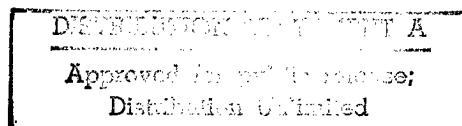


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6 APRIL 1987

## Southeast Asia Report



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6 APRIL 1987

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YOUTH ORDERED TO ADHERE TO NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Vientiane NOUM LAO in Lao 22-28 Oct 86 pp 1, 7

[Feature Article: "Youth Must Correctly Change to the New Mechanism"]

[Excerpt] On entering the year 1986 [as published] the entire party, army, and all the Lao people have carried out three big tasks, to prepare for the Fourth Party Congress of the LPRP, to improve organizations, and to advance into the determined implementation of the new socioeconomic management mechanism. Youth union members are continuing to play their role in actively taking on all types of work throughout the nation.

First of all, the youth union must understand and be able to explain to its members and to the masses the harmful effects of the old mechanism. They must know how to analyze clearly the differences between the old and new mechanisms. The important thing is to have a firm grasp of the "true core" of the new mechanism, which includes training and organizing our youth union.

The old mechanism is not in accord with our national economic expansion. The old management mechanism, or subsidized and feudal management, is now an obstacle to progress in our society. We cannot be silent when we see that those who work little get the same as those who work a lot, or when public property is broken or damaged in the sun and rain or gets jammed into warehouses with no one being held responsible.

The new mechanism is just and suitable for the actual situation. It is scientific, and it is the apex of democratic centralism, which both the government and the masses must carry out together with creativity. Those who work a lot should get a lot, while on the other hand those who work little should get little. When someone makes a mistake they must be disciplined, and any breakage or damage caused by irresponsibility must be paid for.

Because this new mechanism is an important political and economic work, our youth union must heighten its consciousness and become ever alert in dismantling all the destructive schemes of the enemies. Also, we must become a driving force in stamping out undesirable opinions and incorrect phenomena in a timely manner and have a suitable response to their distortions.

In order to be successful in carrying out the new economic management mechanism set by the party and the government, first of all we must determinedly study and firmly and correctly understand the principles of the new mechanism. We must first pay attention to three things.

1. People. We must correctly pay attention to their qualifications, their revolutionary morality, and their social class beliefs. We must also see to it that there is not such a great disparity between their ability and their qualifications.
2. Organization. We must improve our organization so that it is appropriate for the actual situation and in accordance with the work that needs to be done. There must be a clear and detailed separation between administrative work and business work.
3. Plan and Production. There must be correct business calculations. Political and economic benefits and the three benefits must be worked out. Construction must be primarily focused on small and medium-scale construction. We must have a basic criterion of balancing our ability and our wants, and avoid the case where our "eyes are bigger than our stomach," as was done previously.

9884/9738  
CSO: 4206/62



# FEATURE OUTLINES ECONOMIC PRIORITIES, FOREIGN DEPENDENCE

Vientiane NOUM LAO in Lao 22-28 Oct 86 p 2

[Feature Article: "The Primary Direction for Lao Socioeconomic Strategy"]

[Text] Production forces and the relationship between production and its projects comprise the terminal portion of the period of transformation.

Although we have obviously scored achievements in all work areas over the past 10 years, we have not been able to build the basic components we need to change to promoting large-scale socialist industry. In subsequent years we must continue to carry out our duties over the first short-term period in which we must understand firmly the two strategic duties of national defense and socialist construction. These two duties are closely related to and influence each other. Only when there is a strong national defense and public security will economic construction become fruitful. On the other hand, effective economic construction is necessary for national defense and public security. Of these two duties, economic construction is the main and decisive one. Our country's economy is in very bad condition, and it is divided into two cycles.

The first cycle is the natural economy, one that is self-sufficient and has been in existence for many generations, and which is causing hardship and backwardness for our people and especially our farmers. In order to advance along the path to socialism we must first dismantle the natural economic cycle and change it to an economy with a system of producing goods.

The second cycle is the capitalist market. At the present time we still rely mainly on the capitalist market in terms of equipment, spare parts, and raw materials. We buy most of our industrial goods from Thailand, Japan, and other Western countries via Thailand, which makes our country a market for distributing goods from capitalist nations and prevents our production, which still has a low capacity, from expanding. This is especially true for the handicraft and small-industry sector. Therefore, if we do not break out of the encirclement of the capitalist market we will not really be able to construct an independent socialist economy of our own.

We are now capable of breaking out of these two types of encirclements by our own struggle and with the assistance of our fraternal socialist nations.

In order for us to succeed in our first short-term duty we must follow the following primary strategy:

1. To understand the policy for employing agriculture and forestry as a foundation for industrial expansion. Our main duty during this period is to focus strongly on producing improved food crops from 450 to 500 kg per capita on the average, to have an adequate amount of agricultural goods for export, and to have enough agricultural goods as raw materials for light industry and the manufacturing industry in the country. When our production capacity for cultivation is higher, this will help us in reallocating our tasks by taking the labor force from agriculture and use it in expanding handicrafts, industry, and light industry. As a result, industrial planning and animal husbandry have become strategic parts of production and are crucial conditions for converting to socialist industry in the second short-term period.

2. There must absolutely be no more burning of forests, and the slashing and clearing of forests must be strictly limited. The danger for our nation at the present time is the destruction brought about by slashing and burning for widespread highland cultivation. Each year approximately 300,000 hectares are destroyed by hill farming (not including the damage done by forest burning). This means that each year our people burn many millions of cubic meters in exchange for approximately 400,000 tons of rice, causing serious harm to the natural environment and to our standard of living. However, forest slashing and burning are objective criteria for living because the people in this area need rice for consumption, firewood, and wood to build their houses, production tools, and household items.

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FEATURE VIEWS MANAGEMENT ERRORS, ECONOMIC PRIORITIES

Vientiane NOUM LAO in Lao 8-14 Aug, 1-7 Oct 86

[Feature Article: "On the Basic Direction for Lao Socioeconomic Strategy"]

[8-14 Aug 86 p 2]

[Excerpt] 2. Facts concerning production relationships. Following the nation's liberation, our socialist government has taken the nation's primary economic arteries in its own hands. For example, this includes banks, hydro-power plants, large industrial plants, communications and transportation, etc. Also, while the government economic sector has taken shape it is still immature and has not been improved as much as it should.

Collective mastery has primarily taken shape. Five provinces have achieved basic success in converting to agricultural cooperativization, which is a lower-level type of co-op. Other provinces have all promoted agricultural cooperativization and have achieved various degrees of results.

In the past we had not given attention to construction and to the conversion to handicraft co-ops, small industrial co-ops, credit co-ops, or trade co-ops.

In the area of economic management we set up a primary economic management system in order to control the entire national economy, from the center on down to the localities and the economic grassroots. We have implemented the management policy in a unified manner throughout the nation for important work sections such as banks and post offices. We have implemented the monopoly principle for foreign trade. However, a general consideration of our economic management system shows it still is very much a "pencil and paper" administrative style. It has not been resourceful and its efficiency is low. We have begun to build a new economic management mechanism for the purpose of rapidly expanding our national economy, but it is still new and incomplete.

The past policy of distributing products has not yet facilitated the carrying out of "sam" production. With regard to product distribution in general, including production vehicles and household items, the distribution of production vehicles has been carried out primarily via the basic-construction investment policy. In the past there was a small amount of capital for basic

construction, but we have invested in an average manner without focusing on specific work in order to bring such work quickly into production. As a result, the efficiency of investing in basic construction remains low. We have not been able to establish an economic structure that is reasonable and in accordance with the expansion of the national economy.

Our policy on the distribution of household goods is still very much only fair without really encouraging workers with good workmanship and high production. There are still many difficulties in the standard of living for those who depend on their salaries as income. The actual salaries have not yet assured "sam" production and the workers' labor, resulting in various discouraging phenomena.

[1-7 Oct 86 p 2]

As for the construction of a system of socialist production relations, we must understand that not only must a system of socialist ownership be constructed, but a system of socialist economic management must also be built. If we want to establish an effective and suitable economic management system during the period of our country's transformation we must have a firm understanding of the following basic views:

1. We must fully understand that in the transformation period for our country, the economy consists of five parts, and we must know how to promote our latent ability in these five sections in order to expand production and raise the standard of living for the working people. The socialist transformation of the nonsocialist economic sections is the task that has to be done throughout the transformation period. Because the standard for expanding production must focus on socialist transformation, we must know how to make use of all economic forms between and during the transformation periods in carrying out the transformation. We cannot be hasty and use only techniques that will reduce production and that will create problems for the working people's standard of living.

2. During our country's transformation period the economy must have a system for producing goods. Since the day of seizing power, our socialist government has taken hold of our nation's primary economic arteries. We are therefore capable and need to manage the economy systematically. The conversion to a work system has become the central point for our economy's entire management system. It is natural that in the beginning the changes be small, but it will improve and steadily be upgraded.

In general our country still has a natural economy. However, there has been some expansion in the goods-currency relationship in the plains and districts and along the banks of large rivers. Also, the goods production economy has made more progress than the natural economy and the self-reliant economy. Our duty is to expand goods-currency relations instead of exchanging materials for other materials. Therefore socialist trade must be expanded. In the immediate future we must try to expand trade co-ops and other forms of collective trade in order to link districts and rural areas, and exchange

industrial goods for agricultural and forestry products. This will help the government obtain goods and money, and will also strengthen the relationship between workers and farmers. This is why we consider trade as a primary link that must strive firmly to understand the economy and help it to grow. Therefore, in our country's transformation period we must have a systematic way of knowing how to control the production of goods. In other words, we have to know how to apply the goods-currency relationship when we change the system. Our experience and that of fraternal countries tell us that carrying out an economic relations system is an effective means for providing systematic control of goods-currency relations. After having fulfilled its economic obligations, the socialist government will then carry out indirect conversion to the system with respect to co-ops and private families.

3. We should construct the central economy at the same time as we expand the local economy. In the present situation in our country where the economy is still a natural one, there are many problems in communications and transportation. Thus, management levels must be divided up properly among localities so that they can promote their own creativity in using all their latent abilities in small-scale production, gradually making it into large-scale socialist production. However, the central echelons will have to focus on solving the big problems that are of strategic importance for the entire national economy. In order to achieve this we have to follow Lenin's management principle of democratic centralism in our country's actual situation.

