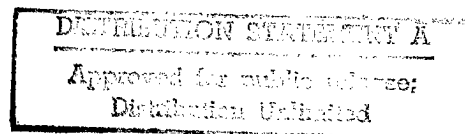


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13 APRIL 1987

# Southeast Asia Report



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13 APRIL 1987

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AUSTRALIA

PNG'S FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR TALKS

Integrated Development on Agenda

BK170453 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0030 GMT 17 Mar 87

[Text] Papua New Guinea's foreign minister, Mr Diro, is in Canberra today for talks with the Australian Government on bilateral relations. Australian officials in Canberra also expect Mr Diro to brief the government on the details of his talks in Jakarta last week about Papua New Guinea's move to join the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Mr Diro will have discussions with Australia's foreign affairs minister, Mr Hayden, and the defense minister, Mr Beazley, and will have a brief meeting with the prime minister, Mr Hawke.

Radio Australia's diplomatic reporter, Graeme Dobell, says Mr Diro's talks with Mr Hayden will concentrate on the future of the relationship between Canberra and Port Moresby. They will also consider an integrated development package covering trade, aid, and defense.

Dobell quotes an official source as saying the talks will go some way toward concluding an agreement on a declaration of principles, but more work would be required following Mr Diro's visit.

Long Meeting With Hawke

BK171305 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 17 Mar 87

[Text] Papua New Guinea's foreign minister, Mr Diro, has had talks in Canberra with the Australian Government, including an unexpectedly long meeting with the prime minister, Mr Hawke. Australian officials earlier said they thought Mr Diro would brief the government on the details of his talks in Jakarta last week about Papua New Guinea's move to join the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

He also had discussions with Australia's foreign affairs minister, Mr Hayden, and the defense minister, Mr Beazley. Mr Diro has flown to Sydney and is due to return to Papua New Guinea tomorrow.

/9274

CSO: 4200/433

AUSTRALIA

PNG MINISTER CITED ON TIES WITH JAKARTA, PACIFIC

BK160955 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0803 GMT 16 Mar 87

[From the "International Report" program]

[Text] Indonesia has agreed to support Papua New Guinea's application for membership of ASEAN--the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. While admitting that Papua New Guinea is ethnically and culturally a South Pacific country, Foreign Minister Ted Diro says ASEAN membership was important for diplomatic and trade reasons. However, General Diro denied that his country was turning its back on its traditional ties with other Pacific nations, particularly Australia. Gen Diro arrived in Sydney today from Jakarta where he signed a treaty of friendship with his Indonesian counterpart, Dr Mokhtar.

Given that Papua New Guinea is ethnically, culturally, and economically so different from the ASEAN nations, Trevor Watson asked Gen Diro why he thought they should want his country in their organization.

[Begin recording] [Diro] Well, I think we have come to realize that as neighbors we have to live together, and as neighbors we have to be friends, and this is the reason that there is sufficient political will on their part to try and be friends with PNG, and I think the feeling is reciprocal.

[Watson] Because Papua New Guinea is so different from the other members of ASEAN, there have been reports suggesting that Papua New Guinea's membership could disrupt the harmony within ASEAN--the harmony that has developed over many years.

[Diro] Well, there may be some truth in what you are saying, but I think we still need to assess that. On the other hand, it might work out to be very good. We might find that the ASEAN countries are perhaps a bit more accommodating, so I think there is still room for us to negotiate, and there is still room for us to maneuver, feel each other out, and so on. But, so far there has been sufficient goodwill and sufficient political will to try and establish that relationship.

[Watson] Is Papua New Guinea turning its back on its traditional ties with Australia and the South Pacific--members of the South Pacific Forum, for example?



[Diro] No, absolutely not. I don't think that one should interpret Papua New Guinea's affiliation with our neighbors from far north as being a turning away from the traditional friends. Australia and Papua New Guinea are very close indeed. Our relationship is unique, and I think that within that framework of close relationship with Australia, I think that there is still room for Papua New Guinea to maneuver and to try and pursue its foreign policy initiatives which contribute to be in the best interests of our country.

[Watson] Are you concerned that perhaps this move to join ASEAN may be interpreted in the South Pacific as Papua New Guinea turning its back on the region?

[Diro] Well, I don't think I'm concerned at all. I think that reason must prevail, and I think that we have sufficient, good enough reason to project our moves to join ASEAN, and I think that our friends in the Pacific will come to realize the unique position that Papua New Guinea is in. We are sandwiched between Asia and the Pacific. We share a common border with the largest ASEAN country--Indonesia--with a population of 170 million people. So I think that while not abandoning our friends, traditional relations with Australia and the Pacific, we must be given the understanding to pursue our own interests as we see them.

[Watson] How do you describe now, relations with Indonesia?

[Diro] I would say the relationship with Indonesia at present is very cordial. I think that in the past we--Papua New Guinea and Australia [name of country as heard]--tended to or may have tended to forecast the relationship between the two countries largely based on the border issues, and I think that is wrong. I think now is the time to widen the relationship and to try and achieve a much more tangible level of trade and economic cooperation.

[Watson] And yet, even though you have now signed a treaty of friendship with Indonesia, the problems, like border problems, don't go away.

[Diro] No, that is appreciated. I think that one of the most important initiatives that my government took was to try and detach itself from the refugee problem which tends to dominate the border issues. And I think by doing that we have in a very large way defused the problems and conflicts that could be caused along the border. So, I think that that side is clear. The border problem will not go away, but as a result of the treaty, I think there will be much more cooperation and more more...[changes thought] much better understanding of each other's side of the problem. [End recording]

/6662

CSO: 4200/440

OPPOSITION COALITION MEETING PUTS FUTURE IN DOUBT

BK281052 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 28 Mar 87

[Text] The future of the opposition Liberal and National Party coalition is again under a cloud with a confusing set of resolutions adopted at the National Party's Federal Council meeting in Canberra. The National Party is embroiled in a bitter internal power struggle with a significant faction led by the Queensland premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, determined to force the party out of the coalition.

Sir Joh, who has said he will be the next prime minister of Australia, has ordered Queensland National Party federal parliamentarians to split from the coalition. Sir Joh's rival, the National Party leader in Federal Parliament, Mr Ian Sinclair, had earlier seemed to have won a significant victory over Sir Joh when the Federal Council voted to allow members of Parliament to decide for themselves if and when they would split from the Liberal Party. That vote came amid speculation that the ruling Labor Party was about to announce an early federal election to capitalize on the divisions in both opposition parties.

Mr Sinclair made a strong plea for unity in the coalition saying that any split would damage its chance of winning government. However, after his apparent success in having the split deferred, the meeting adopted another motion that the party not enter a coalition while in opposition. Mr Sinclair says that motion imposed no constitutional or other obligations on members of the parliamentary party, but the Queensland faction maintain that the coalition is now finished.

/8309

CSO: 4200/431

AUSTRALIA

FIRE REPORTED AT SYDNEY NUCLEAR REACTOR

BK190101 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0030 GMT 19 Mar 87

[Text] An inquiry begins today into the cause of last night's fire at Australia's only nuclear reactor complex at Lucas Heights in Sydney. Radio Australia's Sydney office says the fire released a small amount of radioactivity into the air. However, the management of the Lucas Heights complex said the amount released represented only 25 percent of the approved weekly limit for the reactor.

The fire broke out in the so-called hot cell used by the Atomic Energy Commission to make radioactive isotopes for cancer treatment. Fifth firefighters went to the reactor, but the cell was shut off and the fire burned out in about half an hour.

A spokesman for the radiation branch of the New South Wales Health Department says two workers received minor contamination in the accident, possibly from touching the burntout components. He said the men, who registered slight radioactivity on their fingers and hair, were thoroughly decontaminated by a wash and scrub up and were able to return to work.

The Atomic Energy Commission says all the equipment at the Lucas Heights reactor is in working order apart from the small charcoal filter which caught fire and the reactor should be back in operation today.

The fire prompted an angry response from a local resident action group which has been campaigning for 9 years about the health risk to residents from the reactor.

/9274

CSO: 4200/433

HAYDEN QUESTIONED ON NEW FRENCH NUCLEAR TEST SITE

BK171311 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 17 Mar 87

[Text] The Australian foreign affairs minister, Mr Hayden, says Australia has been unable to establish any evidence of a French intention to move its nuclear tests from the South Pacific to the Indian Ocean. Mr Hayden told Parliament there was a statement recently by a French spokesman who said that the nuclear tests would stay at Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia.

He was replying to a question from a Labor member of parliament who asked about a recent report that the French tests might move to Kerguelen Islands in the Indian Ocean. Mr Hayden said the advice from his department was that France had a substantial capital investment in Mururoa. This investment would be extremely expensive to replace at some other site.

The foreign minister said Kerguelen Islands was part of French territory and France had sovereign rights. But Mr Hayden said any move to establish a nuclear test site at Kerguelen Islands would draw strong opposition from Australia.

/9274

CSO: 4200/433

AUSTRALIA

KERIN SAYS TUNA ACCESS TREATY TO BE SIGNED

BK270935 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] The federal government next week will sign the South Pacific Tuna Access Treaty in Port Moresby. The minister for primary industry, Mr Kerin, says the treaty between member governments of the South Pacific Forum and the United States provided controlled access for American tuna boats to significant parts of the waters of the South and southwestern Pacific.

He said access to the 200-mile Australian fishing zone would be limited initially to restricted waters in the Coral Sea. Fishing would be subject to careful management and review. The primary industry minister said the American fleet would be required to provide information on [word indistinct] and carry Pacific Island observers.

Mr Kerin said Australian officials would closely monitor the activities of the United States fleet, particularly for any catch of dolphins. He said the treaty would regularize American fishing in the region and ensure that the treaty countries received a fair return for the fish taken from their fishing zones.

Radio Australia's diplomatic correspondent, Graeme Dobell, reports that the Americans would be required to pay \$60 million [currency not specified] for fishing rights.

/8309

CSO: 4200/431

BRIEFS

NATIONAL DEFICIT DECLINES--There has been an improvement in Australia's monthly trade performance. The latest figures on current account deficit have just been released in Canberra showing a deficit of \$750 million [Australian] for the month of February. That is \$450 million or 37 percent lower than the January deficit. Elliot Taylor has the details: [Begin recording] A smaller deficit was helped by a strong rise in exports and a seasonal reduction in Australian tourists spending money abroad. As well, there was a fall in foreign aid payments to Papua New Guinea from the high January level. The balance on merchandise trade in February swung to a small surplus of \$42 million from a deficit the previous of nearly \$250 million. The turnaround reflected a 17 percent rise in seasonally adjusted exports and a 4 percent fall in imports. [end recording] [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 17 Mar 87 BK] /9274

DWINDLING OIL SUPPLY--The federal government says Australia's huge Bass Strait crude oil deposits are rapidly depleting and alternative sources must be found. The minister of resources and energy, Senator Evans, says Australia's oil supply will halve in the next 6 years and production will drop from about 550,000 barrels a day to less than 300,000 by 1992. Senator Evans says that unless major new discoveries are made Australia will be facing big increases in payments for imported petroleum. He says Australians must learn to conserve oil and begin to develop alternative synthetic substitutes to offset the declining liquid fuel supply. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0030 GMT 17 Mar 87 BK] /9274

JOINT NAVAL EXERCISE WITH NEW ZEALAND--Warships and military aircraft from Australia and New Zealand are taking part in a naval exercise off Australia's east coast. Five Australian Navy ships and a New Zealand frigate are practicing air defense and antisubmarine maneuvers with aircraft from both countries. The 10-day exercise known as "Tasman Sea" is the first of two joint naval operations in the region this year. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 17 Mar 87 BK] /9274

OUTGOING PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR--Pakistani Ambassador to Indonesia Dr Qureshi paid a courtesy call on house speaker Amir Makhmud in Jakarta last week. The Pakistani envoy is concluding his tenure of office in Indonesia. [Summary] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 21 Mar 87 BK] /6662

HAWKE ON RESTRUCTURING ECONOMY--The prime minister, Mr Hawke, says Australia will have to find and exploit new overseas markets for manufactured goods and services and knowledge-intensive industries. Delivering the inaugural (Maurice Blackburn) memorial lecture in Melbourne, Mr Hawke said the prosperity of Australia would be irretrievably lost unless the country succeeds in restructuring its economy. He said most of Australia's exports were based on agriculture or mining and therefore susceptible to dramatic slumps in world prices. Mr Hawke said Australia's farms and mines would doubtless continue to be major export earners but they must not be the sole export earners. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 29 Mar 87] /8309

CSO: 4200/431

39TH REVOLUTIONARY ANNIVERSARY MARKED

BK301345 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Burma in Burmese 1200 GMT  
28 Mar 87

[Unattributed 'Article': "The Entire Nation, Wage Struggle in Unity and Solidarity To Remove the 1-party Dictatorial Burma Socialist Program Government Which Is Causing Economic, Political, and Social Deterioration in the Whole Country"]

[Summary from poor reception] "The civil war, which started because of the ruling class in Burma on 28 March 1948, has lasted for 39 years now. Indeed it is quite rare even in world history for a civil war to be fought continuously for 39 years." "Great truly are the people who have fought this barbarous war with determination and conviction for such a long time. (?Great also are) the Burma Communist Party [BCP] and the People's Army which have constantly stood on the side of the people throughout their war and have sacrificed lives for the struggle. Thus, on this noble and special day--the 39th anniversary--we humbly salute the people, the comrades from allied organizations, the combatants of the People's Army, and the Communist Party members who had fallen while bravely opposing and struggling against war perpetrated by successive reactionary ruling regimes."

We can easily determine how the civil war started by looking back at the events that had occurred in the past 39 years. The civil war started when the henchmen troops of the ruling class resorted to force and arrested party cadres, members of peasants unions, and others. The flames of civil war raged further when government reactionary troops burned villages, persecuted people, treated women with disregard, and killed at will. Such incidents paint a clear picture that the civil war in Burma continues because of the oppressive activities by reactionary ruling class.

"From the way successive reactionaries, including the military clique, have manically waged the war against Communists and people over the past 39 years, (?we can sympathize with) the just war being waged by the Communists and the people. Moreover, it can be understood from the events of the past 39 years that there is no alternative for the Communists and the people but to resort to an armed revolution.



"Communists have stated all throughout that they wish to see Burma as a unified, peaceful, prosperous, and [word indistinct] nation. They have also endeavored towards this end." However, the military clique, which is prospering through this war, "has ignored the desires of the people and has intensified the reactionary war."

It is evident that the ruling class has failed to achieve any economic development since 1948. It has made the backward agriculture sector the country's main economy and has put the country in a situation where it has to rely on loans from all sources and it remains helpless under the market manipulation of big imperialists and capitalists.

Burma's annual economic growth today, even according to the manipulated figures of the military government, is almost the same as the population growth rate. Today, it has been omitted from the list of reliable debtor nations in the international financial circles. "In the 1985-86 fiscal year, about two-thirds of the income from export earnings was used for overseas debt servicing. The social structures can also fare no better since they are based on a weak and tottering economy.

"Although we are unable to discuss the actual unemployment rate, the number of people in prisons, (?the crime rate) which concerns people's moral conduct, and others since the military government neither compiles nor would make the figures public, we can however cite the following examples:

"At the so-called Fourth Congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP], it was stated that the party had to take action on 6,099 cases, including the ones left over from the so-called Third Congress, that occurred within the party and were still pending. But at the so-called Fifth Party Congress, there were 8,512 cases that occurred in the period between the fourth congress and the fifth congress. Of these cases, only 4 percent involve political offenses while the rest of the cases concern violation of socioeconomic and judicial laws and organizational discipline. Of the people charged for socioeconomic offenses seven were members of the BSPP Central Committee.

"How does the BSPP Military Government cope with the rapidly deteriorating socioeconomic situation? Will it be willing to open up (?political and) democratic freedoms to the Burmese people who are facing hardships and poverty? No. It steps up the worst kind of oppressive activities and keeps a lid on democracy." There are no rights to write, speak, or publish freely, and one cannot even dream about the right to form organizations in Burma. The military government has only allowed the BSPP, which represents imperialism, feudal-landlordism, and bureaucrat capitalism, to be the sole political party, and has unjustly banned all other parties and organizations. It is for this reason that all the other parties and organizations that represent the other classes are left only with an alternative of an armed revolution.

The military government has tried to overcome political, socioeconomic, and other hardships through its military machinery. "It is for this reason that the BSPP propaganda machinery is stepping up boasts about the so-called

military victories." While the propaganda is being spread, the BSPP mercenary troops are learning their bitter lessons in the battlefield. "The mercenary troops (?may have had some successes)" but "the fate of the people's armed revolution can never be harmed by (?some regional displacements)." In fact, "between November 1986 and February 1987, the military government mercenary troops suffered about 1,500 killed or wounded in Mong Paw and (?Panghsai) areas. The People's Army also captured over 200 weapons, including 5 heavy weapons. In the (?northern part of Pang-yang), east of Salween River, the mercenaries suffered about 80 dead and about 350 wounded while 3 others were taken prisoner. Thirty-eight weapons, including a (?75-mm gun), were captured." "In sum, between November last year and to date, about 2,500 mercenary troops have been put out of action and some 250 assorted weapons were captured."

The mercenary troops have been dealt a heavy blow. "But, as long as the military government exists, the political, economic, social, and (?other hardships will remain unchanged)." Hence, to bring about changes, "people and organizations must struggle individually (?as well as under a united front)" to topple the BSPP-military government.

"Let all the combatants of the People's Army unite closer among themselves and (?resolutely) wage the armed revolution in order to build a new, united, and democratic Burma!"

/8309

CSO: 4211/36

BURMA

REPORT ON BUDGET, DEFENSE SPENDING, GROWTH

BK180718 Hong Kong AFP in English 0703 GMT 18 Mar 87

[Text] Rangoon, March 18 (AFP)—Burma has allocated 267 million dollars to defence spending in this year's budget which became law this week and provides for total government expenditure of almost 1.3 billion dollars in fiscal 1987-88.

The budget laws, discussed and approved by 489-seat Burmese People's Congress last week, were promulgated by President San Yu on Monday before being made available to foreign journalists.

Government estimates for budget expenditure and receipts are based on a projected five percent growth rate in gross domestic product (GDP) to almost 3.16 billion dollars in the year beginning April 31.

The budget allocated 179 million dollars to agriculture and forests, 173.6 million dollars to education, 146.5 million dollars to planning and finance, and 101.4 million dollars to construction.

Other allocations included 83.5 million dollars to health, 73.4 million dollars to home affairs and 55.3 million dollars to pensions.

Foreign grants are estimated at 90.4 million dollars and foreign loans at 406.8 million dollars in the new year. That exceeds the projected 329.3 million dollar repayment in foreign debts (comprising 112.6 million dollars in interest and 216.6 million dollars in principal).

The state is to account for 75.6 percent of the total investment target of 1.42 billion dollars with the remaining 21.4 percent going to the private sector and three percent to cooperatives. State investment includes 369.4 million dollars in foreign aid and loans.

Government planners expect Burma's main foreign exchange earner, agriculture, to grow by 5.4 percent. Forestry, which ranks second, is expected to grow by 5 percent and livestock and fisheries by 5.8 percent.

Other targets are 0.8 percent growth for mining, 11 percent for industry, 8.2 percent for energy, 5.9 percent for construction, 5.2 percent for transport, 10.4 percent for communications, 4.9 percent for finance, three percent for social and administration services, and 2.3 percent for trade.

Production is expected to account for 54 percent of total GDP with services accounting for 26.2 percent and trade 19.8 percent.

The private sector is still expected to account for the greatest share of ownership but nevertheless decline by 1.4 percent to 52.9 percent with the state accounting for 39 percent and cooperatives 8.1 percent.

Private sector production is expected to increase by 2.4 percent compared with 5.2 percent for the state and 24.2 percent for cooperatives.

On the revenue side, the greatest share is expected to come from taxes on commodities and services raising 388.5 million dollars followed by 151.4 million dollars from customs duties.

Import licence fees are estimated to raise 12.8 million dollars, income tax 8.5 million dollars, and forestry taxes 21.9 million dollars.

Production targets include 14.46 million tons of paddy, 9.18 million barrels of crude oil, 46,900 million cubic feet of natural gas, 100 fine ounces of gold, 650,000 fine ounces of silver, 13,529 kilos jade and 72.27 million gallons of petrol.

/8309

CSO: 4200/434

PHILIPPINES

REPORTAGE ON GOVERNMENT TALKS WITH MNLF

Peace Talks Resume

HK240157 Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 23 Mar 87

[Text] The government and the Moro National Liberation Front resumed their peace talks this morning at the Development Academy of the Philippines in Tagaytay City. The meeting is the second since Ambassador Emmanuel Pelaez took over the chairmanship of the government's peace and development panel for Mindanao. Pelaez said he expects more conclusive results in the meeting today. He stressed the government's commitment to Muslim autonomy and their economic emancipation and social development as part of the Filipino nation.

Pelaez on Talks

HK271151 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 27 Mar 87 pp 1, 10

[By Chay Florentino]

[Text] Government negotiator Emmanuel Pelaez said he had not been informed by Nur Misuari or any other leader of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) about their plan to pull out from the peace talks.

He expressed optimism, however, about the outcome of the talks. "I am hopeful that we will succeed," he said.

Asked about a possible collapse of the talks, he added that "everything in this world is possible, but the chances of success are better."

Pelaez went to see President Aquino yesterday to brief her on what the government panel was scheduled to do in the next two to three weeks.

He said they were set to give the government's written response to the MNLF's proposals on April 9, the scheduled date for the resumption of talks.

He stressed that the government will "always abide by the Constitution," hinting that no more than five provinces can be granted autonomy--contrary to the Muslims' demand for 23.

"Neither the President nor anyone in government can do anything contrary to the Constitution," the government emissary said, adding that the Muslim rebel faction is aware of what can and cannot be done.

On the issue of whether or not the autonomy issue can be settled before Congress is convened, Pelaez said they will have to study what can be done, particularly which powers can be granted without "preempting or short-circuiting" Congress.

The definition of "democratic processes" as defined by the government includes the holding of plebiscites, referenda or elections as basis for determining which province will be declared autonomous.

This runs counter to the MNLF definition which states that consultation down to the smallest family unit as well as consensus constitute a democratic process.

Pelaez said that negotiation is "always give and take," reacting to an observation that the majority Christian population of Mindanao will expectedly put the Muslims at disadvantage if the issue of autonomy is subjected to any of the electoral exercises being proposed by the government.

The government, Pelaez stressed, stands pat on its decision to "offer the Muslims empowerment through autonomy."

The President expressed satisfaction over the progress of the talks and "with the way things are going," he said.

Negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front [MILF], another rebel faction headed by Salamat Hashim, is "another matter," Pelaez said, explaining that he has been tasked solely with negotiating with the MNLF faction. He did not say whether another panel will be created to talk peace with the MILF.

Notwithstanding the differences in the positions being taken by both panels, Pelaez said peace can still be achieved by "being reasonable and looking after the welfare of the people following the intent of the Constitution."

He had never met Misuari and said "we will see" when asked if he was going to talk with the Muslim rebel leader.

#### Southcom Chief Says Demands 'Unreasonable'

HK280756 Quezon City Sports Radio 738 in English 0700 GMT 28 Mar 87

[Text] The Mindanao peace talks should reflect the whole of Mindanao and its population if lasting peace is to be achieved in the area. This according to Southcom [Southern Command] Chief Brigadier General Cesar Tapia. Tapia said the demands of the Moro National Liberation Front reported in the dailies the

other day were unreasonable and should be reviewed. Tapia also said that Misuari and his group as well as Hashim Salamat of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front do not represent the whole of Mindanao. He added that the whole of Mindanao is 80 percent Christian and the 15 percent Muslim population do not represent totally their demands from the government.

#### Hashim Claims Talks Sabotaged

HK280711 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 28 Mar 87 p 3

[By Correspondent R.G. Roy]

[Text] Zamboanga City--The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) warned here yesterday that it is ready to mete out "revolutionary justice" against those who are sabotaging its peace talks with the Government.

"There are some interest groups and certain politicians of the old regime who do not want lasting peace so they can keep on exploiting our people, Habib Mudjahab Hashim, chief MNLF negotiator, said in an interview at the airport here.

Hashim, also MNLF deputy foreign minister, was on his way to Maimbong, Sulu, where he will brief MNLF chairman Nur Misuari on the peace talks' progress. He was accompanied by other MNLF civilian negotiators and Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas chairman Norberto Gonzales.

Hashim told the CHRONICLE that the MNLF already knows the identities of those who are sabotaging the peace talks but declined to name names.

Hashim claimed that several of the saboteurs are behind the arming of some civilian groups in Mindanao ostensibly to prepare against the MNLF if the peace talks collapse.

"How can we fight against Christians when they are our brothers," he said.

Hashim reiterated that the MNLF is trying its best to be flexible during the peace talks but stressed that their demands for full autonomy is non-negotiable.

"We are exercising maximum flexibility but not to the extent of sacrificing our democratic principles," he said.

