, and this could serve as a basis for military cooperation in the future.

## Future Aspects

Besides holding joint military exercises, exchanging military students, and granting permission to use sites for military training, there are other aspects of military cooperation that should be given attention. For example:

Command, control, communications and liaison, and intelligence gathering:

Today, there is unofficial cooperation between the intelligence units of member countries in exchanging information. But this cooperation can be upgraded. For example, there have been reports that Singapore has purchased an E-2C advance warning aircraft. This aircraft can be of benefit to the air defense systems of Thailand and Malaysia (and this could be expanded to include Indonesia, too). And joint air defense networks, such as the Thai-Malaysian network, can be expanded and/or coordinated better. This will increase efficiency in closing the air gaps from northern Thailand to Singapore. The E-2C aircraft will provide much help in controlling this air space.

Besides the future of joint aerial cooperation, another thing that needs to be given more attention is cooperation in conducting sea patrols. This is because all of the ASEAN countries are coastal countries. Thus, maintaining their sea defenses, or protecting their sea interests, is another important issue. The navies of Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia have the capability to control their inner waters. Singapore's navy now has greater capabilities because it has been equipped with additional missile-equipped patrol boats. Such cooperation in conducting sea patrols would help in suppressing piracy and narcotics smuggling on the high seas.

Weapons depot, joint logistics, establishment of a standard system of weapons:

The militaries of the ASEAN countries already have a standard system of weapons to a certain extent. In particular, the air forces of the ASEAN countries all use F-5 aircraft (with the exception of Brunei). Besides this, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore also use A-4 aircraft. In the future, Thailand and Singapore will both have F-16 aircraft. (Indonesia may be the next country to purchase F-16 aircraft.) Also, C-130 transport aircraft are in use in the ASEAN countries.

As for the armies of these countries, even though a variety of weapons are in use, such as the M-16, the HK-33, and the SAR-80, they all use 5.56-mm ammunition. And they all use 105-mm artillery, 60- and 81-mm mortars, and 106-mm recoilless rifles.

As for the navies, with the exception of the Philippines and Singapore, the other four ASEAN countries use patrol boats armed with Exsocet surface-to-surface missiles. Thailand and Singapore also use Gabriel missiles.

From this, it can be seen that these countries can cooperate on the logistics front in order to help each other when one country encounters shortages during a crisis. Thus, in one period, Thailand, which feels that it has the greatest problems as ASEAN's "frontline state," proposed that ASEAN establish a "joint

weapons depot." (This was proposed during the period that Gen Saiyut Koetphon was supreme commander.) Nothing more was said about this until October 1985, when people began discussing this again in earnest. However, the original idea has been altered greatly. Now, the idea is to establish a joint Thai-U.S. weapons depot, not a joint ASEAN weapons depot. However, the details about this are not yet clear, and it is not known whether the other members of ASEAN will be allowed to participate.

Besides this, it is hoped that the ASEAN countries will one day be able to build a weapons system that is truly standardized just like the one that exists in the NATO countries.

#### Production of weapons and military equipment:

As is known, the ASEAN countries have the ability to produce certain types of weapons and military equipment. For example, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore can produce a variety of weapons. Thailand and Malaysia can produce certain types of weapons. Looking at this in greater detail, it can be seen that Singapore is more advanced than the other members of ASEAN. The ASEAN countries could exchange data, information, and technical capabilities in order to develop a real weapons industry. Or each country could be designated as having "expertise in a particular field." Each country could be given support in developing its capabilities in developing and producing weapons in order to avoid complications in production. This would help solve the problem of establishing a standard system of weapons and help ensure a market for the weapons in this region. The problem is how to foster sufficient trust among these countries so that they will exchange military technology.

#### Future Trends

As mentioned above, there has been military cooperation among the ASEAN countries. But this has been cooperation among individual countries. There has not been cooperation as part of an ASEAN program. Thus, it cannot be said that ASEAN is a regional military organization. What is important is that if ASEAN does become a military organization, this could lead to increased military competition in this region. This could lead to a real confrontation between the military allies of Indochina and ASEAN.

However, it is doubtful that the ASEAN countries will join together to form a united military organization. This is because the ASEAN countries have different views on the threats, and they are still suspicious of each other. It seems that the only things that can be done at the moment are to increase cooperation in areas in which they are already cooperating and to look for other ways to cooperate short of establishing a joint military organization.

Thus, it seems unlikely that ASEAN will become a military organization. The leaders of the ASEAN countries are not ready to take this action.

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CSO: 4207/97

PREM ENVOY TO LAOS INTERVIEWED ON TIES, TRADE

Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 14 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview with Arun Phanuphong, the former deputy minister of foreign affairs and an advisor to the prime minister; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] You have been chosen to head the delegation going to Laos at the end of this month. What will be done to improve relations?

[Answer] Relations in the past period have definitely affected both sides. There have been conflicts, and we have leveled charges against each other. But now, I think that we both have the same objective and realize that it is time to improve relations with each other. Action will be taken on all matters. But if we are to make a start in improving relations, I think that we must avoid problematic issues for the moment.

Our group will travel to Laos during the period 27-29 November. Laos has already agreed. More than 20 people from various units concerned will make the trip. This includes people from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, the National Security Council, the Ministry of Commerce, and the governors of Nong Khai, Nakhon Phanom, and Mukdahan provinces.

[Question] What topics have been prepared for discussion?

[Answer] We plan to discuss economic and trade issues. But if Laos wants to discuss other topics such as strategic goods, border transit points, or other problems, we will discuss those things. But they will have to be the one to raise these issues.

[Question] Do you think that this will be a new step forward in relations?

[Answer] We have to start with the least contentious issues or issues of mutual interest. That is my line. Regardless of what issues they raise, we will start with the easier ones, such as trade, travel, and cultural exchanges. These are relatively easy issues. There are few problems in these areas.

[Question] It seems that your group has a good chance of doing that.

[Answer] I think that our side must see what their intentions are. That is, we have to determine what their real objectives are. The goal of this delegation is to find an opening and make preparations for the foreign ministers to hold negotiations. We are definitely not going there to hold negotiations. We are going there to hold talks and see what possibilities exist. Regardless of what is discussed, we will have to return to Bangkok and consider things carefully. And we will invite them to come to Bangkok for further talks. I have to keep the government informed about what is acceptable and not acceptable or areas of flexibility.

[Question] Sitthi has stated that the National Security Council has already removed many items from the list of strategic goods. Has this been announced?

[Answer] We don't know what Laos wants. We will try to be flexible on this issue. They have to do something, too, to relieve our fears on various matters, which may concern this.

[Question] It seems that Laos wants us to lift the ban on all strategic goods. Is there any possibility of that?

[Answer] They have not said that directly. We will have to listen to what they have to say. We have reasons... concerning what they will do with these goods. We are concerned only about our national security. We are concerned that this could affect us in some way. If we are sure, then there won't be any problem. Have they given us any assurances?

[Question] What about the 600 tons of asphalt and steel bridge frames that we have withheld from shipment?

[Answer] I am not sure about this. That is, I am not sure whether we really have blocked shipment or whether there is some other problem. In many cases in which they have charged us with blocking the shipment of goods, the real reason why the goods have not been shipped is that they have not acted in accord with our customs regulations. Sometimes, they refuse to pay the godown fees. And sometimes there is a question of how the goods will be transported. We, too, have problems. There may have been problems along the way. I am just not sure what the problem is in this case.

As for whether strategic goods will be released, it's the National Security Council, not me, who must answer that question. It's not that we don't want to trade with Laos and have good relations with them. It's just that we are afraid that they may use some of these goods in ways that pose a danger to us. It is the National Security Council that must make the decision.

[Question] Of what are we afraid?

[Answer] If relations are bad and we sell strategic goods to an enemy, think about what the result might be. As I have said, our only concern is for our

national security. It is not our intention to put pressure on them or block them without reason. Our only reason for taking such action is to maintain our security. It is up to government units to decide what poses a threat to us.

[Question] Have there been any new signals from Vientiane?

[Answer] The signals that have been given and the language used have been more friendly. They have stopped making offensive remarks. Recently, contacts have been made through our or through their ambassador. There have been very few offensive remarks.

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CSO: 4207/90

THAI MINERS DIG GEMS IN CAMBODIA

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 30 Nov 86 p 20

[Unattributed report: "AP Reveals That Thai Are Mining Gems in Cambodia"]

[Excerpt] Since 1980, which is when the rush for gems started, several hundred Thai miners who secretly crossed into Cambodia to dig for gems have disappeared or been killed. Some miners have returned with limbs missing as a result of stepping on land mines. Dr Anirut Suphawatt, the director of the Bo Rai Hospital in Trat Province, said that during the past 5 months, the hospital has performed amputations on 20 Thai miners who crossed into Cambodia to dig for gems.

Mr Bunchu Thaecham, age 43, a miner who has dug for gems in Battambang Province in Cambodia on approximately 40 separate occasions since 1980, said that miners risk their lives in an effort to make money. He said that he earned approximately 4,000 baht a month digging gems in Cambodia. That is approximately three times more than he could earn by digging for gems in Thailand.

The Thai who cross into Cambodia to dig for gems are no different from Thai fishermen who fish in the territorial waters of neighboring countries. Sometimes, they are arrested and imprisoned. Some have even been killed.

Mr Kawirat Arunthat, a government official in Bo Rai District, said that Bo Rai District is a source of Siam rubies. Approximately 80 percent of the 30,000 people who live in the district earn their living mining gems. But today, they don't have any money or gems. This is because private companies are now using tractors and other heavy equipment to mine gems instead of using manpower, which is how gems were mined during the previous 60 years.

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CSO: 4207/87

DEMOCRAT MP COMMENTS ON OPPOSITION TO ARMY SECRET FUND

Bangkok MATICHON SUT SAPDA in Thai 21 Dec 86 pp 10-12, 44

[Interview with Mr Samphan Paenphat, a Democrat MP from Nakhon Sithammarat Province and a member of the subcommittee considering the 1987 budget; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] At the party meeting held on 10 December, Mr Trairong Suwannakhiri, an MP from Songkhla Province, said that MPs do not listen to senior people and that they are lunatics concerning philosophical ideals. What is your opinion about this?

[Answer] I respect reason. I am not going to say that people's ideas are wrong. Our political theories are the basis for action. If we succeed, it can be called a theory. But if we can't use it, it is just an idea or dream. It is not wrong to try to put political theory into action. If theory is just taught at the universities and never used, no one would take those classes. Because if a theory can't be put into practice, no one would believe that theory and no one would attend that school. As for listening to senior people, this is not a good question to ask a new MP or an MP who does not have a political position. You should ask the senior people why MPs are not listening to them today. Those are the people whom you should ask, not me. My view is opposite to that of Mr Trairong. I feel that theory must be put into action. If action is taken, you can test people. And instead of asking why younger MPs don't obey senior people.... This is not a mistake on the part of the young MPs.

If you ask me, my answer is that the young MPs are conducting themselves properly today. That is, they are acting correctly. They are acting properly according to their beliefs. If senior people feel that we are doing something wrong, they should point out exactly what we are doing wrong and what we should do to correct things. It's like teaching a child. If you think a child is doing something wrong, you have to tell him what he is doing wrong. And you have to tell him what is right and what he should be doing. You can't just say that this and that are wrong. That is not the right way to teach a person. If you do, the child will never respect you.

Today, the younger people are not interested in what the general situation of the senior people is like. This is because they are interested in the work. I



am not on the executive committee. But I vote, because I remember what it was like to be a freshman MP in 1983. I was lonely, although not too lonely. We did not have that many MPs. We could discuss matters. But now, the number of Democrat Party MPs has almost doubled. The new MPs are more isolated. An effort has been made to place them on various subcommittees. As a result, everyone is busy with his own work and is not interested in what others are doing. In my view, "senior people" refers to those who have political seniority over me. This includes those who hold political positions and those who are responsible for party administration. Even if they are not senior to me in terms of age, they are my senior by virtue of position.

[Question] If you serve on this subcommittee again next year, will you take a tough attitude toward the army's budget like this year?

[Answer] I feel that the military must be better prepared. If people feel that I am trying to instruct those who are senior to me, I apologize. But the fact is that each of the armed services has been lax in making preparations. Perhaps they feel that parliament will automatically pass the budget and so they don't have to prepare very well. Or perhaps they don't think that the subcommittee wants to know anything and will not ask many questions. But the military is wrong about this. All they have to do is inform us of the main points. They don't have to divulge any secrets. But simply telling us that the budget can't be cut is not sufficient. I can't accept that as a reason. All we ask is that they make better preparations. They must consider this as something that is important, because this gives honor to the subcommittee. And if they do that, they will benefit in return.

[Question] From what has happened this year, do you think that MPs will dare inspect the secret budget in the future?

[Answer] As for daring to do this, that depends on each individual. But if we have good reasons and a firm standpoint, there is nothing to fear. However, if a person is afraid of losing his position and the loss of prestige that goes with that position, he won't dare do anything. People should take their positions seriously and not view them as playthings.

[Question] The problem with the secret budget is that things can't be disclosed.

[Answer] Actually, this budget can be disclosed. I am speaking the truth. It can be revealed. For example, they can disclose how many army units are using funds from the secret budget. If they simply say that they can't disclose things, it means that they haven't made preparations. Disclosing which units used how much doesn't mean that they have to tell us what the units did or where there were located. But they don't have to conceal everything. Besides this, they say that some of the money is used in times of emergencies when they cannot ask for funds in the normal manner, such as when they have to send equipment to the border troops or purchase blankets. When they use secret budget funds for such things, they can disclose this.

There aren't any this year. The people wonder what the secret funds are used for. A former RIA CINC used secret budget funds to build a canal in Songkhla.

The people didn't see this in the budget and so assumed that it had been built with secret budget funds. We can't determine what the truth of the matter is. And actually, that canal is of little value. That was just a waste of money. That is the disadvantage of the secret budget. Another thing is that the money may be spent on purchasing televisions, radios, and other items to improve the morale of the soldiers. No one can say anything. We all know that it would be years before the soldiers would get these items if the money had to be approved using the normal process. We can't say anything when it comes to security. But if too much emphasis is placed on national security and not enough attention is given to economic security, our country will not survive. People must not place too much emphasis on one thing. We must not place so much emphasis on one aspect that we ignore other aspects.

I fully support having the commanders-in-chief come and present their budget requests in person. In the past when the situation was normal, that didn't matter. But recent events clearly show that those who explained matters were the ones who will use the funds. But it is people who will not use the funds who have power. This causes confusion between those who use the funds and those who have power. I don't know who should make the decision. If the RTA CINC comes himself, he might have the courage to say which items are really necessary. The matter must be ended and not allowed to drag on and on.

[Question] Some people within the Democrat Party are saying that the recommendation to cut the secret budget was part of a plan formulated by the Thai Citizens Party in an effort to benefit politically and that Democrat Party MPs were drawn into this game.