4. We must increase international socialist cooperation. Cooperation with and the assistance of socialist countries have become indispensable conditions for the slow expansion of our nation toward socialism without having to go through the expansion phase of capitalism. Thus, we must increase all-round cooperation with fraternal socialist nations, primarily the USSR, and we must increase our special solidarity and all-round relationship with Vietnam and Cambodia so that we can succeed in building socialism on the Indo-chinese peninsula. We will also be happy to expand our relations and economic cooperation with other nations on the basis of mutual respect, independence, and sovereignty and on the basis of mutual benefits. However, if we have neither a comprehensive plan nor actual techniques for international cooperation, we will not be able to progress rapidly.

5. We must pay sufficient attention to benefits for the working people. In fact, whether or not socialist production will be able to expand depends on the efforts put forth by each member of society. The people who work will do their best only when their material and nonmaterial needs are properly met.

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CSO: 4206/62

MAHATHIR OPENS ASEAN ECONOMIC CONGRESS

BK130845 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 13 Mar 87

[Text] Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamad says ASEAN countries must establish a more constructive complementary relationship in order to survive and prosper. This will depend on the willingness of the member states to cooperate beyond individual economic considerations.

Speaking at the opening of the first ASEAN Economic Congress in Kuala Lumpur this morning, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir said in respect of intra-ASEAN trade, preferential trading arrangements should include items that give system and meaning to the concept. Efforts should also be made to increase the grouping's market share in the developed world, especially in the dialogue partner countries. The prime minister pointed out that regional gains will help contribute towards individual national growth. Outlining the world economic scenario, he said, last year alone developing countries made a gift of U.S. \$100,000 million to developed countries. This was due to the low commodity prices and high prices for manufactured products and servicing of debts. The protectionist trend has emerged, and many developing countries are caught by it.

The 10-day congress is organized by the group of 14 set up to determine ASEAN economic cooperation and integration.

/12624

CSO: 4200/418

COMMENTARY VIEWS SURRENDER OF 89 CPM MEMBERS IN THAILAND

BK181455 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0800 GMT 18 Mar 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] The surrender of 89 members of Malayan Communist Party to the authorities in southern Thailand is a significant event for both Malaysia and Thailand. For many years, remnants of the Malayan Communist Party, or MCP, had been holding out in the jungle vastness, although they no longer could claim to have even semblance of support or a following from the people of the Malaysia-Thai border region.

At one time, there was moral support from the Chinese Communist Party, but today, the PRC pursues a different policy and it has no intention of landing its influence to a spent force.

For the Malaysian people, the surrender of the communists did not come as a surprise. During the period 1948 to 1960, officially called The Emergency, the Malayan Communist Party waged war on the then colonial power in Malaysia, the British authorities, and later against the newly independent Federation of Malaya. But the people would not be attracted by the unusual promises of communism. They preferred to throw in their lot with their own elected government and concentrate on the art of peace and commerce. That decision was both sensible as well as profitable. In 1960, The Emergency was declared as having ended in peninsular Malaysia and the hardcore among the communist terrorists withdrew into the jungles along the border with Thailand.

There has all along been a high degree of cooperation between the civilian as well as the military authorities of Malaysia and Thailand to crush the common enemy, namely, communist terrorism and subversion. Doubtless, the victory of the Vietnamese over the Americans in 1975 and the fall of Saigon to the invading Vietcong was a great boost to the morale of the Malayan Communist Party. But the later actions of Vietnam and the invasion of Kampuchea led to more fear rather than admiration for the ways of communism. With the emergence of a new and more pragmatic as well as outward-looking leadership in China, the propaganda of communism began to sound rather outlandish and absurd to the people of Malaysia and Thailand. In Malaysia, the emphasis during the post-independence era, which now has reached its 30th year, has been on sustained economic and social development. Communism has no place in this scheme of things and Malaysians have opted without doubt for property-owning democracy.

Malaysia having had 12 years of anticommunist campaigning, is well acquainted with the overt as well as covert techniques of communism. In fact, police and paramilitary officers from a number of countries value the Malaysian experience in this field and the Malaysian Government has always provided the training in antisubversion methods.

As more communist terrorists surrender and give up the arms supplies, there will be greater internal stability and security in the border region and the money and manpower that is saved can be allocated for other constructive purposes.

Malaysia and Thailand would rather embark on economic ventures than on joint military operations. The ASEAN group is committed to making this region a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality. And as communism disappears, there is every prospect of achieving that objective.

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CSO: 4200/418



## BRIEFS

COMMUNIST RETURNEES FIGURES--The Dewan Rakyat [House of Representatives] has been told that a total of 773 members of the outlawed Communist Party of Malaya, CPM, have surrendered and returned to society since 1961. Deputy Home Affairs Minister Datuk Megat Junid Megat Ayub said not even one of them was reported to have returned to the jungle. Speaking during question time at the Dewan, he said 3,193 communist terrorists were apprehended by the authorities since 1960. Of this number, 3,170 have been released. He disclosed that it is possible some of those released have rejoined the CPM. Datuk Megat Junid said he had hopes that rehabilitation centers [words indistinct]. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 16 Mar 87 BK] /12624

CSO: 4200/418

## FRENCH POLITICAL ACTIONS ANALYZED

Broadway TIMES ON SUNDAY in English 1 Feb 87 p 8

[Article by David Robie]

[Text]

France is determined to hold a referendum on the future of New Caledonia in mid-year in defiance of pressure from the United Nations decolonisation committee. Opponents accuse Paris of pursuing a policy of "rampant colonialism" which is anti-Kanak and threatening to plunge the colony into a bitter struggle.

WHEN French Overseas Territories Minister Bernard Pons arrives in Noumea on Tuesday, he will be feted by most of the *caldoche* settlers of New Caledonia who are opposed to independence. The message he brings is just what they want to hear.

But in the polarised climate that grips the colony now, Pons will be snubbed by the Kanaks seeking independence. They regard him as a foe they cannot negotiate with.

Kanak leaders say France is seeking revenge for last month's UN vote to relist New Caledonia with the decolonisation committee by strangling the economic and political structure set up by the previous socialist French Government.

The French military is also accused of trying to provoke violence in Kanak villages so that Paris can undermine FLNKS credibility by portraying it as a terrorist movement.

"Kanak looks like an occupied country," said Jean-Marie Tjibaou, leader of the FLNKS and President of the Northern Region Government. "The troops are everywhere. It is just like France at the end of World War II."

Pons apparently accepts the view of the anti-independence Republican Congress Party (RPCR) leader, Jacques Lafleur, a millionaire Noumea businessman, who claims pro-independence Kanaks are only a small group of "noisy agitators".

Kanaks are the largest group in New Caledonia, with 62,000 out of a population of 145,000. However, immigration policies have turned the Kanaks into a minority in their own country. There are 54,000 Europeans and most of the 17,000 Tahitians and Wallisians and 5,000 Indonesians, Vietnamese and other ethnic groups support them in their opposition to independence.

French High Commissioner Jean Montpezat has been visiting selected areas in the bush to drum up loyalist support among Kanaks: it looks good on local television when he is shown being greeted by Melanesians waving French flags.

It is also French policy to woo Kanak "moderates" such as the Kanak Socialist Liberation (LKS) party leader Nidoish Naisseline, a Sorbonne-educated high chief from the island of Mare, and the

Federal Party, led by Gabriel Paita, a renegade from the FLNKS.

Pons has also attacked the most potent force of the Kanak independence movement: its control of three out of the four regional governments. His legislation maintains the four regions set up in 1985 but incorporates changes (see panel) which cripple Kanak hopes of economic independence.

"The truth is that France is creating a system of apartheid here. The struggle for our people over the next one or two years is going to be hard," said Tjibaou.

"French rule is based on delusions: it fosters the illusion that there is no problem here yet it turns our country into an armed camp with 6,000 troops. It spreads the illusion that tourists are welcome yet stops them from coming to Kanak areas on the pretext that it isn't 'safe'.

"It has the illusion that there is no reason why it cannot have normal relations with other South Pacific nations yet it refuses visas and expels the Australian Consul."

Earlier this month the budget of the Central Region Government, led by the FLNKS, was refused. Other budgets in the Kanak-run regions have been slashed from about \$35 to \$3 million, ruining any chance of self-reliance.

The Central Co-operation Bank and the Deposit Bank have cut off funds for development schemes and frozen funds for projects already contracted.

The Kanak regions have also been deprived of their human resources. French civil servants who were seconded by the socialist Government to the regional administrations were ordered earlier this month to go back to their State jobs.

In another change which strikes at the heart of the Kanak identity, Paraoui Reybas, a Kanak member of RPCR, has been named as director of the national Kanak Cultural Centre. The FLNKS considers this provocative because he replaces Tjibaou, regarded as the country's leading cultural figure for the past decade.

Although most of RPCR power

lies with whites, a token group of Kanaks is promoted by the party as a figurehead leadership to create the illusion that Kanaks are mainly against independence. Among these is Dick Ukeiwe, President of the Territorial Congress, a toothless parliament which comprises the 43 councilors from the four regions.

The biggest problem for the FLNKS congress this weekend is to sort out its strategy to counter the Pons policies. Tjibaou is likely to push for a campaign which will involve greater support from the UN and the South Pacific Forum.

Although it is expected the congress will adopt a decision to boycott the referendum, many leaders of the FLNKS have been keen to seek a delay in making such a move public to avoid hardening French pressure.

The military camps in New Caledonia are a reminder that a repeat of the 1984 rebellion will not be tolerated. Several options remain open including civil disobedience and a boycott of French institutions which could

cripple the economy and prove that no solution can be found for New Caledonia without Kanak approval.

The planned referendum is not acceptable to the FLNKS unless the franchise is restricted to rule out recent French settlers. Six months residence for anybody aged 18 and over is the usual qualification for voting in a French ballot and Pons has proposed a compromise of three years residence. But to the FLNKS a vote for independence would be impossible on this basis. Its view is that only Kanaks should be eligible for self-determination in their country.