Hashim hinted that the rebels might still tone down their own demands, such as the suspension of local elections in the southern Philippines and the size of their proposed regional security force.

Other MNLF demands include the creation of a single autonomous government with broader powers, its own educational, administrative, electoral and judicial system; immediate withdrawal of the military from Southern Philippines; and the incorporation of MNLF rebels into the Armed Forces.

## Rebels Warn of 'Renewed Secessionist War'

HK251317 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 25 Mar 87 pp 1, 8

[By Roy de Guzman]

[Text] Tagaytay City--Muslim insurgents, impatient in their quest for peace, yesterday gave the government 45 days to grant Mindanao autonomy or face a renewed secessionist war.

Habib Mujahab Hashim, head of the Moro National Liberation Front panel, told reporters at the resumption of peace talks that "the MNLF sticks to its original demand that the autonomous region should be created by an executive order and not by an act of Congress."

President Aquino's peace negotiators, led by Ambassador Emmanuel Pelaez, have repeatedly stated that even as the government recognizes the MNLF's demand for full autonomy, any concessions made must be within the limits set by the 1986 Constitution.

Even as Pelaez expressed confidence that the May 10 deadline will be met, Hashim said the MNLF's 200,000 fully-armed fighters were growing "restive" and wanted more concrete results from the negotiations.

MNLF chairman Nur Misuari slipped into the country March 20 and is now back in Maimbung, Sulu, the most consolidated MNLF base. Aides said the Muslim leader "appeared sad" and was becoming impatient after hearing news that the talks have bogged down.

As in past discussions, yesterday's adjourned with no significant agreement reached. They are to resume April 9-11 in Manila.

Negotiators from both sides confirmed in separate interviews with the INQUIRER that the talks were snagged on the ticklish issue of the territorial scope of the would-be autonomous government.

"There won't be any fallback position for us regarding the provinces to go under the autonomous government," Hashim said. "It's either they agree that all 23 provinces in Mindanao, Sulu, Tawi-tawi, Palawan and Basilan constitute the autonomous region or it's back to the jungles of Mindanao for us."

Hashim said the government seems to be reneging on its promise in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia and wants fewer provinces included in the proposed government in the South.

"This bothers us," he said. "The talks have dragged on for a long time but there is no definite trend yet on what the outcome would be."

Norberto Gonzales, government peace panelist who at the same time acts as liaison between the two groups because of his close MNLF connections, admitted that they were having problems on the issue of areas to be covered.



Gonzales said they negotiate under the country's laws and that it was the government's stand that a plebiscite must be held to find out what the Mindanaoans want.

"Those who want autonomy will be under the autonomous government. But we should respect the stand of those who are opposed to such kind of a setup," Gonzales said.

Observers said the government attitude reflects its fears of a Christian uprising and the possible resurgence of the Christian-Muslim conflict if the MNLF's proposal for direct consultations--instead of a plebiscite--is headed by the government panel.

Reports have it that Christians, fearing Muslim control of their communities, have started arming themselves and have formed vigilante groups.

The MNLF's chief peace panelist said a plebiscite will not work in Mindanao. "Our system of democracy is one of direct democracy," he said.

Pelaez and Hashim, facing the press, said they remain hopeful something conclusive will come out of the talks. "Both sides realize that we have everything to gain with an agreement and everything to lose with disagreement," Pelaez said. Hashim denied reports the MNLF was pulling out of the talks and claimed "we are getting deeper into the issues" as the talks continue.

The talks end May 10, as earlier agreed upon by the two panels. The MNLF promised to reassess its position if nothing substantial is reached as its remaining options.

Negotiations with communists ended in a bloody note as clashes resumed in the countryside. Separate peace negotiations with the Conrado Balweg-led Cordillera rebels are also in danger of being scuttled as Balweg complains of a cold-shoulder treatment by the country's rulers of their 21 demands for Cordillera self-rule.

In Manila, senatorial candidate Aquilino Pimentel, former head of the government negotiating panel, warned that the talks would collapse unless the MNLF's three factions join the negotiations, according to the government-run PHILIPPINES NEWS AGENCY.

#### Pelaez on Rejection of MNLF Demands

HK290803 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 29 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[By Roy S. De Guzman]

[Text] The Moro National Liberation Front's [MNLF] proposal on self-rule is "a document of secession" impossible to accommodate in the ongoing negotiations for autonomy in the South, chief government negotiator Emmanuel Pelaez said.

The government's rejection of the MNLF's demands—which calls for the establishment of a separate government with its own legislative, judicial and executive bodies and army—indicated a probable breakdown of the talks.

MNLF chairman Nur Misuari, in an interview with the INQUIRER, had threatened to pull out his faction's panel from the negotiations unless "enough reason" develops before April 9 to warrant continued talks.

However, a similarly tense situation in the North was defused after Pelaez announced in the same press conference Friday night that Cordillera rebels led by former priest Conrado Balweg agreed to work with the government in formulating a provisional body to govern the region until Congress approves a bill creating the autonomous government in the area.

He added that the government negotiators were of the impression, on studying the rebels' document, that it was not a proposal for autonomy but "a declaration of secession and independence."

"There is no way (President Aquino) can sign a decree putting one man as head of one-third of the country...and even without a plebiscite," he told reporters during a hastily called briefing.

Pelaez said the MNLF negotiators, led by Habib Mujahab Hashim, already proposed that Misuari head the autonomous government for at least five years.

Saying the government would not agree to unwarranted demands, Pelaez said, "we will insist that everything be subjected to democratic process."

The government, he indicated, stands firm on its position that any agreement must be presented to the people in a plebiscite.

The MNLF rejects such a referendum, however, and claims Misuari has already held "consultations" in the entire region. The consensus that emerged out of these meetings, it adds, was for the grant of "full autonomy" to the region.

The MNLF's definition of full autonomy would cover all the 23 provinces in Sulu, Palawan, Basilan, Tawi Tawi and Mindanao.

The government is willing to grant autonomy to five provinces--Sulu, Tawi Tawi, Basilan, Maguinadano and Lanao del Sur--which are predominantly Muslim. But it also wants the people of the 18 other provinces to decide in a plebiscite whether or not they agree to autonomy.

Misuari has accused the government of reneging on a promise made by representatives of the Aquino administration in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, allegedly to recognize all the 23 provinces as part of the autonomous region.

Pelaez said, however, that what had been agreed on in Jeddah were merely to continue discussions on the MNLF's demands for full autonomy.

At the two panels' last meeting in Tagaytay City, the MNLF rejected the government-proposed guidelines for the talks. It insisted that "the Jeddah accord and MNLF peace proposals remain the sole bases for...further talks."

The MNLF also moved for the suspension of the negotiations, Pelaez said, as it insisted that government must reply point by point to its list of demands.

The Muslim rebels said further they will not wait for the Congress' approval of an autonomous government in the region.

Pelaez said the government intends to pursue the same process applied in the Cordillera in its negotiations with the MNLF.

In the North, a provisional body, composed of groups seeking self-rule for the Cordillera, will be formed and assigned to preparing a draft "organic act" that would be presented to Congress.

Misuari had already declared the MNLF will not agree to "such a laborious process," adding that it expects full autonomy to be enforced before Congress convenes on July 1.

He warned that in case of renewed hostilities, not only the "Bangsmoro forces" will be involved, but also Islamic states who have supported the MNLF's "peace drive" and talks with the Aquino administration.

Brig. Gen. Cesar Tapia, Southern Command chief, told reporters the Southcom has not yet made special arrangements even with the growing tension in the South. "We are not on red alert," he said, but added that if "something happens," there will be a "shifting of forces" in the area.

Arrangements are reportedly being made by Norberto Gonzales, one of the government negotiators, for a meeting between Pelaez and Misuari.

Misuari had earlier declared he will "not be seeing anyone from the government anymore."

But Gonzales claimed that after seeing him, Misuari appeared to have regained confidence in President Aquino's sincerity to resolve the roots of the Muslim rebellion.

Misuari has threatened renewed attacks if nothing comes out of the peace talks.

#### Joint Statement, Further Proposals

HK261101 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 26 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[By staffmember Raissa E. Robles]

[Text] The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) is hesitant to use war as a final option because it may bring down the Aquino Government and deliver the reigns of power to the communists, MNLF officials told the CHRONICLE yesterday.

Because of this, the MNLF wants to exhaust all avenues of peace, they added.

The Government, for its part, wants to give Muslims autonomy but is hampered by political considerations. Any move Mrs Aquino makes before the May elections may alienate political followers and potential voters, sources with the Government panel also told the CHRONICLE.

Thus the talks have reached a second deadlock which can only be broken if the Government presents "a written counterproposal" on April 9 when both panels are scheduled to meet again.

Meanwhile, the two panels issued a joint statement yesterday advising the public "not to be unduly alarmed by news stories which give the impression that the MNLF is on the verge of war against the Government, implying the breakdown of the RP-MNLF talks."

The talks were suspended Tuesday not because they have bogged down but "to enable the panel to conduct consultations on various outstanding issues and prepare the necessary documents," the statement said.

The Government panel is now exploring ways by which the President could use her legislative powers "without being accused of usurping those powers granted to Congress," a panel member disclosed.

One proposal is for the President to amend the Marcos decree which created autonomous Regions 9 and 12. The amended decree would merge both regions into one and allow Mrs. Aquino to appoint the head without the need for a plebiscite. The rest of Mindanao and Palawan would have a plebiscite.

MNLF chief negotiator Habib Hashim said this proposal may be acceptable as basis for continued talks between the Government and the MNLF.

Government chief negotiator Ambassador Emmanuel Pelaez is scheduled to brief Mrs. Aquino on the situation.

Pelaez declined to comment on the sudden suspension of the talks.

A Government negotiator however, pointed out the ticklish points of the MNLF proposal. The MNLF wants from three to five years of transition government headed by MNLF chief Nur Misuari. During that time, local elections would be suspended.

For the autonomous government, the MNLF wants the President to prompt Congress with an Executive Order that would cover all 23 provinces in the South. And no plebiscite would be held to determine the will of the people, since the MNLF claims that Misuari has already conducted direct consultations with residents last year.

A high MNLF official revealed for the first time yesterday some details of Misuari's proposed autonomy for the South. Misuari wants to transform the Mindanao provinces into a group of federated states. Each state would elect its own representatives to the regional legislature.

## PHILIPPINES

### OPPOSITION CRITICIZES PLANNED CHDF ABOLITION

HK171021 Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog 0900 GMT 17 Mar 87

[Text] The Union for Peace and Progress-Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, under the leadership of Nicanor Yniguez, stated that the abolition of the Civilian Home Defense Force [CHDF] and other volunteer anticommunist organizations such as the Alsa Masa [People's Uprising] and the Nakasaka [Nagkahiusang Katawhan Alang sa Kalinaw--People United for Peace] would embolden the communist rebels. According to Yniguez, there are reports that the New People's Army have already set up revolutionary municipal governments in the Ilocos provinces, Cagayan, and Isabela, where the CHDF had been paralyzed due to the continuous pressures of human rights groups.

Yniguez added that the present government should remove the unreliable and abusive elements of the CHDF and give its members proper military training and discipline.

Meanwhile, former senators Lorenzo Teves and Alejandro Almendras, both candidates of the Grand Alliance for Democracy, said that the Aquino government should intensify its counterinsurgency campaign following reports of a worsening insurgency situation. The two candidates added that if the government does not act immediately, we might just wake up one day and find that our country has already been taken over by the communists.

Teves and Almendras also called on the government to reject the alleged plan of the United States Central Intelligence Agency to carry out operations against the communist rebels in the country. According to them, the fight against the rebels should be done with our own government troops and (?resources). Assistance from the United States, they added, should be coursed through normal channels under the terms of the Philippines-U.S. Military Base Agreement and not through secret accords.

Teves and Almendras also voiced alarm over an alleged report by the Voice of America that the United States considers the Philippines the fifth-most critical country in the Third World, meaning that a communist takeover was possible here. There are reports claiming that the Russians are strengthening their Cam Ranh Naval Base in Vietnam, which is only 250 km away from the U.S. Subic Naval Base in Zambales.

Earlier, Vice President Salvador Laurel himself admitted the growing strength of the communist rebels.

OFFICIALS COMMENT ON ISSUE OF DISBANDING ARMED CIVILIANS

Three Cabinet Members' Views

HK181137 Hong Kong AFP in English 1110 GMT 18 Mar 87

[Text] Manila, 18 Mar (AFP)--Philippine Defense Secretary Rafael Ileto said Wednesday that it may take three years to disband the country's controversial 45,000-strong paramilitary force.

"It involves a lot of people, maybe two, three years," Mr Ileto said, adding that the Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) currently had around 45,000 members, down from 70,000 last year.

President Corazon Aquino ordered Mr Ileto and Local Governments Secretary Jaime Ferrer recently to "undertake studies for a transition that would eventually lead to a phase-out of the CHDF and other paramilitary groups."

The new Philippine Constitution provides for the dismantling of the CHDF and other paramilitary groups which have been widely blamed for human rights abuses in rural areas.

Mr Ileto told reporters prior to a cabinet meeting that the military would gradually diminish the strength of the rural-based CHDF which he describes as "very important in our operations" against a raging communist rebellion in the Philippine countryside.

Political Affairs Secretary Antonio Cuenco told reporters that "certain sectors" had resisted the dismantling of the CHDF, but added that Mrs Aquino is firm on dismantling the CHDF selectively and gradually.

"There is a resistance coming from certain sectors to dismantle the CHDF," Mr Cuenco said. He did not elaborate.

"The president, however, feels that the CHDF should be dismantled selectively...because there are certain areas where the CHDF's are really necessary for the maintenance of peace and order," he added.

Mr Ileto said the phase-out may also include the Alsa Masa (Mass Uprising), an armed right-wing vigilante group in the southern city of Davao.

Mr Ferrer, the local governments secretary, said the operations of the United People for Peace, or Nakasaka group, an unarmed anti-communist organization in southern Davao del Sur Province, would not be affected.

"It is just people power, the people in the barangays (villages) organizing together and working together to prevent NPA infiltration in their area," he said, referring to the 24,000-strong communist New People's Army (NPA).

Asked how unarmed patrols such as the Nakasaka would do this, he said: "When the NPA's come in, they have developed an indigenous means of communication where not only the entire barangay is alerted but also the Armed Forces."

He said the Nakasaka is not a paramilitary group. "It is actually just citizens' action, which is what democracy means."

#### Further Ileta Comments

HK170217 Hong Kong HONGKONG STANDARD in English 17 Mar 87 pp 1, 24

[By STANDARD correspondent]

[Text] The military is in a position to crush the communist insurgency in the Philippines but is holding back to ensure this year's local and national elections go ahead undisrupted, Defense Secretary Rafael Ileta said last night.

Mr Ileta, speaking in an interview with the STANDARD, said although the 18-year-old guerrilla war escalated rapidly this month the Armed Forces were not yet operating at full capacity and could "clean up the communists" when they finally went "all out."

But he said no massive military operations will be launched until after national elections in May and local elections in August because "if we do this we will disrupt the democratic process which we are trying to stabilize."

He said after August, elected officials will be able to help coordinate a tougher fight against communists, which will include mobilisation of anti-communist groups around the country.

Although he endorses the arming of some civilians, he said, this should be only under the strict control of local authorities and the government should not allow civilians to carry unlicensed firearms.

Mr Ileta said the government is formulating policies for organising civilian information networks similar to the unarmed wing of an anti-communist group known as the Alsa Masa [People's Uprising] which now backs up military operations on the southern island of Mindanao.

"We are looking at civilian participation very closely, it is a means for the people to protect themselves and if they would like to bind themselves together we will support that."

Civilians, he said, would eventually have to become involved in the conflict and inevitably some would suffer.

"I think the thing that people fail to see right now is that we are nearly in a state of war against the communists and a war is something in which you cannot ensure the safety and security of all civilians."

"Somehow or other they will have to suffer some difficulties, they have to be involved, they cannot be totally free," he said.

He said in some cases civilians had been used as shields by the communist New People's Army when they were under attack by the military.

Mr Ileto said communist rebels and civilians were suffering heavier losses than the military in renewed fighting, which cost at least another 18 lives this weekend.

Mr Ileto will meet tonight the U.S. Director of East Asian Affairs, Richard Childress, the most recent arrival in a long line of U.S. Government officials to have visited the Philippines recently.

Of reports that the U.S. was planning to boost assistance to the government's counter insurgency effort, Mr Ileto said: "We are receiving the usual assistance, plus a little more priority for engineering equipment for civil programmes."

#### Ferrer 'Against' Armed Vigilante Groups

HK180549 Baguio City Mountain Province Broadcasting Company in English 0330 GMT 18 Mar 87

[Text] Local Government Secretary Jaime Ferrer yesterday said he was against the civilians' armed struggle against the insurgency. Ferrer clarified that the local government support for the Nakasaka [People United for Peace] in Davao del Sur was in line with the policy of government-citizens cooperation. He said the case of the Alsa Masa [People's Uprising] was different and that was clearly unarmed citizens groups. [as heard] He added that the presidential order creating the paramilitary units affect the CHDF [Civilian Home Defense Forces] and the Alsa Masa but not Nakasaka. [Ferrer recording indistinct]

#### Paper Opposed

HK161331 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 16 Mar 87 p 9

[Editorial: "Improper Delegation of Police Function"]

[Text] It now appears that the use of vigilante groups in the anti-insurgency movement is not just a military decision. The recent endorsement



of the idea by Gen Jose Magno, presidential adviser on security, provides, as indeed the newspaper reports observed, a presidential sanction to the policy. President Aquino herself, when presented with the proposal to use civilians in the anti-Communist campaign by Secretary of Local Government Jaime Ferrer, was quoted as having been "fascinated" by the idea. Ferrer's concept would liken the use of the vigilantes to People's Power.

The Alsa Masa [People's Uprising] in Davao, contrary to the claim of the military that it was a spontaneous civilian movement against the NPA, was initially organized in 1984 by a KBL barangay captain in Agdao, a certain Wilfredo 'Baby' Aquino. Agdao is the largest barangay in Davao, a sprawling slum district populated mainly by landless poor residents. It used to be controlled by the NPA.

Aquino organized the Alsa Masa as a means of self-protection, using the members of the CHDF (Civilian Home Defense Forces) and the Tanod ng Barangay [Barangay Sentinel]. He had some business establishments in Davao--sauna baths and massage clinics, gambling dens and beer houses. Some residents of Agdao claim these were fronts for a lucrative flesh trade. Be that as it may, he was assassinated in 1985, allegedly by the NPA, in front of one of his establishments. From then on, the Alsa Masa as an organized group seemed to be at the point of dying a natural death when the NPA in Mindanao, provided by the breathing space of the February revolt at Edsa [Epifanio de los Santos Avenue], began to consolidate its ranks, purging those suspected of being deep penetration agents (DPA).

These DPA's and purged NPA's, coming from Butuan City, settled in Agdao, revived the Alsa Masa and succeeded in ferreting out the NPA influence in Agdao.

The concept of the Alsa Masa as People's Power, therefore, may present a distorted view of the Edsa revolt which was propelled mainly by middle class urbanites who may feel insulted at being treated on the same level as vice lords and recidivists.

The other group being integrated into the vigilante concept, the Nagkahiusang Katawhan Alang sa Kalinaw (Nakasaka, Unity or Alliance for Peace), was organized in Digos, Davao del Sur. Said to be the brainchild of Lt Col Jesus Magno, provincial commander, it was supported by Davao del Sur OIC [Officer-in-charge] Governor Douglas Cagas. The Nakasaka differs from the Alsa Masa in that the concept for it did not include arming the civilians with high-powered weapons provided by the military. Rather, it involved organizing the community against NPA infiltration using crude and home-made weapons such as spears, bolos, knives. They were to function as some kind of ronda, resorting only to the use of arms or to violence as final recourse.

Despite the difference, however, the principle of using vigilantes to carry out the peace and order function of the state, even including anti-insurgency, violates all known civilized methods of law enforcement.

The State or the Government, cannot delegate its police power to any Tom, Dick or Harry. This power is properly delegated to the police forces and the

army, which are subjected to orientation on civil procedures and training and are directly under the control of the government. What makes the vigilantes plan more critical is that, given the history of the groups to which police power is to be delegated, it amounts to government delegating a critical function of the state to some criminals and brigands.

This is what makes the whole plan seem closer to what Marcos actually succeeded in doing than to a democratic government in transition. It was also the use of such paramilitary groups and the indiscriminate assignment of individuals to police functions that finally tainted the image of the army and the police with the label of criminality.

What would seem more logical is for the government to consolidate its armed functions, rather than to diffuse these among unknown entities. With the Armed Forces itself already riven by factionalism, there is more reason for the government to assert its central authority so that only its appropriately delegated bodies--the army and the police--have the sanction to hold firearms and use these only to strengthen a democratic order.

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PHILIPPINES

ADAZA REVEALS WIRETAP OF DEAL BETWEEN MILF, AQUINO IN-LAW

'Text' of Tape

HK140850 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 14 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Taped telephone conversation between Margarita 'Tingting' Cojuangco, President Corazon Aquino's sister-in-law; Philip Kaplan, U.S. charge d'affairs in Manila; and unidentified associate of the chairman of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office in January 1987--exact date not given]

[Text] Tingting Cojuangco (Tc): Hello, Doll.

Female voice (Fv): Hello, yes.

Tc: Yah, Tingting. You ask naman [also] Jun Carascoso about that money, the one to send the Salamat...ah, the Salamat people to Jeddah, (Saudi Arabia) because Peping (Cojuangco) advanced 60, now we have to advance another 40. Yah, and according to Jun, it is in the agenda in the next meeting. Favor land naman Kamo. [Tell him it is just a favor.]

Fv: (Inaudible)

Tc: Hah, you ask naman o [signifies emphasis] because Jun is out for lunch. Yah, I asked for Jun. You just go to Jun and tell him that Tingting is saying follow it up because there is a deadline of 10 days. And if they do not meet in 10 days putukan na in Cotabato [there will be fighting in Cotabato], really. Kamo, if they can help, ha sige, please ha? [Tell him if they can help, ok, please?] Okay, thanks, bye Doll.

Tingting Cojuangco: Hello, Phil, Tingting.

Phil Kaplan (Pk) (inaudible) (Kaplan, charge d'affaires, U.S. Embassy)

Tc: Good afternoon. How are you? Okay, fine. Fixing something in Cotabato. Well, you know, Salamat is feeling bad because they have helped Cory and no one is paying attention to them.

Pk: Well, whose idea is it to deal with Misuari?

Tc: I think it's the idea of Joker and Butz. It's very bad, not Butz well, Peping and I have been dealing with Muradj and Salamat, toying to you know, pacify them.

Pk: How about the President?

Tc: She's not talking to anybody except Butz and Joker.

Pk: What about this crazy idea of suspending the Constitution? They said they want to do that.

Tc: No, I don't know about that. Suspending the Constitution?

Pk: Well, oh, Misuari and the traditional...(inaudible)...related, to....

Pk: The constitutional referendum. This is a wild idea.

Tc: Yes, it's wild. Not even Salamat is asking for that.

Pk: How about Pimentel, what role did he play?

Tc: Ay, naku. [Oh, dear.] O, this is not nice because Pimentel, you know, I don't have much sympathy or admiration for the man.

Pk: I guess, you know I talked to someone in the Palace last week.

Tc: Oh, yah.

Pk: And he told me their impression is that Butz, other than Pimentel, is in charge of that.

Tc: Yah, oh well, Butz is basically in charge of that with this Norberto Gonzales, who, by the way, was kicked out by the Social Democratic Party, but has become Butz's adviser. But even his credentials as a true democratic man is very much in question. He has very encyclopedic words which Joker is [word indistinct] with.

Pk: Joker likes that, huh?

Tc: Yah, he likes that, you know. And the Salamat group during the campaign, I spoke to them and General Gutang, who was the general had an informal cease-fire with them and they abided. They have really been behaving.

Pk: Where do they get their...(inaudible).

Tc: What? Who? They, the Palace?

Pk: Salamat.

Tc: Well, if they are not going to get this answer in 10 days, it is not going to be good news. We have already made arrangements with them and then, ah,

Ramos, Peping, Cory and then Magno. We have already fixed a delegation for Salamat. And then when she met with the foreign affairs she changed her mind. And if we cannot get the delegation out. I don't understand you know, we have kept financing these people and we could not even get money from the Palace. Crying on your shoulder, huh? (Tc giggles)

Pk: (Inaudible)

Tc: Yah, you know, like last time, to send a delegation to Salamat it cost Peping money. And now we are sending more, the last time two people, then one person, and now four.

Pk: Does she plan to meet Misuari in Manila?

Tc: Yah, I suppose so, and Salamat is willing to come to Manila just to talk to her, except that nobody, we have not made any move to send a delegation to him. Well, I know that Pimentel sent an emissary, but Salamat said he will not talk with Pimentel. He goofed up so many things in Mindanao with these OIC's [Officers-in-charge].

Pk: Yah.

Tc: Yah.

Pk: Alright.

Tc: Yah, anyway, you analyze it. You've got the brains to analyze it.