[Answer] Regardless of whether or not people fall into a trap, I would like to remind people that the most important thing is to fulfill our duties as MPs. If we fall into a trap and that benefits people in general, that is fine. If people are worried only about falling into a trap, that is more dangerous than the trap itself. I am not qualified to analyze people's motives. But I don't believe that Mrs Yenchit, Mr Piyanat, Mr Thongchat, or Mr Wichit had any ulterior motives in taking this action. I think that they were sincere in what they did. And I don't think that anyone ordered this.

I asked Mrs Yenchit why the secret budget had been cut and she said that the budget could be cut. It depended on the figures. Cutting 4 million baht left 285 million baht, which is a considerable amount. We talked about this and agreed that if this was done, this would enhance the prestige of the army in the eyes of the people and Gen Chawalit would be praised for his democratic spirit. I never dreamed that this would cause such a reaction. I have watched the RTA CINC ever since he began competing for this position. I talked with people who know him. Everyone told me that if he became the RTA CINC, the army would be a democratic army. Thus, I wanted to help enhance the prestige of Gen Chawalit in view of the fact that he dared to say that the military is a democratic institution and that it will abide by the resolution of the subcommittee. This led people to understand that the army will give up its privileged position and stop trying to prevent people from touching its budget.

[Question] Next year, if the army fails to provide enough details to satisfy the subcommittee and you are on the subcommittee, will you support cutting the secret budget?

[Answer] Definitely. I have already told you that I am not trying to persecute anyone. But unless they explain why they need the money, they don't have the right to use national budget funds, which come from the people's taxes. They have to realize that.

The reason why I am so insistent on obtaining data on the number of units using secret budget funds is that we can use these data to make estimates. If a large number of units are using the funds, we may not be able to cut the budget. For example, if there is 100 baht and money must be paid to 100 people, each person would get 1 baht. If the amount is cut by 10 satang [1 satang equals .01 baht], each person would get 90 satang. That would be a sizeable percentage. But if 100 baht is divided among only 10 people, each person would get 10 baht. If we cut the amount by 10 satang, each person would get 9.90 baht. That would have little effect. Say that the 289 million baht is spread among 25 army units and that the smallest units use 15 million baht. If the budgets of the small units are cut by 10,000 baht and those of the large units are cut 200,000 baht, that would have very little effect on these units. It would be the same as cutting 100 baht by 30 satang. There would still be 98 baht for use.

As I said, I have my reasons. Air Chief Marshal Phaniang revealed these figures at a subcommittee meeting.

[Question] What role do you think the army will play during the period that Gen Chawalit is the RTA CINC?

[Answer] I am trying to view this in a positive way. In my view, even though the military is now more democratic, deep down, they are trying to determine what they can give up. Giving up things that they have enjoyed up to now will take time. There must not be any feeling of opposition. This is how I view the matter. Things must be done gradually. We, too, are involved in certain ways. They are trying to remove themselves. We are afraid that we won't be able to stand on our own legs. One side is loathe to give up power. The other is hesitant about taking power. It will take time to gain confidence. The situation must return to normal. We have had three consecutive elections in which no one has interfered. If they did, they failed. This shows how many people feel. This is a sign of development. But how far things can progress depends on how prepared we are to accept power.

As for the Democrat Party, people may feel that if the party does not seize this opportunity, the party may become an opposition party. Actually, it shouldn't matter whether the party is an opposition party or a government party. As far as I am concerned, it doesn't matter. If we can't form a government, I would withdraw. If we acted like that, they wouldn't dare take a chance against us. We would be the leader. If we don't take the lead, there is only one alternative and that is to be a follower.

[Question] On 11 December, if the Democrat Party had issued a resolution supporting the view of the minority on the subcommittee concerning the secret budget, what would have happened?

[Answer] I will speak like a selfish person. I don't think that anything would have happened as far as parliament or the government are concerned. But the military would have paused and considered whether it had done the right thing. And the people would have thought about whether the Democrat Party had done anything for the people. As far as the stability of the government parties is concerned, the parties lack discipline. But little attention is given to the matter of whether the parties are acting in the interests of the people. Most are concerned about discipline. But I tend to disagree. Because whatever is wrong must be corrected.

[Question] Does discipline among the government parties refer to supporting the army?

[Answer] In their view, government party discipline means supporting everything the government does regardless of whether it is right or wrong. Many people hold the opposite view. Because if the government does something wrong, it must admit it. If the government does the right thing, we will be glad to support it. Parliament is composed of government parties and opposition parties. In the political parties, there are legislative and administrative factions. If there is no separation, in the government parties there will be only an administrative faction. The MPs will all be administrators. The opposition parties will be the legislative faction. Right or wrong, this shows that the administrative faction represents the majority in Thailand. The legislative faction is the opposition. In effect, the legislative faction is the minority in Thailand. I don't see how the interests of the people can be served in this way. Because those responsible for safeguarding the people's interests are those who cannot do anything. They will always be defeated.

I don't think that the military will stage a coup. A few soldiers may have such thoughts. But there is no chance of their succeeding. That will not happen.

As for the resolution submitted in parliament, I will definitely be defeated. But I have received much support from the people with whom I have had contact. Even the press has supported me. Students and others have telephoned to wish me well. I may suffer a defeat in parliament, but the people will know what is what. I don't think that this institution has degenerated. There are still MPs in whom the people can put their trust. The resolutions that have been submitted concern end reasons. The root of things is people. I don't blame the people, who have received incorrect information. I blame those who have the power to take action. Everyone should make a greater effort. Those who do not make an effort to protect the public good must be criticized. As more of these type of people enter parliament, those who want to do good will leave, or they will not be able to compete. And the chance of having clean politics will be reduced.

[Question] Within the party, only a minority support the view of the subcommittee. Is this because of the lobbying efforts of senior people in the party?

[Answer] Definitely. I am not saying that they are wrong. They have their reasons. They feel that they are senior people and that what they do is right. But I think that the majority of MPs agree with me. Unfortunately, some people in the party are more concerned about the survival of the government than they are about the people. This is the weakness of being a government party.

[Question] Mr Thawiwat Rutthiruchai, an MP from Sakon Nakhon, submitted a letter calling on the party to withdraw from the government coalition. What do you think about this?

[Answer] I respect his views. He and I agree that the party has deteriorated. If we are to improve ourselves, we can't remain in the position responsible for the deterioration. That is, we can't be content to solve just the immediate problems. We have to solve all the problems, beginning with the party.

[Question] What do you think about the resolution to increase the secret budget by 12 million baht? Parliament supported the view of the majority on the subcommittee.

[Answer] Looking at things based on the actual appearance and not the vote, things turned out as expected and as hoped for. That is, people wanted that. However, occasionally, party discipline, or the need to side with the government, is troublesome for some MPs. I understand this. I realize that they had to do this. For the sake of the people, I accept this now that the vote turned out that way. In a democratic system, I have to accept the majority decision regardless of whether it is right or wrong. It took awhile for me to accept this. But the support I received from friends cheered me up. I will return home. I have received letters of support, and students from several institutions have shown interest in this and provided support. As a result of this, I feel better able to carry on with my work.

Actually, my point was just a very small point as compared with the entire Budget Act. It dealt with just a part of the army's budget. And the army is just part of the Ministry of Defense. This shouldn't be called a defeat. Actually, if we view each other without suspicion and analyze the matter calmly, it can be seen that the government scored a victory. That is a fact. People were allowed to vote based on how they felt after hearing all the arguments for and against. This is what should happen in a democracy. As for my being discouraged about the outcome of the vote on this resolution, the thing that discourages me is that some of the MPs who agreed with me were pressured into voting the other way. That is something that should not happen.

I estimated that about 30 Democrat MPs would vote in favor of the subcommittee's view. But because of the pressure that was applied, the actual number was much lower. I saw what happened. When I look back at what happened, I feel better. I know that our calculations were correct. Those who came under great pressure had to leave the auditorium. Put simply, they couldn't vote

either for or against the measure. They were being watched carefully and so they had to leave the auditorium. I was satisfied with their action.

But we have to look at both angles. On one hand, a government party is obliged to act a certain way. But on the other hand, a government party must occasionally act contrary to what is politically polite in the interests of the majority of people. Certainly, if you ignore political courtesy as a government party and act in the interests of the people, you may be criticized for lacking discipline as a government party. But if you maintain strict political discipline and hold that government parties must always do as the government says, you may come under attack by the people, who may criticize you for not having a firm viewpoint. This is an important point that needs to be considered. There may be losses either way.

[Question] Prior to the party meeting on 10 December, there were reports that a senior person in the party, that is, Mr Chuan Likphai, had indicated that he would support having the party issue a free-vote resolution in order to prevent the party's subcommittee from becoming too isolated. But the resolution did not turn out that way. Why not?

[Answer] The problem was that time and position were not supportive. I understand how Mr Chuan felt. Because of his position, Mr Chuan did not have time to lobby. But other senior people did have time. I am not blaming anyone. They were trying to maintain political etiquette. That thought that they were doing the right thing. As a party member, I have to accept this. But as for what is right and what is wrong, I do not adhere to the views of the senior people in the party. I adhere to the views of the people.

[Question] Didn't Mr Surin Phitsuwan, an MP from Nakhon Sithammarat who is secretary and who is a close friend of the Speaker of the House, submit a resolution supporting the minority on the subcommittee in line with the initial attitude of the Speaker?

[Answer] I don't know. But Mr Surin acts like a new MP. New MPs have very strong ideals. This is one way in which the Democrat Party can benefit the people. The party does not completely dominate the thinking of all the MPs in the party. It allows MPs to think for themselves to at least a certain extent without expelling them from the party. If you feel that it is necessary to do something occasionally, the party is willing to suffer the consequences. But sometimes, like me, you have to suffer on behalf of the party in return.

It must be realized that everyone must occasionally go to a different corner in support of one of the party's major objectives. Let me give you a simple example. If you are part of the opposition, you will have one view of the Democrat Party. But if you are part of the government, you will have a different view. You will see people hesitate to do something out of fear of making a mistake, out of fear that the people won't understand or benefit, or out of fear that the government will collapse or that there will be a breach of political etiquette.

These fears prevent people from acting boldly. This is something that needs to be improved. If there is a tiny amount of fear, that will be beneficial for people in working for the country. But if people are overly fearful, they will become suspicious and begin to make mistakes. This is what happened when we joined the government. As a result, the Democrat Party lost its independence. The various factors must be separated. It must be admitted that when you join the government, you must give up your independence to some degree. It depends on how many parties are in the coalition. If there are four parties in the government, then you have to give up three-quarters of your independence.

I have thought about this for a long time and have been uneasy for a long time. Now that this has happened, I tend to feel that the Democrat Party is more suited to being an opposition party than a government party. Looking back to when the Democrat Party was an opposition party, everyone in the party had ideas to contribute. But now, the ideas of some people are ignored. If we are willing to accept this, it shouldn't have much of an effect. But people who have just joined the party have an overly rosy view of the party. They feel that joining together with others means giving up our independence. No one tries to explain that joining a coalition government means that you will suffer disappointments. People must be prepared to accept disappointments. But no one talks about that. This is a mistake.

[Question] As for resigning, do you feel that people have acted contrary to how they said they would?

[Answer] Overall, many people supported the view of the minority on the subcommittee. I am satisfied with that. What has upset me is that people were not allowed to vote as they wanted. As for my staying or going, I feel stifled either way. If I stay, many people may feel that I was just acting out a part. That is upsetting. On the other hand, senior people in the party and friends within and outside the party have talked with me and made appeals. If I leave, I worry about what these people will think of me. After they have talked with me and pleaded with me, if I don't listen to them it will seem as if I am being obstinate and not listening to reason.

Senior people in the party have said that in their view, I am a hard-working person and can be a good MP. They view this as a minor matter in the struggle and feel that there must be a struggle over major issues. If I abandon the people just because of a minor issue, on whom can the people rely? This is a good point. It was Mr Wira Musikaphong, the party secretary general, who said that. I owe a debt of gratitude to both Mr Wira and Mr Chuan. They helped launch my political career in 1983. They both gave speeches on my behalf. They helped during my second campaign. I did not join with the head of the team, Mr Samphan Thongsamak. There was concern.

Freshman MPs from other parties with whom I have become acquainted through my work on the subcommittee feel that I can continue to work and that I should not give up. That is why I said that I feel stifled. If I stay, that will be fine with the people. But I will come under attack by those who are dissatisfied. Thus, it will be the same whether I stay or go. But at the very least, we have to think about our reputation. We can't allow our reputation to be sullied.

When I first began thinking about what decision to make, that is, since 21 November, no one said anything to me or gave me any reasons. I thought that everyone felt that it would be good if I left and so I began making preparations to leave. But then people began talking to me, and this has made it very difficult to make a decision. If they had talked to me earlier, I would probably have arrived at a decision a long time ago and would probably have reacted better to what happened on 11 December.

[Question] What were the problems in considering the budget?

[Answer] What upset me was changing the budget. The salaries and regular expenses of the various units cannot be changed. If there is a surplus, it must be returned. If there is a shortage, finance must make up the difference. But other surplus funds can be shifted to carry out other things. This gives too much power to bureaucrats. This was the view of the subcommittee. The subcommittee approves funds for one thing, but they use the money for something else. They set up budgets to fool the subcommittee. They formulate budgets in ways that will produce a surplus. They then spend the extra money doing things that the subcommittee does not want them to do. But by then, the subcommittee does not have the power to stop them. All it can do is make a fuss and talk about next year. They then promise not to do this again. This happens over and over.

Looking at this from another angle. If we prohibit them from shifting budget funds regardless of the situation, that puts them in a bad position. Sometimes, the amounts allotted are based on estimates. It is impossible to know exactly how much will be needed. If there is a budget deficit, they owe a debt. But if there is a surplus, the surplus money can't be used to pay the debt. It has to be given back to the treasury. This is a problem for the subcommittee. Another thing is that we sometimes feel uncomfortable when we have units explain their budget needs, because we are like inspectors. We are criticized for being too strict with money that is not even ours. Some people complain about the subcommittee cutting their budget. They say that they will do only what is possible based on the amount allotted so that no one can blame them the next time. Actually, there are reasons for making the cuts. If a unit cannot explain what it intends to use the funds for, its budget is cut. They may need the funds, but if they cannot explain why they need the money, their budget has to be cut. If they have a real need, they can submit a petition to the cabinet requesting funds from the central budget. People shouldn't become upset by this. This is normal. The subcommittee can make mistakes, too.

[Question] How much lobbying goes on and how effective is this?

[Answer] I have been on the Budget Subcommittee twice, and there has been lobbying both times. Whenever someone comes to lobby me, I tell them that I am like a proctor. The person who comes to explain things on behalf of his unit is like a person taking a test. I can't take the test for them. That goes against my principles no matter how close we are. The only way is to give them the test. They have to study and then take the test. That is the best way. When we consider a budget proposal, it takes only a week to find out everything. We know which committee member is interested in which points.



Matters are separated. The ministries, bureaus, and departments can ask me anything. I have never concealed anything. But I tell people that they must be prepared. That is like giving them the test. When they enter the testing room, they may be nervous. But whether they pass or fail is up to them. I tell everyone this. I never lie. I tell them that as long as I am on this committee, they can't expect any special help from me.