Suggested qualifications include one parent born in New Caledonia, or 25 years residence, which would tilt the ballot clearly for independence.

"We're hurtling along a roller-coaster to disaster," said a *cal-doche* official working with a Kanak regional administration. "Unless Paris stops scuttling the socialist reforms before it is too late, a bloody clash is inevitable."

/9274

CSO: 4200/411

WEEKLY REPORTS, ANALYZES AQUINO'S SENATE CANDIDATES

Eclectic Blend, 'Questionable' Names

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb-4 Mar 87 pp 20, 21

[Article by Rina Jimenez David, Jo-Ann Baena Cruz, Gigi S. Oyog and Lorenzo B. Ziga]

[Text]

**T**HURSDAY night at the Guest House. One by one the senatorial hopefuls ascended the stairs to confer with the President. A glum and gloomy Rene Saguisag, who spent the past month tallying names of possibles, was accompanied by wife Dulce, who presumably was on hand to help persuade the reluctant candidate-to-be.

Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion rushed past waiting reporters to his car, "just to pray," he said. He spent the next two hours ensconced in the vehicle, conferring most of the time over the car phone.

Months of unofficial lobbying, and weeks spent drawing up an unassailable list of 24 "sure winners" were about to come to an end. But even on Friday morning, with the President scheduled to announce the final 24 that afternoon, a few surprises were still waiting to be sprung.

Concepcion, whose name was bruited about early in the game, finally backed out of the race. Saguisag was in. Former Natural Resources Minister Ernesto Maceda

said he was informed of his inclusion in the ticket only that morning, and was 22nd in the list. Intense guessing went on weeks before the President announced her final choices and Malacañang reporters had just about gotten the slate down pat when the final selection showed three "surprise" candidates: General Services Minister Victor Ziga, TUCP head Ernesto Herrera, and Presidential Adviser for Energy Vicente Paterno.

Six political parties and cause-oriented groups supporting the Aquino government submitted their list of probable candidates to the President. Other sectors, particularly big business, also made sure their voices were heard in the selection process. Saguisag took care of recording the nominees' names and tallying those most frequently mentioned. Close advisers to the President, reportedly Executive Joker Arroyo and her brother Jose Cojuangco, then went over the list before the final selection was made by the President.

By Friday, the pre-conferences with some of the nominees were

over. But as late as 12 noon, Malacañang was frantically calling up one of the candidates who had earlier flown to the province.

The slot for the Bicol Region had not been filled and Aquino, mindful of the fact that the region had given her the widest electoral margin twice in a row, decided it should not be left unrepresented. Arroyo declined the draft, while Reorganization Secretary Luis Villafuerte said he was more interested in the Camarines Sur governorship. Ziga, scion of an old political family and a former assemblyman, said he had no funds. Another prominent name in Bicol politics was mentioned but after learning who the nominee was, Joker sent a plane to Legaspi to have Ziga fetched for that afternoon's proclamation.

The selection is an eclectic blend of oldline politicians and mid-level

bureaucrats, businessmen and, human rights lawyers, educators and diplomats, even a Presidential relative. Cory's 24 represent not just a broad selection of sectoral representatives, but also a rainbow of ideological persuasions. While the mix may guarantee voter attraction, it poses a challenge to the four-man committee hammering out a party platform.

The party platform is crucial, for the May 11 polls would elect the first legislature under the 1986 Charter, a Charter that left the future of much of its controversial provisions to the will of the bicameral Congress. Some of these provisions threatened to split the coalition government earlier, on such issues as land reform and other social justice provisions. More importantly, this is the Congress that would decide the fate of the US military bases in the country come 1992.

For starters, said candidate Jovito Salonga who chairs the coordinating committee formulating the platform, the 24 government candidates will run on a platform based on the minimum program of government that was drafted for last year's snap elections and signed by President Aquino and Vice-President Salvador Laurel. Aside from the minimum program, the new Constitution will also be used as a basis for the candidates' platform, Salonga said.

Named co-members with Salonga in the committee were candidates Raul Manglapus, Sotero Laurel and Edgardo Angara. The campaign gets going March 9 in Batangas City to coincide with the birth anniversary of former President Jose B. Laurel. But the committee has yet to think of a slogan for the campaign.

For the campaign, the candidates have been divided into four teams based, among others, on geopolitical divisions. The tentative list of teams is as follows: Team I--Rasul, Osmena, Manglapus, Lina, Romulo and Gonzalez; Team II--Tamano, Herrera, Maceda, Angara, Saguisag and Mercado; Team III--Guingona, Defensor, Alvarez, Tanada, Laurel and Salonga; and Team IV--Pimentel, Ziga, Aquino, Shahani, Paterno and Sanchez.

This early, political observers, including members of the opposition who have yet to announce their own slate, have already gone through the government candidates' names and backgrounds with a fine tooth comb. Already, the selection has been derided as "lightweight," while even those sympathetic to the administration are dismayed by the presence of "questionable" names on the list, including some with previous links to the Marcoses.

Three former Cabinet members: Maceda, Sanchez and Pimentel figure in the administration ticket. The inclusion of Sanchez and Pimentel in the aspirants' list appears to confirm reports that followed in the wake of their removal from the Cabinet that the President removed Sanchez only to appease foreign investors grown wary of Bobbit's pro-labor pronouncements and Pimentel because of the uproar that greeted his OIC appointments.

Maceda on the other hand left the Cabinet under a cloud of doubt. President Aquino herself alluded to the widespread reports of alleged malfeasance in Maceda's Ministry of Natural Resources when she told him in her parting letter "that sometimes what one actually is is far removed from what people perceived you to be."

Sources from the Liberal Party feel that Maceda's inclusion in the Aquino ticket may have not totally met the President's criteria of "Capability, Integrity and Ability to win." These sources feel that the main reason for Maceda's inclusion in the ticket is his close affinity and friendship with the Aquino family.

Another reason that could have clinched the draft for Maceda is that together with old politicians like Mamintal Tamano, Jovito Salonga, John Osmena, and Neptali Gonzales, he brings the political savvy of a tested warhorse to a team that is notable for its novatos.

Edgardo Angara, Heherson Alvarez, and Teofisto Guingona are former members of the Constitutional Convention of 1971. Alvarez is the incumbent Secretary of Agrarian Reform and Guingona, COA Commissioner and head of the GRP Panel in the Peacetalks with the NDF. Angara was appointed by former President Marcos as UP President in 1980.

For Angara, the inclusion came as no surprise. Angara's assistant Sally Zalvidar Perez said the UP President was a personal choice of President Aquino for her senatorial line-up. Angara sources say he had been quietly helping out Aquino in the early days of her administration. At the height of the conflict between the President and the then Defense Chief Juan Ponce Enrile, Angara together with AFP Chief Gen Fidel V. Ramos arranged a meeting between the two to tresh out sticky issues at Angara's Dasmaringas home.

As the campaign gets underway, however, Angara's past association with the former regime may crop up and haunt his bid for the Senate. The opposition has reportedly prepared to show video films of the UP President dancing with the former First Lady in one of her famous parties.

There are those who feel more uncomfortable with his association as Resident Agent of Westinghouse, which built the controversial Philippine Nuclear Power Plant in Bataan.

Heherson Alvarez' reputation, on the other hand, may have been tainted by the Mendiola incident and his televised shouting match with KMP Chairman Jaime Tadeo. Observers believe however, that Alvarez was simply caught in the middle of circumstances beyond his control, particularly the Executive

office which shelved his proposal for a minimum program of agrarian reform which he had submitted as early as April 1986.

The Aquino ticket has the political moderates in strong force. Former MMC Governor Joey Lina is expected to be supported by PDP-Laban and Bandila. Butz Aquino, though a neophyte in the hustings, can count on a network of cause-oriented groups like Bandila, Atom and Manindigan.

Widely believed to be the President's personal choices in the slate are former human rights lawyers Sanchez, Saguisag and Customs Commissioner Wigberto Tanada.

An "odd couple" in the senatorial line-up are Sanchez and Trade Union Congress of the Philippines head Ernesto Herrera, who used to trade accusations while Sanchez was still Labor Minister.

Leticia Ramos Shahani, veteran diplomat and Santanina Rasul, representing the Muslim South, both figured in the lists submitted by the parties. While the senatorial bid is the first attempt for both in electoral politics, both of their families have established niches in local politics.

These politicians, however, may have paid a great price for their inclusion in the Aquino ticket. If the candidates are distinguished for their closeness to the President and the President's family, the closeness points out the fact that during the Martial Law years when the imprisoned Aquino became the symbol of principled resistance against the Marcos regime and any links with his family proved hazardous to any politician, most of the candidates shared Aquino's dissent and for some, his isolation and his exile.

The entire Aquino ticket may in fact be distinguished by the fact that it tells the story of the February Revolution and the ascendancy of the incumbent government. It includes men and women who, while they may have adhered to traditional Philippine politics before Martial Law, found their faith in elitist Philippine politics diminished by the long Martial Law years; those who waged losing human rights battles in the Marcos courts; those who finally found the courage to join the rising clamor of protest against the regime.

As one former political detainee notes, most of the men and women whom Cory chose to advocate her cause in Congress shared her grief during those lost years.

#### KBL Blues

After grudgingly conceding defeat in the Constitutional balloting last February 2, the desertion-plagued Kilusang Bagong Lipunan plans to hit the road once again, seeking to get a hold on both chambers of Congress.

"The KBL is set to form its senatorial and congressional ticket for the May elections," former MP and deputy education minister Salvador Britanico said last week.

A review of the "names submitted for the consideration of the KBL central committee" illustrated the party's dire need for young leaders with unsullied reputations. Their close association with Marcos, who was deposed for his excesses, is widely seen as a stigma that may take a long while to shed.

"But how can we shed our identities so suddenly," former political affairs minister Leonardo Perez asked with a tinge of desperation in his voice.

Logistics is another problem. Most candidates are apprehensive about spending for their campaign unless some outline of victory is perceived.

"If there is a party who will finance my campaign and I can be assured of some kind of support, I will run," former member of parliament Arturo M. Tolentino told Veritas two weeks ago.

Some simply can't afford to gamble anymore. "I would like to run but I don't have money," Perez professed.