Pk: So have you.

(Tc giggles)

#### Mrs Cojuangco, U.S. Charge Really Bugged

HK140749 Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 14 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[By Benjie Guevarra]

[Text]: Opposition stalwart Homobono Adaza yesterday disclosed contents of another bugged telephone conversation showing a sister-in-law of President Aquino entering into a P2-million private deal with a Muslim fundamentalist leader and suggesting possible American meddling in the Mindanao secessionist problem.

The bugged conversations, made shortly before the five-day offensive by the MILF [Moro Islamic Liberation Front] in the south in January, in which more than 40 people were believed killed or wounded, involved socialite Margarita "Tingting" Cojuangco, wife of the President's powerful brother Jose 'Peping' Cojuangco Jr, the PDP-Laban [Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan] president; U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Manila Philip Kaplan and an unidentified close associate of the chairman of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office.

The text of the three-minute conversation was released to newsmen by Adaza in a press conference, the second tapped conversation the opposition senatorial candidate has so far made public despite government threats to file charges against him for violation of the Anti-Wiretapping Law.

Adaza is said to possess more tapes of conversations of key Malacanang brokers exposing alleged shady dealings made by top Aquino officials and relatives.

Adaza, who is running under the banner of the Grand Alliance for Democracy, [GAD] said the tape showed that close relatives of the President have been interfering in major government policy concerns such as the Mindanao problem.

He said the tape also proves U.S. Government meddling in Philippine affairs and exposes what he said was a rift among the President's closest advisers in dealing with the warring rebel groups in Mindanao.

Reacting to charges, Ms Cojuangco said Adaza's expose was a "cheap ploy which some persons are pathetically trying to stir up to obtain political mileage at the expense of truth."

Ms Cojuangco, in a statement, said involvement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front [MILF] was "being blown out of proportion by some quarters."

Adaza earlier released a transcript of a tapped telephone conversation between the President and Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo and Legal Counsel Teodoro Locsin implying the maneuvers of both the U.S. and Philippine Governments to influence the Constitutional Commission's draft provisions on a nuclear weapon ban here.

The government, admitting the authenticity of the President's overseas phone conversations with Arroyo and Locsin during her U.S. visit last September 1986, had threatened to file subversion charges against Adaza for releasing the tape.

The U.S. Embassy, on the other hand, issued a statement saying "unauthorized wiretapping of private conversations is illegal in this country and rightly regarded as reprehensible. We have no comment on these alleged wiretaps."

In a tapped phone conversation with a certain "Dolly," Mrs Cojuangco revealed that her husband had given what Adaza presumed to be 100,000 to the MILF group headed by Salamat Hashim.

The tape showed Mrs Cojuangco asking "Dolly" to inform Jun Carascoso, head of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office, to facilitate the release of an unspecified amount for the MILF group based in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

Mrs Cojuangco, who served as Mrs Aquino's campaign coordinator for Mindanao during the 1986 presidential poll, informed "Dolly" that Carascoso should follow up the release of the money within 10 days to prevent the resurgence of war in Mindanao.

"You ask Jun Carascoso naman [also] about the money, the one to send to the Salamat...ah the Salamat people to Jeddah, because Peping advanced 60, now we have to advance another 40," Mrs Cojuangco said.

Mrs Cojuangco explained that if government emissaries could not meet with Hashim's group in 10 days, "putukan na in Cotabato." [There will be fighting in Cotabato,]

Adaza told MALAYA that Cojuangco must be referring to 60,000 and 40,000 totalling 100,000. If the amount was in pesos, it would be enough only for the emissaries' plane tickets, he said.

Adaza said "Dolly" could either be the wife, secretary or a close friend of Carascoso with whom Cojuangco could trust in relaying such a confidential matter.

In a conversation with U.S. Embassy political officer Philip Kaplan, Mrs Cojuangco complained of the lack of financial support from Malacanang in her husband's negotiations with the MILF and the separate talks held with the rival Moro National Liberation Front [MNLF] by Mrs Aquino's brother-in-law Agapito "Butz" Aquino.

"I don't understand. You know we have kept financing these people and we could not even get money from the Palace," Mrs Cojuangco told the U.S. Embassy official.

She also said despite their negotiations with the MILF faction, Arroyo and Mr Aquino had convinced the President to hold simultaneous talks with MNLF head Nur Misuari. "She's (Mrs Aquino) not talking to anybody except Butz and Joker," Mrs Cojuangco lamented.

Mrs Cojuangco also blasted former Presidential Adviser Aquilino Q. Pimentel, Jr, head of the Mindanao Peace Committee, whom she claimed to have "goofed up so many things in Mindanao with these OIC's (officers-in-charge)." She added: "I don't have much sympathy or admiration for the man."

Kaplan then told Mrs Cojuangco that he had recently met with a Palace official who gave the impression that "Butz, rather than Pimentel, is in charge of that (the negotiations)."

According to Adaza, the tapped Cojuangco conversations, which were reportedly mailed to him by a certain Vigilantes for Democracy group along with the first tape, took place shortly before Hashim's group waged a five-day war in Central Mindanao in mid-January.

He declined to say if there were other tapes. "I am not at liberty to say if I have another one. For the moment, I do not have anything to do with any tapes," he said.

Reacting to the charge, Mrs cojuangco described Adaza's revelation as a "cheap ploy which some persons are pathetically trying to stir up to obtain political mileage--even at the expense of the truth."

Mrs Cojuangco said that her involvement in the peace efforts in Mindanao particularly with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) headed by Salamat Hashim is being blown out of proportion by some quarters.

"Since the MILF wanted peace, I decided to help by trying to establish a link between Salamat, who was in Jeddah and the new government. Funds were needed for a trip to Jeddah and since it would take some time to get funding from the government, I advanced the amount required for the trip. All I wanted was to seek assistance from the government so that the funds could be released for the purpose. So I called the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office which had an allocation for a campaign for the upliftment of the socio-economic needs to establish a suitable program for the peace and order situation in Region XII, she said.

The amount, according to Cojuangco is sixty thousand pesos and not dollars as alleged by Adaza.

She said that the purpose of her call to Kaplan was to borrow a brain scanner for a sick friend and since they are old friends, the conversation drifted to the Mindanao situation because Kaplan knew about her activities there.

Pimentel and Misuari signed last 4 January an agreement which paved the way for ongoing peace talks.

Angered by its exclusion from the talks, Hashim's group held 14 simultaneous attacks in four Mindanao provinces last 14 January, six days before the President's campaign sortie in the south for the ratification of the Constitution.

Mrs Cojuangco was able to arrange a meeting between Pimentel and Deputy MILF Chief Haji Murad five days later. This led to a temporary ceasefire in the renewed fighting which claimed 46 lives and wounded at least 86 others.

Claiming that it was his duty to reveal the tapped conversations, Adaza said it was meant to relay to Mrs Aquino the necessity of coming up with "remedial measures" to solve the Mindanao insurgency problem.

The existence of the Cojuangco tapes demonstrates that members of the presidential family, contrary to Mrs Aquino's campaign pledge, have been "poking their noses" in major issues, he explained.

"It demonstrates the lack of professionalism in approaching the problem and exhibits the divide-and-rule strategy being practised by the President among her key advisers in dealing with major policies, he said.

Adaza said the tape refutes the contention that the present administration is an open government. It shows that "many cover things are happening which are contrary to pronounced policies," he said.

Pimentel, interviewed by MALAYA senior reporter Chit Estelia in Bagong bayan, Dasmarinas, Cavite, last night, said he has no knowledge of payments made to any Muslim group by any member of the government.



He said Ms Cojuangco "talks to the MILF but does not negotiate with them," adding that her husband has some friends in Central Mindanao, the stronghold of Hashim's breakaway rebel group.

Pimentel admitted he has talked with Kaplan at least two times in the past but he does not remember exactly what they talked about.

He said Kaplan was inquiring about what was happening between the government and the Muslims. He added he did not believe that Kaplan's inquiries consisted intervention.

Pimentel added there are other embassies which had inquired about the progress of the talks as he differentiated between making inquiries and trying to influence the negotiations.

"Nobody has done that," Pimentel said.

He also said, "I'm not about to let anyone dictate to me what I think is good for our country, not Kaplan, not the U.S. Embassy, not the United States of America."

Pimentel also took in stride Ms Cojuangco's criticism of him and added Ms Cojuangco had been helpful in finalizing the negotiations with the Hashim group."

#### Charges Readied Against Adaza

HK150833 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 51 Mar 87 pp 1, 7

[By staff members Bert Castro and Malou Mangahas]

[Text] Charges are being finalized against opposition senatorial candidate Homobono Adaza for alleged violation of the anti-wiretapping law, the justice department said yesterday.

"We are only waiting for some witnesses to sign sworn statements before we file the necessary charges," said Chief State Prosecutor Artemio Toquero.

He, however, refused to identify the witnesses.

According to Toquero, the charges against Adaza are easy to prosecute or prove because "he has openly admitted that he is the source of the tape and the transcripts."

Adaza released a second tape Friday allegedly involving Mrs Margarita "Tingting" Cojuangco, sister-in-law of President Aquino.

Tingting is the wife of the President's brother, former Tarlac Congressman Jose Cojuangco.

Tingting, according to the tape, allegedly asked for government funds in connection with the peace talks with Muslim rebel leader Hashim Salamat.

The tape also allegedly carried her discussions with a U.S. Embassy official regarding the Muslim secessionist problem.

The first "Adaza tape," released last January allegedly carried wire tapped conversations among top government officials, including Mrs Aquino, on the effects of the anti-nuclear provision in the draft Constitution.

Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo had allegedly conversed on the bases issue via overseas telephone with Mrs Aquino and Teodoro Locsin, Jr, special presidential counsel, who were then in the U.S. on a state visit.

As this developed, Lakas ng Bansa (Laban), the ruling party coalition said the government has traced the source of the Adaza tapes to Marcoc loyalists in the military.

Rex Lores, Laban media bureau chief, identified the alleged sources as the PC [Philippine Constabulary] Civilian Security Unit (CSU) and the PC Military Intelligence Security Group (MISG), formerly leaded by fugitive Col Rolando Abadilla.

Laban, in a press statement, also called the Adaza tape revelations as an "exercise in political bankruptcy and desperation."

Government senatorial candidate Rene Saguisag charged Adaza of resorting to "gutter tactics."

He said "civilized society is scandalized by criminal, authorized eavesdropping." [as received]

Last Wednesday, Saguisag said he and newspaper columnist Arturo Borjal had listened to "Tape No 2" that was played to them by Adaza. Saguisag said he advised Adaza not to release the tape to media "for his own sake" as he would "only violate the law."

Saguisag said Adaza told him "Napasubo na siya at baka sabihin ng tao na natakot siya [He had already said he'd do it, and people might say he was scared if he backed out]."

The release of the tapes by Adaza could prevent people from using the telephone to discuss certain matters, according to Saguisag.

"What will diplomats assigned here report to their home offices on our level of civilization and legal culture? Will Bono tell us his plans on how to deal with his criminal sources?" he asked.

Saguisag also advised the mass media to consult their lawyers "on the implication of careless reporting on wiretapped materials."

He warned the law penalizes persons intruding into private conversations and disseminating the texts of tapped conversations.

Another Laban senatorial candidate Joey Lina said Adaza's attempt to embarrass the Aquino government is backfiring.

As far as the Muslims are concerned Tingting Cojuangco has done more for the Muslim community than Adaza has during his entire political career, he said.

Lina called the Adaza tactics unfortunate and degrading.

"The fact that Muslim leaders, in their plight and concern, must turn to Tingting Cojuangco from Luzon rather than to Adaza who pretends to be a Mindanao leader speaks volumes about the leadership calibre of Mr Adaza, he said.

/9274

CSO: 4200/434

BISHOP FORTICH DENIES PRIESTS' COMMUNIST ALLEGIANCE

HK311137 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 1000 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Excerpts] Bishop Antonio Fortich of Bacolod denied reports that 35 priests pledged their allegiance to the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) recently. According to the bishop these are all lies. Here is Tony de la Cruz' report from Bacolod City:

[Begin recording in English] The [word indistinct] is the first official answer of the bishop after news reports published 2 weeks ago on the alleged involvement of local priests in the insurgency. Three months ago, Father Roberto Palma, a Catholic priest, allegedly charged that some (Predestined) priests [words indistinct] of allegiance to the CPP. Palma tape recorded statements have been circulated in Negros Occidental. Two weeks ago, the military charged that the number of local priests who have pledged allegiance to the communists [words indistinct]. I have confronted all the priests and asked whether they were communists or not, the bishop said. And their answer was no, the bishop added. If the military believes the 35 priests are communists, they should prove it, the bishop said. And if the priests are insurgents, what is the military doing, he asked. He also accused the military of witchhunting. Years ago, he added the military accused Father Brian Gore and Father O'brian. What happened to their accusation, he asked.

This is the report from Bacolod City. This is Tony de la Cruz reporting.  
[end recording]

/8309

CSO: 4211/35

PHILIPPINES

LUZON NPA LEADER ON SOLUTION TO INSURGENCY

HK301151 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 1000 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Text] A high-ranking CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines]-NPA leader in Southern Luzon said the government should continue going to the grassroots in order to know the real cause of the insurgency. According to Ka [Comrade] Roger, direct contact with provincial folk would allow the government to know the solutions to the problems of the farmers, including those who have affiliated themselves to the insurrection.

[Begin Ka Roger recording] They have to deal with the people and be part of them so they will fully realize the real problems of the farmers. In this way, they will understand the problems and find out the solutions to them. But while they are in their beautiful palaces and houses, surrounded by people who do not understand the problems of the farmers, they will never know how to solve the insurgency problem. The main focus of their program will rest on the rehabilitation of the insurgents and not in solving the root cause of the insurgency. [end recording]

That was Ka Roger, the highest-ranking NPA leader in Southern Luzon.

/8309

CSO: 4211/35

MILITARY DENIES ARMING VIGILANTE GROUPS

HK301237 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 1000 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Text] Armed Forces spokesman Honesto Isleta said that an increasing number of civilians are joining vigilante groups fighting the rebels and providing intelligence reports. However, Isleta stressed that the military does not arm the vigilante groups such as the Alsa Masa [People's Uprising] and the Nakasaka [people united for peace]. The latest vigilante group was formed in Bacolod and is known as El Tigre [the tiger]. This is composed of sugar farmers and out-of-school youths, as well as relatives of large sugarland owner.

According to Isleta, the military's support to these groups comes in the form of granting licenses for arms to some leaders of the groups and offering necessary advice.

[Begin Isleta recording] Let me point this out, that we do not provide arms. If they have firearms, license, then perhaps the Philippine Constabulary can provide them the license to carry sufficient that if they are fired upon, they can return fire. [sentence as heard] Now, we also give support in the sense that we give them guidance and supervision. But more importantly, what we need from them is early warning. [end recording]

/8309

CSO: 4211/35

PHILIPPINES

NEGROS MEDIA SAID 'INFILTRATED' BY COMMUNISTS

HK191113 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 1000 GMT 19 Mar 87

[Text] Task Force Sugar Land Commander Ernie Cardones said that communists have infiltrated the media in Negros. Speaking at a press forum, he stated that only the church could resolve the issue of priests' involvement in rebel movements. Here is Tony de la Cruz reporting from Bacolod City:

[Begin recording, in English] Re the update to the published report about 35 priests in the Visayas, particularly in Negros Occidental, who allegedly took oath of allegiance to the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines-NPA], Cardones said the report was based on the disclosure of Father Roberto Palma. I had a knowledge of the matter 2 weeks before it was published, Cardones confirmed, adding that this was the reason why the military had always been subjected to denunciations in the pulpits and other forums. During the dialogue, Cardones singled out the communist infiltration in media aside from the church and other sectors in which the problem is visible insofar as the insurgency problem is concerned. There are parts of the media that are really involved at the moment and the infiltration in media is what makes the Negros Province prominent, aside from the church sector, the Army officer said.

Tony de la Cruz reporting [end recording]

/12858

CSO: 4211/34

## BRIEFS

NPA ATTACKS 'FANATIC' GROUP--From Surigao City, two members of the Tadtad [chop chop--from their practice of chopping their enemies] group were killed in an attack by New People's Army members. Details from Boy Paragua of DXSN-SURIGAO City. [Begin recording] Two men were killed and 3 wounded in an attack launched by no less than 100 NPA members in Sitio Sugunan, Barangay Martinez, Surigao City. This took place at 0700 today when the members of the fanatic group Tadtad were preparing breakfast in the house of Barangay Captain Porfilio Cabrera and were suddenly attacked by the NPA men. The slain victims were identified as Gracialito Estrada, 36 years and resident of Kadkad village, Surigao City, and one Martilla, 17 years of age and resident of Sitio Pradel, Barangay Madli, Surigao City. Wounded were George Pino, Bong Aspiras, and Adrian Dikit, all members of the Tadtad group. No casualty on the NPA side was reported. [end recording] [Text] [Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 1000 GMT 30 Mar 87] /8309

EX-DETAINEE JOURNALIST KILLED--A journalist and former political detainee was shot and killed while covering a [words indistinct] in Cotabato City. The victim is identified as Virgilio Bakala, a Manila HOTLINE magazine correspondent. The military suspects that his publication of Victor Corpuz's revelations on the Plaza Miranda bombing was what caused his death. [Text] [Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog 0330 GMT 30 Mar 87] /8309

PLANS FOR PANAY REBEL OFFENSIVE--[Words indistinct] rebel offensive in Panay. This was discovered from NPA documents seized by the military. According to Western Visayas Regional Unified Command, the planned offensive was highlighted in a [word indistinct] prepared by the Communist Party of the Philippines [CPP] and the NPA. The timetable for the offensive is from January to October of this year. During this period the eastern front Panay CPP-NPA plan to carry out provincial mass actions and (?countryside) mass movements every month. [Text] [Quezon City Radyo ng Bayan in Tagalog 0900 GMT 13 Mar 87 HK] /12858

CSO: 4211/34



COMMERCE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON PERSONAL HISTORY

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 20 Dec 86 p 3

[Interview with Commerce Minister Montri Phongphanit in "Room Where We Meet VIPs" Column, date and place not specified]

[Text] Another minister who is young, able, and knowledgeable, and has good intentions for the nation is Montri Phongphanit, the latest minister of commerce after the famous Burmese log scandal. This will not be discussed with Minister Montri Phongphanit, an engineering graduate from Germany.

Today's guest of DAO SIAM's VIP Appointment Room

[Montri] I am a village boy. Although I am not very poor, I used to be poor and used to sell sticky rice and ice cream because my parents taught me to. Being born upcountry, as a child near rice fields and orchards, made me very familiar with the difficulties of my fellow villagers.

The question about his background was answered above.

He was born in Bangkrathum District, Phitsanulok Province, on 9 November 1943.

Only 43 years old, but he has been a minister in three ministries, including deputy minister of communications from 1981 to 1983.

Deputy minister of the interior, the one he just left, 1986, and at present he is minister of commerce.

Before being appointed deputy minister of the two ministries and minister of commerce, he was posted in the Secretariat of the Prime Minister in 1980.

[Question] Between the jobs of being deputy minister in the two ministries and being minister of commerce, which is harder?

[Answer] The Commerce Ministry is much harder.

In fact, we should have asked how much harder it is, but the VIP Appointment Room wanted to keep the minister's "day light" and did not want to engage in serious and heavy work. Therefore, we asked the young minister to relate his early life to us. He smiled and answered.

[Montri] A child is a child. My life was similar to that of other country boys. I enjoyed my daily life and did not think too much about it. I was fortunate that my brother was a civil servant with the Land Department. When he was reassigned, he would take me with him. Thus, I studied at many institutions. In the beginning, I studied at a temple school like other upcountry children. Then I moved with my brother to study in Pichit, Phitsanulok, and finished at Yuparat Witthaya School, Chiang Mai.

[Question] Was there anything interesting when you were studying?

[Answer] There was nothing much, but only fun, mostly when I was studying at the Yuparat. I was with the band and enjoyed it, but there are unenjoyable stories also because I was a young man. I happened to like the same girl that my friend liked and who got the girl was based on a fight, both of us were sore and forgot about it.

Who won the girl? We both lost, we thought like adolescents, only thinking about ourselves. The woman did not like us. It's funny, isn't it?

[Question] After you studied in Chiang Mai, where did you go?

[Answer] I went to Bangkok and took the entrance examination for the Military Preparatory School, but failed. Then I entered a vocational school. This was fun because I had many friends and, at that time, the students fought each other using belts only.

[Question] Did you fight with them?

[Answer] Yes, I joined them, but I only cheered. I was smaller than the others, and when they fought, I cheered and ran away.

[Question] When you were studying, did you think about politics?

[Answer] I did, but thought like a child because I did not know anything, but I studied politics an hour a day.

[Question] What convinced you to like politics?

[Answer] Because I liked democracy.

[Question] What year did you finish vocational school?

[Answer] I cannot remember well, it was around 1960. After I finished my vocational studies, I got a scholarship to continue my studies in Germany. It was a German scholarship, not a Thai government scholarship.

[Question] What did you study?

[Answer] I studied electrical engineering.

[Question] How long were you in Germany?

[Answer] Eight full years.

[Question] How are the German women?

[Answer] Not as cute as Thai women, but I did not get involved with a lot of women in my life.

[Question] Did you come back to Thailand after you finished in Germany or did you continue to work there?

[Answer] I almost got a job. I almost signed a contract, but I received a telegram saying that my mother was sick. I rushed back to Thailand. However, when I got off the plane, I saw my father and mother smiling at Don Muang. They did not want me to stay there; they missed me and did not want me to go back.

[Question] When you came back to Thailand, what was your first job?

[Answer] I worked at B. Grimm Anglo Corporation.

[Question] How long?

[Answer] About 3 years, and then I resigned to open a business at home in Ayutthaya.

[Question] What did you sell?

[Answer] Actually, I sold everything since I was young. My parents taught me to be a merchant. When I was young, I sold merchandise and made as much as 80 baht. After leaving B. Grimm, I was involved in rice mills; when I was trading rice in the rice mills, I became familiar with the farmers and understood and sympathized with their problems.

[Question] At that time, did you think about being a candidate for parliament?

[Answer] I did. In 1975, I thought about it more because I liked Mr Kukrit's policy for helping farmers.

[DAO SIAM] Then Mr. Kukrit Pramot, who was the prime minister at that time, dissolved parliament in 1975. In 1976, the present minister of commerce, Montri Phongphanit, jumped into the elections in Ayutthaya, electoral district 2 which resulted in his getting the highest number of votes. Since then, he has been the representative for that area for four terms: 1976, 1979, 1983 and 1986.

Among his relatives, there is only one uncle in politics, that is Bunphan Khewattana, one term mayor of and now representative from Ayutthaya also, but from a different electoral district than his nephew, the minister of commerce.

[Question] How long have you been married?

[Answer] Since 1971. My wife's name is Teida.

[Question] How many children do you have?

[Answer] Two. The big one is a boy named Det; the small one is a girl named Duang.

[Question] Was your wife a student in Germany also?

[Answer] No, but she was a student in America.

[Question] Did you know each other abroad?

[Answer] No, we knew each other since we were young because we lived in the same area.

[Question] How many brothers and sisters do you have?

[Answer] Nine. I am number five. But my brothers and sisters did not pay too much attention to me. They accused me of being too interested in and worried about the nation or something like that.

[Question] Is it true, what they accused you of?

[Answer] I don't know what to say, but I think that I should serve my country and serve the farmers. I believe that I have some abilities to join with other patriots to help the country.

[DAO SIAM] That is the latest statement of the present minister of commerce for today's conversation in the "VIP Appointment Room."

13216/5915  
CSO: 4207/120

CHAWALIT, WANCHAI RUANGTRAKUN FAMILIES PROFILED

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 21 Dec 86 p 6

[Text] Khunying Pankluy Yongchaiyut, the pretty chairwoman of the Army Wives' Association.

Khunying [Title] Phankhruea Yongchaiyut, age 47, born 20 January 1939, the Year of the Rabbit, is the daughter of Luang Nora-at Banchathai and Mrs Khreuawan Banchathai. Her nickname is Louise because she looks Dutch. She is a distant relative of "Big Chiew [Chawalit]." She studied at Taewaet School for 2 years and then continued at Banaphan until she finished secondary school; subsequently, she continued to study foreign languages.

She is an easygoing and friendly person who has been kindhearted since her youth. The teachers at her old schools admired her for her willingness to volunteer. The adults liked her. She likes to dance and sing regularly on the stage at social functions. She maintains close contact with friends. For example, she gets together with friends and old teachers if she has the chance; that is why she is well known. She fell in love with the commander-in-chief when she was young. She is Chawalit's--nickname Tung--moral support. She is raising three children and is a good, exemplary mother.

Due to her kind heart, ever since she was young, she has been respected by the soldiers. She usually dresses simply. She has her hair cut at the shop of one of her followers and she likes to eat noodles at the shop next door. She was a beauty queen of Wisut Kasat the same year as Oraphan, the wife of Plengsak Prakapesat, who was the runner-up. She has an older sister in Holland named Mary, who has a kind heart also; Thais who visit Holland often speak of her.