Actually, every year I view the budget with great concern. We don't formulate our budgets in a frugal manner, and we don't use our money frugally. That is, we try to spend all the money allotted. This is the first mistake. Another mistake concerns the system for formulating the budget. Decision-making power is scattered among the various government units. Each one is allotted a certain sum of money and told that this is what they have for the year. They are told to allot the funds and then explain what they have done. This is fine in theory. But people are selfish. They want as large a budget as possible to show their influence even though they have no idea on what to spend the money.

This is a great danger as far as the use of budget funds is concerned. Budgets are formulated without close supervision. This province pays this much; that province pays that much. There must be a medium price. Once the price has been set, how can you be sure that the medium price of each province is the same? They have to set the price as high as possible based on what the final province can pay. But what about the remaining provinces? They spend budget funds without thinking about what the taxpayers are suffering. They don't think about this. They think only about getting as much money as they can. They forget that that money comes from the people. They must be made to understand this.

[Question] What are some of the things on which that 289 million baht will be spent?

[Answer] As an MP from the provinces, I may be somewhat narrowminded. In my view, the people want three things: they want the money spent on agricultural projects; they want to spend money building roads so that they can take their produce to market; and they want electricity. I have observed things. When the people request 500,000 baht to build a canal, the government doesn't have the money. But certain government units can obtain funds to purchase televisions. Officials sit around watching television at the homes of senior officials. In saying this, I am trying to get units to understand that the people are suffering. I have made appeals at subcommittee meetings. I have never made a fuss. I have just asked them to save some of the money for the people.

[Question] Do you think that things will be better during next year's budget deliberations, particularly concerning those things, such as the army's budget, that posed a problem this year?

[Answer] I think so. I made many proposals this year. If the present minister of defense is still in office, I am sure that more details about the Ministry of Defense's budget will be revealed. I appealed to him directly. The minister has assured me that this is possible. This can be done. The only problem is that people are suspicious of each other. The subcommittee feels that they may be hiding funds somewhere. They feel that if they tell the subcommittee

everything, the subcommittee won't give them the money. But that is not so. If both sides are honest with each other, I am sure that the Ministry of Defense will get even more than this. They have to tell us how many bullets and guns they need and what the situation is like. It's painful for us when we have to find out such things from foreign newspapers. I consider that to be another source. It may not be accurate. I won't accept this. They must tell me what they need. This is how they must act.

11943

CSO: 4207/97

PAPER SEES GOVERNMENT FAILURE ON RICE POLICY

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 13 Dec 86 p 8

[Editorial: "The Government's Policy on Loans To Purchase Rice Is a Failure"]

[Text] Just as in previous years, the government has again failed to solve the rice problem. It has failed again even though the problems that arose this year were the same as those that arose in previous years. This shows that the lessons learned in previous years have not helped the government improve the methods used to solve this problem. This is true even though the same person is still prime minister.

Through 17 private commercial banks in Thailand, the Bank of Thailand has extended credits totaling more than 5 billion baht in order to have the rice mills borrow money to purchase rice from the farmers at high prices. But even though the money is being loaned at only 3 percent interest, the rice mills have shown little interest in this program.

This measure has been in effect for a month now. The commercial banks have sold the Bank of Thailand a total of 6.33 billion baht in promissory exchange notes to serve as credit for this. By region, the amounts are 4.63 billion at the headquarters in Bangkok, 800 million baht at northeastern branches, 490 million baht at branches in the north, and 390 million baht at southern branches. But so far, only 65 rice mills have applied for loans as part of the program to purchase paddy at high prices. And loans have been granted to only seven mills for a total amount of 24 million baht. According to the program, the commercial banks participating in the program were to begin extending credits on 1 December, with the loans repaid by the end of the program in March 1987.

Looking at the progress that has been made this year and at what happened last year, it is clear that the program is failing. Last year, the government authorized 2 billion baht. But only 57 million baht was borrowed for use in the program. An analysis made by the Bank of Thailand shows that there are two reasons for the failure to extend credit based on the targets. First, the rice mills, or rice merchants, lack confidence in the government, because the government has not implemented concrete measures. Moreover, people in the administration are not taking resolute action to solve the problems. In particular, the ministers concerned are concerned only about rice export

quotas. As a result, people are afraid that they are more interested in making profits than in solving the pressing problems facing the farmers. Second, of the 1,200 mills that purchase rice and mill it for export, only 350 have little or no committed debt owed to the commercial banks. The rest all owe such huge amounts that they cannot increase their debt or find collateral to guarantee loans.

In view of this, if the government wants to solve the paddy price problem by extending credits to the rice mills and paddy merchants through the commercial banks, it will have to show greater resolve. It can't just formulate a policy and then let things run their course without monitoring things closely.

As mentioned, most rice mills are in debt year after year. This is another problem that the government must solve, because the mills are the most important mechanism in pushing paddy prices higher.

The government cannot allow the rice price problem to unfold on its own during the next 4 months as it did last year. If it does, we will face the same problem next year. Only next year, the problem will be even more severe, and the burden on the government and the suffering of the people will grow worse. This could have an effect on other fronts, and it could reach the point where the stability of the government is affected.

11943

CSO: 4207/90

PAPER DEPLORES CURTAILMENT OF MUSLIM SCHOOLS

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 12 Dec 86 p 8

[Editorial: "If We Want Turmoil, Let's Keep Oppressing Each Other"]

[Text] On 8 December, Thai Muslim students from various educational institutions submitted a petition to Mr Marut Bunnak, the minister of education, voicing their opposition to the government's policy of prohibiting the establishment of new Muslim schools. This policy went into effect around the middle of 1985. The Ministry of Education claims that this policy was handed down from senior officials. Also, if any school that has been operating legally has to close for some reason, it will not be allowed to reopen.

Even though this petition was submitted to Mr Marut, it may still not be possible to establish any new Muslim schools. The petition stated that the number of Muslim children is increasing. It said that the effect of this policy will be a decline in the number of schools, and Muslim children will not have a chance to learn about their religion. Besides this, the children might grow up without moral values, and they might become involved in gambling, narcotics, and crime when they are older.

It is our sincere belief that this really is causing problems for Muslims. Because normally, the Muslims living in Thailand love peace and rarely bother anyone. They are happy with their way of life. Most are devoted to their religion. As most people know, in Muslim society, which is very strict about religion (not misguided by religion), there are very few problems involving morality or crime. Stated differently, Islam is important in shaping the behavior of Muslims, because it teaches people how to behave in all spheres of life. And they have a strong belief in god. Because if a person doubts the existence of god, he cannot remain a Muslim.

The Muslim schools under discussion here are schools that teach ethics. They teach Islamic beliefs and ceremonies. Thus, there is no reason to interfere with these schools. Doing so is an infringement of people's rights or a violation of the constitution, which guarantees freedom of religion.

It's possible that this attempt to prevent the growth of Muslims schools stems from a policy of the National Security Council, which has always been suspicious of Muslim activities in the southern provinces. It may fear that

these schools will be used as meeting places by terrorists or those who want to divide the country. Such ideas are now outmoded, because today's Muslims have abandoned such ideas. Only a few separatists are still active, and their number continues to decrease. However, if there is a new wave of oppression through the use of such policies, the number of separatists could increase again.

Thailand has always treated these people as if they were not Thai. We suggest that the government take urgent action to solve the Muslim school problem. The government should not allow this problem to grow worse. But if it wants Thailand to split apart like the Philippines, where the Moro are running wild, it should continue oppressing the minority groups.

11943

CSO: 4207/90

## ILLEGAL VIDEOCASSETTE SHOWINGS ASSAILED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 12 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Thu Le: "Ignorance or...Carelessness"]

[Text] Responsible sectors and a large number of people are concerned about illegal videocassette showings at many units, organs, and enterprises.

On 1 November 1986, the municipal people's committee issued Directive No 3404/UB reminding the people of regulations on the use of videocassette recorders and tapes, authorizing the cultural and information service to exert control, and emphasizing the need to set up control units and strictly prosecute violations. Some installations have shown proper compliance. However, other places still feigned ignorance, continuing to violate the law and even hindering the activities of control units. The Level-1 Textile Corporation (80 Truong Dinh, Third Precinct) is a case in point. On the afternoon of 8 November, the corporation held a ceremony to confer orders and medals for anti-U.S. activities. The ceremony was followed by a complimentary showing of a videotape on Na Tra, a Chinese mythological hero. Tipped off by the masses, the 3d Precinct cultural control unit (composed of the cultural and information bureau, precinct public security, and public security of the 17th Ward of the 3d Precinct) came in to check. As unit members presented their credentials, corporation security guards closed the gate, denying entry. Three members of the control unit took great pains to enter the building and reach the upper floors and the movie room. A corporation official shouted: "Nobody has the right to arrest. Nobody has the right to control." After a while arguing, persuading, and explaining, unit members were finally able to do their job. The hidden tape was surrendered and a corporation representative agreed to sign the search warrant allowing the control unit to seize temporarily the videocassette recorder and the tape. It turns out that the municipal General Service Corporation owned the recorder and lent it free of charge (but without official approval) to the textile corporation, which procured the tape. The control unit invited both corporations to come to its office on the morning of 10 November but they did not show up.

In light of the above incident, we believe that the two corporations should review their internal organization, strictly criticize those deliberately hindering the control unit, and reconsider their practice of complimentary "lending and showing." Other places should also draw a lesson from the affair, to spare themselves the embarrassment of feigning "ignorance" when they are caught. Such "ignorance" is very harmful.

## ENTERPRISE EXPORTS FIRST PRODUCTS TO CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 13 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by L.S.: "Saigon 2 Clothing Enterprise Projects Doubled Export Goods Output for 1987"]

[Text] The first lot of products for export to capitalist countries of Saigon 2 Clothing Enterprise (of the Municipal Clothing Enterprise Federation) has just been put aboard ship in preparation for delivery to customers. This lot consists of 10,800 pairs of women's slacks, popular in many countries. Saigon 2 Clothing Enterprise is continuing to produce the lots of goods remaining in the contract for 180,000 products from the enterprise to capitalist corporations. These results are due to the enterprise's bold efforts in borrowing capital to install a new production line (at the end of October 1986) to specialize in the production of export goods and expand market relations. With the new production line, the enterprise projects that the output of export goods during 1987 will be double that of 1986, nearly 50 percent of which will be exported to capitalist countries. To prepare for 1987 production, besides the nearly 100,000 products to be exported to capitalist countries beginning with the 4th quarter of 1986, Saigon 2 Clothing Enterprise is initiating procedures to sign a contract with a capitalist corporation for 800,000 products.

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CSO: 4209/259



## THOUGHTS ON RESTORING INTELLECTUAL INTEGRATION

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 10 Dec 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Dr. Tran Thanh Trai, Children's Hospital 1: "An Intellectual's Thoughts to the National Congress; Do Not Passively Wait on Time"]

[Text] At the recent Fourth Municipal Party Congress, the speech of Nguyen Van Linh, of the Standing Committee of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, in mentioning "intellectuals working under the old regime," had a section stating, "To unify the intellectual ranks of the city, it has thus far been unnecessary to differentiate between old and the new intellectuals but to refer to them generally as "socialist intellectuals." A reception for city intellectuals in 1979 is recalled at which Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong declared, "There is now only one intellectual rank, that of socialist intellectuals (without discrimination as to source of cultivation), joining in contributing their abilities in a common concern for national construction." Thus, the party and state are constantly concerned about unifying the intellectual ranks. This concern strongly motivates "intellectuals who worked under the old regime," hereafter commonly referred to as resident intellectuals, causing these resident intellectuals to be extremely enthusiastic and optimistic. During the past few years, municipal leaders have constantly reminded basic leadership echelons to create conditions for resident intellectuals to develop their abilities in good joint scientific and technical work, an important mission presented to the city by the National Assembly. Experience has indicated that any location that properly develops the appeal of Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong to create intellectual rank "integration" and eliminate the division between the old and the new is successful in promoting scientific research work! A specific example known to everyone is that our city has been successful in finding the cause of and effective treatment for a dangerous children's disease, intestinal necrosis, which annually appears at the beginning of the rainy season. The central government highly rated this success and the Central Documentary Film Shop recently completed a documentary on this subject to record a fine accomplishment of the socialist intellectual rank. In May 1981, this dangerous disease appeared as a small epidemic with many deaths. At first, there was no systematic research project for physicians to inherit treatment experience. The research work began with nothing at a time in which the disease was rampant. Confronted with this demand, the grey matter collective without regard to cultivation source, worked shoulder to shoulder and day and night with a common concern to seek and happily cheer the discovery of a solution for the difficult problem. Those were seconds, minutes, days and months in which the demarcation of old and new division was eliminated, the intellectual ranks truly "merged" and that merger multiplied in strength and advanced to success.

In the southern provinces in general and Ho Chi Minh City in particular, since 1975 the basic take-over units and revolutionary cadres have worked along with the resident personnel who were for the most part retained in service after the liberation. Because the workers and civil servants employed in each basic unit in the southern provinces originated from many sources, it was difficult at first to avoid an old and new division. A period of 11 years has caused the traces of division to fade but has not completely eliminated them. During the process of more than 11 years, under the common roof of socialism, intellectuals from many sources operated together in a common objective of national construction, but are "close" to each other without truly "merging." Thus far, the appeal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers has not been truly and profoundly developed. Even the sensitively motivated revolutionary cadres developing the appeal of Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong have met difficulties through the challenge of time and reality. These revolutionary cadres have actively created conditions for resident intellectuals to develop their abilities and enthusiasm to serve the country, and have boldly appointed resident intellectuals with ability and integrity to management positions. Many revolutionary cadres have been successful in motivating resident intellectuals, increasing their confidence in the enlightened line of the party, and enabling them to merge at one time or another and to forget the old and new division. Unfortunately, not a few of the revolutionary cadres acting in this manner have been criticized by their comrades as "rightists," slowing down and restricting the expanding reasons for actively eliminating the division between old and new and not simply expectantly waiting for time to pass. Incomplete elimination of the demarcation naturally fails to create a merger. Intellectuals are still burdened with the syndrome that the things they receive are a favor and their contributions are not due to obligation but to atone for their sins! During the 1979-1980 period, the hemorrhage of grey matter caused great loss to the nation and the remaining grey matter now must be saved. A period of more than 11 years has screened out both the old and the new. The issue of fearing error in selection has become milder and that of boldly using people in the right location and with the right capabilities has become more pronounced.

Engrossed in resolving the problems of daily life, we at times forget that mankind on the planet is presently engaged in a race in which the next marker is the historic period of the year 2000. Every nation wishes to plant its marker with an important event when the history of the planet crosses into the 21st century. It is precisely during this effort that science during the past few years has harvested many marvelous and almost mysterious fruits, especially in the fields of space, biology, genetics, etc. During 1975, when the nation was completely liberated, we joined that race along with our friends in the world with the time remaining a quarter of a century. However, we are now a decade late.

By the year 2000, the generation of today will slip backstage, yielding the stage of society to the generation to follow. Today's mistakes that lead to delay will press heavily on the shoulders of our children and the generation of today will be severely criticized because the intellectual ranks were not truly integrated.