The problems of identity and logistics are prompting the once well-oiled KBL to seek refuge in a merger with other opposition parties. Though some of its leaders maintain that the party can still weather political battles alone, not a few believe sharing of resources is, as Britanico described it, "a pragmatic idea."

"We need to form a coalition if we want to survive," Tolentino said.

The KBL, according to the former deputy MECS minister, "hopes" to coalesce with the Nacionalista Party-Rene Cayetano wing, Liberal Party-Eva Kalaw wing, Mindanao Alliance of Homobono Adaza, Pusyon Bisaya, Mindanao Independence Movement, Mindanao-Sulu-Palawan Association, Partido Nacionalista ng Pilipinas of Blas Ople and Social Democratic Party of Francisco Tatad. A formal agreement toward this end had yet to be forged, but "we have been talking," Britanico disclosed. The prospect of a renewed coalition will be the main agenda in a national convention to be held on February 28.

"There are negotiations to revive CODA for actual political action," Perez also revealed. CODA or the Coalition for Democratic Action was launched last January 14 to dramatize the opposition's concerted effort to prevent the draft Constitution's ratification.

Perez, however, is pessimistic that such a merger would be revived.

Furthermore, he said: "If one will compare our record with what these people (who have adopted a holier-than-thou attitude) did during the previous administration, records will show that their acts were more reprehensible. I'm not bitter against these people. After all, politics is a game not played among gentlemen."



Tolentino realized the problem, too. "From what appears in the newspapers, Enrile and Kalaw do not seem anxious to coalesce with us. It's up to the KBL...I'm not giving up hope."

Britanico, on the other hand, tried to hush up the issue: "I really don't think that that is the prevalent attitude in the opposition. There may be some sectors in both camps who are not comfortable with each other. But a majority are pragmatic about the whole thing."

However, as Tolentino pointed out, such practical philosophy is not shared by other opposition figures. It seems that only a few realize that they all need a tonic for their current political blues.--MLYB

#### Aquino Slate To Sweep Polls

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb-4 Mar 87 p 11

["In Vino..." column by Alfred A. Yuson: "Rating Cory's Magic Slate"]

[Text]

ET'S get right down to it. Forecasts are a tricky game. A lot can happen in the next ten weeks before the elections. But as of this writing here's how one cock-eyed seer sees Cory's "Magic 24."

A disclaimer, however. The following ranking does not necessarily mean an order of personal preference. Rather it is born of a smartass urbanite's perception of how election derbies go on a national scale, where often the ring of a name easily takes precedence over the candidate's actual relative merits.

Depending on the opposition line-up, 20 to all 24 of Cory's candidates should make it. A sweep cannot be ruled out, except perhaps if Enrile runs. He is an acknowledged shoo-in. Tolentino, Ople, and Kalaw, possibly Estrada, are the other potential spoilers. Forget the rest of the opposition's dark horses. The light at the end of the race track will be blocked off by the large looming backs of the winners by the time they trail in.

So here's how the ruling coalition's ticket will make it, from first to last. Salonga should top the race. It's an old magic name of national renown, and dearly held synonymous to honesty, integrity and intelligence. Despite some backlash votes against the PCGG's allegedly perceived depredations, Salonga should top the polls. He has a party and the old ward mechanics to back him up.

The second to the sixth slots will be excitingly close. Contesting these will be Guingona, Gonzales, Mercado, Saguisag and Aquino. Here's why. Guingona continues to reap much positive exposure from his role in the peace talks. Gonzales enjoys party mechanism as well as a veteran's pragmatic approach to such contests. Both, like Salonga, are seen as mature, credible public servants.

Mercado is a bright young star with superior vote-getting abilities owing to a populist approach, the gift of downhome gab, and his strong media personality. He should have no trouble proving that his past Quezon City triumph was no fluke. Saguisag is another authentic darkhorse. Like Mercado, he will appeal to the vast majority of young voters all set to throw out the traditional politicians.

Yeah, Saguisag of the *bon mot* and bewitching smile, he's my baby. Though saddled with lack of personal funds, his known closeness to Cory should carry him through. If there's anyone the President will throw her personal support to, it is Saguisag. Currently he enjoys an image of probity, competence, articulateness, honesty, and superior charm. It is said that he has no "provincial" exposure. True, but there are millions of young *provincianos* who will clearly see in Saguisag the future of Philippine politics. In fact, and here's sticking my neck out for my baby. If his-

tory plays its cards right, Saguisag should be in contention for the presidency before the turn of the millenium.

Butz Aquino should figure in the top six or seven slots. His name alone assures him entry. Crowding him will be Manglapus, who will draw in all the sentimental folk above fifty. The intelligentsia will throw in their support for the ex-exile, something necessary to obviate the youth's unfamiliarity with the oratorical prowess of the man who composed "Mambo Magsaysay."

From eighth to tenth we should see three controversial post-EDSA figures battling it out. These are Maceda, Alvarez and Pimentel. Maceda can still stir up the old-fashioned crowds with his old-fashioned bombast. Alvarez can also turn on an audience with his smooth oratory in both English and Tagalog. Pimentel, despite his setbacks from the OIC fiascos, still commands a following who believe in his personal honesty as well as humility.

From eleventh to thirteenth we could have Angara, Shahani and Paterno. Another non-traditional politician, Angara will draw votes from a considerable section of the electorate who believe that we should rely more on intelligent leaders rather than fiery personalities. The so-called women's vote will carry Shahani into the top twelve. Telling the crowds that she's a sister of

Steady Eddie may even assure her a higher ranking. Paterno may get the thirteenth slot, perhaps even a higher one if the cause-oriented groups figure prominently in the campaign.

The same thing may be said of the chances of Sanchez, Herrera, Tanada, Lina and Romulo. All are relatively young and upcoming. If the concerned youth vote delivers as is hoped by an increasingly conscientious citizenry, these pre-EDSA protest stalwarts should slug it out for the fourteenth to eighteenth slots.

Nineteenth and twentieth we reserve for the scions of traditional political big names. Osmeña and Laurel should fill these slots. At the tailend, simply because they have the least national exposure as of the present, will be Tamano, Rasul, Ziga and Defensor. The first two will of course get the Mindanao vote, with Tamano having an added advantage as a familiar name. Ziga enjoys a similar advantage over Defensor, whose luck it is not to have had some prominent forbear figure in any previous elections.

There are chances for a clean sweep, make no mistake about it. If and when Cory takes to the campaign trail with as much dedication as she had for the plebiscite, then it's a goner for the opposition. Unless of course they succeed in drafting Gringo Honasan and Nora Aunor. In which case all bets are off.

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CSO: 4200/415

COLUMNIST, LUIS TARUC ON RURAL ELECTION CONCERNS

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb-4 Mar 87 p 11

["It Was Like This" column by Mario P. Chanco: "The Farmers' Concern"]

[Text] MORE out of desperation, rather than from any affinity to persons or political parties or personalities, the nation's small farmers are preparing for a month-long countdown to "get in life what we have been denied in law."

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The scenario begins March 1, 1987, a Sunday, with a special commemorative event planned for either of three places: the heartlands of the original Hukbalahap movement in a small village of Calumpit, Bulacan; an upland aerie overlooking the Laguna Lake region in Rizal province and a small ceremony in a dusty *accessoria* in Quezon City, home of the country's largest organized farmers' confederation. Simple but equally meaningful affairs are planned for the rest of March by farm organizations representing some nine million small farmers.

They will be joined in small rallies, forums and marches by thousands of people belonging to non-government organizations. There are more than 2,000 such groups all over the Philippines. The biggest among them occupy entire floors of Makati skyscrapers. The smallest are one-man, one-woman groups who operate in distant hamlets, at labor and farm union headquarters, in village assemblies and hospitals nationwide. Identifying their lot with the countryside, these NGOs today constitute a kind of development Third Force in the never-ending struggle to bring the nation's 45,000 barrios into the mainstream of the troubled eighties.

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Better even than the anti-government Left, these workers understand the need

for political reconciliation to take hold before any meaningful change can come over the country.

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The prime topic on the farmers', workers' and NGOs' agendas is how to end what some farm leaders have called the "creeping paralysis" of the agricultural "ceasefire." Their concern takes this urgent political form:

"If the Administration and the political Opposition are sincere in their desire to bring stability and progress throughout the land, they can best demonstrate their purpose by presenting a Coalition ticket in the coming legislative elections."

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Luis Taruc, the graying venerable leader of the Hukbalahap forces that once immobilized an entire army in the late forties and early fifties, declares such a Coalition will not be easy to put together. At the same time, he asks: "What is our alternative for Coalition -- another bloody electoral contest that will further divide the country and delay even more the reco-

very of the nation? "

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In an exclusive interview with *Veritas*, Taruc outlined what he called the initial slowdown and eventual break-up of development efforts in the countryside. He said the decision to field men of proven skills in agricultural administration in both senatorial and congressional contests was proving unsettling to both rural and urban populations. Citing the Department of Agriculture and Food as an example, Taruc said "it is not only the farmers, the NGOs, the foreign aid-giving governments and agencies that are baffled -- even the men and women who set up small programs for the countryside have been demoralized.

"How can we expect them to be motivated in a situation where the ground could suddenly be cut out from under their feet?" Taruc asked.

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"Earthmonth," the name given for the monthlong series of dialogues, rallies and forums affecting the countryside, sees other dangers too in continuing with the

escalating electoral violence in the provinces. Says Raul Montemayor, whose Federation of Free Farmers Cooperatives in Mindanao have been at the forefront of more than 15 years of conflicts with both the military and leftist elements:

"Can we afford another election like the ones we have had? "

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Lending a somber but realistic note to the farmers' concern is their admission of the fact that certain "people on both sides" of the electoral iron curtain have deep-seated personal stakes in not wanting a Coalition to succeed.

"Such people must be exposed," said Benjie Cruz, whose thousands of cooperatives in both rural and urban areas have been fighting for recognition for over a decade. "Their interests cannot prevail over those of the country. We must, we should convince them of the need to prove our desire for reconciliation immediately. Anything less than that will be suicidal."

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Coalition it is, then.