"Lada," who is the society columnist for NAE0 NA, mentioned that Khunying Louise is a woman of natural beauty who does not have to use much makeup, possesses personal abilities, and gets along with people easily. She likes to carry a big purse and wear Nina Ricci and Christian Dior sunglasses because she is very sensitive to the sun. She must wear European-style shoes and is a regular customer at the Pra Kit clothing shop in Wisut Kasat. She wears size 14 and likes to wear Koka Bear T-shirts. She has been married to the commander-in-chief for 23 years, a long and stable marriage. They have three children, Kritkaporn, Oraphan (deceased), and Srisuphang, who just divorced Ekachai, a nephew of Wan Sansue, about a month ago. The commander-in-chief

will not have any more children because he has had a vasectomy. She enjoys the songs "Chongrak" and "Rak Thoe Samoe," which her husband sings. The temple she goes to regularly is Wat Awutwikasakidaram, Bang Plat. She likes to watch video movies concerning spiritual power legends, which her husband also likes to watch. Her husband is nicknamed "Kong Bing" of the Royal Thai Army.

Sarasanan Ruangtrakun, Army Chief of Staff

To warm up the atmosphere of the club, we invited the wife of the Royal Thai Army's chief of staff to meet the club leaders. She is Sarasanan Ruangtrakun, wife of Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun. She is interesting to people because of the 19-20 December 1986 trade fair of the Army Wives' Club.

Her former name was "Somsee." She is a woman who behaves and speaks well, but her husband did not think the name was suitable for her so she changed it to "Sarasanan." This name required some research. The name is suitable for a person born on Monday.

She would call the wives of senior officers "older sibling," no matter if that person were older or younger than she.

"Phii Tim" is 50 years old; she was born on 21 September 1936. She is from Manorom in Chainat Province. She is the eldest daughter of Mr Maitree and Mrs Saitong Chawanawirut. She has one brother and two sisters. She began her early education in Manorom, finished secondary school in Chainat Province, and then went to Bangkok to study home economics at Suan Dusit from 1954 to 1956. After finishing, she became a teacher at several places: Phitsanulok Kindergarten, Wat Nangnong Kindergarten, Bangkok, and Wat Barinayok Kindergarten. She resigned to become a "housewife." Later on, she went back to work at the Government Savings Bank for almost a year. Due to the duties of a senior military officer's wife, "Phii Tim" resigned to be an army wife only. She is the fourth head of and chairwoman of the Army Wives' Association. She was decorated with the Order of Chanprathompongkutthai.

Her first love began when she went to a party at Lt Gen Chatchai Chunhavan's home where she met 1st Lt Wanchai Ruangtrakun of Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, class No 1. They got married on 5 September 1958, after dating for more than a year. They have five children: (1) a daughter born in 1959 (she died in a car accident in 1972); (2) Wiphawi Ruangtrakun, born 14 April 1963, a business administration graduate of Chiang Mai University who also finished secretarial school in England and is now working with Thai International Airlines; (3) Vichalert Ruangtrakun, born 27 February 1965, studying for his Masters in Business Administration in the United States of America; (4) Vorachat Ruangtrakun, born 1 April 1967, studying at Assumption Business Administration College; and (5) Patamawarai Ruangtrakun, born 4 October 1978, studying in grade 3 at the Chulalongkorn University Demonstration Elementary School. She was born after they lost the oldest daughter. Wanchai's vasectomy was reversed. This birth was a miracle of the spirit. This daughter appeared to be the eldest daughter reborn. The mother had to wear white and meditate; the house in Bang Sue has a sacred spirit house.

"Phii Tim" is a senior military officer's wife who passed through a difficult period of military life and is used to seeing her husband go to war. Because of this, she can help and understand military families better. The readers may be interested in the trade fair of the army families at the Army Club. This is soldiers helping support the army family; is the army is happy and has high morale and support, sovereignty will long endure.

She likes to cook delicious food, and in her spare time, she likes to play badminton. She can maintain such a good figure that young women are envious. She likes to listen to music more than sing, but she sometimes sings with her husband.

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## UNIVERSITY STUDY DISCUSSES FARM PROBLEMS, ATTITUDES

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 7 Dec 86 pp 1, 16

[Text] The report of the Thai News Agency, early on the morning of the 6th, revealed the depressed and pitiful living conditions of Thai farmers in the central region. This researcher on the Thai farmers is Naiyapan Wansiri, who is pursuing sociological studies in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Kasetsart University; he is studying the living conditions of the Thai farmers in the central region.

Naiyapan reported the results in the KASETSART NEWSLETTER, which is an academic newsletter of Kasetsart University, in July and December of this year. He studied Thai farmers in two places, that is, farmers in Ladlumkaeo District, Pathum Thani Province, and in Ladkrabang District, Bangkok. This showed that farmers in these two districts are in very poor condition no matter how much they fight and struggle.

Naiyapan revealed the reasons for the poverty of the farmers in the two districts. There are four reasons: (1) too much debt, (2) losing rights to the land they work, (3) being taken advantage of and drained by capitalists, and (4) lack of knowledge and low level of education. Among these four problems, the major one is that of the capitalist-middleman who carries the most weight.

Although the Thai farmers go bankrupt because of the capitalists, they do not think that the capitalists are their big problem. Rather, they think that their big problems are their own mistakes, lack of knowledge, and the insincerity of the government. They think the government should take responsibility. The government is unsuccessful in solving their problems, said Naiyapan.

Naiyapan mentioned that the Thai farmers in the central region have two solutions. They are: (1) Be patient and continue to suffer because they do not like confrontation and violence, because these aren't in the Thai nature. Buddhism says that they have to accept their fate and try to do good so when they are reborn they will not suffer in their new lives. Not getting involved in the outside world helps them accept their poverty peacefully. (2) The farmers solve their problems by moving from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector. That is, they abandon farming and go to Bangkok to seek work. This results in a shortage of farm labor in the agricultural sector, low productivity, lack of capital circulation in Thai society, and the diminished development of Thai society.



The results of the study found that the Thai farmer does not solve his problems by social revolution or changing the system because (1) they do not like violence, as mentioned earlier, (2) they cannot unite because it isn't their way to do things as a group or for the whole group, (3) they lack leaders and good guidance, and (4) they lack incidents to cause a farmers' revolt. The world's peasant revolutions stem from local capitalist exploitation, but the Thai farmer sees the capitalists as relatives or friends although the latter have taken advantage and exploited them. This is because the new social setting for farmers has changed greatly. Other aspects have remained as they were before the advent of capitalism in which parallel relationships along family lines existed for mutual benefit and this held society together. Thus, a revolution on the part of Thai farmers has never occurred.

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## NATIONAL DEFENSE, RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS YIELD MUCH EXPERIENCE

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Dec 86 pp 5-12

[Article by Trung Dung: "Lessons of Experience in Protection of the Fatherland"]

[Text] After total liberation of the south, reunification of the nation and introduction of the entire country to socialism, our entire party, people and army have upheld revolutionary heroism and overcame many hardships and sacrifices to both make significant achievements in building the nation and to win great victory in protection of the fatherland and fulfillment of our international obligations to the two peoples and countries of fraternal Laos and Cambodia.

From a war of liberation to one to safeguard the nation, and from national liberation to the strengthening of national defense, protection and construction, under the correct leadership of the party, our army and people have successfully resolved many new problems but at the same time still have shortcomings and weaknesses that need effort in overcoming.

In the overall socialist revolutionary line of the party that is illuminating the advance of our people in the new period, a military line has been gradually formed and perfected on the basis of resolutions of the fourth and fifth party congresses, resolutions of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau, and directives and resolutions of the Central Military Party Committee. This line was presented in a concentrated manner in Resolution 24 of the Political Bureau during 1985, and has been developed, supplemented and perfected by directives of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee since 1980 on thoroughly understanding the military line of the party during the period of building and protecting the fatherland.

Actual practice in strengthening the national defense, building the armed forces and waging a war to safeguard the nation for more than the past 10 years has given us much extremely valuable experience. Truong Chinh, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State, at the Fourth National Congress of Delegates (13 October 1986), gave us many valuable instructions to examine these lessons of experience with the purpose of performing the present practical missions.

The following primary lessons in experience may be mentioned:

First is to constantly uphold revolutionary vigilance and readiness to actively and victoriously cope with every invader and saboteur.

Everyone still remembers that, after the total victory in the resistance against America for national salvation, we thought that since the nation was at peace, our people could concentrate their efforts on the mission of building the nation. The Fourth Party Congress presented a mission of protecting the fatherland in conjunction with that of building socialism but did not establish the two strategic missions and also only began with the law of socialist revolution in general and that of building the nation in conjunction with safeguarding the nation of our people in particular.

The subsequent situation had a development differing from the expectations of many. As we have seen: the Beijing lackey Pol Pot gang began a war of aggression against the southwestern border and afterward, Beijing directly employed Chinese troops in a war of aggression against the northern border of our country. The clear responsibility is entirely that of China with its shameful plots since ancient times.

After a short period of time, we gradually recognized the new aggressor, swiftly reformed the army, mobilized the people, resolutely counterattacked the enemy, and won great victory in two wars to protect the fatherland at both ends of the country, while simultaneously preparing every aspect to victoriously strike the enemy in any subsequent major war if it occurs.

Defeated, the enemy shifted to waging a war of sabotage and then to one of border encroachment while constantly threatening to start a large-scale war.

The Fifth Party Congress outlined the situation in the country as one of both peace and the wars of sabotage and encroachment of the enemy, and affirmed the two strategic missions in the socialist revolution of our country. Executing this resolution, our army and people have won initial victory in defeating the new strategic plots of the enemy.

The law of building the nation along with safeguarding the nation, and that of protecting socialism have been activated and expressed in actual practice. The lesson is clearly that before each turning point of the revolution to another period, it is necessary to properly evaluate the characteristics of the situation in the nation and world at that time, and to point out the new adversary in order to actively cope with every situation. It is also necessary to constantly uphold vigilance, to maintain close contact with reality, to follow and discern new factors in the development of the situation, and to observe and properly evaluate the new strategic plots of the enemy in the struggle between the enemy and us in order to employ appropriate strategic lines. This is to grasp the laws, to act in accordance with the laws and to master the laws in the undertaking to protect the fatherland.

As Truong Chinh pointed out, "As a people who have experienced several long wars filled with sacrifice and hardship, our people long for peace in order to concentrate on national construction. We have many times suggested the

restoration of peaceful relations between Vietnam and China, and of the long-time friendship between the peoples of the two nations. We are ready to resume negotiations with China in any place, at any time and at any level to find a solution acceptable to both sides."(1)

Our army and people are constantly and eternally vigilant. We must resolutely strike and defeat the enemy in a war of border encroachment and sabotage as at the present time or at a stronger level, and simultaneously must be prepared in every aspect to cope with every situation.

Our people and army must also uphold vigilance against the aggressive and bellicose forces of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

"We resolutely protect the independence and sovereignty, and firmly protect the land, sky, sea and borders of the fatherland, and resist every hegemonic expansionist plot and every ambition to violate the independence and sovereignty of our nation."

In speaking of vigilance, first of all must be the army. But it is not the only one. To speak of vigilance is to speak of the entire army and people of the nation. Specifically, it is necessary to constantly and firmly grasp the mission of building the nation in firm coordination with the two strategic missions. "While concentrating on the foremost mission of building the economy, we surely cannot overlook the mission of national defense. We must know how to gently coordinate the mission of maintaining the nation right in the positions and plans for economic and cultural development." The entire party and people and all localities and sectors of the state must have specific plans for supporting victorious combat in the situation of simultaneous peace and wars of encroachment and sabotage as at the present time, and at the same time have plans of preparation for wartime mobilization, ready to shift the nation into a situation of a major war.

The pivotal point of vigilance for readiness to victoriously cope with every enemy plot and to apply the correct strategy and tactics is strength. Therefore, our nation must be built to be strong under all conditions. Our constant spirit of vigilance and strength in both the economy and national defense forces the enemy to give careful consideration to their plots of aggression, gradually delays the danger of a major war, and only when there is a change will we take the initiative and victoriously strike. Weakness or carelessness on our part will only further stimulate the adventurous actions and blindness of the enemy.

Second is to develop the composite strength of the entire people and army, and of the proletarian dictatorship system under the leadership of the party.

This is the lesson applied in the military truth that "revolution is an undertaking of the masses." It is also the lesson developing the mechanism of the party leading, the state managing and people controlling in the undertaking to protect the fatherland.

The victories of our army and people in the undertaking to protect the fatherland, and in the national and international missions, are great.

Our party and people clearly recognize and highly rate the great sacrifices and immeasurable hardships borne by our soldiers and cadres on the battlefield, and the extraordinary efforts of troop units and of all three military types in every field of combat, work, production, scientific research, etc., under extremely violent conditions filled with hardship and privation.

We must also properly evaluate the multifaceted contribution of our people in all localities, sectors and state agencies, and in production labor, economic construction, cultural development, combat support and ensuring the construction and training activities of the armed forces. The great victory in the undertaking to protect the fatherland cannot be separated from the significant achievements made in the mission to build the nation. Not recognizing, not fully recognizing or underrating the positive effect of achievements made in economic construction in the mission to protect the fatherland is incorrect. The two strategic missions are related to each other and have a mutual effect on each other.

At the same time, we also acknowledge the weaknesses and shortcomings of the army itself as well as a number of other agencies of our party and state, that have limited our success. Many economic difficulties and negative occurrences in society have adversely affected the combat of our troops despite the extreme care and concern of our party and state for building the army and strengthening national defense.

Formerly, in the war of liberation, we received a large amount of international aid not only in arms and equipment but also in grain, food, military equipment and supplies, etc. to build the army and wage the war. The situation today is different. Although there is still much aid in arms and equipment, we must produce a large part of the requirements for supplying the troops, strengthening the national defense and waging the war. For a long time, we have had to systematically build a national defense industry within the state industrial sector in order to gradually self-resolve each problem of arms and equipment. Our entire party, people and army must make outstanding efforts, and even our proletarian dictatorship apparatus must rise a great deal before these new requirements can be met.

Clearly, it is necessary to "constantly and firmly coordinate national construction with protection of the fatherland, and to coordinate the economy with national defense, simultaneously concentrating on economic construction and emphasizing construction of an increasingly more powerful armed force." To build the economy and socialism is to create an increasingly greater national defense potential and to gradually build a prosperous and strong nation.

We must "thoroughly understand the party's viewpoint of people's war and national defense of all the people"; and achieve the "entire people building the nation and protecting the fatherland," and the "entire army protecting the fatherland and building the nation." This is primarily the people in control in building and safeguarding the nation, "the invincible strength and victorious law of people's war."

It is necessary to "give concern to developing and bolstering the strength of the people, striving to gradually stabilize and gradually improve the material and cultural lives of the people, and to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions; strengthening political and spiritual unity among the people, and from that bolstering their strength to safeguard the nation." Ancient man took bolstering the strength of the people and "drilling the people's strength" as the best way for safeguarding the nation.

We must "give concern to building the rear area, a factor that constantly decides victory and an abundant source of material and spiritual support to the front line, ensuring that the soldier has the conditions necessary to stand on the line with peace of mind, to remain combat ready and to victoriously defeat any enemy of our country's revolution."

Our people are deeply patriotic. Our nation has long traditions of courageously resisting foreign aggression. Relying on this precious asset, our country must have laws, policies and systems for organizing and mobilizing the entire people to safeguard the nation. The citizen's obligation to protect the fatherland has been institutionalized into law; and the fatherland protection mission of party and state organization and of local areas has been stipulated into norms of a legal nature. The economic construction mission and socioeconomic plans must be coordinated with the national defense mission and formulation of the state plan in both the economy and the national defense and in the long-term, midterm and annual aspects.

Third is to give concern to building a powerful people's armed force, building a regular and steadily more modern people's army, and building Vietnamese military science.

The strength to safeguard the nation is the strength of all the people but its core must be the people's armed forces, consisting of all three troop types, a regular and increasingly more modern people's army.

How can the situation of our troops at the present time be rated? As our party asserts, "The recent combat and construction victory under extremely difficult and complex conditions proves that the fine revolutionary nature and traditions of the army is continuing to be maintained and developed." At the same time, the party also points out the remaining deficiencies of the army.

Regarding the reasons for these deficiencies, Truong Chinh stated that "they partially reflect the weaknesses and shortcomings of the socioeconomic situation of our country," and "are partially due to the subjective shortcomings...of the cadres and men."

Therefore, we should not consider that all the negative occurrences in the army are entirely due to the shortcomings of army leadership and command echelons. Originating from the people, a part of the people and like an organic component of a unified body, the army cannot help but bear within itself the strengths and weaknesses of the entire body, the people, society and the nation.

Nevertheless, our cadres and party members in the army--through the recent phase of self-criticism and criticism--always recognize their subjective responsibility in troop leadership and command, and do not depend upon objective conditions. Our cadres, especially the key cadres, profoundly recognize that "their strengths, weaknesses and shortcomings in standards, abilities, qualities and ethics as well as in behavior and way of life all affect the quality of the troops and completion of the assigned mission."

The revolutionary situation and mission demand that our army "must strive to develop its strength and determination to overcome shortcomings and to liquidate the negative occurrences weakening the combat strength and eroding the prestige of the army and the confidence of the people." Only with simultaneous political and ideological work, organization and policy work, an understanding of command and management, and definite material and technical assurance can we gradually complete these difficult and critical missions, and complete every mission assigned by the party. "The army must set a good example and contribute to the struggle aimed at resolving negative occurrences in society."

Our army has traditions of united solidarity, solidarity around the Party Central Committee, and absolute obedience to the leadership of the party. In the face of the present difficult and complex situation, differences in opinion are normal. Frank, democratic and principled discussion; and honest and constructive contribution of opinions on the major problems of the party, the nation and the army itself; recognizing one's own responsibility in the overall responsibility and calling on each other while joining in resolving difficulties and overcoming shortcomings; this is the proper attitude of our party members and cadres at this time.

President Ho taught, "Solidarity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people." To achieve solidarity, it is necessary to strictly maintain discipline, to properly execute the principle of democratic centralism, to regularly conduct self-criticism and criticism, and to "have a spirit of mutual comradeship and love." The entire party, army and people with one will, one voice and one action, actively advancing to smash every argument of psychological warfare of the enemy.

Truong Chinh especially stressed the "need for maintaining and developing the revolutionary qualities and fine traditions of our army, "Uncle Ho's troops," loved and cherished by the people. The cadres and men of the army are all children of the laboring people, and must be as one man from top to bottom; and leadership and command cadres must love the men with the revolutionary feeling of comrades and human dignity and respect, and are absolutely not permitted to lord it over, push around or beat the cadres and men under their authority. Disciplinary action must be truly strict for leadership and command cadres committing these errors. Soldiers in the army must strive to unceasingly train, take their life in the army as a school, strictly comply with discipline and orders, cultivate their revolutionary ethics, maintain the deportment of the army, and earn the love, confidence and support of the people."

To successfully complete the military and armed forces missions in the period to come, it is necessary to fully understand the military line of the party, and to fully understand the practical viewpoint and viewpoint of developing the collective intelligence and creatively resolving the combat and construction problems of our armed forces consistent with the actual conditions of our country. Experience must not be mechanically and inconsistently applied nor should we be conservative or empirical.

It is necessary to clearly recognize the requirements of the situation and mission and at the same time to begin with the capabilities of our national economy. Emphasis must be given to all the main force troops, local troops, border troops and self-defense militia and to both the standing army and the reserves. The standing army must be intelligent and strong, with sufficient strength to complete the immediate mission on all battlefields, in combat, construction and economic work. The reserve army must be large, and must have quality, be firmly managed, and be ready for force expansion when a major war occurs. Every relationship between quantity and quality must be correctly resolved along a course of using our quality to successfully defeat the enemy's great quantity. Troop organization must be concise, light and strong. Arms and equipment must be suitable to battlefield conditions, with material and technical maintenance capabilities, and with methods of attack along an increasingly more modern course, but the modern, relatively modern and rudimentary aspects must be coordinated in order to develop the effectiveness of all three troop types and the superiority of people's war military art.

We must strictly comply with the directive of Truong Chinh to "give more concern to the material and spiritual lives of the soldiers, especially those on the front line, along the border, on islands and on the battlefields of neighboring countries in remote and distant locations."

The revolutionary nature and fine traditions of our army must also be expressed in the production labor and economic construction mission. This is a long-term strategic mission and at the same time a critical mission in the economic situation of the country at the present time.

Our people have traditions of defeating aggressors in an unequalled and creative manner. Many decades of waging patriotic war against Japan, France, America and the Chinese expansionists have given us much extremely rich and rare experience about many peoples. We have also received a trove of valuable knowledge from Soviet military science and the modern military intellectuals of the world. All of our and the world's experience must be summarized, "researching the military work and thinking of President Ho, Le Duan and other leaders," to formulate and unceasingly develop Vietnam revolutionary military science in the task of protecting the fatherland immediately and for the generations to follow.

Fourth is to coordinate the strength of the people with that of the era, to regularly consolidate the strategic alliance with the two countries of Laos and Cambodia, and with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community to fulfill the national mission and the international obligation.



The Vietnam revolution is a part of the world revolution. The strength of the Vietnam revolution is closely connected with that of the new era. Only when the strength of our people is coordinated with that of the era will the Vietnam revolution win victory in the revolutionary struggle as well as in the revolutionary war, and in the immediate task of national liberation as well as that of protecting the fatherland today.

On the Indochina Peninsula, as the actual history of enemy aggression as well as the revolutionary struggle of the people in the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have shown, the strategic and combat solidarity and alliance between the people and armies of the three nations have become a victorious law of each country and of all three. "The national mission and international obligation are closely connected with each other; to perform the national mission is to assist in meeting the international obligation, and to achieve the international mission is to contribute toward achieving the national mission."

Following the victory over America, the people of the three countries of Indochina joined together in reaching socialism and formed a bloc of socialist countries in Southeast Asia, closely connected with the Soviet Union and the bloc of socialist countries in eastern Europe, and creating an extremely favorable situation for revolution and peace in the world in general and in Asia and the Pacific in particular.

The aggression of Chinese expansionism today has turned Indochina into a battlefield. The strategic and combat alliance between the three countries has entered a new period of development, a period of mutual socialist construction to protect the socialist fatherland.

Our army and people, while performing the national mission and constantly and entirely fulfilling the international obligation, have joined the friends in the general struggle against new aggressors; saving the people of Cambodia from the genocide of the Pol Pot gang and gradually defeating the forms of aggressive war of the Cambodian reactionaries commanded by Beijing; consolidating the revolutionary successes of Laos; assisting the friends in economic construction, cultural development, etc. At the same time, we have also received support and assistance in many aspects from them.

While performing their international mission, the Vietnam volunteer troops have constantly emphasized respect for the independence and sovereignty of the friends, and respect for their customs and habits, and have made efforts to assist them in quickly advancing to self-assumption of all their tasks.

Following the principle of proletarian internationalism, respecting the independence and sovereignty of nations, and upon the request of the friends, the People's Army of Vietnam has crossed three times to assist them and then returned. However, in every circumstance, the special and long-term alliance between the peoples of the three countries has been constantly consolidated and strengthened. Our cadres and men and even every Vietnamese citizen and Vietnamese family understand that this is a glorious and long-term international mission and also a national mission.

The Soviet Union is the fortress of world revolution and peace. A long-term alliance under any conditions with the Soviet Union is an essential strategic issue in the revolutionary line of our party, and a pillar in the foreign policy of our party and state. The great and effective assistance of the Soviet Union is a fundamental factor in ensuring the victory of the Vietnam revolution. In a meeting with General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party M. X. Gorbachev last August, Truong Chinh affirmed that, "We are striving for the total cooperation between the two parties and countries to be increasingly expanded and to achieve increasingly greater effectiveness."

Our people and army have the assistance of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community and on their part also have a responsibility of fulfilling their mission with the friends.

President Ho, great leader of the Vietnamese people and beloved father of the Vietnam people's armed forces, taught that our army is "loyal to the nation and devoted to the people," and "loyal to the party and devoted to the people, ready to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism. Every mission is completed, every difficulty is overcome, and every foe is defeated."

Illuminated by the Resolution of the Sixth Party Congress and the designated resolutions on the military, executing the directives of General Secretary Truong Chinh, and properly applying the lessons of experience above, our people's armed forces will surely join the entire people in completing every mission assigned by the party in the undertaking to protect the fatherland and to actively assist in the task of national construction.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Speech by Truong Chinh at the Fourth National Congress of Delegates. Sections within parenthesis and not further explained in this article are excerpts from this speech.

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CSO: 4209/320

## SOCIAL SYSTEM EXERTS BROAD INFLUENCE ON ARMY

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Dec 86 pp 45-50

[Article by Colonel and Master of Philosophy Trinh Quang Tan: "A New Social System with the Combat Strength of our Army"]

[Text] In the fall of 1945, under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party and President Ho Chi Minh, our entire people, from north to south and with their own strength, rose to overthrow the feudal colonial regime, to win independence and freedom, and to establish a new system and new government.