If we simply passively rely on time to completely erase the division between old and new, we must wait longer because the reality of the past 11 years has shown that the effects of time are truly slow. In 1983 on a visit to Hungary, we heard the Hungarians relate that in the modern history of their country, the government narrowly escaped being lost to the reactionaries due to the prompt assistance of the fraternal Soviet Union. When the dictatorship of the proletariat was restored, a situation of discrimination between the old and the new occurred within the country that slowed the recovery of Hungary from the destruction of World War II. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party wisely ended the old and new discrimination with a party congress resolution. National reconstruction was promoted and Hungary is now ranked among the countries with a developed economy of world significance within the socialist community.

The speech before the Fourth Municipal Party Congress of Nguyen Van Linh, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Standing Committee of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, reminded us of the general term "socialist intellectual" and once again spoke of the concern of the party for the unity of the intellectual rank. Aimed at achieving true integration to strengthen the contribution of grey matter to the task of national construction, I respectfully suggest that the Sixth Party Congress should eliminate the remaining traces of division between old and new.

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GSO: 4209/247

## TOTAL RELIANCE ON PEOPLE URGED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 12 Nov 86 p 1, 4

[Editorial by Ben Nghe: "A New Point of View That Generates a Great Source of Political Inspiration]

[Text] More than 4 months have elapsed since Comrade Truong Chinh evoked three important lessons drawn from our revolution, including the one on "relying on the people as a base." That time may have been long enough to effect a "total awakening" of our thinking. The topic of "relying on the people as a base," especially, dominated the agenda of CPV congresses at various levels. Although that major political drive has ended, we still heard the resounding voice of many delegates on that subject. "In past destructive and violent wars," they stated, "death could come at any time. But thanks to the people, we had tunnels to live in, meals, clothing, drinking water, and drugs.... Now, anyone who manages to forget all these things and cease thinking highly of the people is not worth a straw." These simple statements emphasized what should have been emphasized.

Reliance on the people as a base is not a temporary but rather strategic duty--a national policy. It is a source of political inspiration which shapes all aspects of national life. It falls to our leaders and all of us to kindle, foster, and nurture that inspiration in daily life and stir it up anytime, mostly in a time of tough national challenge. To ignore and condemn it to dry up amounts to committing a great offense. Reliance on the people as a base is not a mere concept; it should permeate all matters, big or small. It is pleasant and hearty to hear our officials "invite aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters to attend the street unit meeting." But why do other officials refuse to say so? They say instead: "Knock at people's doors and tell them to go to the meeting in a jiffy!" Since these officials don't bother to "respect the people" in dealing with trifles, they will never "rely on the people as a base" when major matters are involved. In the past, whenever people needed government assistance, they had to cool their heels a full week, even a full month, receiving no attention from administrative mandarins whose "base" was not the people. Presently, we are no mandarins, but we should watch out anyway, because in fact there exist "new oppressive rural officials and revolutionary mandarins." Following the recent campaign, during which people were encouraged to criticize, we have been repairing what was salvageable, bending over backward to overcome manifestations of

bureaucratism, authoritarianism, and overbearingness, and the practice of oppressing and bullying the people. To do this is to rely on the people as a base. To "do things by halves" will cause people to lose confidence.

Some people asked: "Does reliance on the people interrelate with the right to collective mastery?" In our opinion, the latter is a major component of the former. "Reliance on the people"--these resounding and moving words help us understand the continuity between the past and present. Aware of the people's power, our forebears, particularly the nation's heroes, had "relied on the people as a base." Le Loi and Nguyen Trai implemented the policy of strengthening people's power and using it with wisdom. During the Tran dynasty, before he died Hero Tran Hung Dao urged the king to "use the people's power with wisdom and rely on it as a base." Ho Quy Ly shared the same political view when he stated: "Don't be afraid of enemy strength. Lack of popular support is our only fear." (Similar examples abound.) Thus, our ancestors followed the path of relying on the people. Likewise, our party has affirmed that the concept that the "revolution is a popular undertaking" is an absolute truth. With self-confidence, we heed Comrade Truong Chinh's appeal: "The strength of the party and revolution," he said, "rests precisely with the people. To foster the right to collective mastery effectively, we must trust the people and base all our positions and policies on the people. Our predecessors thought and did that way. Now there are more reasons for us to go over the same ground."

A family in which children fare better than their father is a blessed one. We should follow in our ancestors' footsteps, striving to outperform them and nurture our "root"--the people--to enable it to hold up and flourish. As we said above, a major goal of the concept of relying on the people as a base is to respect and foster the people's right to collective mastery. A sense of socialist awareness was kindled and fostered in past years and recently in CPV congresses at various levels. And the people's constructive comments on that subject were made a part of the resolution of the municipal party congress, which saw them as a goal and prime mover of its effort at bringing its program to completion. This means party organizations must work with full diligence to involve the masses in a movement for revolutionary action. Working hand in hand with people's councils at various levels, the Fatherland Front and its components, trade unions, agricultural organizations, youth unions, and women's unions, the masses should use and foster their right to collective mastery, contributing effectively to successfully implementing the resolution of the municipal party congress and also to enabling the Sixth CPV National Congress to gain its end.

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CSO: 4209/228

## STREET INTERVIEWS ON HOPES FOR SIXTH PARTY CONGRESS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 15 Dec 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by N.M.: "Our Trust and Hope (Lightning Interviews on the Streets and in the Alleys)"]

[Text] Yes, it must be indicated at once that these are "somewhat special" interviews. We contacted our interviewees on the streets, in the alleys, at crowded and noisy markets, etc. and immediately asked them this question, "The national party congress convened on 15 December 1986. What do you think about this important date? More specifically, is there anything you wish to say to or place (including your greatest anxieties and worries) on the doorstep of this party congress?"

We received the following replies:

Vo Bac Ai, an engineer at the Tan Binh Generator Spare Parts Machine Plant: I am a southern cadre who regrouped to and worked many years in the north. I "tasted" the B52 bombs of the Americans during the months and years in which they escalated and expanded the war of destruction. I also know the difficulties of my hometown compatriots while the country was divided. During those months and years, I had complete confidence in our party. Now, I still believe in the position of the party and in the grand success of this party congress, especially as a party congress of profound renovation significance. However, as an individual engaged in scientific work, I also very much wish to state a few of my thoughts to the party.

In my factory, only a few (about 20 percent) of the scientific and technical advances are in use--only some that are "picked up" and "collected"--and only about 30 percent of the "grey matter" is used. Notwithstanding, productivity during 1986 was three times that of 1985. Clearly "science and technology are the key" as stated by the Fourth Municipal Party Congress but there is still not a proper level of concern.

We want very much to work a great deal to "earn" a great deal, not to be "held back" as at the present time. This is not simply professional conscience but the most urgent demand of actual life. The "grey matter" must be mobilized and expanded reproduction is needed (not simple reproduction). This very thing will allow the "inside leg" to be longer than the "outside leg." It is hoped that the Sixth Party Congress will give concern to this problem; and that the resolution will...not be simply a resolution.

Miss Pham Thi Phuong, residing at No. 3, Me Linh Square in the 1st Precinct, presently engaged in the sale of cigarette cases in front of her parent's home; her mother; and Nguyen Van Phuoc, a stall operator at the Me Linh Store (near-by) were greatly concerned about the problem of "escalating" prices:

Phuoc stated that for many months prior to the congress, many opinions had been contributed by the masses but commodity prices were still continuing to rise.

Miss Phuong added that the price of a duck egg immediately after the currency exchange was 3 to 4 dong but was now nearly 20 dong!

They all hoped that something can be done to stabilize prices and raise the living standards of the people. This is also what they are expecting from the party congress.

Nguyen Duc Hau, a coffee seller residing at 61 Truong Dinh, stated that it was necessary to review the matter of joint enterprise between the state and private operators for "cracks" as is the case at the present time where prices in many stores of this type are higher than on the outside (the individual sharing profits with the state raises the price and the state raises it again). The state thus loses money and the private operator makes money!

Hau has two children, both in the 9th grade, and he is very concerned that "they will not pass their 10th grade examinations and must quit school." He hopes that the state will open many additional trade schools so his children "can choose a course in life and be of service to society."

Lam Van Liep, a neighborhood team leader in Ward 1 of Subprecinct 25 in the 10th Precinct and a contract sawmill operator, is extremely intimate with Decision 34 of the Municipal People's Committee and Decision 146 of the Council of Ministers. According to him, these very resolutions alleviated the difficulties and paved the way for production to develop. However, the thing about which he knows the most and is also the most concerned is that on the side streets where he lives, most of the people are poor and many social ills occur and exist. Notwithstanding, "the gutters and street lights are constantly stopped up and out of order," making the side streets even more muddy and dark. And, "it appears that no one is concerned. There is no management decentralization. The people must contribute money themselves for repairs!"

He also lamented that "our decisions are not thoroughly implemented. For example, Decision 203 of the city on stopping sidewalk encroachment: some places complied and some did not until finally it ended in a draw! This truly "causes a dilemma for the people!"

The last person we met was Ong Thi My Le, an outstanding artist and performer of the Cuu Long Giang Play Group. She had on makeup in preparation for the play, "That Day and Today," a play presently receiving widespread public acclaim. In the play, she plays the part of the wife of enterprise director Tu Binh, a good individual who is being mistreated but, with the qualities of a loyal party member, finally "returns" to the heart of his enterprise like a "shining example." She mused, "As the wife of Tu Binh (in the play), I am very

much in love with him. I leave him when he 'makes the mistake' and return when the matter is clearly understood. However, in real life, I do not agree with his method of resolution. I go 'knocking on doors' to find out what is right. Even pushing a coal cart or doing anything assigned by society is not bad. However, here there is injustice and Tu Binh is partially resigned to his method of struggle. The strange thing is that in many places, this is actually still occurring. There are many cases in which legitimate people are being mistreated and cannot win over opportunists."

"In my opinion, the conclusion of the play is our sincere and profound advise to the party."

Finally, at the end of this article, we request permission to remind you that the people we interviewed above were surprised. They did not have even 5 minutes to prepare a reply. Therefore, everything they said was uncomplicated, sincere and urged on by anxieties and disturbances kept quiet for an extremely long time. They told the party their trust, hope and expectation for truly persuasive renovations, first of all in this Sixth National Party Congress itself.

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CSO: 4209/259



## COOPERATIVE ENGAGED IN ENTERTAINMENT CRITICIZED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 12 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Dinh Thien Nhan: "Discussing Business Or Entertainment?"]

[Text] Although the Tan Xuan 2 Agricultural Cooperative in Tan Xuan Village, Hoc Mon District, was established only more than 18 months ago, it has struck it rich, able to build a drying yard, a warehouse, and a milling factory with a 4-ton daily capacity.

On the morning of 28 October 1986, the cooperative held a congress for its members. The meeting started at as late as 0430 am, but the entire agenda was consummated before 1030 am (ceremonial, election of the presidium, introduction of delegates, presentation of reports on past activities and on production goals of the coming 10th-month crops, election of the board of directors and control committee, ensuing discussion...) to allow participants to take up the last item--festivities, complete with firecrackers, lion's dancing, and five-course beef (!)

The congress was held to review the results of the 1985-86 winter-spring and 1986 summer-autumn crops and to discuss production goals for the 1986-87 winter-spring and other upcoming crops. However, preparatory work was oversimplified, even neglecting the question of profit sharing. Worse yet, reports were read at a very fast clip by the master of ceremonies (the cooperative deputy director). As soon as he finished a report, he turned toward the chair--two elderly peasants--to elicit approval. And upon receiving a nod (indeed!) he cheerfully "informed" the congress: "Well, the chairmen have unanimously approved the report. Let's go to the next item."

All cooperative members listened to these melodious reports without having to say anything until the first part of the meeting ended.

The second part--entertainment--was secondary but exciting. A lion-dance group moved swiftly to the rhythms of tam-tams amid an explosion of fire-crackers which lasted 15 minutes--apparently sending a message to neighboring villages and hamlets that the congress was a "nice success."

Some people queried about the origin of these firecrackers. "Just barter," a village official explained. "The cooperative exchanged agricultural products for firecrackers. Sure, we "wasted" a bit, but this was a once-a-year opportunity and people were elated."

It seems that this explanation was not convincing, because many delegates returning from the meeting continued to grumble: "The congress drew no line between discussing business and having fun."

9213/9835  
CSO: 4209/228

## SELF-CRITICISM, CRITICISM IN PARTY BUILDING EMPHASIZED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 29 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Dang Xuan Ky, deputy curator of the Ho Chi Minh Museum: "About Party Building"]

[Text] Currently, everyone is especially interested in party building. This is a key issue which has a decisive impact on the others. Only by truly raising party leadership skills and combativeness and making the party truly pure, stable, and strong can we successfully solve the important problems now confronting our revolution.

Our party is bending over backward to overcome mistakes in leadership and economic management. We all know, however, that it takes long decades--not just lightning attacks--to solve socioeconomic problems, as Lenin stated. It is already hard to do that task, and it is even much harder to do it over. Adequate time is needed to right the wrong and translate correct perceptions into deeds. But popular trust can be restored promptly if we dare renovate the organization and cadres, and assign the right men to the right places, and if we resolve to purify the contingent of party members--first of all, leadership and management cadres in mass organizations as well as in production and business bodies.

We suggest that tangible measures--not just statements--be used to remove from positions of leadership and management those fumlbers who lack both virtues and skills and those depraved and decadent elements who play havoc with the party and state. A prompt solution will promptly restore mass confidence.

Past meritorious achievements cannot be invoked to whitewash current offenses. All party members must be equal before party discipline, and all citizens must be equal before state law. What's more, cadres and party members are required to serve as a model in fulfilling citizen duties. Failure to do so is in total conflict with the nature of a communist party and the proletarian dictatorship. That also amounts to slighting the masses and refusing to see them as the true master.

As far as party building is concerned, Uncle Ho stated many times that cadres decide many things--everything. If party lines and policies are

very correct and very good, but if there are no first-rate cadres to implement them, things will certainly take a wrong turn. That is why clear standards on moral quality, competence, behavior, and talent must be set to help select those worthy of filling leadership and management positions. A wrong choice, or a wrong assignment, will undoubtedly harm not only party activities but also many people. Worse yet, stubborn attempts by wrongdoers to reject redress could rock the boat even more, eventually leaving the party holding the bag.

In light of the present situation, the party requires that cadres and party members renovate their thinking and line of conduct. This issue is being raised by all communist parties in brotherly socialist countries. It is clear that, in terms of thinking, we harbor inaccurate perceptions and unsuitable thoughts. Many aspects of our behavior are obsolete and backward. The new thinking should thrive, not on metaphysical idealism but rather on dialectical materialism. It should be revolutionary and scientific, not regressive, sluggish, subjective, simplistic, impetuous, and disrespectful of principles, laws, and realities. Economic thinking, especially, should reject bureaucratic centralism and the practice of state subsidies and should know what's what about economic accounting and socialist business, through which to bring the entire economic system forward. The new behavior should be the one that keeps in touch with both people and realities and should reflect alertness and an ability to stimulate and support innovations, work with planned efficiency, and turn over a new leaf in line with party positions and resolutions. Attempts to mark time, have one's own way, live on a day-to-basis, shilly-shally, and do things by halves are absolutely out of tune with the present situation.