How would the Opposition view such a move? And the administration candidates, who feel they have a lien on the coming elections? Would such a move enrage the militant Left, the cause-oriented groups, all those who prime themselves on their combative records. Would the *people* given the chance -- opt for reconciliation through Coalition -- or through some dim, dusky move that could exacerbate, rather than soothe, the hurt feelings that persist on both sides? Time alone will tell the answer. And time is something precisely that the country does not seem to have.

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CSO: 4200/414

WEEKLY SEES PLEBISCITE AS MANDATE FOR REFORM

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 18 Feb 87 p 1

[Editorial: "The Post-Plebiscite Agenda"]

[Text]

**T**he plebiscite is over, and the Cory constitution has been ratified overwhelmingly in a generally clean, honest and credible electoral exercise.

By voting "yes," the people have voiced out a resounding "no" to fascist restoration. By voting "yes," they have confirmed the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship and the triumph of the EDSA revolution. By voting "yes," they have given a vote of confidence to President Corazon Aquino.

It would be interesting to know just what percentage of the vote was for a "critical yes," but since neither Comelec nor Namfrel can be bothered with nuance and subtle distinction, we will have to go along with the general perception that the results of the plebiscite attest to President Aquino's immense popularity.

That popularity, in itself, may mean nothing in the long run. The judgment of history is not based on popularity contests of transitory value: It is a historical fact that Ramon Magsaysay enjoyed tremendous popularity while Claro M. Recto never could win a presidential election; yet history even now looks more kindly on Recto's uncompromising nationalism than on Magsaysay's unabashed pro-Americanism.

Her popularity, however, could be President Aquino's ticket to greatness. She is generally viewed as a non-traditional politician who came to power without having to wheel and deal and accumulate political debts to traditional power brokers. Her strength comes from people power, and the recently concluded plebiscite gave additional proof of this. It is to people power that she owes a debt of gratitude.

With the massive vote of confidence that people power has now bestowed on her, President Aquino should be able to move with greater confidence and decisiveness against the structures of injustice that remain in place in our semifeudal, neocolonial society. The Cory constitution, or at least its positive features, should be regarded as a mandate to stride boldly into the future. It should not be used as an excuse to return the country to an imagined pre-Marcos pastoral age.

Will the President rise to the challenge? Will people power rise to the challenge?

Or will the great expectations raised by the new charter come tumbling down like an avalanche and bring down greater destruction than was sought to be averted?

ATOM USED TO GENERATE, AUGMENT PRO-AQUINO RALLIES

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 18 Feb 87 pp 6, 7

[Article by Sophie L. Bodegon: "The 'Center' Comes Alive"]

[Text]

**A**fter almost a year, the upper middle-class crowds that had put Corazon Aquino in the presidency are nowhere to be found. Their leaders had gone into government and were busy staving off assaults from coup plotters, the legal left, guerrilla forces and uncooperative foreign creditors. For a long time, the words "parliament of the streets" had been heard in Manila only among militant groups.

With all the work on the ministerial level, the organized center, small as it is, had thinned out.

"The middle is very silent now," admits Carlos Manuel, August Twenty-One Movement (ATOM) secretary-general.

Among all the organizations formed by the "middle forces," only ATOM can claim it is still meeting weekly.

Many of ATOM's members are in the bureaucracy. Of the 15 in its executive committee, 11 are in government, among them Manila International Airport (MIA) general manager Reli German; Jejomar Binay, officer-in-charge of Makati; Butz Aquino, the "official brother-in-law"; and Health Minister Alfredo Bengzon.

The organized rank-and-file are in campaigns to get the draft charter ratified. Others are distracted with elections which have been scheduled for May and August this year.

"In the eyes of the President, when she needs a group to depend on, she looks on ATOM," German told a group of 200 leaders at the regular Wednesday meeting last week.

At Mendiola, Aquino called on her ministers and ATOM members to escort demonstrators close to the Malacañang gates during an indignation rally over the killing of 19 people during an earlier march to demand a limited land reform program.

"It was the old joyful, cheerful spirit against the angry mood," businessman and street parliamentarian Mon Pedrosa recalls that afternoon last week. As in the days of the deposed Marcos government, he had unfurled ATOM's yellow flag to marshal the crowd as it passed through streets emptied of the military. It was one of the original ATOM flags and was thus old and tattered.

The duty of ATOM, he added, "is to put a different spirit to the crisis so as to change it." ATOM was organized in 1983 to protest

the assassination of the President's husband, Benigno Aquino Jr.

Another ATOM founder, German said the move to let marchers get that close to the palace gates "proved that the President was confident enough. It also proved that the other side could be peaceful without the military. The only fear was Marcos."

**M**arcos' hand did show in what is now banded about as a "mutiny" in the military. This time, Aquino sent her soldiers and a small group of civilian negotiators. In various broadcasts, the President urged the people to stay home and to leave the job of resolving the crisis to the military.

With the Channel 7 episode over, the next job was to gather one million people to attend a *miting de avance* (grand rally) for the ratification of the draft Constitution. More than any Aquino-related mass action, this had to be as big as the President's *miting de avance* before the snap elections last year.

Since then, most of the work to institutionalize "people power," a promise she made in March last year, has been done through government channels.

Like the Aquino government, ATOM's immediate objective is to get the draft Charter ratified.

Like Aquino, ATOM sought to cover the Philippines in a caravan to bring the issues closer to the rural areas. ATOM reached as far south as Sorsogon (where, according to participants, they got tense because it was a territory of the New People's Army) and as far north as Baguio (where former defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile was holding a rally for the rejection of the draft.)

"With a Constitution, there will be less justification for a *coup*," Manuel says. "The plotters can no longer say the President is a dictator." He hopes that after the Charter is approved, the Right will get busy with preparations for congressional elections.

ATOM claims that the threats to the Aquino government come from both the Right and the Left.

"Zumel dito, Zumel doon" (Zumel here, Zumel there) says one of ATOM's members, referring to the brothers Zumel, Jose Maria and Antonio, the former a "Marcos loyalist" general who has been implicated in the most recent coup attempt; the latter a member of the National Democratic Front (NDF) negotiating panel which recently broke off talks with government.

Nonetheless, there is much confidence.

"The only way to destabilize government is to get the middle forces against it," Manuel affirms.

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CSO: 4200/414

PARTIDO KORDILYERA CONGRESS, OTHER ACTIVITIES

Baguio City THE GOLD ORE in English 21 Feb 87 pp 1, 2

[Text]

BAGUIO City — "We see the signs of a fascist restoration... The power that rightfully belongs to the people who have been struggling for years to topple the Marcos dictatorship is now being wielded against the very same people who fought against tyranny. People's organizations and legitimate representatives of the mass movement in the Cordillera must consolidate ranks."

This was declared in a statement released by organizers

of "People's Power Week" which will be held from February 21 to 25, 1987.

On this note, cause-oriented groups in Baguio City and the Cordillera are set to join the rest of the nation in celebrating the first anniversary of the February EDSA revolution.

Sponsored by the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA), Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), Cordillera Farmers Coordinating Committee, ORNUS (Organisasyon dagiti Nakurpay ng Umili ti Siyudad) and Partido Cordillera, People's Power Week will start with the holding of a Cordillera Farmers Assembly on February 21.

The assembly, at the UP College Baguio Auditorium is the first region-wide gathering of farmers in the Cordillera. Delegations from the five mountain provinces are expected in the assembly which aims for the assertion of the Igorot farmers' right to ancestral lands and the implementation of a genuine land reform program. Personalities from the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) are expected to grace the

affair.

On February 22, "Partido Cordillera" will hold its launching congress also at the UP CB auditorium. A parade around the city will open the congress, after which opening ceremonies and the congress proper will proceed.

Alan Jasmynes, secretary-general of Partido ng Bayan (PnB), will give the keynote address. Election of party officers, ratification of the party's constitution, approval of the program of action and resolutions will also be done.

From February 23-25, the third Congress of the CPA will be held at the Saint Vincent Gym. Sectoral and provincial representatives will speak on their respective situations and demands.

February 25, "People's Power Day," will feature a multi-sectoral march and rally to mark the day that Ex-President Marcos left the country, bringing an end to the 20-year dictatorship.

The sponsoring organization are enjoining the public to take part in the celebrations.



## BAGUIO WEEKLY ANALYZES LOCAL POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Baguio City THE GOLD ORE in English 21 Feb 87 pp 4, 9

["The Occasional Chair" column by Arthur E. Galace: "Left To Right"]

[Excerpt]

RECENT developments make it necessary for us to reassess the political forces arrayed for and against each other not only nationally but also here in the Cordillera. There is the result of the plebiscite that bestowed constitutional legitimacy on the Aquino government and serves as a gauge to the thinking of our people. There is the breakdown in the GRP-NDF peacetalks which gave the signal for the military to "*Hit, and hit hard!*", in the words of General Ramos. Finally, also as a result of the last plebiscite, we will be having elections again, first for legislative seats, later for local officials.

That last point is what perks the interest of most people. So many seats up for grabs — elections being our national pastime — that as a result we see some repositionings and regroupings.

In this connection, we are happy that the COMELEC has finally approved the registration of the Partido ng Bayan as a legitimate political party. As well it should. The COMELEC has given its nod to so many groups including, would you believe?, an organization called *Saranggola ni Pepe*, and another with the memorable name *Butil ng Mustasa*. Yet they are all a-tremble when they see the likes of known leftists like Bernabe *Kumander Dante* Buscayno — who incidentally campaigned for "yes" during the last plebiscite — and they speak of Trojan horses and ape the repressiveness of the Marcos dispensation. Hurray for a commissioner like Haydee Yorac whose persuasive Holmesian written opinion turned the tide for PnB.

We find that in assessing the political spectrum we have need to resort to convenient labels. There are various shades of Left and Right and, in between, the Center.

Let's start with the *Left*. In this country, the word Left is an emotion-laden term. Such has been our insulation and stagnation during our experience of the 14-year aridity in the Marcos-era political and intellectual desert. The infusion of new ideas in the political mainstream is enough to give culture shock and is equivalent to heresy. At any rate, the Left may be subdivided into how they are generally perceived: hard or soft, radical or moderate. The hard or extreme Left may also be divided into the illegal (by our laws) or legal Left.