Since then, through more than 40 years of continuous struggle filled with hardship and sacrifice against the French colonialists and American imperialists and today the Chinese hegemonic expansionists to save, safeguard and build the nation, the new social system and government of the Vietnamese people have constantly shown a fierce vitality, standing firm before every challenge and becoming increasingly stronger.

This strength illustrates the superiority of the new social system and is the result of unceasing struggle in every field of the entire party, people and army and of the entire proletarian dictatorship system of our country.

The glorious and continuous victory of our army through several decades against professional armies of aggression eloquently proves the great combat strength of the Vietnam people's army. This strength originates from the superiority of the new social system. This is an issue with a theoretical and profoundly practical foundation and an effective guiding significance to our army in the process of performing the present two revolutionary strategic missions of successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist Vietnam fatherland.

We all know that since the time human society was divided into classes, there have been both an exploiting class and an exploited class. With the formation of the state, the army also appeared and is an instrument of force of the class to wage class struggle. The army--as Engels said-- is "an organized group of armed individuals established by the state for use in war." (1) In war and as an instrument for waging war, the army is decidedly dependent on the economic and political conditions of society, and on the production course of society. A revolutionary change in the state of the social economy will surely lead to a revolutionary change in the military field, in military

organization, etc. Thus, the army exists and develops in a firm and organic relationship with the social system and with the state. Lenin also pointed out that the class nature of the army is due to the nature of the social system and is established, nurtured and decided by the state system. These are issues of a legal nature.

In the process of revolutionary struggle and revolutionary war, in the people's democratic national revolution as well as in the socialist revolution, and in the task of national liberation as well as that of protecting the fatherland and developing the strength of an advanced social system, our party and state have given unceasing concern to building the army, allowing the army to constantly answer the requirements of the increasingly developing revolutionary mission and to qualify as a sharp and trusted instrument of force of the revolutionary state. Thanks to that, our army has joined all the people in outstandingly completing the mission of liberating the nation, protecting the fatherland, protecting the people, protecting the revolutionary successes and fulfilling the noble international obligation.

The superiority and strength of an advanced social system decides the combat strength of the army. Whether an army is strong or weak is centrally and directly expressed in its combat strength. The combat strength of an army is the composite result of many factors that may be generalized as: personnel; weapons, equipment, technology and organizational art; and the development of those personnel, weapons and technical equipment to create strength. All three of these factors are primarily and first of all dependent both in quantity and in quality on the nature of the social system.

The new social system in our country, a people's democracy advancing to a socialist system and gradually formed over the past several decades, has allowed our nation to become one with the vanguard nations of the world. It has created a firm solidarity of all the people with extremely high political and spiritual unanimity, has awakened all the unyielding and unconquerable traditions of the nation, created new international relations and allowed the strength of the nation to firmly coordinate with that of the era. It is from this very strength that we have built an increasingly more powerful people's armed force and a steadily more conventional and modern people's army with an advanced military science foundation.

In the unequal war of our people against the invading French colonialists, we were at first compared with the enemy as "a locust kicking an elephant." "Our army was still young and the weapons were rudimentary. In the south, they were bamboo sticks and in the north, the guns and ammunition were old." (2) However, relying on the strength of the new social system, a system wholeheartedly supported by the people, our army rapidly developed and the more it struck, the stronger it became, and the greater became its combat strength. With 5,000 men (including both cadres and enlisted) at the time the August Revolution succeeded, the strength of our army rose to 125,000 when the gunfire of resistance war was heard throughout the nation. By the beginning of 1950, many main force infantry divisions, services, regiments and battalions subordinate to the High Command and interzones had been formed. The land reform conducted by our party and state at the beginning of the fifties liberated the laboring farmer, the primary production force and also the

primary combat force of our society. Production in general, and first of all agricultural production, clearly rose. The rear area had the conditions necessary for competently supporting the front line. Our state collected nearly 40,000 tons of rice and thousands of tons of food for the 53-54 winter-spring campaign. More than 500,000 civilian laborers with 30 million man-days, and tens of thousands of rudimentary and modern pieces of transportation equipment were supplied to the front line. Our army, with the support and encouragement of the rear area, overcame every difficulty and hardship, fought extremely bravely and finally joined the entire people in winning total victory, gloriously concluding the war of resistance against the invading French with the historic Dien Bien Phu campaign.

After it was liberated, following the line of the party, the northern region of our country developed from a people's democratic system to a socialist system. This was a new extremely important step aimed at consolidating and building a powerful northern region in every aspect to protect the north and serve as a strong rear area for the south, for the task of liberating the south, and for completing the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country. On the basis of the socialist system, our people's army had the necessary conditions for construction along a conventional and modern course, raising the combat strength to a new and higher level.

Although the task of socialist construction in the north occurred under conditions of extreme difficulty and was filled with challenge: supporting the front line in the south, resisting the two wars of destruction waged by the U.S. air force and navy, etc., the socialist system in the north illustrated the superiority of an advanced social system and unceasingly and strongly influenced the construction and combat of the army.

The industrial rate of the north's national economy rose from 39.7 percent in 1965 to 41.4 percent in 1975. Agricultural production developed; and socialist production relations were steadily strengthened. In 1939, considered the most prosperous year of the Vietnamese economy under the imperialist and feudal regime, the annual yield was 2.65 tons per hectare, but this yield was 5.17 tons per hectare in 1974. By 1975, 95.5 percent of all rural families had entered cooperatives; and the agricultural cooperatives unceasingly developed. This situation permitted our nation to mobilize 15 to 20 percent of the annual grain output for the needs of the armed forces. The volume of material support to the front line in the south during the 1965-1968 period increased by 10 times over the 1961-1964 period. Entering the final phase of the resistance against America war for national salvation, the north supplied the great front line with 82 percent of its weapons and ammunition, 85 percent of its transportation vehicles and 65 percent of its medicinal drugs.

The slogan "the army not lacking one man, and the paddy not lacking one kilogram" that our people conscientiously and strictly achieved assisted in creating conditions for our army to rapidly develop. This could only have been possible under a socialist system. Actually, in only the first few years of the resistance against America, the number of youths mobilized by our nation for the army rose by five times over the years of peace. In the following years, the average number doubled and tripled. In the war of

resistance against America, the north inducted up to 60 percent of all youths. The state reserved for the army more than half the inducted manpower each year with unceasingly elevated political quality; more than 75 percent were young and healthy youths 25 or less, and 60 to 70 percent had cultural levels of 2 and 3.

The proportion of those participating in the militia and self-defense forces and widespread mass armed and organized construction rose from 8 percent of the population at the end of 1964 to 10 and 11 percent during 1975.

On that basis, the army had the conditions necessary to build main force corps from pure infantry into combined infantry, to develop the local armed forces, and to build the various branches and services with increasingly more modern equipment. The people's armed forces had resident and mobile forces on each battlefield and throughout the entire nation. The operations of main force corps were closely coordinated with local people's war. With the powerful and superior forces of people's war, our army and people created a greater composite combat strength than the enemy, became stronger the more they attacked, and with the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, won total victory for national liberation. Clearly, under conditions in which a country with not many people and a poorly developed economy like ours, that victory in the final analysis was "a victory of a rising advanced system, and the defeat of the enemy was a defeat of a reactionary system condemned by history." (3)

The strength of an advanced social system is actually the strength of the people. The strength of the people is great and invincible but not every social system can mobilize that potential strength. On our planet, every nation has its own fine struggle traditions but not every system can awaken and develop those traditions. Previous social systems, during a period in which they were still consistent with the development pattern of history, and in the aspects in which the interests of the ruling class still had the definite agreement of the people, also occasionally exploited the strength of the people. However, because the nature of all exploitation systems is to resist the people, development of the great potential of the people is limited and temporary. Only an advanced social system that is truly revolutionary and truly of the people, by the people and for the people such as the social system of our country under the leadership of the party, has the ability to mobilize the great strength of the people, to inherit the fine traditions of the nation and to develop the inexhaustible potential of the country in the task of saving, safeguarding and building the nation, and in unceasingly raising the revolutionary nature and combat strength of the people's armed forces.

If the advanced system in our country has highly developed its superiority in the national salvation task and created a wonderful strength for our army and people to gloriously complete the task of national liberation and reunification, the socialist system of today, although only in the initial stretch of the transitional period, is also in substance a new development step and a firm assurance for our entire people and army in the task of building and protecting the fatherland, and in the work of strengthening the national defense and building a regular modern people's army. The great victories that our people have recently won in protecting the fatherland

against Chinese hegemonic expansionism cannot be isolated from the achievements in socialist construction.

The socialist system is a development in keeping with the development pattern of human society and is therefore the most superior system ever. In this system, the laboring people are liberated and are truly the collective owners of society in every field of social life, a basic premise for creating the new quality of Vietnamese strength in the tasks of building socialism as well as protecting the fatherland. This strength is a strong and great foundation for building a national defense of all the people, building the people's armed forces and people's army and waging people's war to protect the fatherland. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a location concentrating the power of the laboring people and, through the state, the collective ownership rights of the people are effectively developed to build and protect the nation.

At this time, our party is the party in power, the party leading society with political lines institutionalized through the state apparatus.

The system of "the party leading, the people controlling, and the state managing" that our party has defined has been confirmed correct by actual practice, is being increasingly substantiated and perfected, and is not only consistent with the field of economic and cultural activities but also those of national defense and building the people's armed forces.

From the revolutionary line of the party, with its management function, our state has institutionalized its line by setting forth positions, policies, plans, legal norms, etc. for inspecting and stimulating achievement, turning the party line into effective victory in life, gradually developing the economy and creating a material base for the national defense and the combat strength of the army. Not only that, the state also sets forth laws, systems, policies and regulations on the obligations and interests of each citizen in the task of building and protecting the fatherland, mobilizing manpower, skill and material, and clearly establishing the responsibility of sectors and localities in building the people's armed forces and the people's army.

The concern of echelons and sectors for the army's rear area has a great and direct effect on the combat spirit of the army--an extremely important factor in creating the combat strength of the army. Therefore, the rear area not only provides material support but is also an extremely important source for motivating and encouraging the combat spirit and will of the front line. Every job done by sectors, administrative echelons and the people in the rear area for the army has an instant effect on the front line. Consolidating and raising the combat strength of the army cannot be entirely decided by the army but must have the important influence of sectors, echelons and mass organizations in the rear on the army and the army's rear area.

In the task of protecting the fatherland, despite the extreme economic difficulties of our country, our party and state have made many efforts to create the material and spiritual factors for unceasingly consolidating and raising the combat strength of our army. Nevertheless, compared with the requirements of strengthening the national defense and of the combat and construction mission of the army, the difficulties and privations are still

fairly great. The present problem is, on the basis of developing the superior strength of the socialist system that has been established nationwide, the necessity for firmly coordinating the economy with national defense and national defense with the economy, creating a firm foundation and favorable conditions for the tasks of building a national defense of all the people and a regular and modern people's army in the new revolutionary period. National defense expenditures are always extremely large but are absolutely essential because without them, construction of a strong national defense and a strong army would be impossible.

In the immediate task of national salvation as well as that of safeguarding the nation at this time, our people are constantly ready to sacrifice and contribute so our army has the conditions necessary to gloriously complete the construction and combat mission entrusted it by the party, state and people.

Even so, we cannot be arbitrary or wasteful. On the contrary, every field of military activity, in training as well as combat, must have supervised and multifaceted calculation to attain the highest results with the least sacrifice in bones and blood and the lowest expenditure in manpower and money. On the other hand, it is necessary to study, apply and substantiate the system of the party leading, the people controlling and the state managing in a manner truly consistent with the requirements of military activity, ensuring the institutionalization of every position of the party on consolidating and raising the combat strength of the army, and the full and effective achievement of every sector and echelon.

The growth and combat success of our army for more than the past 40 years are closely and intimately linked with the superiority of the new social system.

In the process of advanced development of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland in our country, the organic relationships and effects between socialist systems become increasingly stronger with the strength of the army steadily increasing. Many new problems have risen. Firmly grasping the decisively significant role of the social system in the tasks of strengthening the national defense and building the army, and clearly recognizing the responsibility of the army in protecting and strengthening the social system is the basic course for examining and resolving the issue of assisting in stabilizing the economic situation, building our nation to become steadily stronger in both the economy and national defense, and answering the requirement of successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist Vietnam fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Fredrich Engels: "Military Dissertation Collection," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1978, Vol II, p 9
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Collected Works," Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 299
3. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Banner of the Party, Quan Doi Nhan Publishers, Hanoi, 1980, p 80

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CSO: 4209/320



## PROVINCIAL SECURITY DIRECTOR ON WAYS TO IMPROVE ORDER, SECURITY

Nam Dinh HA NAM NINH in Vietnamese 2 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Hoang Tho Dan, provincial public security director: "From the Rostrum of the 4th Provincial Party Organization Congress: 'Make the People the Base' Provides a Solid Foundation for Maintaining Political Security and Social Order and Safety"]

[Text] During the past 3 years, counter-revolutionaries and criminals have intensified their activities by means of very cunning schemes, methods and tactics. They have exacerbated our difficulties, sabotaged the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland and sabotaged our people's tranquil life.

In the face of this situation and under the close leadership and guidance of the various party committee echelons and levels of administration, the people's public security forces of our province have stood shoulder to shoulder with the army and the people in a determined effort to mobilize the masses and continuously attack counter-revolutionaries and criminals in order to maintain the security of the fatherland and maintain social order and safety.

However, serious examination shows that there are still many shortcomings in our thinking, in the leadership and guidance being provided and in the way that the performance of the security task is organized:

Despite many efforts, border defense work on all three lines--the seacoast, the offshore waters and at sea--and in the two important aspects of this work--the management of persons and the management of equipment--is still marked by many weaknesses.

Work in the areas of transforming, educating and struggling to suppress reactionaries who are using the Catholic religion has not produced good results. However, of utmost importance and strategic significance is the fact that the efforts to build our political base in areas in which Catholicism is strong have not been constant and, at some places, have long been weak. During the past few years, the management of religious activities on the basic level has been lax, as a result of which a number of complex cases have been allowed to occur.

The enemy has intensified their psychological warfare operations, with efforts focused on attacking us on the ideological front, sabotaging us internally... However, in maintaining internal security and in the struggle against the psychological war, our efforts have not been concrete or effective and many weaknesses are apparent.

In the work of protecting the economy and protecting socialist property, we are encountering more very pressing and complicated problems with each passing day. However, in the fields of both prevention and detection, our efforts are weak.

Social order and safety continue to be a concern of the cadres and people of the province. In the recent past, public security forces have coordinated with the army in launching many attacks to apprehend criminals. However, because these efforts have not been constant or well coordinated and because intensive studies have not been conducted in order to propose ways to eliminate the causes of crime, violations of criminal law, accidents and social ills continue to decline and rise irregularly, but have generally been on the increase. Although changes have occurred in the maintenance of order within the municipality and cities, these have not been fundamental changes.

During the past 3 years, the size of the People's Public Security Forces of the province has been increased and their quality has been improved. Putting into practice the six teachings of Uncle Ho, the province's public security forces have undergone changes from the standpoint of strengthening their organization, improving their work methods, forging their qualities and ethics and cultivating their combat style. However, within the People's Public Security Forces, particularly district, municipal and city police and public security forces and subward public security forces, there are still some degenerate and deviant cadres and soldiers, the specific signs of which are: abuse of one's position, abuse of one's power, gross violations of the right of collective ownership of the people, violations of the law, an arrogant and authoritarian workstyle, rudeness and posing a bother to cadres and the people. Individual public security soldiers have also done things that are illegal or protected and supported persons who earn their livings illegally. Serious examination shows that our political education, ideological leadership and internal management within each public security unit have at times not been thorough. We have not attached the same importance to the task of building our forces as we have to our combat task.

In the months ahead, the imperialists and international reactionaries will strengthen the collaboration with one another in order to intensify the wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country by means of many more cunning methods and tactics.

The coastline of our province is long and the coastal terrain is irregular. The seacoast is not only an important strategic defense zone, but is also an area where the enemy can infiltrate our country, hide, flee, release psychological warfare goods, kidnap civilians and conduct commando and sabotage activities.

To improve the maintenance of security and order in accordance with the guidelines set forth by the congress, we suggest:

First, we must constantly raise the revolutionary vigilance of the cadres, party members, armed forces and people of the province, particularly on the basic level. We cannot win victory over the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage if we only shout general slogans but do not turn our hands to action and take decisive steps to solve specific problems in a manner closely tied to the tasks of building and defending the fatherland.

Secondly, in ancient times, our forefathers said: "Charity and justice are tranquility among the people." Recently, General Secretary Truong Chinh pointed out: the revolution must "have the people as its base." This proves that tranquility among the people is the most solid base of political security. At present, however, the hearts of the people are not tranquil. Many aspirations have not been fulfilled. The right of collective ownership is still being violated at some places and times. Therefore, to firmly maintain political security and in conjunction with waging the struggle against spies and reactionaries and preventing sabotage by the enemy, we must always concern ourselves with the living conditions of the masses, with the feelings of the people so that the masses have absolute confidence in the leadership of the party and implement the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state with enthusiasm.

Thirdly, many agencies and enterprises are only giving attention to production and business. Little concern is being shown for maintaining internal security. This reflects a lack of vigilance. To maintain internal security, there are many jobs that must be performed. Most important, however, are the needs to know and closely manage each person within each organization, intensify the struggle against spies within our organization and purify our internal organization, particularly in vital, secret units. In the present situation, full attention must be given to indications of economic crimes by cadres and party members and unethical behavior on their part.

Fourthly, when talking about social order and safety, we are talking about a system of relationships which govern the activities of man within the social environment. Therefore, searching for and vigorously attacking hoodlums, thieves, robbers, murderers, prostitutes and gamblers in order to maintain the rule of law are very necessary and must be done even more vigorously. Of greater importance, however, is the need to develop and take well coordinated measures to eradicate the causes of crime and eliminate the factors that lead to criminal cases. For example, the number of delinquent youths and teenagers and the number of violations of the law would decline were we to concern ourselves with and provide jobs to laborers. If we provided close management, closed every loophole and did not allow goods to be siphoned to the free market from state agencies, persons who earn their livings illegally and black marketeers would surely find all avenues by which they take advantage of our weaknesses and conspire with others closed. Therefore, to bring about a change in the situation surrounding social order and safety, it is essential that we strengthen the leadership of the party, strengthen the management provided by the state and gain the active participation of the armed forces and people of the province.

Fifthly, the work of protecting the economy and protecting socialist property, always difficult and complex, is even more difficult and complex in the current situation. The factors of dynamism and discipline have caused production to explode, but this development must be in the right direction. These factors raise new requirements in security work. At the same time, they demand that basic economic units, including state-operated units and collectives, change their thinking and the way they organize implementation. Only in this way is it possible to resolve the problems that routinely occur between security agencies and economic agencies and remove the "constraints" upon one another which create loopholes that allow persons who earn their livings illegally to operate, thus affecting the performance of the political task.

Sixthly, the People's Public Security Force is an armed force of the party and state. At present, the organizations of the party on the district, municipal and city public security levels and those of the subward public security forces are conducting their party activities with the local party organizations. It is suggested that the various party committee echelons constantly concern themselves with providing organizational, political and ideological leadership, with forging qualities and virtues and that they closely coordinate the building of the party with the building of People's Public Security Forces that are pure, solid and strong in keeping with the six teachings of Uncle Ho.

Recently, the Ministry of Interior adopted the policy of sending regular public security cadres to basic units to serve as members of village public security committees and participate in the party activities of the village party organization. This is a major policy, one aimed at improving the maintenance of security and order on the basic level, particularly in strategically important areas where the situation is complex. We suggest that the various party committee echelons and levels of administration concern themselves with guiding the sectors in creating favorable conditions for public security soldiers being assigned to basic units to complete their assigned task well.

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## HO CHI MINH CITY SECURITY, MILITARY COMMANDERS DISCUSS PLANS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 30 Oct 86 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Lt Col Le Van Len, commander of Duyen Hai public security department by SAIGON GIAI PHONG: "Build a Strong All-peoples National Defense, Ready To Defeat the Enemy's Multifaceted War of Destruction"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Lt Col Le Van Len, an Armed Forces Hero and commander of the Duyen Hai public security department, spoke with us in a lively and open manner. He stated that Duyen Hai public security cadres and soldiers have gripped their weapons more and more firmly, strengthened patrols and watches, and along with fishermen defended the entranceway east of the city while the city was holding the congress. He granted us a brief interview.

[Question] What were you most concerned about during the several days of discussion?

[Answer] Compared with the Third Municipal Party Congress, this one was direct and honest. The congress clearly identified the city's socioeconomic task in the initial phase of the transitional period consistent with the special characteristics of the city and the responsibility to the region as well as the entire country. From the angle of someone doing political security work, I was concerned a great deal about the views of the representatives surrounding the question of "how to protect political security, order, and social safety satisfactorily in a large city which is the center of the enemy's multifaceted war of destruction." The congress had many discussions about measures for closely coordinating the economy with national defense, attending to the material and spiritual life of the armed forces, etc. From that, I think we must do something not to lose the confidence the party and people have entrusted in the public security forces!

[Question] Could you let us know the initial expectations about what the Duyen Hai public security will be doing?

[Answer] Duyen Hai District has 11 km of coast in all. This is where the enemy frequently encroaches. Therefore, we first of all must build and strengthen the people's security net from teams of people to the production groups of fishermen. On the other hand, we must build public security forces

that are clean and strong organizationally and in moral character, and have plans to coordinate along with the people's security net in satisfactorily managing grassroots security in the populated area. We will also strengthen the organization of the flotillas which patrol the seacoast (recommending that the city help out with capital to provide additional fishing gear), coordinate economic and national defense, attend to the lives of the cadres and soldiers, and resolutely overcome negative manifestations within the public security sector.

[Question] Isn't taking care of the lives of cadres and soldiers also a way to combat internal negativism?

[Answer] This is only one aspect of the problem. Public security soldiers must also regularly study and train according to the six teachings of Uncle Ho. Alongside this, we will also regularly maintain public security reviews in front of the people and rely on the people to control and examine the moral character of each cadre and soldier in the unit.

Saying farewell to Le Van Len, we met Colonel Pham Van Tren, commander of the Cu Chi District military headquarters. He had just assumed his duties a month before Cu Chi embarked on the district party congress, so he was very busy.

He anticipates strengthening the militias and self-defense forces in the villages, enterprises, organizations, etc. and putting the operations of these forces on the right track with a view toward building the people's war footing in the locality, strengthening and closely managing the frameworks of standing units and reserve forces, providing good training, and increasing vigilance and combat readiness.

[Question] Cu Chi did not satisfy the obligation to provide troops during the recruitment drive at the beginning of 1986. Some hold the view that this was because a number of responsible cadres in authority did not set the example and did not provide children for the draft or, if they did, they looked after getting them "safe" places. Is that right?

[Answer] That could happen in any precinct or district, but it's not extensive as far as I know. In the recent self-criticism and criticism phase, we sternly criticized this lack of example while, at the same time, we analyzed the reason for this shortcoming, which primarily is because departments, sectors, and groups are not really concerned about recruiting. Learning this lesson, during the second drive of 1986 to deliver troops, the military draft council coordinated closely with departments, sectors, and groups and considered this task to be one of the norms approved for emulation at the end of the year. The result was that Cu Chi completed the troop delivery norm in the second drive.

I had just parted Pham Van Tren's company when the alarm indicating the end of the rest break sounded. We had to meet Tran Kiem, a lieutenant colonel who is commander of the First Precinct military headquarters and was a delegate at the congress, in his home.

[Question] As a cadre who is in charge of military work in a central precinct of the city, what are your thoughts and expectations following the congress?

[Answer] I have taken part in two wars of resistance, have more than 30 years in the party, and have attended many party congresses at the primary level as well as ones at the precinct and municipal levels. But I feel this congress was truly one which has changed our ways of thinking and doing things. We will concentrate on satisfactorily carrying out local military work and making the self-defense forces in enterprises and organizations sufficiently strong, combat proficient, and combat ready; alongside that, we will strengthen management of the reserve and build strong mainforce troops in all respects.

We expect that a people's national defense education club will come into existence by 22 December aimed at developing the all-peoples national defense sports program and building the concept of defending the fatherland among all laboring people.

In addition to building a strong all-peoples national defense, we will devote even more attention to developing production, improving the lives of cadres and soldiers, and contributing expenditures for training and saving the state budget.

[Question] Do the First Precinct armed forces have any production installations?

[Answer] We are farming nearly 20 mau of land outside the city. The primary crops are citronella, bananas, corn, and soybeans. We recently harvested the first rice, providing 200 more dong a month for each soldier's meals. We just introduced an installation producing Nhu Lan toothpaste. Hopefully, the lives of cadres and soldiers will be better.