We suggest that cadres and party members be instructed to look at themselves thoroughly and renovate their thinking and behavior. Failing this, individual thinking and behavior will remain unchanged although everyone has been talking about rejuvenation.

To pay no attention to new thinking and new behavior in selecting cadres, especially those in key posts, would make it impossible to ameliorate the situation and implement party resolutions and would occasionally put a spoke in the party wheel or lead to opposite results.

In fact, the selection process was at times biased and rigid, focusing excessively on track records, academic degrees, or age. We suggest that cadres be selected by taking their virtues and capabilities into account and by assessing whether past success can lead to the completion of new and more difficult tasks. Leadership and management cadres, in addition to a suitable technical knowledge, must show that their capabilities, virtues, behavior, and skills fit in well with their jobs.

Relationships between the old and young also deserve scrutiny. The contingent of cadres should be rejuvenated in line with local demands and long-term strategic considerations to ensure continuity between the two

generations, between cadres, and between party members. A matter of importance which we should bear in mind is to rejuvenate thinking, equipping it with more accurate perceptions, a more adequate knowledge, and more scientific methods. In doing so, we can make graying people think young; otherwise, young people can sink prematurely into senescence.

In light of the present situation, the party should mindfully expel opportunistic elements from positions of leadership and management. They are the ones who are anxious to please or mind their own business to avoid entanglements, who always wait to see which way the cat jumps before committing themselves or flatter their superiors to get promoted, and who run after positions of authority without giving a thought to reason and human love. The party should strictly punish anarchic and indisciplined acts.

To make the party stable and strong, three fundamental principles on party organization and work should be strictly implemented--democratic centralism, collective leadership and individual responsibilities, and self-criticism and criticism. That these basic principles have been violated in many party organizations in recent years has weakened the party, impeding its combativeness and educational activities.

We already saw that loose centralism led to disorganization and indiscipline, that offenses against internal democracy "befuddled" the atmosphere inside the party--as Uncle Ho said--that non-collective leadership condoned overbearing and arbitrary practices, and that failure to delimit individual responsibilities ended up forcing the collective to pay the piper. Our party usually emphasized that self-criticism and criticism regulate party growth. Through regular and strict self-criticism, every cadre and leading echelon can foster strong points, correct flaws, and prevent mistakes from recurring, rather than letting them perpetuate, as we all saw. Cadres and party members holding positions of leadership and management should take part at least in two basic sessions during each term of office--first at midterm, then before the end of the term--criticizing themselves and allowing lower echelons and the masses to criticize them democratically and in a comprehensive and truly intense manner. Properly held mid-term reviews will offer cadres an opportunity to delve into their consciences and party organizations to evaluate the contingent of leadership and management cadres and make instantaneous replacements, if necessary. It is out of the question to tolerate a situation in which people want key jobs but don't want to improve their skills forcefully to measure up to these jobs, preferring instead to continue an interminable apprenticeship, which sometimes drags on from one term of office to another.

The masses and party members welcome the recent self-criticism and criticism drive, which was held widely within the party, involving mostly leadership and management cadres. We suggest that self-criticism and criticism be made a periodic activity to enable the effort to build the contingent of leadership and management cadres to achieve more vigorous successes.

9213/9190  
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## LAM DONG OUTLINES SOCIO-ECONOMIC TARGETS FOR 1986-1990

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 2 Dec 86 pp 3, 4

[Party Building column: "The Socio-Economic Situation and Tasks of the Lam Dong Party Organization"]

[Text] Evaluating the socio-economic situation during the past 3 years, the report of the Executive Committee of the Lam Dong party organization at the 4th Congress of the Provincial Party Organization stated:

Although the rate of development and results of agricultural production, forest production and industrial production differed, advances were made in all three areas. On the agricultural front, the major portion of the need for grain was met. Annual and perennial industrial crop production developed. Industrial crops accounted for an increasingly large percentage of crop output. The amount of area under the cultivation of grain was expanded and a number of areas gradually introduced intensive cultivation, thus raising the total output of grain, in paddy equivalent, to nearly 130,000 tons in 1985, a 33 percent increase over 1982. The Da Lat vegetable growing area overcame its difficulties and maintained production at 35,000-40,000 tons of commercial vegetables per year. The production of annual and perennial industrial crops developed rapidly, mainly in the collective and household segments of the economy. Compared to the period preceding 1982, the planting of coffee increased four-fold, the planting of tea doubled, the planting of sugarcane increased by 95 percent and the planting of mulberry trees increased by 50 percent. The ethnic minorities planted more than 1,000 hectares of coffee in gardens. Livestock production continued to develop. The cattle herd increased by nearly 10,000 head and the buffalo herd by more than 4,000 head. Progress was made in afforestation and the cultivation and protection of the forests. During the past 3 years, 7,000 hectares of pine forests were planted.

In industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, output reached 688 million dong (330 million dong of which were produced by small industry and the handicraft trades) in 1985, 34 percent of the gross social product. The production of some products, such as cloth, raw silk, sugar, alcohol and wine, increased. The quality of cellophane and pharmaceutical products was improved. Additional roads were opened in the countryside, new economic zones and ethnic minority areas. Madagui-Cat Tien Road and National Highway 27

were repaired and opened to traffic. The freight and passenger transportation needs of the locality and the central level were basically met. The information and post-telecommunications networks were extended down to the districts and the majority of villages to serve the need to communicate with places in and outside the province.

In the field of circulation and distribution, the province mobilized 16.8 percent of total grain output and procured more than 60 percent of the output of tea, coffee and beans in 1985. Exports increased four-fold compared to 1982. Tourism developed, thus making an important contribution to the development of budget revenue sources. Retail sales on the organized market in 1985 accounted for 55.8 percent of total retail sales.

In the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism, the province concentrated its efforts on developing the Da Teh and Cat Tien new economic zones, planting perennial industrial crops, planting forests and building roads, water conservancy projects and hydroelectric power plants. A number of important basic industrial units were constructed. The people contributed hundreds of millions of dong in manpower and material to the construction of projects supporting perennially to the point where they are becoming increasingly depleted and are in danger of becoming extinct. Production is still crude. Exports are largely in the form of raw materials and semi-finished products and the quality of products is low. Therefore, the value of exports is very low. The production and exports business mechanism (prices, marketing, the organization of exports-imports, the distribution of profits...) has not been researched or established in a way that is rational, is heavily characterized by state subsidies, lacks dynamism and does not encourage producers to produce forest and special products for exportation.

To develop the strengths of the mountain region that lie in exported forest and special products, each locality and area must formulate a forest product export strategy, the first step in which is to determine which products will be key exports, with particular emphasis on annual special forest products which are easy to raise products, each locality and area must formulate a forest product export strategy, the first step in which is to determine which products will be key exports, with particular emphasis on annual special forest products which are easy to raise, turn over capital quickly and are of high export value.

The guidelines for the development of forest product exports in the years ahead must be to protect and rationally harvest the various types of existing resources while planning and accelerating the cultivation, raising and processing of annual plants and animals which require little by way of capital investments, equipment and materials so that we can export high quality products in large quantities and earn much foreign currency. The specific and primary guidelines are:

--Stepping up the production of veneering, board lumber and furniture (various types of wooden chairs, chairs made of wood combined with rattan and other materials, fine carpentry products and handicraft art products), various types of flooring boards, high grade plywood and handicraft art products of high quality.

--Planning the increased planting of T'ung trees, cinnamon, cashews, cardamom, windbreak trees for Aquilaria agallocha and high grade windbreak tree seed, pitch pine, Red Kamala, mushrooms, ginger, saffron and a number of valuable and rare pharmaceuticals; making increased use of processing equipment that is small and mobile but which produces a high percentage of high quality finished products; and planting crops in specific areas that have optimum natural and economic-technical conditions, particularly settlement of nomads areas. Planting must be carried out mainly by families and cooperatives under the guideline of combining forestry and agriculture. The tasks of forestry sites and state-operated enterprises must be to provide seed, technical services and materials and provide centralized processing by area.

--Protecting and managing the gene banks of the various species of animal life in the forests; taking the first steps in organizing the semi-domesticated breeding and raising of some species of animal life that are of value as exports and can be raised, such as deer and monkeys, while investing in the processing of export products from forest animals. In order for the above guidelines and targets to become a true strength of the mountain region, it is important that drastic changes be made in the policies concerning producers and in the division of labor and responsibilities in production and export activities as well as in export and import policies. Specifically:

1. We must resolve the grain problem for those settlement of nomad areas that produce special forest products by increasing our investments in seed, small-scale water conservancy projects and fertilizer in order to enable the intensive cultivation of wet rice and grain and food crops on sloped land in a way that combines agriculture and forestry and with the aim of developing local grain production potentials to the greatest extent possible. It is necessary to amend and change the tax policy and replace the delivery of grain under obligations with the delivery of forest and special products produced under a plan. Basic units and localities should be permitted to export on assignment or sell to the export-import system under a policy of incentive prices and reinvestment in the form of other goods all products produced over and above the plan in order to strongly develop the production of exported forest products while maintaining forest resources and improving the standard of living in highland areas.

2. The State Bank should permit production units and families or units that specialize in the production of forest and special products to organize joint businesses and borrow short-term and long-term capital in order to step up the planting, raising and processing of forest and special products for exportation.

3. Forest and special product procurement prices should be divided into prices of the forest products produced under obligation in place of grain and prices of forest products produced over and above plan quotas and should insure that producers earn a profit and have capital with which to invest in the continued rapid develop of production.



4. At places which cannot achieve self-sufficiency in grain, additional grain must be invested in accordance with their product quotas. This grain should be supplied by the state or by a forest product procurement or forest product export business organization permitted to trade in grain to supply producers.

5. The state must establish its monopoly of foreign trade and the central level must provide exclusive management of foreign trade. There should be only one entity exporting each product to the world market. We must put an end to competition in the procurement and sale of export goods. There must be strict compliance with Council of Ministers' Decision 68-CT and Council of Ministers' Decree 160-CT on unifying the processing of wood and unifying the protection, planting, harvesting, processing and exportation of forest and special products within the forestry sector from the central to the local and basic levels in order to uphold the principle of production costs (planning, plans, technical services and production materials) being the basis of export prices and closely tie exports to imports in order to develop production and improve the standard of living of producers. All basic units and localities and each sector and segment of the economy must be mobilized to participate in raising, planting and processing forest and special products for exportation so that they can contribute many export goods.

In the case of products exported under protocols, the state should make a minimum initial investment in those forestry sites, cooperatives and families that need additional materials, equipment, fuel and building materials for producers for use in everything from planting and processing to the transportation of products to delivery ports. Delivering these materials and equipment directly to the persons responsible for production and delivering the products they produce under obligations to customers will eliminate many intermediaries and benefit production. Giving the major portion of bonuses for meeting and exceeding plan quotas on the delivery of export goods to the producer in order to develop the expanded reproduction of export goods and improve the standard of living of the producer, particularly in the mountains and midlands, is a step that must be taken at an early date.

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## COMMENTARY APPLAUDS SOCIALIST RENOVATION

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 15 Dec 86 p 4

[Commentary by Chau Ai: "Reviving the Vibrant Soul of Marxism-Leninism"]

[Text] Our party and people have begun a renovation of thinking, especially economic thinking, of ways to make a living, and of organization and cadres. The success of the Sixth Party Congress will strongly stimulate this renovation process.

Patriots, genuine Communists and laboring people cannot help but be happy, hopeful and positively active in making this renovation of survival significance a reality.

The practice of 69 years of construction and development of the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community with their realistic strength in many aspects has proven that socialism is truly the direction of the era. Its inflexibilities, even if prolonged and adverse, are only the products of subjective mistakes--and objective limitations--if one wishes to speak in a truly fair manner. Mental inflexibility turns dialectic materialism into voluntarism, a kind of "proper dress," and a type of irreplaceable "costume." Marxism-Leninism, a "plant waiting to become green and fresh on fertile ground," is wilted and faded by thinking foreign to it. The viewpoint of using the people as the supporting base and considering the revolution as an undertaking of the people is eroded by bureaucratism and actions lacking human feeling and causing people to become jittery. The founders of scientific socialism wished no one to compare their creative and dynamic thinking with scholasticism and dogmatism. Lenin said, "A theory on one issue differs from reciting from memory." In a meeting and dialogue with Soviet social scientists, M.X. Gorbachev had a way of expressing his thinking that excited the mind, "The tendency to consider academic truth as a panacea originates from a simplistic attitude and not from creative thinking. This tendency spawns the contradiction that the most interesting and appealing elements in modern science--mankind and society, their development pattern, the contradictions, the class struggle, the construction of a new world, the idealistic rise of mankind, the prospects and disappointments of intelligence, and the togetherness of truth and heroism in creative labor--have become extremely uninteresting, difficult and formal. Acting in this manner, the vibrant soul and all the emotional and appealing intelligence of Marxism-Leninism have been murdered, and all of the clear-sightedness, pain and extremely rich experience of the laboring people have been crystallized."

Quite so, the murder of the soul of Marxism-Leninism is being perpetrated by ways of thinking foreign to Marxism-Leninism. For example, when the farmers of the entire country considered open product contracting (with no more surreptitious contracts) as a festival day, a fairly old time cadre shook his head in dissatisfaction, "These new contracts will destroy the cooperative and socialism." No, product contracting and its great successes, the elimination of bureaucratism and subsidization, the renovation of political and economic thinking, and the renovation of ways to think and act, have saved the cooperative, have assisted socialism in avoiding falling into simplicity, and have also protected the prestige of socialism.

Socialism is unable to "coexist" with "what is everybody's business is nobody's business" and "too many cooks spoil the broth," but is an educational project accompanying a project of extremely diligent and scientific organization that must simultaneously have a true social policy because of and concern for mankind before mankind and labor productivity are raised to their highest level.

We are truly pleased to see that the Soviet Union has joined its fraternal countries, including ours, in beginning a process of total renovation aimed at reviving the vibrant soul and all the emotional intelligence of Marxism-Leninism. Everyone wishes to join hands in promoting the renovation process and renovation is strength. No one wishes to lose his inspiration.

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## FOREIGN TRADE, BANKING SECTORS RENOVATION URGED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 10 Dec 86 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Dr. Nguyen Xuan Oanh by a SAIGON GIAI PHONG correspondent: "Renovation of the Foreign Trade and Banking Sectors"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is SAIGON GIAI PHONG introduction]

[Text] The resolution of the Fourth Municipal Party Congress pointed out that exports are one of the cutting edges of the city. In this spirit, a SAIGON GIAI PHONG correspondent met with and suggested that Dr. Nguyen Xuan Oanh present a few of his thoughts on the foreign trade economic task of the city in the near future. We present below the opinions of Dr. Nguyen Xuan Oanh.

[Question] Exports and imports occupy an important position in the national economy. With your great experience in these fields, will you give us your opinions on the following: During the initial phase of the transitional period, how should our problems be presented and resolved?