When they came out in the open, the spokesmen of the NDF-CPP-NPA turned out to be personable and articulate. Under the NDF umbrella are some 12 groups which have been classified to be UG or underground. Their common aim is the overthrow of the government and replace it with a "democratic coalition government". Armed struggle is the means they would pursue to attain this aim.

Here in the Cordillera, the Cordillera Peoples Democratic Front (CPDF) has come out openly with the same aim. It advocates "*FETADI*", a Bontoc term which either means "Alarm" or "peoples power". Curiously, the CPDF has no army of its own but utilizes the NPA.

The hard Left are sometimes categorized as "natdems" and they also have their legal organizations coming from different sectors. There are also multisectoral groupings. They also advocate a "democratic coalition govern-

ment", which is one wherein the peasants and workers, the majority of our people, will have a say in the running of the country's affairs.

Slightly veering towards the center (or left-of-center) are the "sodems" (social democrats) and the "libdems" (liberal democrats), who follow a more moderate line. BISIG, BANDILA and ATOM claim to be "sodems", while the LP-Salonga wing and the PDP-Laban claim to be "libdems".

Over at the extreme end, the *Right*, the descriptions are similarly emotionally-loaded. They are called "ultra-rightists", "fascists", "reactionaries". These are the diehard KBL loyalists, the Marcosistas, the unreformed military, the conservatives. Their main line of attack is anti-Communism. Because they love democracy so much, they are willing to take over privately owned media facilities and beat yellow-shirted promenaders to death. They advocate a return to dictatorship and are not comfortable with the present regime. Coup-plotters abound among them.

The extreme Left and the extreme Right entered into a strange marriage during the last plebiscite. Both campaigned for "No". Yet many from the Left opted for a "critical yes", believing that a return to constitutionalism was preferable to the revolutionary government, and that the flaws of the 1986 constitution were curable. Some centrists or from the left-of-center were just as eloquently for a "principled no" by reason of those same flaws, which they believed would lead us to disaster.

The results of the plebiscite have overwhelmingly proven that the extremes of both sides do not really have all that clout with the people they claim to have. There is, *pala*, a silent majority, so that there is no need for President Cory Aquino to do a balancing act between the two. All she has to do is to follow her centrist instincts. While the extreme is of both Left and Right are vocal about their demands, the more pressing needs of the hour are poverty and unemployment. Maybe if they are attended to the strident demands will tone down -- whether they come from the Left or the Right.

/9274

CSO: 4200/414

VERITAS WARNS GOVERNMENT ON WEAKENING COMMITMENT

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb-4 Mar 87 p 8

[Editorial: "We Are in Deep Trouble"]

[Text] With the constitutional plebiscite behind us, the public mood has risen to a crest of high expectation. People are waiting for some dramatic move on the part of the Cory government to indicate some kind of breakthrough from the paralyzing bureaucratic inaction and economic stagnation.

As we write this on the eve of the February 25 celebration, we are struck by the almost fevered anticipation for good things, perhaps even great things, to be wrought by a government finally convinced of the need for fundamental social and economic reform and fully mandated by the people to undertake them.

For the first year in office, the new government did manage to survive, relying on the President's good instincts, her feel for the public pulse, even her faith in divine intervention. But now she is called to the rather mundane task of making government run so it can deliver goods and services; so it can realize, through development plans and programs, the promises for peace, justice and progress.

She needs to rouse the government bureaucracy from its seeming lethargy so it can set urgent programs into action.

With the drafting of a number of government officials into the electoral slate, the administration enters into another period of reorganization. There is all the more reason to place a greater premium now on method and management to at least match the preponderance of instinct and inspiration.

People eagerly awaited the government's slate of candidates for the Senate because the selection might indicate the President's plan for the future. The hope was for a team that shared her ideals and would work together for her programs in Congress.

While the ticket has many good men, the coalition strikes us now as lacking in political coherence. There is a broad sectoral and regional representation; but that is no assurance of the party's commitment to a platform of genuine and decisive reform.

This has raised questions about the clarity of the Aquino government's vision for the nation and about its ability to transform this vision into reality.

If the ruling political coalition is not seen to hold a collective vision, then we are thrown back to square one. And the ball is once again in the presidential court.

We are in deep trouble if President Aquino wavers and shirks the prerogatives of her office to use the powers and the influence she holds for the good of the people. The people have given her much, and this time, they will see the failure as an abdication of her personal and presidential responsibility.

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CSO: 4200/414

VERITAS ASSESSES DAMAGE FROM NAFP'S 'INCONSISTENCIES'

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb-4 Mar 87 p 9

[Editorial: "The Truth From the Military"]

[Text]

**W**HY is there concern about the truth of Lupao and the handling of that truth by the military?  
The first military reports claimed that 28 persons were killed in an encounter between the forces of the NPA and the NAFP. Fifteen were alleged rebels, twelve civilians and one soldier. The death of the civilians, it was explained, was caused by the crossfire of battle.

According to media reports, an unidentified military officer gave a different version as to what happened. The press then checked the lead and found the parish priest and other residents testifying that the civilians were massacred and that soldiers were responsible for the killings.

Military officials assured the relatives of the victims that there would be no whitewash in the investigation. But the fact-finding team had insisted that there was no evidence of the massacre and other military officials also suggested that the slain civilians could have been rebels.

Nueva Ecija Governor Emmanuel Santos submitted his own report to the president and confirmed that, as the military reports asserted, the rebels arrived in Lupao and were received by the residents and that there was a clash between soldiers and rebels. But, he clarified, the killing of civilians was done after the clash, and not during the battle.

The inconsistencies prompted President Corazon Aquino to go to Lupao herself and get first hand information from the people. At press-time, there has been no resolution of the differences of the various reports. As far as the public is concerned, there has been no final say about what actually happened after the encounter.

Although the case is not closed, the evidence seems to show that the military has failed to be forthright and has succeeded in alienating the public.

The whole affair now raises the question as to whether Lupao is an isolated case or if such killings of civilians are happening perhaps without higher civilian or military authorities ever knowing about them. It has cast serious doubt on the military's ability to conduct a fair and open investigation of its failed operations.

The episode also suggests that the military "surgical operation" may be easier said than done. The caution to preserve human lives is admirable and edifying and it must continue to be a goal. But such caution does

hinder and hamper military combat operations. The reality of the guerilla war has been brought home by Lupao. There may be no clean way to fight a dirty war. And as the war escalates more non-combatants will be hurt by both the military and the NPA.

Finally there is the apprehension that the lack of skill in handling this controversial issue provides propaganda fodder against the very institution mandated to fight the war. The military was certainly not helped by the incident and the attempt to cover up the truth or to mislead the public, in such cases, has always made things worse.

Unfortunately, no one can correct the damage done except the military itself.

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CSO: 4200/414

VERITAS REPORTS CONFLICTING CLAIMS AGAINST SAMAR NPA

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb 87 p 23

[Article by Xenia P. Tupas: "Samar--Daram's Dilemma"]

[Text]

In mid-December last year, some 30 families on board motorized bancas left the tiny island of Daram in Western Samar for a 12-hour sea journey to Daan Bantayan island in Cebu for an annual pilgrimage to La Virgen de los Remedios.

Almost a month later, two Cebu-based newspapers reported that the Daram residents had fled their island to escape atrocities committed by the New People's Army. Some 200 residents, the reports said, were beheaded for failing to pay taxes to the rebels.

The pilgrims come from Barangay Ubo, one of the 58 barangays of Daram island, somewhere between the western part of Samar and Biliran island, north of Leyte. A relatively peaceful island of about 500 farmers and fishermen, Daram is a sleepy town having no more than a few buildings, among those a public primary school and a police station.

While the rest of the Ubo residents have long since returned to their daily routine of fishing and farming, in Cebu City, the controversial exodus of the "boat people" has sparked a propaganda war between sectors within the military

and the Visayas Citizen's Peace Monitoring Council, a church-based ceasefire monitoring group.

The first report, which came out in the January 11 issue of the Cebu-based *Sun Star Daily*, said that more than 40 families had fled from Samar to escape communist terrorism. The report added that the refugees, who had set up makeshift homes in Aguho, Daan Bantayan island, subsisted on the 'day's catch and needed help from government and private groups.

Daram resident Santos de Paz, 47, married, told the Cebu media that the "refugees" were taxed weekly of P10 per family and terrorized by a certain *Kumander* Teddy. He said the victims were sometimes killed in their presence in broad daylight or at night, then abandoned along the shoreline or hanged for everyone to see.

Paz' statements were subsequently refuted by a seven-man fact-finding mission organized by the VCPMC. The team interviewed the Daram evacuees in Daan Bantayan last January 15 to verify reports on the alleged taxation and beheading of civilian residents. They learned that these "evacuees" left their homes to fish in Daan

Bantayan.

Another feature article on the Daram evacuees appeared in the January 22 issue of the *Freeman*, a Cebu daily. This time Santos de Paz revealed that they left Daram on the pretext of attending the fiesta of Lugon island in Daan Bantayan as a fulfillment of their vows to their patron saint.

Only last week, a separate fact-finding team of the VCPMC and the local Peace Promotion and Monitoring Council in Western Samar, furnished *Veritas* photo-copies of affidavits and sworn statements as well as tape-recorded interviews of Daram residents.

Valentin Alvarez, 67, and barangay captain of Ubo was among those who joined Santos de Paz on a pilgrimage to Sitio Bacjao, Lugon, Daan Bantayan on December 15 to celebrate the feast of La Virgen de los Remedios. In his sworn statement and taped interview Alvarez revealed that the pilgrims left Santos de Paz in Daan Bantayan to go fishing.

Twenty-year old Erlinda Anugat, de Paz' married daughter, also denied the reports of taxation and beheading. Her father, she revealed, is a faith healer, and the 200 residents allegedly beheaded by rebels could have been her father's patients, some of whom were healed while others had died. In the taped interview, Erlinda said in Waray that her father "warned us that after three months, all the residents shall

have been bones when they return from Daan Bantayan."

One of the six soldiers assigned to Daram, C2C Romeo Yringan of the 367th PC Company also denied the allegations: "As far as I know, there are no NPA rebels here and I have not learned of any taxation by them nor have there been rebel-related killings in the island since I arrived November last year."