6915/12859

CSO: 4209/223

WRITER: COLLECTIVE INSPECTIONS HELP PREVENT SMUGGLING, BRIBERY

Hanoi DOC LAP in Vietnamese 10 Dec 86 p 13

[Readers Write column by Ngo Kim, Ha Bac: "Eliminate Smuggling, Bribery"]

[Text] Smuggling is taking place in a very subtle and complex manner aboard passenger and freight trains. Even though there are many control forces aboard the trains, contraband and prohibited timber continue to be smuggled into the lowlands aboard passenger and freight trains from Lang Son and Dong Mo.

Following the Seventh Ha Bac Provincial Party Organization Congress, implementing the directives of higher echelons, on the afternoon of 8 November 1986, officials at the Bac Giang train station inspected trains. The inspection team included the DS-1 Train Enterprise Inspection Bureau, the Ha Quang Transportation Area, military control forces, Bac Giang City public security forces, Bac Giang market management officials, the Bac Giang forestry control area, the station tax bureau, and station public security forces. After the inspection, there was a mountain of smuggled goods, stolen goods, valuable timber, and prohibited forest products on the train platform. The officials had to make records and handle these items based on the laws.

The smugglers and those who had felled trees illegally looked pale. They looked about furtively, holding wads of money and wondering whom they could bribe to let them go. They realized that with this type of inspection, it would be difficult to bribe anyone.

I think that collective inspections with unified action and guidance is the most effective way to oppose smuggling and bribery. This can be lesson for other localities, too.

11943

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## WRITER CRITICIZES LIFESTYLE OF THOSE WHO SEEK LUXURIES, PLEASURE

Hanoi DOC LAP in Vietnamese 10 Dec 86 p 13

[Readers' Write column by Van Xuan, Haiphong: "A Lifestyle"]

[Text] In life today, along with the socialist and traditional ways of life, a psychology of living a life of luxury and pleasure is appearing in the cities, particularly in localities that have a relationship with other countries.

In Ho Chi Minh City, this psychology still remains from in the past. But I have observed that it is gradually disappearing there. Many working people are living very simply. However, in a number of localities in the north, of which Haiphong can serve as an example, this psychology is growing.

On the streets, you can see that most of the motorcycles are Japanese; very few come from the socialist countries. The Sat market offers a great variety of foreign goods, including ready-made clothing, cloth, woolen materials, and other items. There are high quality, modern goods. At the restaurants, including the state-operated restaurants, people smoke 555 and A Lao brand cigarettes, with a few smoking filter-tipped Bensen cigarettes, and drink Japanese beer or, at the "worst," Export 33 beer.

The above situation is spreading to various organizations, including noncommercial organizations that do not have foreign customers. Even district offices and boards have a large variety of foreign goods, including vacuum bottles, electric fans, televisions, cassettes, and refrigerators.

Another fasion is that many organizations try to purchase Japanese vehicles. The roads are filled with modern Japanese vehicles.

It can be said that in Haiphong, Japanese goods are in great demand. Japanese goods can be found at the markets and organizations and in many families. Many young boys and girls walk around with items costing hundreds of thousands of dong. Wearing a beard or cosmetics like foreigners, they wear Japanese clothes, gold jewelry, and expensive watches and drive the latest model motorcycles.

Those who come to Haiphong from remote areas get tired of hearing about robberies, thefts, and fights. We explain that this is the result of the luxury and pleasure psychology of a number of people in Haiphong.

Naturally, because Haiphong is a port city, it has a relationship with other countries and provinces. But people feel that these negative activities would definitely decline if control was tighter and social order and security were better.

During the past several years, it has become evident to many people in Haiphong that a number of people in positions of responsibility live a life of luxury. The agencies and enterprises, and in particular, the work places and conference halls are decorated much more luxuriously. Visitors to the subwards, villages, and cooperatives often enjoy more expensive meals and give bigger tips than in other localities. At major conferences, people have publicly stated, "no commerce, no wealth." This is not the time to survey the poor but the rich. The "roofing" movement is a loophole that those who have money, regardless of the source, can use to build magnificent "apartment buildings." There is no way for those who earn their living honestly to build such projects. These are the things that are striking.

But if we delve more deeply, as many people have said, in Haiphong it is the merchants, particularly the smugglers and a number of degenerate officials, who are wealthy. They are rotten, and they spoil their children. In a number of cases, in court, the people have looked at the defendants and seen the faces of playboys.

Following the Municipal CPV Congress, many people with good intentions hope that the new Municipal CPV Committee will implement resolute and effective measures to put a stop to these negative aspects. Once these negative aspects have been limited, the psychology of luxury and pleasure will gradually disappear. We will then have a generation of people of high morals and good quality who can build socialism.

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## RENOVATION IN THINKING REQUIREMENT OUTLINED

Hanoi GIAO DUC LY LUAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 86 pp 19-23, 10

[Article by Pham Quang Nghi: "Contemplations on Issue of Renovating Thinking"]

[Text] Probably at no other time has the requirement for achieving renovation and accelerating the process of renovation, first of all the renovation of thinking, been set forth so directly and urgently as at the present time. This requirement is pressing us from many directions. The political report of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party at its 27th Congress emphasized that, "the very political situation and specific politics that we are presently experiencing, and the very special period of the political process that the society of the Soviet Union and the entire world are presently passing through all demand that each communist have a spirit of creativity and renovation, and seek ways of overcoming and escaping the boundaries of familiar but outmoded concepts."

The party congresses of fraternal socialist countries, with optimism, confidence and a sense of their great responsibility to the future, have presented the requirement for renovation as an urgent demand at the present time.

They have a firm basis for believing that the choice of international communists is the road of renovation, because it is consistent with our struggle objective and ideology; consistent with the revolutionary theory nature that we have constantly followed; and is simultaneously consistent with the urgent renovation of modern practice.

The external objective factor is a true motive force but the requirement for renovation in our country must first of all originate from the demand of our revolution itself and from life in our country. In other words, it is an internal and resident demand. This requirement to us is also urgent and pressing from all the objective directions of new missions and from the subjective direction because we recognize the demand for increasing the leadership role of the party; from top to bottom; rich in theme, hurried in requirement, with an existing importance, and deciding the success, quality and effectiveness of all our activities in the future. General Secretary Truong Chinh stated that "the process of socialist revolution in our country

demands that we achieve renovation in many aspects: renovation of thinking, especially economic thinking, renovation of work methods, and renovation of organization and cadres. The Sixth Congress of our party must answer this requirement. The renovation step must be expressed in the theme of party records, first of all in the political report and in the course of personnel arrangement in the congresses at all levels and in this national congress."(1)

The socialist revolution occurring in our country is confronted by an important point in time: our party is presently reviewing 11 years of socialist construction on a nationwide scale with the purpose of extracting the "lessons summarized from the victories achieved and the shortcomings and mistakes we have made in the past 11 years"(2) to found the "strategic guiding ideologies of the party"(3) during the new period of the socialist revolution.

Therefore, the need for renovation, first of all renovation of thinking, presented at this time is not accidental nor does it originate from the subjective desires of leaders but is an objective requirement of our revolution itself. This renovation is in substance a reconstruction(+) and is "marked = with the word REVOLUTION."(4)

At the present time, the need for renovation of thinking is placed in front not from the direction of the philosophers and theorists in general but from the "specific economic and political situation itself that we are presently experiencing"--meaning from renovations of practice.

Through more than 30 years of socialist construction, especially 11 years in which the entire country had socialism, along with important achievements made in the economic, cultural and social fields, we have also had serious mistakes and shortcomings significantly restricting our accomplishments. The negative consequences originate directly from the "improper application of objective laws, and even violation of the law, and simultaneously conservatism and inaction, therefore maintaining for too long the management mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidization. The results are that production strength is stifled and unable to develop; the laboring people do not develop their collective ownership rights in reality; everybody eats but nobody works; productivity, quality and effectiveness steadily decline; society has little or no products; circulation is obstructed by conditions of market division, causing the economy to fall into a situation of prolonged difficulty, inflation and unstable prices; and life becomes unsettled, moral and spiritual values erode, and negativism develops."(5)

This total evaluation of the negative consequences in the aspects of economy, society and life is a harsh condemnation of our mistakes and shortcomings in recognizing and applying the laws. It is the basis for the urgent demand to renovate thinking. Lenin once reminded, "When the situation has changed and we must undertake missions of a different type, we should not look back and use the methods of yesterday."(6) We cannot continue the obsolete and erroneous methods of working and thinking and further prolong the things that yesterday were somewhat consistent but today have become truly outmoded.

The objective of renovating thinking is aimed at correctly recognizing and applying the objective laws dictating our activities, to make our activities

more effective, and to more rapidly accelerate the revolutionary process we are achieving. Renovation of thinking is not a clear-cut negation of the results thinking has achieved but besides uncovering and accepting new knowledge and laws, it also consists of the entire task of affirming and developing proper perceptions and returning with the "correct old things"--or to state it more accurately, is the knowledge, experience and laws summarized and confirmed as correct but which we have ignored or neglected.

Renovation of thinking therefore is not a "new page" in ideology but is primarily aimed at reexamining our methods of thinking and working; matching our perception and activity with Marxism-Leninism, and with the actual results we have harvested in order to eliminate erroneous thinking and to further develop perception and theory.

Reviewing the successful and unsuccessful lessons of experience of 11 years of conducting the socialist revolution on a nationwide scale, we have reached a conclusion of a truth nature that "in violating the law, reaching socialism is impossible; the greater the violation, the longer our road to socialism, not shorter."(7)

We have acknowledged a truth: that perception is a process and the road to proper perception of occurrences and things is never easy or simple. On the other hand, not to make mistakes also requires effort and, besides bravely daring to "look straight at the truth and state the truth," also demands strenuous labor and "beating the brain" of thinking. In this case, development of the new will inevitably appear, as well as discovery of the errors that have actually occurred and confronted the truth, both of a similar value and both giving us new perceptions.

Previously, none of us wanted to be afflicted with subjectivism and impatience to replace objective laws with auspicious subjective aspirations. We did not want and even did not anticipate a situation of mistakes in recognizing and applying objective laws. In reality however, mankind occasionally unconsciously encounters adversities contrary to the desires and objectives set forth. For example, we wish to go fast but slow down, want to skip the "initial step" of the transitional period but in the end have to turn back on the "initial stretch"; want to rapidly advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production by swiftly changing the size of small cooperatives to large, but ultimately have to stop, divide up and consolidate the agricultural cooperatives, etc.

Faced with such "adversities," to keep from giving up half way, we must alertly reexamine our methods of thinking and doing, and "match" practice with theory to evaluate whether our activities are right or wrong. Our route of continuous advancement, as Truong Chinh affirmed, is "only by renovating methods of thinking and doing, renovating thinking, especially economic thinking, renovating methods of working, and renovating organization and cadres will we have the ability to escape the harsh and difficult situation at the present time."(8)

The question as to why there are erroneous and sluggish viewpoints on theory and ideology is not being asked us in particular but also many other

countries. This is possibly due to several reasons:

One is deficiencies in the application of Marxism-Leninism, including both erroneous understanding and erroneous application. For example, the erroneous understanding and application of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor under socialism is evidence of a universal nature. Although Marx gave this principle great concern, and profound and scientific analysis and stated that, "There can never be a higher level than the economic system and the cultural development of society decided by the economic system."(9) Later, this was confirmed and emphasized by Lenin, "If the initial period of communism cannot be achieved in a fair and equitable manner in the aspect of property, there will still be inequality."(10) The difficulty here, as Andropov observed, "ideologically accepting the historic inevitability of socialism in theory is one problem, while participating in and witnessing the achievement process of this ideology is an entirely different problem."(11) The successful achievement of this process demands a great deal from us, not only in revolutionary enthusiasm but also in our spirit of creativity, because many problems in achieving socialism are rising today which previously the creators of scientific socialism could not fully anticipate. In addition, for us to demand that the classicists act contrary to their own viewpoint of dialectic materialism is to fabricate illusions and to make aimless predictions about things that cannot be understood.

Our recent shortcomings and mistakes are also caused by mechanically applying the principles and models of other nations advancing toward socialism with economic, cultural, scientific and technical characteristics and international conditions (at that time) that differ from ours at this time, or because we have not yet emphasized study of lessons in the successful as well as the unsuccessful experiences of other nations and therefore, make the same mistakes as those nations that precede us.

Reviewing socialist construction during the past few decades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is bringing up a series of new problems on theory, such as the fact that the conformity of production relations with production forces under socialism is not automatic, that negative occurrences in socialism are not solely caused by the remnants of the former regime and the effect of the enemy but are often produced by our very own mistakes and shortcomings in economic and social management or because education of the socialist awareness concept is insufficient, etc.

Secondly, delay and backwardness in theory and thinking and also due to the incomplete acceptance of external information and experience; and inaccurate and untimely analysis and summarization of our own experience.

Socialism both follows general and universal laws, and at the same time special laws. The summarization of experience and realization and proper application of these laws have an extremely important significance. On the basis of applying universal principles and laws, every socialist nation has successful experience and working methods of different degrees. This includes extremely precious experience worthy of attention such as: the problem of renovating the management mechanism in the Soviet Union, the problem of conservation in the Democratic Republic of Germany, etc. Right in our own

country, since the Resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the Party Central Committee (Fourth Session), there have also appeared many new factors and renovations along a course of abolishing the old mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidization, and shifting to new dynamic and creative methods of work along a course of socialist accounting and business practices, but to this time, there has still been no prompt review and dissemination.

Third, the sluggishness in theory and thinking has a social and psychological reason. From this angle, its appearance is varied and complex, demanding profound and scientific study and analysis. Along with the strong points and successes we have achieved in the thinking aspect, we also have the weaknesses of empirical thinking and are often controlled by subjective feelings. On the other hand, the theoretical levels of cadres, party members and the people, especially concerning the problems of the socialist revolution, and the initial stretch of the transitional period, do not yet meet the requirements of the practical missions.

The slow renovation of thinking is also caused by the fact that it is directly related to the problem of losing--while the interests of the individual, collective and organization are closely connected with maintaining or renovating the old viewpoints and systems. Therefore, a fear of renovation cannot be eliminated from psychology when in reality, there are those in the guise of "protecting the principles of socialism" who are actually stubbornly holding on to the old and outmoded viewpoints and thanks to that, enjoy special privileges, interests and "salaries" contrary to the principle of distribution in accordance with labor as clearly outlined by Truong Chinh. We also cannot neglect the psychological factor of fearing renovation originating from habit, bureaucratism and separation from life so not recognizing all the urgent requirements needing renovation.

All of the appearances above in the final analysis are expressions of shallow and restricted thinking, failing to see the substance and final objective, and not overcoming the countless impediments and obstructions of special interests and habits, producing not only an unwillingness to renovate but at times even a fear of abandoning the old in order to advance. These are common expressions of all renovation processes. This observation was made in the Political Report of the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, "The situation demands changes but in the central agencies as well as the local areas, a strange psychology is beginning to dominate: how to improve the situation without changing anything. However, it cannot be done."

The process of developing and renovating thinking has its own internal objectivity and laws. Thinking can only be achieved through implementation of a series of fixed tasks aimed at supporting the process of renovating thinking, such as the tasks of education, organization and cadres, apparatus and mechanism reorganization, etc. We must do everything necessary to promote the accelerated progress of this process. On the other hand, it must also be remembered that this is an arduous and difficult undertaking, and a struggle occurring in every aspect of life and society and within each individual until finally renovation is expressed in reality by materialization of renovation ideology. Renovation in perception and thinking is an important and necessary beginning for advancing toward gradual renovation in reality, in order to



successfully achieve the thing that Marx always emphasized: each step forward of the movement is truly more important than a dozen programs!

The process of renovating thinking is a specific process, occurring within each individual, not an abstract and generalized renovation occurring on the outside. Moreover, the renovation process about which we speak here is a self-renovation process of socialism "to prove its superiority in every aspect over capitalism in reality." (12) We seek new concepts and themes and new ways of handling the present missions on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the current knowledge of mankind. This self-renovation process demands that each cadre and party member "bravely reject his conservative and backward parts and free himself for a simplistic viewpoint of socialism" (13) in order to become a communist with new thinking.

The road to renovation is not easy. However, once the problem has become an urgent and objective demand of the practical requirements, sooner or later renovation will be achieved.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Truong Chinh: Speech given at Conference of Cadres To Study Draft Political Report for Presentation at Sixth Party Congress (7 October 1986).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. + We translate from "Peretroika," to reorganize or reshuffle. The first meaning of this term is to reconstruct or redo.
4. M. X. Gorbachev: Speech given at a Cadre Conference in the Khivarovco Region, NHAN DAN, 24 Aug 86.
5. Truong Chinh: loc. cit.
6. V. I. Lenin: "Complete Collection," Vol 44, Tien Bo Publishers, 1980, p 398.
7. Truong Chinh: loc. cit.
8. Truong Chinh: "Strengthening Socialist Production Relations, Striving To Develop Production Forces, Building a Strong and Prosperous Capital," NHAN DAN, 20 Oct 86.
9. K. Marx - F. Engels: "Collected Works," Vol 4, Su That Publishers, 1983, p 480.
10. V. I. Lenin: op. cit., Vol 33, p 114.
11. V. I. Andropov: "The Theory of Karl Marx and a Number of Problems in Building Socialism in the Soviet Union," Su That Publishers, 1983, p 14.
12. Truong Chinh: op. cit.
13. Truong Chinh: op. cit.

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## ON-THE-JOB POLITICAL STUDY CLASSES EXPLAINED

Hanoi GIAO DUC LY LUAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 86 pp 5-10

[Article by Le Hung Tam: "Some Problems in On-the-Job Study of Political Theory of Cadres and Party Members at the Present Time"]

[Text] Since the promulgation of Decision 30 QD/TW of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee concerning on-the-job political theory education for cadres and party members, clear changes have occurred in on-the-job study with development both in quantity and quality. Nearly all provinces and cities have begun basic theory classes, from 15,000 to 20,000 cadres participate in study of the basic theory curriculum annually, and about 100,000 cadres and party members are studying elementary and equivalent curricula. The study of party line and policy through political activity sessions on the important resolutions and directives of the party has been fairly regularly organized for the majority of party members and cadres at the basic level. The political study movement in the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and trade union has attracted over a million young union members.

Although the levels of study differ, they generally contribute in raising the level of understanding of the cadres and party members on Marxist-Leninist theory and the viewpoint and line of the party, from that additionally bolstering their world conception and scientific methodology, and creating a basis for them to thoroughly understand and more conscientiously achieve the policies of the party and state. Although the quality of study must still be discussed, many party committee echelons have affirmed that with the complex changes in the present socioeconomic situation, the many difficulties in life, and the anxieties in social thought, the education of core cadres in political theory by fundamental and specific topic programs has contributed toward the stabilization of cadre ideology, assisted cadres in a proper and constructive viewpoint concerning the urgent problems at the present time, and more importantly, it has assisted in accelerating the rate of cadre elementary and advanced training. Therefore, party committee echelons in a number of locations have encouraged the opening of many new classes: Vinh Phu, Ha Bac, Ho Chi Minh City, Quang Nam-Da Nang, Phu Khanh, Ha Nam Ninh, Lai Chau, etc., but due to a lack of supervisory cadres and teachers, additional basic theory classes have not been possible.

Regarding the organization aspect, since promulgation of Decision 30 QD/TW of the Secretariat, many provinces have established on-the-job schools. The entire country presently has 18 provinces and cities with on-the-job schools and in the other provinces, classes are the responsibility of the Training Section or the party school. Most of these schools have been organized in the spirit of guidance from the Organization Department of the Central Committee (Directive 32). Many schools are operating in a strong and animated manner. The Ho Chi Minh City on-the-job school has 19 classes with many different types of curricula for more than 5,000 participating cadres, including 1,000 studying in basic theory classes directly begun by the school, and 2,690 cadres participating in short-term classes on economic management (of from 5 to 10 days). In Ha Bac, the on-the-job school holds 14 classes for 1,250 cadres, including 405 in provincial agencies and nearly 800 district and basic unit cadres. In Phu Khanh during the last part of 1985 and beginning of 1986, 7,000 provincial to basic level cadres were studying different curricula. In Thai Binh, more than 80 percent of the village cadres have completed their education in the elementary curriculum, and the on-the-job school alone has held up to 16 classes for nearly 2,000 provincial to basic level cadres; the lectures are usually attended by 89 percent of the students and 84 percent participate in team discussions. Worthy of attention is Lai Chau Province in the distant frontier highlands where although the on-the-job school has few cadres, it held five basic theory classes during the 2-year period of 1984 and 1985 for 151 students, 90 percent of whom were present in the class sessions, a figure that few lowland provinces have achieved.

Features in the situation above prove that Decision 30 WD/TW of the Secretariat is totally correct and is able to answer the requirement for raising the standards of most cadres and party members. Experience during the past several years has shown that under the present conditions, the on-the-job study form is appropriate and attracts large numbers of cadres to the theoretical and political activities of the party. Many cadres prefer on-the-job study to the centralized kind, and even many who have attended centralized schools earnestly request on-the-job study. This problem presents the requirement that if the movement of on-the-job study is not promptly developed, a fairly large number of cadres will be unable to study. In reality, on-the-job study in many places has become a movement among the cadres, party members and youth union members. In Can Tho, during the same period, thousands of cadres and youth union members were participating in political study classes, a beneficial political activity of advanced individuals in society. In Nghe Tinh, at the 1 May State Farm Complex and Song Hieu State Forest of Nghia Dan District, only one cadre attended a centralized school during a period of 20 years but when on-the-job classes were begun, up to 80 core cadres were able to acquire political study, and this number developed a positive effect in work. According to figures of the Organization Committee of the Nghe Tinh Provincial Party Committee, during the past few years, the number of core cadres with elementary and advanced training has reached three-fourths (77.3 percent) through study in on-the-job classes. In Lai Chau during the 2 years of 1984 and 1985, there were five classes on theory, attracting 151 cadres during the same period in which only 30 were participating in centralized training classes. From this reality, a number of provincial and municipal party committee echelons have decisively affirmed the necessity for developing the on-the-job study form and for

building, maintaining and strengthening the apparatus responsible for on-the-job schools because it is a tool assisting the party committee echelon to properly supervise this important field. Cuu Long Province recently established an on-the-job school; Vinh Phu and Thanh Hoa have increased the number of teachers for on-the-job schools; and Ha Nam Ninh Province is also preparing to establish an on-the-job school.

Another reason leading to development of the on-the-job study movement is that the on-the-job educational system has had a number of improvements made in curriculum, teaching methods and study management so progress has been made in the quality of teaching and study. The study results themselves are a decisive factor in development of the on-the-job study movement. The problem of study quality is still one requiring continuing efforts to better resolve because, besides the subjective conditions in teaching and self-study, it is also dependent upon objective conditions such as textbooks, reference materials, teaching aids, the conditions of student daily activity, etc.

Along with the good changes, in comparing on-the-job study for the cadres and party members with the spirit of Decision 30 QD/TW of the Secretariat, there are still deficiencies, great difficulties and problems that need resolving. Renovation of the study curriculum and textbooks is slow, study and reference materials are lacking, and the material facilities and teaching aids are extremely impoverished and wanting. In many places, there is a great shortage of instructors and their quality is also limited. This is a great difficulty. At the present time, 20 provinces and cities have still not been able to establish on-the-job schools or to begin even a few classes, again primarily due to the shortage of school instructors and management cadres. The policy system for instructors and students also still has many outmoded points and fails to motivate or encourage on-the-job study.

The problems above must be gradually studied and strictly examined to find rational solutions consistent with the actual situation.

Of the existing unresolved problems, one outstanding problem at the present time that requires a viewpoint in keeping with the spirit of Decisions 15 QD/TW and 30 QD/TW of the Secretariat, is the problem of organizing the apparatus and tools to ensure achievement of the party position regarding on-the-job political theory education. Recently, in the task of rearranging the organization and simplifying the apparatus, some localities merged the on-the-job political theory school with the party school. This action gave a number of other localities the idea of merging the two schools.

This idea has reason because local areas lack instructors and material facilities and it is also aimed at the good intention of creating conditions for centralized and on-the-job classes to attain greater quality. However, this position is unrealistic and inconsistent with Decisions 15 QD/TW and 30 QD/TW of the Secretariat. Our party has two school systems: the party school system and the on-the-job political theory school system. In substance, the on-the-job political theory school is an on-the-job party school. A number of documents of the party such as the Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress also called it an on-the-job party school, but to clarify the activity theme and study objective, Decision 30 called it an on-the-job political theory

school. The two systems have a common goal of teaching Marxist-Leninist theory, line and policy and the knowledge necessary for cadres and party members. However, because the mission and objective of the two systems are clearly different, the activity theme and organization tools also differ, consistent with their own function.

Following tradition and Decision 15 QD/TW of the Secretariat on party school work, the party school system has a mission of providing elementary and advanced training for key leadership cadres of party committee, administrative and mass organization echelons. Those enrolled are key leadership cadres in office and nearby who have been chosen in accordance with projections for elementary training. Thus, the objective of the party school is extremely concise so the school can concentrate efforts on satisfactorily fulfilling the mission of providing elementary and advanced training, always a job requiring extremely diligent work.