[Answer] In our opinion, we must first of all unify a number of common viewpoints:

1. In our city, trade in general and exports in particular must rely on the strength of the city and on the basis of close association with provinces throughout the region.
2. The primary export market of the entire nation as well as the entire region of the south and our city are the countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It is necessary to develop the strength in natural conditions of our country in order to ensure this requirement.
3. Our abundant labor source, especially the number of highly skilled laborers, must be truly well-utilized along many directions. For example: organized into specialized units for work on large construction projects, or engaged in machine repair, etc. services for foreign countries.
4. Export business production must be closely connected with the process of industrializing the national economy following a strategy of long-term economic development.

[Question] From this, what methods of solution in your opinion should be used?

[Answer] We need a specific action program, first of all renovating management organization:

First: Exports and imports are a problem of pure business and must be separated from administrative management in the state aspect to create autonomy for the basic unit. Within the city, the Import and Export Company (IMEXCO) must have complete business authority with total autonomy in capital and export procedures, market and trade contacts, etc. under the supervision of highly capable, enthusiastic and resourceful management cadres.

Second: The city can delegate authority to a number of other responsible import and export corporations like IMEXCO in order to avoid a monopoly easily leading to unfavorable complacency for business. These corporations must be chosen following minutely studied standards.

Third: Establish a system of export business production incentive coordinated with a system of export business credit. Stop exploitation of the difference between import and sale prices, the source of many common negative occurrences at the present time.

Fourth: Adopt a system of foreign exchange distribution to export units under a form of estimated export value foreign exchange. Overcome the arbitrary and unrealistic situation of fixing exchange rates for export and import transactions. Generally speaking, we are still not totally unified in our import and export strategy and the use of foreign exchange is therefore still arbitrary, creating great waste. Between the state and business and production units, there must be concurrence on honest and effective exchange rates with immediate settlement in each commercial transaction, in accordance with the successive and specific conditions of the domestic and foreign markets. Exchange rates can be maintained for brief periods if there is resolute implementation of a consistent import-export policy, and strict prohibition on the importation of unnecessary consumer goods (automobiles, color TV sets, etc).

Fifth: Management simplification. Management is not the application of unnecessary control but arrangement of the various steps from production to exportation to allow production to advance with productivity, high quality and low costs, and exportation to achieve many economic results. Consequently, it is necessary to simplify management, avoiding the use of methods emphasizing administration, and to reduce the number of standards in management (only one or two truly essential standards must be defined such as: the export value and the profits in export business production), wholeheartedly avoiding overlapping and often opposing standards as at the present time.

[Question] There are presently many difficulties in export business activities, especially in prices, capital, etc. How should we resolve them?

[Answer] In prices, it is necessary to define a price framework for primary products with the highest purchase prices and the lowest sales prices. Corporations must firmly maintain price discipline and at the same time, the price framework must be promptly adjusted following fluctuations in the domestic and foreign markets.

Re-opening of the foreign trade sector demands renovation of the entire sector along with simultaneous and uniform renovation of the management methods of related sectors.

The first step of export business, production, is presently meeting a great many difficulties. For example, the strength of the city, small industry and handicrafts, is also encountering a great many difficulties, especially in management and business. As small and medium-size production units, they must usually deal directly with complex problems, the most difficult being that of capital, and are regularly in a situation of entanglement and tension. Active assistance is necessary with a regular source of credit through a specialized credit agency, possibly the Export Development Bank.

Credit is the source of vitality to the basic production unit like the arteries are to the body. Through a bank, every type of capital is issued on a pure gain and loss business basis. In necessary cases, this credit agency may provide assistance in production technology, raw materials and supplies, consumer markets, etc. A bank must provide support to its customers in many steps, both management and production.

Exports, as a motive force developing the economy, must concentrate the proper level of capital and manpower on a nationwide scale, and must mobilize everyone and attract all the still large amount of unused capital among private operators and individuals.

Concerning this matter, Poland has a method worthy of our study and consultation: the Export Development Bank was established with capital contributed by members of the export community. The state treasury contributed 50 percent and of the remaining 50 percent: export enterprises contributed 30 percent, trade banks contributed 10 percent, and the state bank contributed 10 percent. The loan recipients are all production business units: enterprises, state farms, cooperatives, etc.

[Question] You just mentioned banking. Do you have some additional suggestions on a number of specific methods?

[Answer] Another method is that in the banking sector, it is necessary to separate pure business from management.

Our present banking network of the State Bank with city, provincial, ward and district banks has still not escaped the old "exterior appearance" of a type of treasury and administrative agency functional element; completely contrary to its function of properly fulfilling the duty of a center for distribution, settlement and credit and the heaviest responsibility of all, that of regulating currency and credit within the nation. The banking sector is still confused over which echelons may engage in business and which elements are in charge of monetary and credit management.

It is necessary to stipulate the management functions of the State Bank and the business responsibilities of a series of professional business banks to replace the ward and district banks of today. If all of us, state-operated units and individuals, etc., deposit our unused money in professional commercial banks; and if these locations maintain a banking style of properly fulfilling their function to keep money with absolutely no interference in the rights of the

owners, surely those deposits will rise to create the great source of credit that is extremely necessary for the economy to develop. With easy deposit and withdrawal without unnecessary compulsory conditions, surely no one will be foolish enough to keep unnecessary money in his pocket. The practice of holding money out of economic circulation as at the present time is both unproductive and extremely unfortunate.

Moreover, if commercial transactions are settled by many types of vouchers (commercial letters of credit, checks, money orders, etc.), the requirement for cash will only comprise a small percentage of the present amount.

Within the field of credit banking, it is necessary to restore the capital functions of Ho Chi Minh City as a domestic as well as foreign currency capital market, supplying the business sector with every type of credit to support the exports and imports of the entire region.

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## STATE OF CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION REFLECTED AT EXHIBIT

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 9 Dec 86 pp 2, 4

[Article by Pham Thanh: "At the Third Vietnamese Economic and Technical Exhibit--Consumer Goods, Potential and Reality"]

[Text] Visitors at the Third Vietnamese Economic and Technical Exhibit, which was held to welcome the Sixth Party Congress, were able to see nearly 500 projects and more than 5,000 products representing the creative capacity of our country's worker class and working people. The industrial products made by our state enterprises and small industrial and handicraft installations alone accounted for 60 percent and mostly were consumer goods and items for export, which pointed to the efforts of our cadres, technical workers, and numerous handicraftsmen.

Although the consumer goods and products displayed in the pavilions of the Ministries of Light Industry and Food Industry, the army, and different localities were not more numerous in terms of varieties than in the previous exhibits, they showed remarkable technical and artistic improvement, hence greater economic and use values. Products highlighted the characteristic qualities of individual sectors and localities. The pavilions of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, each displaying nearly 300 products, affirmed the technical potential and level of skills of the two large municipalities. Many items made by Hanoi were new models, which included clocks, fans, sewing machines, bicycles, plastic articles, and shoes. The newness of Ho Chi Minh City's products was very obvious. The quality of many products, such as scissors made by Nguyen Dinh Joint Machine Enterprise, multibladed and horn-handled pocketknives made by Ly Thuong Kiet Cooperative, some bicycle models, Huong Lua rice cookers, amplifiers, guitars and drums, cosmetics, and so on, was quite good. The pavilions of many other localities clearly demonstrated the direction they had been taking--to exploit raw materials and skills on the spot. Ben Tre Province this time concentrated on and showed the strength of coconut, from which 40 products were made, such as rugs, rope, essential oil, soap, and handicraft and fine-arts articles. Quang Ninh Province had products deriving from coal or pottery and porcelain wares made by Dong Trieu and Yen Hung Districts. Hai Hung Province used its own kaolin and joined with Hai Duong Porcelain Factory in technical matters to make dozens of artistic and common porcelain wares of high quality. Cuu Long and Tuyen Quang Provinces had an additional item--a full line of pottery wares. Hoang Lien Son Province



made high-quality white cement, which permitted the manufacturing of valuable building materials. Binh Tri Thien Province displayed more garments and rubber products. Nghia Binh Province had pure silk materials for export. Haiphong displayed additional machine and metal products, woolen rugs, and aluminum and plastic articles. The midland and highland provinces all displayed valuable products coming from their forests, such as contemporary furniture, rattan and bamboo articles, embroideries showing national figures. Thanh Hoa and Ha Son Binh displayed marble products. Vinh Phu Province used local raw materials to produce alum, from 300 tons in 1981 to 3,500 tons in 1985, for paper mills.

The manufacturing sections of the Ministries of Light Industry and Food Industry and the machine-metallurgy industry brought to the exhibit many new lines of products, which reflected the effectiveness of in-depth investment, technical renewal, domestic economic integration, and international cooperation for the production of consumer goods and export. Not only were the displayed items--textiles; garments; pottery, porcelain, and glass wares; sundries; processed foods; and metal articles--much better in terms of both quality and volume of production, their wrappings and labels were also more attractive than before.

The projects and new and improved products brought to the exhibit this time were the results of a hard labor process and the quintessence of the hearts and minds of our country's cadres, technical workers, and handicraftsmen looking forward to the Sixth Party Congress.

On the consumer goods production front we have made another step toward development. The volume of products made this year is twice as large as that in 1980. Because we have been gradually renewing the management mechanism and extending autonomy in production and business, the quality and quantity of many lines of goods have increased and we have satisfied more consumption needs in society. However, we still cannot help worrying. Why don't we find the many good and attractive products that were displayed here available for sale in stores? The reason is that they must be put aside for export, or that they are made on order for other countries. We have goods that are made in large quantities for the people, but their quality is inferior to that of the displayed products, which received more investment. The pavilion of Hai Hung Province showed two kinds of bowls made by Hai Hung Porcelain Enterprise. They were very attractive because of their white enamel and stylish designs, but they were twice as expensive as ordinary bowls. Producers want to make bowls of high quality, but their hands are tied because of prices set by the superior echelons. Producers thus wish to see appropriate price policies soon adopted, along with economic accounting and socialist business practices.

Those who visited the exhibit also noted this fact: While there are shortages of materials, raw materials, and energy, too many installations and localities are making the same lines of goods. Bicycles and parts, table and ceiling fans, liquor, cigarettes, and so on are being made in very many localities. What we must examine without delay is the need to plan and reorganize the consumer goods production network and, on that basis, to put aside materials and raw materials for those production installations that have progressive plans to make products of high quality and low production costs.

Through the exhibit we can affirm that our country's potential consumer goods production remains abundant, our consumption needs are great and varied, and our ability to make good-quality goods is a reality. On the basis of thoroughly understanding the party's socioeconomic tasks, all economic and technical sectors, localities, and production installations, by renewing their economic thinking and management, should assist our production and business installations in strongly developing their autonomy in making better consumer goods, make the exhibit and the market become one, and create the mental attitude of preferably using the goods that we have made by ourselves.

5598

CSO: 4209/240

## NAM DINH CITY INCREASES EXPORT GOODS, CREATING MORE JOBS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 29 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Trinh Giang: "Nam Dinh City Develops Production of Export Goods, Creating Jobs for Laborers"]

[Text] Nam Dinh is a big city. More than 170,000 people live in its urban areas alone. Technical laborers are in rather large numbers, especially traditional handicraftsmen long known for their unique products, which are highly valued and sought after in both domestic and international markets. Capitalizing on that asset to find jobs for some 5,000 working-age citizens, the city has expanded the production of handicraft goods for export and has reorganized its export corporation, upgrading the latter's role from merely collecting goods and keeping rudimentary books to practicing business accounting, investing extensively in production, and guiding and helping export-oriented installations.

The city has paid the greatest attention to raw materials. So far, most installations that make traditional goods have received raw materials from distant provinces, often going through difficulties and unsteady production schedules in the process. To overcome this snag, the city embarked on a three-pronged remedial approach. First, it has taken steps to produce those commodities that require fewer raw materials, to attract more technical laborers, and to turn out high-value products. The Federation of Export Corporations, for instance, has provided assistance to 500 laborers engaged in laced embroidery production, while the municipal government has opened 2 more technical training courses, drawing an additional 120 laborers to that sector. Lacquerware, which was formerly made by a production unit of the Hoa Hong Cooperative, has also expanded, picking up 70 newly trained workers and bright prospects. Likewise, installations making inlaid handicrafts, paintings, and decorative furniture have developed, attracting more laborers.

Second, the city has rapidly increased the production of goods made from locally available raw materials, including jute, rush, rattan, and corn stems. Rush processing, which in the past was concentrated in the coastal districts, has now branched out into the city, offering it an opportunity to employ more highly skilled workers, and has helped the export sector control the movement of goods and minimize the adverse impact of farming

schedules on export production. In 1986, the city strived to turn out 19,000 square meters of rush carpeting and 5,000 square meters of split-rush mats. An effort is being made to develop jute carpet production, taking into consideration its ability to welcome numerous laborers and an abundant supply of raw materials. In the first 9 months of 1986, the municipal export corporation purchased more than 13,000 square meters of jute carpet--within an ace of the year's plan of 15,000 square meters. Installations that produced bamboo shades and joss sticks have also switched to goods for which local raw materials are available, such as rolling shades, rush articles, rattan plates, and cornstem-fiber carpets.

Third, the city has widened its cooperation with other provinces to supply more manpower, technical skills, and raw materials to production installations. For instance, together with Lam Dong and Song Be provinces, it has ensured an adequate flow of raw materials to municipal shade factories, enabling them to make 70,000 sets of thin shades a year. Along with Thanh Hoa and Nghe Tinh provinces, the city has purchased and partially processed raw hides for subsequent supply to municipal leather-good factories. In 1985, these installations received enough raw materials to make 20,000 pairs of hand gloves for export. Through these measures Nam Dinh City not only has acquired more raw materials for production but has also created conditions for installations to employ more than 3,500 laborers to make export goods and for opening new sectors and crafts.

The organization of production at installations has taken on various forms--production association, contract production of finished goods, and family production. Another formula calls for installations which produce raw materials to process semi-finished products into exportable commodities. Thus, municipal installations have processed cornstem fiber and spun rush (semifinished products) into products. The 19 May and Tan Phuong cooperatives and the paper and plastic factory have cooperated with the provincial export federation to produce imitation furs and plastic consumer goods, thereby fostering production capabilities without having to worry about investing in raw materials and new equipment.

Contract production for export by the family sector is expanding, fully using technical labor and existing means while increasing the legitimate income of families. The municipal wool-knitting sector with 1,050 laborers includes only 4 cooperatives; the rest of its workforce, which produces each year 150,000-200,000 sweaters for export, comes from individual households. The contract approach also regulates the processing of wood and leather goods.

Nam Dinh City earned 14 million dong from exports in 1985 and 20,112,000 dong in the first 10 months of this year (computed on the basis of fixed prices).

Nam Dinh City still has a rather great potential in making small-industry and handicraft goods for export and in pulling laborers toward that

activity. Its foremost concern, however, is how to create a source of raw materials. Notwithstanding a big municipal effort to solve that problem accordingly and the effective assistance of the province's foreign trade, all provincial echelons and sectors should come up with more aid, especially in promptly removing obstacles in contract pricing methods, payment formulas, and transportation means. Item: Installations which produce leather goods have never worked at full capacity because appropriate raw material prices have not been agreed upon. Wool sweater production reached only 30 percent of capacity.