Cpl. Wilfredo Costa of the Daram police station also said they received no report of such a large-scale killing.

In fact, according to Petronilo Olidan, they recently paid contributions of P100 to Santos de Paz for the fiesta.

More than 80 Daram residents had signed the sworn statement denying Paz' allegations. They said De Paz sold what he claimed were herbal medicine solutions and amulets against untimely deaths and sickness at prices ranging from P50 to P100. They also said he charge patients P500 to P1,000 as medical fees. De Paz was a former member of the Civilian Home Defense Force but was fired by the Daram mayor for undisclosed reasons.

As the Daram issue sparked a furor in Cebu, Bishop Antonio Y. Fortich, chairman of the National Ceasefire Committee, dismissed the talks and reports as "pure nonsense" and said it could have been the handiwork of the "militarists and Marcos loyalist bloc" within the New Armed Forces of the Philippines.



VERITAS SOUNDS CRITICAL NOTES ON AQUINO PRESIDENCY

Lack of Plan Hit

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 6

[Editorial: "Where Do We Go From Here?"]

[Text] The question can be asked in another way. How will Corazon C. Aquino govern for the next five years of her term in office as President of the Philippines?

The signs at this point still do not tell much.

The closest President Cory has come to an articulation of her thrust in government since the plebiscite was the speech at the February 25 celebration when she enumerated three goals of her government: 1) alleviation of mass poverty, 2) job creation, and 3) equitable sharing of the fruits of development. But so far, her government has not come up with a concrete and integrated program for development. It is therefore all the more disturbing for the differences in orientation between civilian and military officials to continue to take place and to break out in hostile exchange of charges and criticism. This exchange has not been imagined by the press.

We beg to disagree with those who think that this is a wonderful sign and a healthy indicator of the restoration of democracy in this country. There is an insurgency out there which gains every single day that the government fails to formulate a comprehensive plan to counter the rebellion. In her press conference last Tuesday, President Cory expressed her hopes for economic recovery and the positive economic indicators. But such economic recovery will necessarily be slow and will not be felt by those who are drawn to join the rebels in the hills. It is felt that the pressures of the insurgency and the Muslim conflict need to be met quickly with a consolidated plan.

President Cory's statements during that press conference expressed her belief in the restoration of democratic processes which will be completed once the elections are held, with Congress convened and local officials placed in office.

On another occasion, she has referred to the guidance that emanates from the Constitution. But the Constitution leaves certain crucial issues to the interpretation of Congress. There is reason for concern that the Aquino government will not assert the political will to bring about changes that will dramatically favor the Filipino masses.

The president has said that she would prefer to defer to the will of Congress and that she will rely on these elected officials to translate development goals through legislation. The desire is understandable. With the trauma of dictatorship so recent in memory, no leader would wish to be seen as usurping powers that do not normally reside in the office of the presidency.

However, the respect for the 1986 Constitution and its restoration of checks and balances between the branches of government, its reduction of the president's emergency powers and its limitation of certain other presidential prerogatives should not cause the Aquino presidency to recede to symbolic governance.

These extraordinary times will continue to demand an extraordinary leadership. The next five years will call for strong executive ability to define priorities in government, to plan executive programs and direct their implementation by the executive departments. She should therefore insist on skillful executive management from her chosen officials. Finally, she should not shy from exerting efforts to persuade and to press Congress for reform legislation.

There is nothing in the new constitution that pre-empts a strong executive branch and an activist presidency. We do not see how this country can be governed at this time without decisive leadership. But first, the leader must know what she wants. And the time for that is now.

#### 'Weaknesses' Highlight 'Inexperience'

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 8

["The Human Factor" column by Melinda Quintos-De Jesus: "Cory's Teflon Presidency"]

[Text]

LAST week, the Tower Commission presented its critical findings on the Iran arms operation. The Commission members are seen as part of the Establishment support of President Reagan. But the report's message is a blunt and straightforward judgment on the failure of Ronald Reagan to "be aware" of the operations in a most sensitive function of the government.

There is a lesson in the situation for all democratic leaders of the world. Even Teflon presidents can get stuck.

President Ronald Reagan has enjoyed immense public popularity for much of his two terms in office. His personal affability seemed to deflect the slings and arrows of public reproach. The American people believed in his sincerity and good will. He restored the confidence of many Americans in

their government and their society. Emerging from a series of national traumas under Nixon and Carter, the American masses needed a president who could make them feel good. And Ronald Reagan did that well.

During my year as a Journalism fellow in the University of Michigan, the Reagan phenomenon was a frequent subject of discussion with American journalists who worked in newspapers all over the United States. Although many were critical enough of Reagan's style of presidency, there was a clear holding back on the part of the press to directly criticize a president who so clearly and dramatically enjoyed the support of the people. The strength of the American presidency was seen as a good thing for the nation that was trying to recover its prestige and image abroad. Policies and programs were scored, but the criticism did not focus on the problems as due to the president's personal failings.

The tenor of analysis and commentary has taken a sharp turn these days. Columnists have been almost brutal in judging Ronald Reagan.

Anthony Lewis writes: "Yet there is no escaping the truth that Mr. Reagan did not act in this affair with the minimum attention required of his office." And George Will refers to the fault in the Reagan management style as a "grave flaw." In sterner ages that spoke of sin, the flaw was considered one of the seven daily sins. It is sloth, nowadays, known as "laziness." Reagan's aides are also seen to have failed in their responsibility to the President.

I think all this mirrors the dilemma of many of Cory's supporters who view the disturbing disarray in her administration, the weaknesses and the failings, the lack of direction and cohesion in the policy formation of the government; but who still feel that for the greater good of the nation, the President must be strengthened with visible public support. People power which saw her through the many crises during her first year in office has served as Cory's Teflon layer.

The press has in turn taken care to shield the president from any direct judgment. And it has been pointed out that certain trusted officials are serving the purpose of shock absorbers who have had to take the brunt of public criticism.

But there is evidence that the press has now begun to take a long and hard look at the government, at the president and the Executive Office, to try and figure out what is holding back the team. In the last two weeks, the heat of criticism has taken aim at chief shock absorber, the "little president," Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo himself.

A point needs to be made, I think, that while Joker may have served the President well as a deflecting instrument, this cannot be done indefinitely. Shock absorbers can only last so long. Also the fact that Joker is Executive Secretary cannot be ignored. As such he is responsible for coordinating and managing bureaucratic process and policy formation. By most accounts, this area of the presidency has verged on disaster. The decision must be made as to whether Joker Arroyo can continue to be all these things without eventually drawing the person of Cory Aquino onto the firing line.

The strengths and virtues of the president have been celebrated by the press adequately. And no one wishes to detract from these. But a balanced view must also take into account her limitations so that her officials can work to brace and buttress the system where it is needed.

There is a sense of time running out. There is an even stronger feeling that the weaknesses in the Executive Office have highlighted the inexperience of the President herself.

How the President deals with this problem will indicate whether the crisis in the Executive Office is not of her own making.

/9317

CSO: 4200/415

MAGAZINE COLUMNIST BELIES AQUINO 'CENTER' ORIENTATION

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 18 Feb 87 pp 44, 45

["Vantage Point" column by Luis V. Teodoro: "The Elite Will Find a Way"]

[Text]

■ n trying to convince us to vote for Corazon Aquino and her unlikely running mate, the skin-deep Salvador P. Laurel, Aquino et al. told us last year that a center-right government led by Mrs. Aquino would be the exact opposite of the Marcos cabal, and the quintessential expression of all that was pure and honest and godly.

For example, that pious compromiser with evil, Jaime Cardinal Sin (remember his "critical collaboration" policy towards Marcos when the martial law regime was incarcerating, torturing and killing Filipinos all over the country?), assured us that God was with the Aquino coalition, which, the moment it came to power, would dismantle the dictatorship apparatus of Ferdinand Marcos, restore civil liberties, reform Philippine society by instituting a real land reform program and an honest-to-goodness economic recovery plan, and in general bring about a regime of justice, peace, prosperity, and low galunggong prices.

The Aquino coalition came to power on the shoulders of a military mutiny and civilian insurrection, and indeed released political prisoners (who had been in prison for years and years, anyway, and who, had they been sentenced, would have already served their sentences). On May 1,

1986, Mrs. Aquino promised labor a liberal package of rights and benefits, particularly the repeal of the Marcos anti-labor laws. She also promised, on other occasions, land reform, bigger budgetary allocations for education and other social services, a reformed military, and the realization of Philippine independence and national sovereignty.

Because it had started off so well — and had been installed in power by direct insurrectionary action of the people — many otherwise uncompromising Filipinos were willing to ignore the Aquino government's lapses into the practices and policies of the past, its naive and sometimes dangerous approach to social problems, its simplistic view of the world, and even its slow transformation into a clone of past administrations as eagerly subservient to US interests as they were indifferent to real reforms.

Too many Filipinos, even after the November 22 counter-coup which excised the liberals from the Aquino government, and even after the Mendiola Massacre, were busy convincing others to support and not to be too critical of the US-Aquino government because it was supposedly under rightist siege — forgetting that the rightists are already well within it and have, indeed, transformed it into an instrument

primed to defend elite and US interests, the Mendiola Massacre itself being a major indication of the transformation.

The Massacre occurred while Mrs. Aquino was campaigning for the ratification of the draft Constitution based on its supposedly "liberal" and "nationalist" character. At least one TV ad urged us to ratify the Constitution because, it said, it would put an end to assassinations and massacres, to disappearances, torture, illegal detention and summary executions ("salvaging"). Another one had Mrs. Aquino herself blandly telling us that the Armed Forces of the Philippines was indeed deserving of the adjective "new" — that it had become, lo and behold, the protector of the people, as the 1986 Constitution blithely states.

What is the reality? The US-Aquino government has equalled the Marcos regime not only in the swiftness with which it perpetrated a high-casualty massacre, but also in its consistent refusal to heed the most reasonable demands of the workers and peasants of this country — demands which Aquino the candidate had vowed to address — and in its pandering to US interests, as was so sordidly revealed in the Adaza Tapes.