According to Decision 30 QD/TW of the Secretariat, the goal of on-the-job political theory education is to "provide advanced training to a majority of cadres and party members on Marxism-Leninism, and the lines and policies of our party and state with the purpose of equipping them with a world conception, scientific methodology and a communist philosophy of life, and to improve the practical operational abilities of the cadre and party member." The objective of the political theory education system is extremely broad; besides those turned out by the centralized party school system, the number of cadres and party members is still extremely large (comprising all cadres who are not yet party members), and all are the universal training objective of the on-the-job political theory education system.

Thus, the difference between these two education systems is in their objective, mission and especially their study participants; consequently, the educational curriculum theme and school organization structure are also different. Some people erroneously believe that the difference between the two systems is in the form of holding either a centralized or an on-the-job class. Actually, whether the form is centralized or on-the-job is only the popular form of activity of each system; the party school system also has classes that must be held in the on-the-job form and conversely, the on-the-job political theory school also has a number of classes conducted in the centralized form.

The on-the-job political theory education system has a function of providing universal education for a majority of cadres and party members and therefore must hold many types of classes for many different recipients with different curricula and by varied forms consistent with the conditions of the student in simultaneously working and studying. This fact illustrates the need for an independent organizational tool and long lasting facilities. The form of this organizational tool, as pointed out by Decision 30 QD/TW, is the on-the-job political theory school system.

We have had experience in merging the party and on-the-job schools since about 1980 and by 1982, seven provinces had carried out such a merger. This action is also beneficial in the aspect of using professional instructor ranks, but also leads to a situation in which the party school is forced to pursue on-

the-job classes. Because the participants in on-the-job study are many, enrollment is favorable but while the elementary and advanced training of key leadership cadres is the primary mission and extremely important to accomplish, on-the-job classes do not answer the study requirements of these cadres and party members. Thanh Hoa is a province that merged two schools into one party school with a force of instructors of nearly 50 but despite many efforts in holding classes, it could not meet the demands for holding them in both systems, the classes were not concentrated on the primary participants, the teaching curriculum in a number of classes did not correspond to the educational objective or the study participants and the schools therefore had to be separated. Merger makes it easier and dissolving an agency is also simple but restoring it is extremely complex and much time and effort is expended, first of all in building the supervisory cadre and instructor ranks and acquiring material facilities and equipment. Thanh Hoa had to prepare for years before reestablishing the on-the-job school, and when it was reestablished, the perfection was also not simple. An important fact is that after reestablishing the on-the-job school, not only was organization of on-the-job study for the cadres better oriented and developed in both quantity and quality but the provincial party school also operated more precisely in keeping with its participants, research in key cadre models in a number of basic rural units was better and consequently the quality of elementary cadre training was improved. In the final analysis, merger of the two schools was due to an incorrect perception on the objective, participants and activity theme of the two party education systems.

Primarily based on the practical experience of the past many years, the Secretariat issued Decision 15 on party school work and Decision 30 on on-the-job political theory education work. The Secretariat decision, after clearly stating the objective, participants and study curriculum of the on-the-job education system, emphasized that regarding organization, it was necessary to "continually build and perfect on-the-job political theory schools...provinces and cities that still do not have schools must hold on-the-job classes and prepare conditions for establishing a school." This position was new and to this time still has a realistic value and legal basis and must be strictly implemented.

The Department of Propaganda and Training of the Central Committee directed that in implementing Decision 30, any location with a school would have its provincial party committee assisted by the Department in beginning a class and joining to organize assistance in preparing to establish a school. This has a practical basis because on-the-job study supervision must be constant, closely connected with the regular work of the local area and closely connected with the practical movement. The holding of on-the-job classes to provide advanced political theory to cadres and party members is to support the political mission and in substance is dissemination of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the ideological line and viewpoint of the party to cadres, party members and the masses by displaying and explaining the concepts, laws and viewpoints by a programmed system to different levels of participants. Therefore, it is an important part of ideological work and must influence the necessary participants first. Thus, the Provincial Propaganda and Training Committee is the most rational agency with the necessary conditions for assisting party committee echelons to begin on-the-job classes and to prepare

for establishing schools. After the school is established, although an independent agency and subordinate to the party committee echelon, its activities must be closely connected with the overall projections and plans on advanced training for cadres and party members. Consequently, the Propaganda and Training Committee is responsible for firmly coordinating, following and assisting school operations. Many provinces, especially those in the south, have done this so the on-the-job study movement has a lasting and firmly developed foundation.

Presently in a number of localities, responsibility for conducting on-the-job classes has been assigned to the party school and therefore the party school, while forced to conduct elementary and advanced training classes for the key leadership cadres at the basis level, only a number of on-the-job classes have been held following the "requisition" of a number of district and provincial agencies. Consequently, the study movement has been limited, is not precisely of a universal nature, and in some locations does not follow a common projection or plan. Hopefully this is only a temporary situation. Naturally, while the Propaganda and Training Committee assists the party committee echelon in supervising the on-the-job study movement, of great importance is the need to formulate a common projection and plan, to organize a network of concurrent instructors, and to create every condition for the on-the-job study movement to develop precisely in keeping with its function and nature. If a number of classes are short of supervisory cadres, it is possible to have the party school take full responsibility for teaching and managing a number of classes in keeping with the curriculum of the on-the-job education system.

In analyzing the problems above, we only wish to further clarify the position, objective, participants, theme and activity nature of on-the-job political theory education for a majority of the cadres and party members. This suggests a clear separation of this system from the party school system. Due to those characteristics demanding that on-the-job education be projected and planned and have its own separate organizational tool to ensure effective activity, that tool is the on-the-job school system. We must thoroughly understand and properly implement Decisions 15 and 30 of the Secretariat, and not make hasty changes. The merger of party and on-the-job schools is irrational and inconsistent with these two important decisions of the Secretariat. With the experience of the past several years, there is a basis for worry that merger of the two schools will lead to consequences in which the universal education movement of Marxist-Leninist theory, and the line and viewpoint of the party regarding a great many cadres and party members will be limited, and the elementary and advanced training of key leadership cadres at the basic level will be adversely affected.

To a party in power with responsibility for leading all society in transforming the old society, building socialism and protecting the fatherland, the education and advanced training of Marxist-Leninist theory and the ideological line and viewpoint of the party to increase the knowledge and conscientious activity of all party members, cadres and people in the proletarian dictatorship system from the central to the basic level is extremely important to the revolutionary undertaking. The Resolution of the Fourth Congress emphasized the need for "improving methods of education, strengthening the centralized party school system and expanding the on-the-job

party school system. Strengthen the material base and the necessary means for teaching party theory and politics." The Fifth Congress stated the need for improving and expanding on-the-job study. At the present time in preparation for the Sixth Congress, our party is still emphasizing by many forms suitable for every type of participant the active expansion of on-the-job theoretical and political education, giving advanced training in the line and policy of the party, and providing a world conception, scientific methodology and communist philosophy of life to millions of cadres and party members now working in all sectors, local areas and basic units.

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## HO CHI MINH CITY ENCOURAGES MORE FREEDOM FOR PRODUCERS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 30 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Nguyen Thai Bao: "Whoever Holds the Noose in His Hand Must Release It"; excerpt from a speech by Nguyen Thai Bao on behalf of the municipal industrial delegation]

[Text] Editorial note: On the list of representatives to deliver statements at the Fourth Municipal Party Organization Congress was Nguyen Thai Bao of the industrial delegation. For lack of time, this statement was not read at the conference but instead was delivered to the presiding officers to include in the documents consolidating the views of the congress. We would like to publish the statement to present to our readers.

Production units are the shackled object of the bureaucratic centralism mechanism, so those who work in our industrial economy have many reasons to be pleased about the economic viewpoints just expressed by the Political Bureau, as embodied in the speeches of Truong Chinh.

We also believe that these conclusions do not stop at conferences. As Truong Chinh stated, the Political Bureau arrived at the new viewpoints from one of the foundations--analysis and acceptance of the views and recommendations of those in the production installation.

We should also pay attention to those decisions which were conceived along with the democratization campaign, meaning that the work of the party and state later on will have to be conducted under the more and more highly effective control of the people, civilian organizations, revolutionary mass groups, etc.

I truly believe this, never having a subjective, simple thought about the process of change. I believe this even though there is evidence that Resolution No 8 was not carried out correctly, and even though the Political Bureau issued the draft of Resolution No 306 the ministries submitted to the Council of Ministers for enactment nine decisions, the content of which seems to have changed and unfettered production. Yet our producers think many points therein have again tied up the Central Committee's Resolution No 306. And our managers, who have a bad reputation, have been given the freedom to produce and conduct business yet continue to be busy and cannot work. This is because production is the combination of many factors, newly unfettered by the resolutions of the Central Committee. Instead of various aspects of consolidated

operations to support production (e.g., setting economic and technical norms and salaries, raising money and capital, assigning and approving plans, distributing profits, setting the exchange rate, determining prices, distributing and managing materiel, etc.), we must quickly systematize according to the changed direction so that the producer is at ease and in sympathy with the decisions of the ministries, i.e., conscientiously and strictly carries out the Central Committee's decisions on change.

I would like to cite several pieces of evidence: weaver Hong Gam made 22 million meters of cloth during the first 9 months of the year, but he did it all by himself. To survive, he had to change.

Of the 22 million meters of cloth, 4 million meters were processed for the provinces, 7 million meters were for buying and selling raw materials for products, and 7 million meters were processed for the city's sectors. Obviously, Hong Gam is skillful and acquired raw materials for weaving from administrative organizations which have no production function. But certainly everyone asks the question of which organization has allotted material to provinces with no weaving sectors, to organizations which have no economic functions, etc. Thus, combined economic organizations continue to think and act according to the old style, throwing raw materials everywhere so that the producer who acts according to the new style runs all over the place to succeed and to formulate production plans from many sources.

#### Making Hats and Leather Shoes for the Soviet Union

Based on its capabilities, the city will produce 55 million items by 1990. After the state-level treaty, the Vietnam enterprise and the Soviet enterprise were to conduct direct i.e., effective, relations with each other, and responsibility was clear as well. However, the inertia of bureaucratic centralism stayed intact. Ministries resolutely stepped forward to serve as intermediaries, control the raw materials, and set the price for the contract. Because three cities recommended it, the Council of Ministers recently put the Ministry of Foreign Trade in charge of the center. Continuing to downgrade the ministerial level to intermediary functions which eat into price differences, ministries are no longer ministries and enterprises dependent on the intermediary are no longer enterprises, that is, they are deprived of the right to conduct business and incapable of expanded reproduction.

So stating, there no doubt will be some who feel I overstate the case. But I myself have worked with an intermediary organization, with a ministry which demanded the right to use foreign currency based on a 50:50 ratio while a 30:70 ratio was already being extracted.

I think we ought not to regret the time spent on this matter because this is the special feature of the contractual relationship at present. It is closely related to the work and standard of living of tens of thousands of workers and manual laborers in our city, and it flagrantly violates the principle of distribution according to labor.

Thus, both types of investment in and out, create pressures without precaution, and the "black box" continues to be flattened by the director, authority from the central government. And where does accountability lie?

All these incidents occurred after Resolution No 8 and (draft) Resolution No 306 and, do you suppose they could be repeated after putting the economic viewpoints newly concluded by the Political Bureau into effect?

This is said to indicate that change is not simple, and that demands about the question of a man having to be connected to the Political Bureau are legitimate. The entire country has discussed human affairs, and discussion along that line is healthy, I feel. Naturally, simply sitting around discussing and waiting for a change in human affairs is not right. There must be action, justification, persuasion, demands, and, of course, punishments. The report from the municipal party committee, when mentioning changing economic thinking, records the following: the director, party secretary, communist youth union secretary, trade union secretary, etc.

This is the story of survival; these functionaries must thoroughly understand the thinking about change. Life will teach them that there is only one road to the new and to the status of a unit which knows how to produce and conduct a profitable business. Otherwise, go down temporarily to the cooperative level; the mystery will disappear.

When the new mechanism was established, those responsible in the ministry who were scattered throughout the organization recognized their fate very clearly; they took action without needing any advice.

Thus, localities should recall the outset with the demands to curb the trend toward change and the directorships of enterprises, with the combined economic sectors, men, and units which up until now continue to cling to old decisions in order to tie up production. They hold the factors of production in their hands: capital, materials, prices, even the market itself. Yet they never take any responsibility for the successes or failures of the producer.

Whoever is wrong must be corrected.

Whoever holds the noose in his hand must release it.

The producer looks for every way to get loose once the rope is cut. The person who has been tied up is very fond of freedom. So when the production force is freed, it will rise up suddenly and adhere to the rules and regulations with all of its potential and strength and its thirst for effectiveness.

#### Small Industry and Handicrafts and the Manual Laborer

We must develop a social psychology which offers the guidance that the labor viewpoint is glorious. The value of man is closely connected to the fruits of his labor, which are contributed to society and to his own sustenance. Thus, the individual laborer and the collective are good if they fulfill their civic labor obligation. Good citizens recognized by society must also be

recognized by the party and union. They have the right to try to understand the union and party and to join the union and party but do not necessarily have to be on the state rolls.

What must be condemned are the disguised unemployment situation in the cumbersome state structure and our ineffectiveness. Let us encourage the superfluous people in state organizations to become laborers who are useful in any economic component, even if we need to pay them necessary subsidies when they become useful laborers.

Having recognized the value of labor, we naturally must recognize a policy of even price distribution. To free production strength, especially the production objective of exports, we must immediately correct the inequity in the relationship among economic components and pay the price for processing at its true value in order to mobilize not only workers with skills but artists as well.

The collective economy itself must create conditions for accumulating new technical investments, following the direction toward the development of modern small industry and sophisticated handicrafts. It must eliminate the notion that small industry means primitive with no need for technical advances and no need for the investment of inventors and scientific-technical cadres adept at importing and exporting and travel.

As for the issue of overseas Vietnamese, we are unified with the municipal party committee, which sees overseas Vietnamese as people of concern to the party's mass work. As for changing the policy on gift goods, I feel the direction is correct. But we must find the basis for guaranteed benefits and suitable procedures.

To have economic benefit for leverage, it is necessary to expand the scope of gift items, excluding explosives and decadent cultural goods. High taxes and noneconomic taxes must be levied on luxury consumer goods and regulate households that import equipment, supplies, and raw materials to support production to the extent that importing supplies and raw materials is more beneficial.

Attached is the form for overseas Vietnamese to buy shares from industrial enterprises hoping to expand. The enterprise steps forward to use the foreign currency to engage in trade and pay interest to the friend or relative of the principal domestic shareholder. Only by doing this can there be enough money to be called capital for industrial production and enough power to buy the large volume of raw materials or new technical equipment. In lieu of this, let each person, with all his money clasped in his arms, go buy several chemicals, machinery, parts, or small machines to bring back. In the economic life of industrial countries, they do not sell raw materials by the kilogram. If they do, it has got to be expensive. In addition to mobilizing the capital of overseas Vietnamese, it is necessary immediately to enact truly attractive investment laws to mobilize capital.

## Industrial Strategy

We have raised this question since the Third Congress, but nothing has been done. Lacking basic investigatory powers and all-encompassing laws, it is very hard to determine the direction for the investment structure and easy to drop into the rainy afternoon sunlight in giving guidance. The trend of contemporary guidance will endure and the superiority of a planned economy will not be developed.

There is also the opinion that there ought to be a municipal-level program like the grain program called the "Program To Restore Municipal Industry and Small Industry and Handicrafts," first of all, to mobilize all existing equipment and track down reserve sources yet to be discovered. The reserve forces of the national defense industry are very abundant, and machinery is sitting on the fence in many places.

Airfields and ports are worth billions in property. They must be marketed. Not using them, as is the case now, is an extreme waste.

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## VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 1 Feb 87 p 6

[Article by Hoang Bich Son, vice minister of foreign affairs, chief of the Overseas Vietnamese Department of the Party Central Committee: "Meeting the Requirements of the Country and Satisfying the Legitimate Aspirations of Our Fellow Countrymen Overseas"]

[Text] Citizens of one country settling in another country is an objective reality of history in the relations among countries. The community of Vietnamese overseas, which first formed nearly 1 century ago, now numbers more than 1 million persons living in more than 40 countries. Years ago, the persons who left wanted to return to their birthplace once the country was at peace. Today, the vast majority of the Vietnamese overseas have settled in host countries on a permanent basis. Following a process marked by many changes, the community of overseas Vietnamese now consists of three types of persons:

--A progressive element consisting of persons who participated in the movements against the wars of aggression and strong supporters of the current cause of building and defending the country.

--The largest element consists of persons whose concern is earning a living. Although they are somewhat removed from the patriotic movement, they still hold deep feelings for their homeland and relatives.

--A very small element consists of reactionaries and thugs who continue to serve as lackeys of the enemies of the nation and who oppose the fatherland. These persons are split by antagonisms and becoming increasingly divided. Once political reactionaries, many groups have become terrorist and extortionist organizations.

The salient characteristic of the community of overseas Vietnamese is that although these persons have had to adopt the way of life of the country in which they reside, they still retain their Vietnamese national identity. A public opinion survey conducted in late 1985 among Vietnamese in the United States, where more than one-half of overseas Vietnamese reside, showed that 92 percent dream about Vietnam when they are asleep, 89 percent are proud of being Vietnamese and 88 percent want to retain their Vietnamese names and not

adopt American names. It can be said that although there is a very small number of reactionaries who oppose the fatherland within the community of overseas Vietnamese, the vast majority of these persons possess national spirit and are increasingly turning their thoughts to the fatherland. Very many of them are ardent patriots. The common aspiration of our fellow countrymen overseas is to be allowed to visit the country of their birth. They consider trips to Vietnam to be journeys to the land of their ancestors. They also consider not being allowed to make such trips to be living in exile. Many elderly persons want to return home so that they will not be buried in a foreign land when they die. If they cannot return to Vietnam while they are still alive, they wish to have their remains sent home after they die. There are even some persons who have written in their will that they want their remains sent home. If this is not possible, they wish to have their ashes spread on the Pacific Ocean so that these ashes are carried toward the offshore waters of Vietnam. These realities prove an observation once made by Uncle Ho: "Each Vietnamese can become a patriot." Consequently, we can consider the community of Vietnamese overseas to be a part of the nation. However, it must be recognized that this part of the nation possesses special characteristics as a result of living for many years in a foreign country and being under the influence of the economy, society and culture of the host country. Therefore, maintaining national identity and preserving the Vietnamese language and traditional Vietnamese customs involve a very arduous struggle. Deserving of concern is the question of how to maintain Vietnamese national identity among young persons, especially those who were born and are growing up in a foreign country.

Although the community of overseas Vietnamese is only as large as the population of an average province in Vietnam, it possesses significant potentials, particularly in the fields of science and technology. According to preliminary calculations, there are now about 300,000 Vietnamese intellectuals living in the capitalist countries. This number is steadily rising as a result of large numbers of young persons graduating from schools. Many of these persons are rather highly qualified in the fields of science and technology and some are world famous scientists. More than a few have many years of experience in leading sectors, are leaders in their fields and occupy important positions within business, production and scientific research organizations. Many of these persons' jobs are directly related to design and production, consequently, they are able to keep abreast of new scientific and technological developments and organize management in the modern industrial style. Many foreigners have observed that although the community of Vietnamese overseas is still young, the rate at which they have moved into and risen to high positions within the fields of science and technology has been quite rapid. If these potentials are developed as best possible, the ability of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals to contribute to the scientific-technical development and the construction of the country will be considerable. Recently, many valuable contributions, although only initial contributions, have been made by overseas Vietnamese intellectuals in the fields of electronics, computer science, public health, biology...

From an economic standpoint, although the community of overseas Vietnamese does not have much capital or many large businesses, it still possesses significant potential. Since 1980, overseas Vietnamese living in the

capitalist countries have annually sent goods and money worth more than 100 million U.S. dollars to relatives at home. In addition, hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars have illegally been sent through organizations which our government cannot control. If correct policies are adopted, mobilizing sources of strong foreign currencies, mobilizing equipment and production materials, as many other countries are now doing, can make a considerable contribution to economic development.

The community of overseas Vietnamese is achieving an increasingly stable life. And, when concern about one's present life subsides, pride in the past grows and feelings for one's birthplace, one's country are awakened in everyone. It is virtually a law that, like sunflowers following the path of the sun, each and every Vietnamese at all places on this planet face the Vietnamese fatherland.

The overseas Vietnamese movement has a 70 year history, dating back to the establishment of the Association of Vietnamese by Uncle Ho in France in 1918. Through this organization, he turned large numbers of the overseas Vietnamese into a force struggling for national interests. He left behind a very valuable legacy of thinking and policies concerning overseas Vietnamese and his style of agitating overseas Vietnamese. Today, the overseas Vietnamese patriotic movement has widely developed in 16 countries. It is a movement that has met many challenges, developed upon our patriotic tradition and contributed to the struggle for national independence and reunification as well as the construction and defense of the country. In the first war of resistance, uniting within their associations of patriotic overseas Vietnamese, our overseas compatriots bravely conducted activities within the very heart of French colonialism in order to coordinate their efforts with the war of resistance being waged at home. Some intellectuals who were among the first persons to study abroad returned home to directly participate in the war of resistance on both the combat and production fronts. Many persons became heroes and high ranking cadres of the state.

In the resistance against the United States, overseas Vietnamese in many capitalist countries, including the United States, launched movements against the U.S. aggressors and the traitorous lackeys, setting a bright example of patriotism and choosing the genuine path as their *raison d'etre*.

Since the day that our country was completely liberated, overseas Vietnamese patriotic movements have assumed new characteristics. In view of our status as victors and with the strong base of support that is our totally independent and free country, these movements occupy a political position that was once impossible to achieve. On the other hand, however, these movements have encountered new difficulties and had to bitterly contend with reactionary lackeys of the imperialists who were driven or fled from our country and regrouped at places in the United States, Australia and so forth. At the same time, these movements have been under the unfavorable impact of our difficult domestic situation. At many places, these movements are clandestine or quasi-public. Despite this, overseas Vietnamese patriotic movements have surmounted challenges, maintained their ranks and are now on a new momentum of growth. The associations of patriotic overseas Vietnamese have been playing the central role in mobilizing overseas Vietnamese to unite with and help one



another to stabilize their lives, face the fatherland and struggle against the hoodlum ringleaders of the former puppet government, puppet army and reactionary political parties. These associations have also been closely coordinating with progressive organizations in host countries in supporting the just cause of our country as well as other just struggles.

The associations of patriotic overseas Vietnamese are steadily expanding their activities in many fields, from politics, to economics, finance, science-technology, culture, education and so forth. These broad and diverse activities are gaining the participation of increasingly large numbers of Vietnamese within the community supporting the fatherland. However, to be worthy of being a patriotic force, the overseas Vietnamese movement must make efforts in many fields and receive active assistance from home.

Facts show that Vietnamese who live far from home are still sons and daughters of the nation of Vietnam and that the community of Vietnamese overseas is a part of the nation of Vietnam. The central force within this community is the overseas Vietnamese patriotic movement. It is on this view that the positions and policies of our party and state concerning overseas Vietnamese are based. However, in the face of the new situation, appropriate positions and policies must be adopted concerning the community of overseas Vietnamese as well as the overseas Vietnamese patriotic movement, positions and policies which reflect the correct evaluation and deep concern of our party and state for those sons and daughters of the nation of Vietnam who live far from the fatherland. The functional agencies of the party and state must promote research for the purpose of revising outmoded positions and policies and promulgating correct positions and policies that are consistent with the objective situation, which meet the requirements of the country and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of our fellow countrymen overseas.

In recent months, large numbers of overseas Vietnamese who support the country have been very interested in the congress of the party. Many associations of patriotic overseas Vietnamese have held congresses of their own to discuss proposals to be forwarded to the congress. Many associations have sent delegations to meet with leaders of the party in order to present their thinking and aspirations concerning the congress. It is the hope of everyone that the congress be a brilliant success and will lead to changes in order to move the country further down the path of socialist construction. We are confident that this will become a reality.

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## HAIPHONG TAKES STEPS TO REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 27 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Minh Son: "Haiphong Provides Jobs"]

[Text] Over the years, urban Haiphong has gradually provided jobs to some 18,000 laborers, 50 to 60 percent of whom now have stable employment. Of course, not all these persons have been given jobs on the staff of state agencies. A large number have taken jobs at cooperatives, production teams and worksites or are working to develop the household economy.

One of the experiences gained by Haiphong in recording these results has been: heightening the spirit of responsibility of the various sectors and levels so that they consider providing jobs to be their responsibility, not just that of the labor sector. The various party committee echelons and levels of administration have joined with the mass organizations in an effort to provide jobs, especially to urban laborers. The municipality has establish employment steering committees on all levels. A new facet in recent years has been that the effort to provide jobs has been closely linked to the process of meeting the socio-economic targets of the locality and gradually redistributing social labor throughout the municipality.