If these remaining shortcomings are eliminated, in 1986 Nam Dinh City, whose production installations and foreign trade sector have risen to the occasion, will certainly go far beyond the modest export value of 24 million dong.

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CSO: 4209/219

## VICE MINISTER OF FORESTRY ON EXPORTATION OF FOREST PRODUCTS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 3 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Professor, Level I Ph.D. Nguyen Huu Quang, vice minister of forestry: "Exported Forest and Special Forest Products--a Strength of the Midlands and Mountains"]

[Text] Forest products, in general, particularly a number of special tropical forest products of our country, such as veneering, furniture, rosewood flooring boards, rattan, cinnamon, T'ung oil, pine resin, Aquilaria agallocha, cardamom, Agaricus rhinocerotis, Red Kamala and some other forest pharmaceuticals and forest animals, are liked by the socialist countries and the world market and are export strengths of ours.

Therefore, stepping up the production and exportation of forest products is a way to develop the strengths of our tropical forests and forest land, develop the strengths that lie in the labor of our country's traditional trades within the international division of labor in order to correct the imbalances in the supply of materials, equipment, fuels and capital for production, meet the material and spiritual needs of workers and the laboring people and gradually equip the forest industry with material-technical bases, thereby helping to build the socio-economic system and the national defense system in the mountain region of our country. In recent years, facts have shown that many families, cooperatives, forestry sites and enterprises in the mountains, the midlands and even in the coastal lowlands have stabilized the standard of living and developed production as a result of planting, harvesting and processing forest and special forest products for exportation.

Very many models of utilizing the strengths of the forests, forest land and forest plantlife can be cited, from the South to the North. Today, midland and mountain areas are rapidly expanding their afforestation efforts, which includes rapidly developing the production of exported plants and animals.

Together with stepping up the planting and harvesting of forest and special products for exportation, as a result of transferring the Vietnam National Forest Export-Import Corporation to the forestry sector and establishing closer ties between the market and production, the sector exceeded its plan on the total value of exports by 73 percent in 1985 despite the many problems, restrictions and things that are counter-productive from the standpoint of organization and the export-import mechanism, in general. For 1986, there is

the prospect that the sector will exceed the export value plan assigned by the state by 100 percent.

Also as a result of understanding the market better and thus being able to define its specific strengths, the sector is formulating planning and plans for producing, cultivating and raising plants and animals for exportation and increasing the processing of export goods within each area in order to achieve the target of exporting, in terms of value, two to three times more in the next 5 years.

However, the production and exportation of forest and special products in recent years, although on the momentum of development, have continued to be decentralized, small-scale and backward. They have not been carried out in accordance with a clearly defined export strategy and we have yet to develop leading products. As a result, products are not being produced and exported in large quantities. At many places, emphasis is still on picking and gathering special products in the forests. There is even competition in harvesting, in procurement and sales, which has led to a situation in which many rare plants and animals, such as *Aquilaria agallocha*, cardamom, cinnamon and *Morinda officinalis*, have been harvested and cut to the point where they are becoming increasingly depleted and are in danger of becoming extinct. Production is still crude. Exports are largely in the form of raw materials and semi-finished products and the quality of products is low. Therefore, the value of exports is very low. The production and exports business mechanism (prices, marketing, the organization of exports-imports, the distribution of profits...) has not been researched or established in a way that is rational, is heavily characterized by state subsidies, lacks dynamism and does not encourage producers to produce forest and special products for exportation.

To develop the strengths of the mountain region that lie in exported forest and special products, each locality and area must formulate a forest product export strategy, the first step in which is to determine which products will be key exports, with particular emphasis on annual special forest products which are easy to raise products, each locality and area must formulate a forest product export strategy, the first step in which is to determine which products will be key exports, with particular emphasis on annual special forest products which are easy to raise, turn over capital quickly and are of high export value.

The guidelines for the development of forest product exports in the years ahead must be to protect and rationally harvest the various types of existing resources while planning and accelerating the cultivation, raising and processing of annual plants and animals which require little by way of capital investments, equipment and materials so that we can export high quality products in large quantities and earn much foreign currency. The specific and primary guidelines are:

--Stepping up the production of veneering, board lumber and furniture (various types of wooden chairs, chairs made of wood combined with rattan and other materials, fine carpentry products and handicraft art products), various types of flooring boards, high grade plywood and handicraft art products of high quality.

--Planning the increased planting of T'ung trees, cinnamon, cashews, cardamom, windbreak trees for Aquilaria agallocha and high grade windbreak tree seed, pitch pine, Red Kamala, mushrooms, ginger, saffron and a number of valuable and rare pharmaceuticals; making increased use of processing equipment that is small and mobile but which produces a high percentage of high quality finished products; and planting crops in specific areas that have optimum natural and economic-technical conditions, particularly settlement of nomads areas. Planting must be carried out mainly by families and cooperatives under the guideline of combining forestry and agriculture. The tasks of forestry sites and state-operated enterprises must be to provide seed, technical services and materials and provide centralized processing by area.

--Protecting and managing the gene banks of the various species of animal life in the forests; taking the first steps in organizing the semi-domesticated breeding and raising of some species of animal life that are of value as exports and can be raised, such as deer and monkeys, while investing in the processing of export products from forest animals. In order for the above guidelines and targets to become a true strength of the mountain region, it is important that drastic changes be made in the policies concerning producers and in the division of labor and responsibilities in production and export activities as well as in export and import policies. Specifically:

1. We must resolve the grain problem for those settlement of nomad areas that produce special forest products by increasing our investments in seed, small-scale water conservancy projects and fertilizer in order to enable the intensive cultivation of wet rice and grain and food crops on sloped land in a way that combines agriculture and forestry and with the aim of developing local grain production potentials to the greatest extent possible. It is necessary to amend and change the tax policy and replace the delivery of grain under obligations with the delivery of forest and special products produced under a plan. Basic units and localities should be permitted to export on assignment or sell to the export-import system under a policy of incentive prices and reinvestment in the form of other goods all products produced over and above the plan in order to strongly develop the production of exported forest products while maintaining forest resources and improving the standard of living in highland areas.

2. The State Bank should permit production units and families or units that specialize in the production of forest and special products to organize joint businesses and borrow short-term and long-term capital in order to step up the planting, raising and processing of forest and special products for exportation.

3. Forest and special product procurement prices should be divided into prices of the forest products produced under obligation in place of grain and prices of forest products produced over and above plan quotas and should insure that producers earn a profit and have capital with which to invest in the continued rapid develop of production.



4. At places which cannot achieve self-sufficiency in grain, additional grain must be invested in accordance with their product quotas. This grain should be supplied by the state or by a forest product procurement or forest product export business organization permitted to trade in grain to supply producers.

5. The state must establish its monopoly of foreign trade and the central level must provide exclusive management of foreign trade. There should be only one entity exporting each product to the world market. We must put an end to competition in the procurement and sale of export goods. There must be strict compliance with Council of Ministers' Decision 68-CT and Council of Ministers' Decree 160-CT on unifying the processing of wood and unifying the protection, planting, harvesting, processing and exportation of forest and special products within the forestry sector from the central to the local and basic levels in order to uphold the principle of production costs (planning, plans, technical services and production materials) being the basis of export prices and closely tie exports to imports in order to develop production and improve the standard of living of producers. All basic units and localities and each sector and segment of the economy must be mobilized to participate in raising, planting and processing forest and special products for exportation so that they can contribute many export goods.

In the case of products exported under protocols, the state should make a minimum initial investment in those forestry sites, cooperatives and families that need additional materials, equipment, fuel and building materials for producers for use in everything from planting and processing to the transportation of products to delivery ports. Delivering these materials and equipment directly to the persons responsible for production and delivering the products they produce under obligations to customers will eliminate many intermediaries and benefit production. Giving the major portion of bonuses for meeting and exceeding plan quotas on the delivery of export goods to the producer in order to develop the expanded reproduction of export goods and improve the standard of living of the producer, particularly in the mountains and midlands, is a step that must be taken at an early date.

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CSO: 4209/222

## ARTICLE REVIEWS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN 5-YEAR PERIOD

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 9 Dec 86 p 2

[Article: "Agricultural Production in Last 5 Years"]

[Text] In the last 5 years (1981-1985) agricultural production has made another step toward development. Grain production, the number-one central task of agricultural production, has made new achievements.

Aiming at quickly expanding grain production, the country as a whole concentrated its efforts on extending the cultivated areas by opening new land, growing companion and overlapping catch crops, rotating crops, and practicing intensive cultivation for various crops, particularly rice. Along with renewing the management mechanism and adopting the new contracting system, many localities effectively applied technical progresses in biology, production plans, and the material and technical base; adopted new seasonal patterns and new allocation of high-yielding crop varieties; built high-yielding rice-growing zones; achieved in-depth investment under limited material and technical conditions; and thus made an important step toward development of rice production. Although the areas of rice growing in the last 5 years increased by only 221,000 hectares (3.6 percent), the volume of production was raised from 11,357,000 metric tons of paddy (in 1980) to 16.18 million tons (in 1985), or an average annual increase of 6.7 percent. The fast increase of rice output mainly resulted from the movement to practice intensive cultivation to boost crop yield. The average rice crop yield obtained in the country in the 5-year (1981-1985) period was 25.8 quintals/hectare/crop, an increase of 5.6 quintals over the previous 5-year period. The movement to practice intensive cultivation to boost crop yield was spreading widely. In the provinces in the Red River delta, midlands, northern highlands, former Zone 4, central coastal region, and Central Highlands, as well as in eastern Nam Bo and the Mekong delta, although there were difficulties in specific seasons and certain localities, the annual rice crop yield and output showed considerable increases. According to statistics issued by responsible organs, throughout the country 260 cooperatives and production collectives obtained 7-10 tons/hectare a year; many cooperatives, 12-14 tons; 43 districts, more than 8 tons; and many provinces, more than 7 tons/hectare.

Subsidiary food crop production did not show any remarkable changes, nor were the goals set in yearly plans fulfilled, but since 1984 many localities were growing corn, sweet potato, manioc, and so on in large areas. The volume of production of these crops already showed some increase. In 1985 we produced 2.3 million tons, converted to paddy equivalent, of subsidiary food crops, which accounted for 12.5 percent of the grain output. Many localities recently extended the areas devoted to new high-yielding corn varieties and invested more in intensive cultivation, which brought about higher productivity. Thanks to the above-mentioned results, the average per capita grain production was gradually increasing, from 268 kilograms in 1980 to 309 kilograms in 1985.

In the production of industrial crops, fruit trees, and food-yielding plants steps were made toward development. Concentrated-production and specialized-cultivation zones were and are being created to grow crops for export and for supplying the processing industry with raw materials. Due to an extended form of integration among the state-operated, collective, and family-based sectors, many kinds of industrial crops were grown in larger areas as the result of the right policy that encouraged growing such crops. In 1985, the country as a whole had 1,068,000 hectares of industrial crops, an increase of 70.1 percent over 1980, which included 450,000 hectares of perennial trees (39,000 hectares of coffee, 174,000 hectares of rubber trees, and 53,000 hectares of tea), and 618,000 hectares of short-term industrial crops (98,000 hectares of soybean, 211,000 hectares of peanut, 43,000 hectares of tobacco, and so on), an increase of 60.2 percent over 1980.

In the last 5 years, animal husbandry was being developed in a more total manner. We put an end to a declining situation and gradually increased the flocks of domestic animals and fowls in terms of both their population and the weight at the time they went to market. Hog raising, which was the principal component of our country's animal husbandry, was developing quickly but still failed to reach the goal set in our plans. In 1985 we raised 12.6 million hogs, an increase of 26 percent over 1980. Because we changed the makeup of the breeding population, increased the number of crossbred hogs, and used protein-rich feed, we obviously improved the quality of our hogs. In 1985, the fact that crossbred hogs accounted for 37 percent of the hog population helped to increase the average weight of hogs at the time they went to market from 47 kilograms in 1980 to 62 kilograms in 1985 and to boost meat production to 500,000 tons, which was twice as much as that in the previous 5-year period. By implementing a policy to encourage expansion of animal raising, we raised the populations of water buffaloes, cattle, and domestic fowls. At the end of last year, the country as a whole had 2.6 million cattle, 2,588,000 water buffaloes, and 100 million domestic fowls. The rate of increase of each flock averaged 2.2-9.8 percent.

However, we have not yet effectively reorganized and used our land, labor, and occupations to promote total agricultural development that would bring about good results in local units in districts and regions throughout the country. Although there were many efforts in planning for and classifying our farm land, which was of low average, the management and use of land remained poor and wasteful. The level of intensive cultivation was far from uniform; seeds

of high-yielding varieties and breeders of high procreative power were not yet included in production allocation plans; proper attention was not yet paid to growing more subsidiary food crops. Many kinds of technical materials, such as chemical fertilizers, insecticide, drugs for animals, and so on, were not supplied in time to serve agricultural production. The use and distribution of these materials remained excessively varied, scattered, spontaneous, and wasteful, with their effective use to serve production being very limited.

To build the material and technical base for agriculture, particularly in terms of water conservancy, showed some progress. In the last 5 years many localities throughout the country completed construction of 48 large and hundreds of medium and small water conservancy projects and later set up their management and use in production. In 1985, the areas of rice crops being watered in all 3 winter-spring, summer-autumn, and tenth-month seasons totaled 4,379,000 hectares, an increase of 624,000 hectares; the areas of tenth-month rice crops where drainage was available were 880,000 hectares, an increase of 65,000 hectares; and the areas of subsidiary food crops, vegetables, and industrial crops being watered totaled 112,000 hectares, an increase of 31,500 hectares over 1981. These water conservancy projects made considerable contributions to agricultural production in connection with practicing intensive cultivation, growing additional crops, and increasing the areas of crop growing. In 1985, watering was ensured (in all 3 seasons) for 1.76 million hectares of rice crops, with the growth needs of rice plants being adequately satisfied, and combined intensive cultivation measures were carried out; 300,000 hectares received alluvial water; the soil in 350,000 hectares were treated to get rid of its salinity, and 700,000 hectares were enclosed with embankments to keep back saline water.

However, in the construction, management, and use of water conservancy projects there still were weaknesses that should be overcome: Some projects were still too poor to ensure that planning would be one step ahead; the fact that planning had to take place while construction was going on prolonged the time for construction to be completed, also took a longer time to bring about results, and made capital remain idle for a longer time; because bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies still existed in management of construction and no decisive efforts were made to totally switch to economic accounting and socialist business practices, more difficulties were encountered in investing in and putting the final touch to projects, in which quality and effectiveness were reduced.

In 5 years the marine products sector produced more than 3.5 million tons of marine products of various kinds, an increase of 5 percent over the output in the previous 5-year period; the rate of increase averaged 7 percent per year; the products purchased by the state amounted to 1.2 million tons, with the value of export increasing by 3.76 times compared to the previous 5-year period. In organizing the exploitation of marine products, for the first time we restored a number of progressive traditional occupations, created many new occupations, maintained the expansion of both mechanized and manual production, developed many high-productivity occupations, and widened the exploitation of special products for export. For the first time the

organization of exploiting marine products was renewed, with production and occupations being combined and exploitation either taking place on the spot or changing with seasons and moving with fishing grounds. The sector for the first time organized the state-operated logistical force at sea.

Raising marine products was widely developed, with shrimp raising being quickly expanded to benefit export. The areas of ponds used for fish raising increased from 42,000 hectares (in 1981) to 51,000 hectares (in 1985); the areas for fish raising in brackish water increased from 30,000 to 75,000 hectares; and more than 1,900 rafts and cages were used for fish raising.

However, the marine products sector has not yet fully used all potential areas (salt water, brackish water, and fresh water) to organize raising marine products. In organizing their exploitation it failed to closely link it with protecting the marine resources, particularly the shrimp resources. It did not accelerate the reorganizing of production and occupations in connection with marine products. The state fishing enterprises did not obtain great economic results.

The forestry sector as a whole produced more than 7 million cubic meters, or 88 percent of the goal set for its plan by the Fifth Party Congress and 99.3 percent of the one set by the state. The rate of progress and fulfillment of goals set in state plans were both satisfied in connection with supplying the coal-producing zones with timber used as pillars in mines, timber used as raw materials for paper mills, lumber for the key state projects, and lumber to exchange for grain in Nam Bo. In 5 years new forests were created in more than 460,000 hectares, and 1.64 million trees of various kinds were planted in scattered areas. Giving land and forest land and assigning the task of covering bare land and hills with plants and trees was carried out and brought about good initial results. Many models of combination of agriculture and forestry, and gardens and forests, appeared in almost all localities. New progress was made in the settlement of nomads. Many localities have basically fulfilled this task. Exporting forest products showed some progress.

However, our forest resources continued to decrease, although the rate of decrease was slower. Destruction of forests still continued and was very serious in some localities. The quality of afforestation was not very good, with large areas being involved but in many localities new forests never took shape. The output of consumer goods made of forest products was too small compared to our needs. The full use of forest resources still was minimal, with lots of timber and forest products being left in forests.

Although agricultural production showed some progress, it still encountered many difficulties; grain production was not yet steady and still failed to fully satisfy the needs of society as a whole. Agriculture has not yet been truly considered the forefront, nor has it had the necessary conditions, particularly materials, capital, and encouraging policies, for good development.

The agricultural production task in the coming years will be extremely great. The urgent needs for grain and foods, raw materials for the production of consumer goods, and goods for export will determine the key position that agriculture will be holding.

CORPORATION PRODUCES FIRST POWDERED INSECTICIDE PRODUCT

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 16 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by Duc Thanh: "Good News for Farmers; Production of Powdered Insecticide Begins"]

[Text] After a year of construction and the assembly and installation of equipment and machinery, the Southern Insecticide Corporation put a powdered insecticide shop equipped with an automatic production line into operation precisely on the occasion of the opening of the Sixth Party Congress. This shop is capable of an annual production of 3,600 tons.

The construction project was funded with the self-accumulated foreign exchange capital of the corporation and assistance from fraternal countries. To produce water soluble powdered insecticide, the corporation imports only the chemicals (insecticidal agents), various types of solvents, buffers, etc. with the other raw materials being readily available within the country. The first product of the corporation in the water soluble powdered form, consisting of Basa and Mip-sin, has been placed in use, attaining good quality.

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CSO: 4209/259

## CEMENT COMBINE SURPASSES 1986 PRODUCTION PLAN

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 10 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by T.T.A.: "At 1600 on 8 December 1986, Ha Tien Cement Combine Completed Production Plan of 260,000 Tons of Cement; To Produce Additional 20,000 Tons by End of Year"]

[Text] At 1600 on 8 December 1986, the Ha Tien Cement Combine had produced 260,000 tons of cement (including clinker volume in cement equivalent), 100 percent of the planned level for 1986.

From now until the end of 1986, the plant is striving to produce an additional 20,000 tons, ensuring an output for the entire year of 280,000 tons of cement to attain the designed capacity level of the crushing and production line in Thu Duc.

The plant has attained self-equilibrium in part of the material supplies, has restored equipment long out of order, newly constructed two floats for the clay dredge, and restored a bulldozer to operation. Through joint enterprise and association with more than 80 units, the plant has self-acquired sufficient raw materials and the necessary machinery and equipment to stabilize production, especially acquiring sufficient paper to make sacks until the end of the 1st quarter of 1987.

By export goods exchange, the plant during 1986 paid about 2 million dollars to assist in balancing the foreign exchange of the entire sector.

7300

CSO: 4209/247

## HANOI BREWERY USES TECHNOLOGY, DOMESTIC RAW MATERIALS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 9 Dec 86 p 3

[Article: "Hanoi Brewery Uses Domestic, Local Raw Materials To Replace Imported Raw Materials"]

[Text] This year the Hanoi Brewery has had stable production because it was actively creating sources of domestic and local raw materials.

For decades the search for a new yeast more suitable for our country's production conditions did not succeed yet. To reduce difficulties the brewery found the reasons for failure in its research, applied scientific and technical progress, and attached importance to in-depth investment. By adopting various forms of renewing the commanding process in production, replacing its equipment, raising morale, and applying the economic lever, it exploited the potential capabilities of technical cadres and workers. Many valuable research subjects and initiatives proposed by its engineers and high-grade workers were put into application with good results. For the first time it drafted its own plan and carried out on schedule the scientific research subjects, which were aimed at creating domestic raw materials to replace the imported ones, replacing equipment, improving and overhauling its machines, as well as making improvement at its work areas. An outstanding success was the finding of domestic raw materials to replace barley for the making of yeast. From 1 October 1986 on, most of its beer was made with domestic raw materials, and its imported raw materials were decreased.

Striving to be self-sufficient in water supply, the important raw material used in beer making, the brewery designed and built its own water supply station, which provides 6,000 cubic meters of water a day. The clean water coming from rocks of a depth of 68 meters helps to raise the quality of its products. The water reservoir, an esthetically attractive structure built to greet the Sixth Party Congress, is both economically beneficial and beautiful for the environment.

In its production, the brewery pays attention to carrying out its industrial plan, uses new raw materials at an appropriate rate, strictly controls the processing formula in order to raise the quality of its products, reduces the rate of losses below 2 percent, retrieves all of the CO<sub>2</sub> (carbon dioxide) gas for use in making beverage and serving other economic and technical sectors, fully uses waste water in animal raising, increases the sources of foods, and improves the standard of living of cadres and workers.

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## READER DECRIES EXTORTION BY STEVEDORES IN HAIPHONG

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 3 Dec 86 p 2

[Readers' Letters column: "The Extortion in the Loading and Unloading of Grain!"]

[Text] Recently, every driver transporting grain from the port of Haiphong has complained that the practice of extortion has increased and is causing them a great deal of concern. This negative phenomenon exists not only among stevedores, but even among everyone working in the shipping and receiving of grain. Once, we drove from Hanoi to the port of Haiphong to pick up rice at warehouse number 10. Every truck had to pay 500 dong in new money to be loaded. Concerning my truck, the stevedores said: "This truck is too big. It will cost you 1,500 dong." I had no choice but to pay them what they demanded. When I arrived back in Hanoi, I had to pay out another 700 dong to the workers unloading the truck and give gifts to personnel of the Chau Long Grain Store before they would take delivery of rice.

Where do drivers get the money they need to pay out during trips to pick up rice? How do they get enough money for 1 trip, 10 trips and then hundreds of trips if not by stealing goods from the state?

It is suggested that the responsible agencies quickly take measures to correct this negative phenomenon.

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CSO: 4209/222

## ACUTE MD SHORTAGE IN HO CHI MINH CITY DISCUSSED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 12 Nov 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Quoc Ke: "Ways To Supply an Adequate Number of Medical Doctors to the City--Promptly Expand the College of Medicine and Pharmacy; Prepare To Open a New Medical School--Competing for 30 Slots, 4,700 Municipal Students Take Entry Exams to the Medical School of the College of Medicine and Pharmacy; Meanwhile, the Doctor Shortage Is, and Will Be, Worsening; What Effective Measures Will Be Taken?"]

[Text] Does--or Doesn't--the City Have Enough Doctors?

On 26 September 1986, the municipal people's committee sent Official Letter No 3045/UB to the Council of Ministers and related ministries requesting an increase in college enrollees. The letter reads in part: "The municipal people's committee urgently and earnestly suggests that the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Public Health authorize the College of Medicine and Pharmacy to enroll an additional 160-170 students in its 1986-87 freshman class--an increase which would only enable the city to meet 50 percent of its need for doctors 6 years from now...."

At this writing, there are only 1,425 medical doctors in the city (nearly one-half the 1975 figure). This stems from many factors--disability, retirement, resignation, and illegal border crossings. Estimates based on past fluctuations indicate that the number of MD's will decrease by 480 (90 MD's a year) during the 1986-90 period. However, according to the Statistics Department, by 1990 about 4.5 million permanent residents and 350,000 non-permanent residents and transients will live in the city. Thus, 4.85 million people will then need medical care, not including the load of patients coming from the provinces and of international public health obligations.

To attain by the early 1990's an average of 5.5 MD's per 10,000 inhabitants (a still low figure compared with that of other fraternal socialist countries) the city, in line with its own development planning norms and those set by the Ministry of Public Health, should graduate each year 300-320 MD's of various specialties.

As a matter of fact, past quotas--from 50 to 70 MD's a year--did not enable the city to make up for attrition--let alone strengthen the MD contingent. In the current 1986-87 school year especially, 4,700 students in the city registered for entry exam to the medical school, competing for just 30 slots. This tiny quota and still unfair matriculation procedures have generated extensive harm.

Taking these realities into account, the Ministry of Public Health approved the first proposal of the municipal people's committee, authorizing it to take an additional 29 students. But even that adjusted quota could not help the city solve its doctor shortage for the coming years. In cadre training, we cannot give the blessing to the practice of doing things "under the wire."

#### Switch Training Priorities and Train More MD's

Despite its acute doctor shortage, the city recently faced a "strange" situation, in which 50 dental-maxillofacial surgeons assigned to the city were close to being unemployed. Carrying out its responsibilities, the municipal public health service was forced to "urge" and then "implore" the precincts and districts to hire more dentists. In fact, we have been experiencing a true shortage of general practitioners simultaneously with an artificial glut of dental-maxillofacial surgeons (due to a lack of special equipment and machinery). But it plainly, pressures caused by the doctor shortage have never abated. The city still lacks dentists to develop its school dental program to prevent and treat diseases. Precincts and districts dare not accept more dentists simply because they have no adequate facilities.

In our judgment, we can now switch priorities, from training dental-maxillofacial surgeons to training medical general practitioners. This fits in well with the socioeconomic situation, even in the long run.

Moreover, the municipal College of Medicine and Pharmacy has indicated that in case the enrollment quota is raised, it can accommodate more students provided that funding is assured.

In 1984 and 1985, the city sent 169 students to the College of Medicine and Pharmacy for medical training according to Plan B to contribute to solving difficulties. Nevertheless, since the cost of maintaining a student is 14,000 dong a year, an extensive and protracted commitment could put the municipal budget in a bind.

#### Expand the College of Medicine and Pharmacy, Prepare To Build a Medical School for the Southern Provinces

The area south of Thuan Hai is being served by the one city-based medical school (since the Can Tho Medical School has switched to specialized training). Through years of socialist building, each province in the north has now an average of 500 MD's. By contrast, the former regime in the south left behind a "white zone." The highest concentration of MD's in the south,

not including cities, is Hau Giang Province with 200 doctors. Neighboring Ben Tre had only 40 doctors in 1985. This is a vestige of history requiring a satisfactory solution.

In our opinion, we should expand the College of Medicine and Pharmacy in Ho Chi Minh City to meet an eventual increase in enrollment quota (in case the proposal contained in the first paragraph of this article is approved). In light of the motto "the state and people working together," necessary funding for expansion is within reach. So far, due to inadequate training quotas, nearly all provinces and cities have committed students to medical training according to Plan B. To be eligible, however, the provinces, cities, and families of trainees must defray the costs--1,400 dong a year per student. Even if we agree to perpetuate this situation, we will still labor under difficulties (not to speak of possible negative phenomena). We believe that, rather than paying 14,000 dong a year for each student, we should spend that money to enlarge and upgrade the present College of Medicine and Pharmacy. The expansion project will almost certainly bear fruit in the early 1990.

In the long haul, we cannot overlook the need to build another medical school in the city. The College of Medicine and Pharmacy already houses about 6,000 cadres, workers, civil servants, and students; thus, continued expansion would make it bloated. Technical skills and material facilities of 20 municipal hospitals are a guarantee for appropriate clerkship. (At the middle level, the problem of opening more schools was solved rather properly. Currently, the city has two public health middle schools--one training for the area, the other for the city.) In our opinion, construction and training funds can be obtained on the basis of the "state and people working together." Student enrollment will be based, not on financial contributions but rather on true academic performances.

Naturally, we need not just money to prepare for a new college--and a veritable one--to provide effective quality training. Great and heavy tasks are in store for us. But if we do need such an institution, we should get into harness right now, making scientific calculations and predicting problems that will confront a college at the turn of the century and during the years after that.

It should be reminded that it has become clearly urgent to raise and solve the problem of increasing the contingent of medical doctors.

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## CONTENTS OF NOVEMBER ISSUE OF TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN

BK061509 Following are the contents of Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Nov 86:

1. Speech by Truong Chinh, general secretary of the VPC Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State at the 13-18 October Fourth All-Army Party Organization Congress, under the title: "Firmly Combine National Construction with National Defense." (Published)
2. Speech by Senior General Le Trong Tan, member of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau and VPA chief of the general staff at the Third All-Army Military Science Conference--date not given--under the title: "The Present Military Science Work," reviewing achievements scored in this task during the past 5 years and sketching tasks for the days ahead.
3. Article by Major General (D.A. Vokoenop), professor in philosophy: "Various Military Issues in the Platform of the CPSU," stressing main contents of the 27th CPSU Congress Political Report and problem of war and peace facing mankind at present.
4. Article by Lieutenant General Nguyen Nam Khanh: "Various Issues of Party Work-political Task in Labor Productivity and Economic Building," urging the armed forces to engage in labor productivity and economic building, while firmly defending the socialist fatherland.
5. Article by Rear Admiral Giap Van Cuong: "Combat Operation in Defense of Coastal Areas and Offshore Islands in the War for National Defense," stressing rich natural resources along the 2,000-km long Vietnamese coastline and urging the Vietnamese Navy and Armed Forces to strive to protect these resources.
6. Article by Thanh Mai: "Improve Combat Command by Commanders and Local Military Organs," on duties and responsibilities of commanders and military organs in national defense, urging them to improve their capabilities to full-fill assigned tasks.
7. Article by Nguyen Van Phung, rector of the Party History Institute: "The Lesson of Strengthening the Nascent Administration under Siege by Imperialism," on historical events 40 years ago when Vietnam was liberated from the yoke of French colonialism.
8. Article by Truc Lam: "El Salvador: A War of the United States," on U.S. intervention to El Salvador, past and present.

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