Providing jobs to laborers on the streets is a rather complex issue. At the same time, it is also one of the critical issues we face today. There are thousands of persons who are not regularly employed or who are not working in the right job. The percentage of laborers who hold stable jobs is still low. This situation has a harmful effect upon many aspects of socio-economic management, particularly the management of the market.

The key to providing jobs is to have work that needs to be done. Thus, how much work is available in Haiphong?

To find the answer to this question, the municipal labor sector conducted surveys in the three wards, the six subwards, the five economic management sectors and dozens of basic production and business units. It solicited the opinions of responsible persons concerning this matter, all of whom confirmed, there is no shortage of work. A survey conducted at the Haiphong Rolling Stock Factory showed: the factory generates hundreds of tons of scrap iron, steel and wood each year which can be used to produce consumer goods and hand

implements for farmers, such as knives, hoes, sickles and grass rakes. At the Haiphong Enamelled Iron Works, 20 to 30 tons of scrap materials are generated each year that can be used to make consumer goods. The Vanguard Teenagers Plastics Factory and Glass Works require some 200,000 packages per year. The director of the Foreign Trade Warehousing Corporation requires 1 million meters of bamboo matting and 300,000 gunnysacks each year to line ships and package goods. About 100 laborers are needed to produce these products. Haiphong needs more than 400,000 bamboo baskets for the 5,000 to 6,000 tons of cabbage and tuberous vegetables of various types it exports each year. These products also require a large labor force to do everything from obtaining raw materials to splitting and weaving bamboo, etc.

The directors of the Industrial Service and the Federation of Shoe and Sandal Enterprises report: the municipality signed cooperative agreements with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and a number of other countries to produce ready-made clothing and footwear under contract. Although the municipality has only met one-third of demand, it has put 4,000 to 5,000 laborers to work. In addition, thousands of tons of plastic and 92,000 cubic meters of wood as well as 5,000 tons of paper to make packages are still to be supplied by our friends. If the municipality maintains the current level of product quality, retains the trust of customers and invests in additional plant space and a small amount of equipment, it can provide jobs to tens of thousands of urban laborers. On the other hand, it is possible to organize contract production in the countryside and put tens of thousands of agricultural laborers to work.

It can be said that the sources of work in Haiphong are quite diverse but have not been developed well.

At the same time, it is also apparent that more than a few families do not have a correct understanding of what is involved in creating jobs for their children. We met with and asked the opinions of many persons who have not yet taken jobs: middle school graduates, graduates of a specialized school and some persons who have returned from studying a trade and working overseas. We questioned their parents and other relatives and found their aspiration to be as follows: they want to work and earn an honest income but they wish to work near their family, work within the municipality and be employed by the state. Clearly when their job requirements are such, work cannot be found.

The policy on letting out contract work to laborers is also unfair. Some basic production and business units pay laborers unfairly, do not pay them on time, base their pay on low unit prices and do not base contract prices on the actual wages being paid within the locality. More than a few small industry and handicraft cooperatives and production teams do not make payment for products until 2 or 3 months after they have been delivered. When wage funds are on deposit at the bank, they cannot always be withdrawn whenever desired. Meanwhile, the price index keeps rising with each passing month.

The policy on encouraging the development of production teams and the household economy has not been given appropriate attention. Certain aspects of the tax policy are still unreasonable. This is not to mention the fact

that basic units and individual producers encounter very many problems when complying with the procedures on hiring labor, applying for work or moving from one place to another.

Recently, the 9th Haiphong Municipal People's Council decided to take the following seven urgent and immediate measures with the aim of gradually taking positive steps to provide jobs: first, good propaganda and educational activities will be conducted on a regular basis in order to give everyone, particularly youths who have reached work age, the clear understanding that their right and obligation are to work in order to earn an honest income and stabilize their living conditions. On this basis, the thinking of selecting one's occupation, of being unwilling to work, of going into trade and doing things unlawful will be corrected.

Secondly, the municipality will annually assign socio-economic plan norms and, at the same time, norms on providing jobs to the wards and districts on the basis of balancing the various sources. The wards and districts will then assign norms to the villages and towns. These norms will be considered legally binding. Each locality must tie its socio-economic development plan to the task of providing jobs.

Thirdly, the municipality will guide the various sectors and levels in conducting labor investigations and establishing files to keep track of changes in the urban labor force. The policy of registering for employment and requesting placement in a job will be maintained. On the basis of assessing the sources of labor, these sources will be analyzed in order to formulate plans so that the subwards and villages can take the initiative in providing jobs in a fair and reasonable manner consistent with each laborer. In the recruiting of students and labor to cooperate with foreign countries, in addition to those persons who are given priority under current policies, it is necessary to select outstanding youths who have fulfilled their military obligation or participated in productive labor in the subwards and villages.

Fourthly, occupational training for laborers will be intensified, particularly the training of laborers for the contract production of exports. The work-study form of trade training will be expanded at production units (both state-operated and collective). When expanding their production, basic units must first hire persons skilled in the required trade. The municipality will permit persons skilled in a trade to pool capital and establish teams and groups with foremen and workers or to operate in the household economy.

Fifthly, the municipality will encourage jobs being provided locally at local wage rates with fairness in terms of the rights and obligations between working within and outside the state sector so that laborers enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of manual workers and civil servants and the laborer approaches production with a feeling of assurance. The municipality will rescind all rules and procedures that obstruct producers when being evaluated for a license, in production, when opening an account at the bank and when being dispersed cash.

Sixthly, tax rates will be examined and adjusted so that producers do not suffer losses. Taxes will be waived or reduced on goods produced under contract.

Seventhly, the municipal people's committee will guide the planning, finance and labor sectors in adopting plans for making appropriate investments in the process of providing jobs. In conjunction with mobilizing capital among the people, the municipality will use a portion of its foreign currency to import raw materials and equipment with which to expand production.

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## WRITER NOTES YOUNGER AGE OF SMALL TRADERS, ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

Hanoi DOC LAP in Vietnamese 10 Dec 86 p 6

[Article by Vu Hung: "Hanoi: A Worrisome Phenomenon Among Small Traders"]

[Text] Returning to Hanoi after a long absence, I saw a number of phenomena that made me stop and think. One of these phenomena is that the ranks of small traders is becoming "younger."

Early one morning in Hanoi at a time when we were moving from summer to autumn, everyone was aware of what rare weather this was for our country. That is, there were "many clouds but no rain." On this beautiful day, Kham Thien Street was filled with ready-made clothes. Here and there were state store food and vegetable stalls, a few privately-operated ready-made clothing shops, and a number of coffee and soft drink shops. With no need to display their goods in store windows, the traders had arranged the clothes and a number of other types of goods in rows along the walls in front of the buildings. With a width of about 3 meters, the width of Hanoi's old buildings, there was sufficient space for the goods of the store owner and for the goods of one or two others, who rented space.

I had a chance to walk from the Kham Thien intersection to the Hang Co Station. Along a wall near the railroad track, various types of eye glasses were on display in a wooden case. Nearby were several boxes containing toothpaste, brushes, towels, needles, spools of thread, and so on. In effect, a sundry goods stall was arranged neatly in a basket and knapsack and could be moved easily whenever the police came to chase the traders away. Across the street, there were pullover sweaters, jeans, Adidas shoes, and slippers from Thailand. With 94 platforms selling all these foreign goods amidst a few clothing stalls, everything here was very different from on the other side of the street, where goods were on sale in an orderly manner, just as on both sides of Kham Thien Street. I should also mention another bustling center in Hanoi. This center extends from the Dong Xuan market to Hang Duong, Hang Ngang, and Hang Dao. It was crowded with people buying everything from pocket calculators to electronic watches with seven bells. Each bell signaled one of the days of the week. Also on display were Citizen 12 watches, shining corundum, and hairpins. I stopped looking at the goods and started looking at the merchants. All of them were very young. I saw the same thing at five other city gates. I stopped in front of many of these stalls and stood for a long time in front

of powdered faces and willowy brows, an old image of Hanoi that reminded me of the time that I was a student. It also reminded me of Saigon just after liberation. The only thing missing was the graceful ao dai [Vietnamese dress].

At one store that sold all types of ready-made clothing, the girl who ran the store was only 20 years old. Later on, I learned that her name was Oanh. She showed me a "crocodile" shirt, which was in fashion at one time. Very adeptly, she "handed" me the shirt and assisted me very courteously. But the price she quoted was outrageous. I stopped at many other such shops operated by girls named Thu, Phuong, Yen, Huong, and so on. All of these girls showed the same trait as merchants: observe the face and then set the price.

When I mentioned the "youthfulness" of the small merchants to the people concerned, they smiled and told me not to be startled by this.

Even though the state has issued policies and there is cooperative private commerce, many individual traders are still waiting to see what will happen. Their first reaction was that the price gouging and other tricks of these stores have been controlled. But after policies were implemented on carrying on joint commercial activities, large numbers of cooperative stores went into operation. After that, for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the state side gradually lost the nature of a state, the stores displayed blue and red signs clearly revealing the "shell but not the guts of socialism." The people of Hanoi probably remember the time when next to the meat and bean stalls that sold fixed quantities for ration stamps and coupons, the state stores set up tables of meat and beans on the city sidewalks and sold these items at free prices. People welcomed this, because they always needed more meat than they could buy with their coupons alone. Furthermore, to a certain degree, this form was controlled by the management sector. And this sector was responsible if buyers complained. Thus, a number of private traders used this form. They set up stalls, wrote the prices on small signs, and pretended to be associated with state commerce in order to fool the people.

With the cooperative business policy, they no longer need to borrow "hats and shells" or set up displays to stage a "state operation" play. Today, either intentionally or unintentionally, those called the state side are not adhering to the three factors: goods, cash, prices. And naturally, the actual figures of these three factors cannot be inspected at the end." The time when old women sold goods, threw the money into their boses, and sat about counting their money is past. In the face of the need for greater flexibility and the trading opportunities, the children of these old women have rushed onto the battlefield. Thus, as a reporter told me, not only are today's small traders younger, they are also more cultured. (Just as I was writing this article, I received word that Haiphong has issued an order abolishing joint enterprises.

I went to the Dong Xuan market and purchased a pack of dried fruit for 50 dong. But at the entrance to the market, there was a state-operated stall selling the same thing for only 18 dong. I got into a conversation with the clerk, Miss Nhung. After Nhung completed middle general school, she began

selling goods to help her mother. She did not have the qualifications to go to college. Even though she made a great effort to get in, including trying to bribe people, she failed to get into a college. Nhung was waiting for a chance to study or work abroad. Her objective was to "help my family, my country, and myself." Naturally, Nhung wanted to "go to Germany to make money and the Soviet Union to learn." But she must wait. Nhung has been following her mother for a long time. She has been selling goods ever since Level-III. That day, her mother had gone to a Buddhist ceremony and so Nhung was setting there by herself.

The old ways survive at this market. Perhaps this is the only place you can find betel and areca sold by middle-aged women of little intelligence, some of whom are honest merchants.

While waiting for the streetcar, I chatted with a public security official about the above trading phenomenon. The first thing that he said that: "Oh, it's very complex." According to this man, after the average age of the traders declined, the turnover rate for stores and cash increased greatly. There is much competition. Sometimes the traders help each other in order to deal with the public security forces (don't forget the matter of bribery) and avoid taxes and market management. But there are also times when the engage in a life-and-death struggle.

In talking about the "youthfulness" of these traders, it's impossible not to mention their "followers." Groups have formed naturally along the main roads where it is convenient for customers to purchase goods. Consumer goods, ready-made clothing, and handicrafts are on sale in stores and stalls, on boards, and in baskets. And in the alleys off these main roads or near these main roads, traders have set up stalls to sell noodles, tea, coffee, soya milk, sticky rice, and so on. The furniture shops on To Tich Street are gradually being replaced by noodle and distillation soured rice shops. Hang Chieu Alley has two rows of stalls selling various noodle dishes, steamed rolls, boiled half hatched duck eggs, fried meat rolls, quilled bean curd, and meat dumplings. Nearby are Hang Giay and Ta Hien alleys, where such special items as turtles, roast bird, fried chicken, and fried eel can be found. The busier the main streets become, the busier the alleys become in accord with the saying "if my business is good, your business will be good."

I must also mention those groups that engage in illegal activities. In the process of "maturing" and "specializing," these groups have divided into various subgroups: "informers," "dupers," "speculators," and mediators. The "veteran" speculators have divided into those who operate "standing up" and those who operate "sitting down." "Standing up" refers to those who cluster around the state stores. Based on data, which I have not had a chance to confirm, provided by people responsible for the commercial sector, there are about 600-700 such people operating around the Trang Tien Integrated State Store. At another sundry goods store near the edge of an urban ward, there are fewer such people than at the Trang Tien Integrated State Store and so the



public security forces and local market management officials can remember their faces. Nevertheless, when they are chased, they run across the road into the other war and laugh among themselves.

As for those who operate "sitting down," these are "big ones," who buy and sell in style in living rooms. To write about them fully would require a series of newspaper articles.

All of the people mentioned above are essential "beginning" customers of the shops that I saw. According to one man in charge of the management board of a main market in the city, about half of the goods on sale at the shops of the small merchants were misappropriated from the state. Some of the "followers" are very young, and the great majority are women. The 200 speculators at the Dong Xuan market, who are concentrated mainly at the cloth and bicycle parts stalls, are between the ages of 16 and 30. At the bicycle parts stalls, only four of these are men. At the cloth stalls, only five are men. According to the man in charge of the Hoan Kiem Ward labor sector, before joining the ranks of "followers" and small traders, most of these were women with babies. In society today, it is very difficult for such women to find jobs.

In writing about this phenomenon, I am not trying to blame these people. Smart names such as Oanh, Nhung, Yen, and Phuong, which used to be found only in closed silk rooms or in the roll books of the Hang Cot, Dong Khanh, and Trung Vuong schools for girls are now found in Tu Lun, To Beo, and Moc Dong Co. I think that the agencies responsible should give attention to this unusual phenomenon.

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## SUPPLY PROBLEMS IMPEDE HA NAM NINH'S HANDICRAFT TRADES

Nam Dinh HA NAM NINH in Vietnamese 5 Dec 86 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Implementing the Resolution of the 4th Provincial Party Organization Congress: "Overcoming Difficulties and Advancing Small Industry and the Handicraft Trades to a New Level of Development"]

[Text] Our province's small industry and handicraft sector currently faces very many difficulties. Production has slowed down or declined at a rather large number of specialized cooperatives. With the exception of a small number that are being maintained, practically all of the semi-specialized cooperatives within agriculture are being reduced in size. The private sector is small and its development is being impeded by many forces. The supply situation has worsened. A report issued by the board of directors of the Provincial Federation of Small Industry and Handicraft Cooperatives confirmed: "During the past 9 months, there has not been a sufficient supply of raw materials, fuel, electricity and coal to meet the needs of production at any time or place."

Due to this situation, the production of more than 30 of the 50 primary and important products, such as farm implements, a number of export goods, building materials, bicycle parts, cloth, face towels and so forth, declined during the first 9 months of 1986 compared to the first 9 months of 1985.

This difficult situation has not only had an impact upon production. Deserving of attention is the fact that within the cooperatives of the small industry and handicraft sector, production relations are eroding. Many units have internal problems, cooperative members and cadres have little enthusiasm for their work and this has had an adverse effect upon production.

Resolving the difficulties of the small industry and handicraft sector is not the responsibility of anyone in particular. It is the task of all the various party committee echelons and levels of administration, of the research and management sectors, of contracting and procurement agencies, of material and energy supply units and of small industry and handicraft production units themselves.

Producers need to have a constant supply of work, need to have products and therefore demand that contracting and procurement agencies supply them with

materials on time and in the full amounts agreed to in contracts. Here, resolving difficulties requires eliminating bothersome procedures and no longer requiring basic units to absorb the entire cost of receiving and transporting materials. More than a few persons at the head of the agencies mentioned above do not know about or ignore the acts of extortion committed by subordinate personnel and cadres in the supplying of raw materials, fuel and building supplies and in payment for goods.

The task of resolving the difficulties being encountered in production lies first and mainly with the basic units themselves. Experience has shown that any basic unit which takes the initiative, displays creativity and promptly shifts to a different trade avoids finding itself at an impasse and creates the position from which it can move ahead. Therefore, the management board, most importantly, the cooperative director, must truly become involved in the work being performed, think hard, seek the opinions of the collective and make timely decisions on each job and at each point in time. In the face of difficulties, it is even more necessary for handicraftsmen to display a high sense of responsibility by making contributions, improvements and innovations and proposing ways to overcome difficulties right within their section, shop or unit, thus insuring that productivity, quality and efficiency are achieved. Wavering attitudes and "spending more time on the outside than on the inside" only serve to create more difficulties for one's unit.

At present, at more than a few small industry and handicraft production units, the leadership apparatus is in disorder and the basic organization of the party is thin and weak. Therefore, the various party committee echelons and levels of administration must deeply study the deployment of cadres and strengthen the organization in order to help basic units to rapidly stabilize the situation, change and move ahead.

To stimulate the development of production, it is necessary to look after living conditions at the same time, most importantly the living conditions of handicraftsmen. Each activity conducted in the field of distribution must be conducted in public and be fair, with appropriate attention given to technical workers. Grain must be supplied and wages must be paid on time and in exact accordance with principles and policies. More attention must be given to the social insurance and labor safety policies.

Accelerating the development of the trade sector within agriculture and the household handicraft trades is a long-range strategy that holds large potentials. The various localities must research appropriate forms of organization and management. In the immediate future they must maintain the trade sector units and expand the practice of letting work out on contract to cooperative members to insure that additional products are produced for society and to directly contribute to improving the living conditions of each family.

Small industry and the handicraft trades are the important material production sector of our province. This sector produces the majority of consumer and export goods and must be led and guided by the various party committee echelons and levels of administration. By closely following this leadership and guidance, our province's small industry and handicraft sector will

overcome each difficulty, meet and exceed the quotas of the 1986 plan and make good preparations for the plan for the 1st quarter of 1987.

## RESULTS OF 1986 EXPORT-IMPORT ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Hanoi NGOAI THUONG in Vietnamese 10 Jan 87 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Some Results Achieved Under the 1986 State Plan on Exports-Imports"]

[Text] In 1986, as was the case in other fields, the foreign trade sector implemented the state plan on exports-imports against the background of an unstable socio-economic situation still marked by many difficulties and serious imbalances. This situation posed a considerable obstacle to efforts to complete the task at the planned rate. However, through the steadfast and continuous efforts of all producers and businesses engaged both directly and indirectly in export-import activities from the central to the local and basic levels, we still did well from the standpoint of the monetary value of exports and imports.

Exports increased 13 percent compared to 1985, with exports by the central level increasing 3.5 percent and local exports increasing 35 percent. A number of advances were made in the delivery of goods to the Soviet Union and socialist countries. The exportation of many products that failed to meet the plan during the past several years improved in 1986. Through hard work all general corporations and corporations under the Ministry of Foreign Trade and many units in the other sectors completed their assigned plans, such as General Export-Import Corporations I and II and the minerals, sundries, handicraft and art articles, bamboo and rattan, sea products, coal, agricultural products and other national export-import corporations. The majority of the localities increased their exports and imports in monetary terms compared to 1985 and completed the plan norms assigned by the province or municipality. Among these localities, mention must be made of Ha Nam Ninh, Thai Binh, Haiphong and manh provinces in the South. As a result, the monetary value of local exports exceeded the plan by 23 percent and was 77 million rubles-dollars higher than in 1985.

As regards imports, the total value of goods imported rose 13 percent compared to 1985, with central imports increasing by 7 percent and local imports by 18 percent. Through import activities, we brought into the country many materials and essential goods and promptly supported agricultural, small industry-handicraft and light industrial production and served the everyday needs of the people, thereby helping to overcome and resolve a number of

difficulties being encountered within the country. A large volume of raw materials and supplies was imported to directly and effectively support the production of export goods or stimulate the production of exports as part of cooperative programs with the fraternal socialist countries, thereby creating new capabilities for implementing the plan in subsequent years.

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## HAIPHONG INCREASES CABBAGE EXPORTS TO SOVIET FAR EAST

Hanoi NGOAI THUONG in Vietnamese 10 Jan 87 p 1

[Article: "Haiphong Exports 1,700 Tons of Cabbage to the Soviet Far East in the First Phase of Shipments"]

[Text] In December, Haiphong has exported 1,700 tons of cabbage in the first phase of shipments during this year's winter season to the Soviet Far East on three ships arriving in the port of Haiphong to take delivery of agricultural products of Vietnam.

The municipality has worked with the suburban districts to establish schedules for the harvesting of cabbage crops and has made arrangements for transportation and loading at the port to insure that ships receive their cargo on time. An effort is being made to export 7,000 tons of cabbage during this winter-spring season, an increase of 1,700 tons over last year's winter season. In Thuy Nguyen District, 16 cooperatives, 60 percent of the district's agricultural cooperatives, are raising cabbage for exportation. The 150 hectares they planted this season are expected to yield 3,000 tons, 50 percent more than last year. The district has coordinated with the city's foreign trade sector to mobilize the sale of 2,400 tons to the state. In December, the district harvested 700 tons of high quality cabbage for exportation. The Thien Huong, Phu Ninh and Dong Son Cooperatives plan to export from 200 to 400 tons during the season. An Hai District, which leads the municipality with 190 hectares under cultivation, is making many efforts to sell to the state 800 tons of high quality cabbage in December and promptly transport it to the port for loading onto Soviet ships. Five of 15 cooperatives that produce many vegetables for exportation have established ties with associated units to provide them with 100 percent of the packaging they need, thereby making it possible to transport vegetables to Soviet ships on time.

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## EDITORIAL CALLS FOR BETTER CARE OF DRAFT BUFFALO IN HA NAM NINH

Nam Dinh HA NAM NINH in Vietnamese 9 Dec 86 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Implementing the Resolution of the 4th Provincial Party Organization Congress: the Buffalo--a Legacy"]

[Text] Since antiquity and for many years to come, the buffalo has been and will continue to be closely associated with field work. Regardless of how many additional tractors are used each year to prepare the fields of our province, buffalo and cattle will continue to provide 60 to 70 percent of the draft power used each season. This is particularly true in light of the contracts now in use and the fact that cooperative members demand that the collective prepare fields quickly. The yield of crops also depends, to some extent, on how well fields are prepared. This is something that everyone recognizes. In practice, however, the draft buffalo and cattle herds being managed by collectives are declining to an alarming degree. Each year, as many as 4,000 to 5,000 buffalo and head of cattle die and not enough buffalo are being purchased to compensate for this loss. At agricultural cooperatives, although buffalo account for a large percentage of fixed assets, they are not being given attention.

As of 1 October 1986, the total buffalo herd of the province only numbered roughly 61,000 head. Of this number, nearly 52,000 were draft animals, which represents a decline of 10,000 head compared to 1984 and 23,000 head compared to 1978. As multicropping has spread and the coefficient of cropland use has increased, buffalo have had to work even harder. And, as a result, the average draft animal must work 6 to 7 hectares per season at many places. With many buffalo dying, it is easy to understand that more manpower must be used to prepare fields.

At places such as Tay Duong (Truc Phu, Hai Hau), Tien Noi (Duy Tien), Yen Mat (Kim Son), Liem Thuan (Thanh Liem), An Do (Binh Luc) and other places, although their land conditions are the same as elsewhere and although some of these places do not even have pasture for grazing, buffalo are still vigorous and increasing numbers of buffalo are being born. The success of places that operate well is due to appropriate policies and workpoint payments for persons who tend buffalo and specific regulations on when to use buffalo to plow and when to breed buffalo. Many cooperatives have graded their herds and evaluated each animal in order to establish ceilings on the amount of plowing

done as well as the amount of time each animal is used. If an animal lives until it is fully depreciated but is still able to perform work, a bonus should be paid to encourage the herdsman to care for the animal and prolong its life. Persons who raise buffalo for breeding should receive a bonus equal to 40 to 50 percent or higher of the value of a calf at weaning. By applying advances in the use of estrogen to increase and control reproduction by cows, advances which have been successfully applied at many places, it is possible to rapidly increase the size of buffalo herds. Cooperatives must correctly implement the long-standing policies and regulations of the Agriculture Service on setting aside land for use as grassland and setting aside paddy to provide extra feed to buffalo when being used to plow and once they have been bred. Pastures and the places where buffalo and cattle live during the cold, windy winter season must be periodically inspected. As a result of the adoption of new policies on the raising of the species of large livestock, the number of draft buffalo and cattle being raised privately by farmers has steadily increased. At a time when collectives are experiencing a shortage of draft power, appropriate policies should be adopted to encourage persons who have their own buffalo to participate in the preparation of fields. On the other hand, attention must be given to providing veterinary services for buffalo and cattle in the same way that these services are provided for other species of livestock so that fewer buffalo and cattle die.

We are now in the busy plowing season and also the season of dry, cold weather. Full attention must be given to caring for buffalo and cattle. Realizing that the buffalo is the inheritance of the farmer, we must try to bring about a new change in this work to help meet the grain and food product targets set by the 4th Provincial Party Organization Congress.

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