This government's record, so far, speaks for itself. Filipino workers asked for the retention of the first Labor Minister in twenty years who wasn't a multinational or capitalist stooge — and were soundly ignored. Peasants demanded a real land reform program — and were told there was already one (the Marcos program, under which it should take only less than 200 years to abolish tenancy). Peasants and workers had in the past asked for an audience with Mrs. Aquino or any one of her apostate ex-human-rights-lawyer-advisers, and were — naturally — refused.

As for the claim that no one need fear being abducted, summarily executed, tortured, detained, etc., the peasants in the countryside and the workers in the cities know how much that claim is worth: just about the

same as the claim that the Armed Forces is "new." (Wasn't Lando Olalia, a survivor of the Marcos tyranny, murdered during the Aquino era?) Just how new the Armed Forces is was driven home to many, who were beginning to believe Mrs. Aquino, by AFP-police actions last January 22. But wait — some of Her Excellency's closest advisers are saying that it wasn't the poor policemen and soldiers who did the shooting but the demonstrators themselves, this gem of imaginative wisdom coming from no less than some of the alleged liberals in the government themselves.

It is impossible to tell if these "liberals" had, if only briefly, some recollection of how Marcos-like this cynical view was. But perhaps this elite government, among other distinctions, is necessarily always of limited memory (how else explain its insistence on doing the same things to address problems that demand other solutions?). Perhaps it no longer remembers that, when Ninoy Aquino was shot and the Marcos regime was concocting all sorts of imaginative explanations for the shooting, one of the funnier jokes Filipinos were making about the government was its supposed readiness to say that Ninoy Aquino shot himself.

But short memory or not, one can only be amazed at the speed with which this government has succeeded, in the brief span of eleven months, in alienating so many of its erstwhile supporters, and in acquiring so many characteristics of the Marcos regime it is beginning to look as if it needs only a First Lady and a declaration of martial law to be an exact carbon copy. From what some officials of this government are saying, however, even martial law isn't as outlandish a possibility as it sounds. Defense Minister Rafael Ileto has virtually hinted of this dark possibility, and a number of other government officials have reportedly urged such a course of action in case the current crisis escalates and/or the draft Constitution is rejected. Elite determination to remain in power and to halt the demand for change, like plague and other catastrophes, apparently *will* find a way. [M]

FR BERNAS URGES 'SERVICE, SOCIAL REVOLUTION'

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb-4 Mar 87 p 10

["Occasional Reflections" column by Joaquin G. Bernas, S.J.: "Of Miracles and Management"]

[Excerpts]

**I** F GOD is for us, who can be against us? Certainly not God, who did not even keep back his own Son, but offered him for us all! He gave us his Son — will he not also freely give us all things?" (Rom. 8.31-32)

I said a post-revolution thanksgiving Mass for the Ateneo University community last Tuesday and the first reading was from Romans. Yes, it looked that way a year ago during those four days of the February Revolution. Who could have been against us then?

EDSA of a year ago is now an emotional memory. The unlikely political candidate has survived a year. It began with a miracle; it is said that she is surviving on miracles. No matter. The important thing is that we made it to this point in our history. And the bottom line is that nobody else could have pulled us together. Before the February 1986 elections, she alone could pull the opposition together. In the revolution, she became the significant cohesive force. In the post-revolution period she should still be.

Or, is it time now for her to pass on the

mantle? I shall not enter into that discussion. The February 2 plebiscite settled that and made such discussion uncalled for now. Debate on the subject can only distract us from more important things. More important things which we must do together, like we did things together at EDSA. Do what together?

The second reading from my Mass last Tuesday was about the Final Judgment. "I was hungry and you fed me, thirsty and you gave me a drink; I was a stranger and you received me in your homes, naked and you clothed me; I was sick and you took care of me, in prison and you visited me." EDSA, it is said, was a political revolution; the Final Judgment speaks of a social revolution that EDSA did not begin to scratch and must still be attended to. That is what we must still do together, the social revolution.

One year from the February Revolution and the national preoccupation is again with political power. People and parties are scrambling for power. But the Final Judgment calls for service and social revolution. Let that not be forgotten.

/9274

CSO: 4200/414

RETIRED NAVY OFFICER EXPLAINS PNB MEMBERSHIP

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 18 Feb 87 pp 16, 17

[Article by Danilo P. Vizmanos: "Why I Joined Partido ng Bayan"]

[Text]

I am a retired Navy Captain. It was in an American school, the US Merchant Marine Academy in Kings Point, New York, where I obtained my college degree. During the Second World War, I was among the ROTC-Hunters guerrillas who fought with the US 11th Airborne Division for the "liberation" of the Philippines. In the early 1950s I was actively involved in the anti-PKP/HMB campaign as a junior officer in the AFP.

These are credentials that seem incompatible with membership in the Partido ng Bayan which Defense Ministry officials have branded as a "Communist" organization. What is ironic is that in spite of my background, I had no difficulty arriving at a decision to join the Partido ng Bayan. It was born out of conviction and for very good reasons.

I joined the Partido ng Bayan because, first, it is the party of the underprivileged, oppressed and exploited masses. In our founding congress in Folk Arts Theater last August 30-31, more than 60 percent of some 2,000 delegates were workers, farmers,

fishermen and urban poor. They were plain folks who wore old and wornout rubber shoes, rubber sandals and slippers. Most of them entered the Folk Arts Theater for the first time. And so did I.

Being the party of the masses, the Partido ng Bayan is committed to protect and uphold their interests. In contrast, an elite-based political party can only be expected to protect the interests of the elite.

The second reason is because for the first time in our nation's history, a political party has emerged that is *not* beholden to US officialdom, the IMF-World Bank and multinational companies. Given the people's mandate, the Partido ng Bayan is the only political party in the country that can effect fundamental structural and systemic changes in our society because of its mass-based composition and nationalist and pro-people orientation.

In contrast, the political and economic interests of the US power elite are inextricably linked with those of its local surrogates in the traditional



political parties. It is this US connection that provides the underpinnings to a neocolonial political and economic system that perpetuates the country's industrial underdevelopment.

Industrial underdevelopment is one of the root causes of mass poverty and chronic unemployment in our country today. Instead of addressing themselves to the root causes of our enormous economic and social problems, the traditional parties merely divert the people's attention from the external symptoms such as insurgency, labor and agrarian unrest, and the communist bogey. The patient is already "in extremis," but instead of the much-needed surgery, he is merely given aspirins and placebos.

The third reason is because of the nationalist and mass-oriented program of action of the Partido ng Bayan. It states very clearly the party stand on issues which bear directly on the national interest and the people's welfare and security. Among these are the provisions calling for the removal of US bases, abrogation of unequal and onerous treaties and agreements, genuine agrarian reform and land redistribution, national industrialization, and the development of a self-reliant and pro-people citizen army.

**T**his pro-people and anti-imperialist program of action is perhaps the foremost reason behind the vicious black propaganda and Red smear campaign being waged against the Partido ng Bayan by the ultra-reactionary elements in our society. Top defense ministry officials have branded the Partido ng Bayan as a "Communist" organization. Suffering from a bankruptcy of valid and legitimate issues and arguments, their definition of "Communist" merely echoes the Red smear that was the favorite blackmail weapon of that notorious witch-hunter of the 1950s, US Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Pursuing their logic, an individual who is for the dismantling of US military bases must be a "Communist." Those who denounce IMF-World Bank impositions on our economy must be "Communist sympathizers." An organization like Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP) engaged in the documentation of human rights violations by the military, must be a "Communist-front organization." Wittingly or unwittingly, this obsession for witchhunting and Red-baiting only alienates the military establishment from decent and enlightened people who take it as an insult to their intelligence.

This anti-communist showmanship and overacting reveal the hidden fears and insecurity of those who stubbornly oppose meaningful changes in our society. The possibility of political gains for the masses is perceived as a threat to the security and interests of those who want to perpetuate the neocolonial character of RP-US "special relations," the feudal-based agrarian relations in the rural areas, and the revival of neo-fascism in the guise of anti-communism.

**A**nother reason why I joined the Partido ng Bayan is because I enjoy being in the company of plain and ordinary people. It is the plainness and ordinariness of my fellow members that have impressed me deeply. In my military career I have come within whispering distance of leading political personalities on many occasions - Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Romulo, Manglapus and Marcos. But there is nothing that can compare with having a close kinship with the masses and ordinary people. I always feel more comfortable eating with the "wretched of the earth" in "kamayan" style than dining with political and social personalities in the plush restaurants of Makati.

The Partido ng Bayan has the distinction of having that indelible stamp of the masses among its members — humility, sincerity, honesty, simplicity, openness and dedication to a cause. This is in marked contrast to the traits of most members of traditional parties — political opportunism, hypocrisy and lack of principles that produce “political butterflies” and “balimbings.”

Traditional political parties have alternated in holding the reins of government since our “independence” in 1946. But has this resulted in closing the gap between rich and poor? Have they solved our chronic unemployment problem? Have they increased the purchasing power of the peso vis-a-vis the dollar and other foreign currencies? Have they reduced graft and corruption in the government? Have they freed the Filipino people from political servitude and economic dependence on the US? Have they made us feel any safer from a possible nuclear

attack from the political and military rivals of the US in a war not of our making?

The answer is obvious. Traditional political parties that have always dominated our so-called “democratic way of life” are the instruments of the political and economic elite. They will therefore protect and uphold the interests of their kind, first and foremost.

However, the situation is not hopeless for the dispossessed and exploited majority of our people. The wave of the future is the emerging “new politics” or the politics of issues and principles espoused by the Partido ng Bayan.

It is this “new politics” that will finally liberate the common tao from political and economic bondage. The vanguard of this “new politics,” the Partido ng Bayan, commits itself to the removal of the chains and fetters that have prevented the Filipino masses from seeking a place in the sun under the existing political and social order. [M]

/9274

CSO: 4200/414

CEBU OFFICIALS SEEK PC COMMANDER'S OUSTER

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 4

[Text]

**C**ENTRAL Visayas Constabulary and police commander Brig. Gen. Edgardo Abenina is facing a big dilemma — provincial and municipal officials are seeking his ouster from the region.

The demand appears to be a result of the military's lobbying for the expulsion of the Redemptorist fathers from the Cebu archdiocese.

Abenina had accused Cebu's civilian and religious authorities of "coddling communists." The Redemptorist priest were criticized by Abenina for officiating at the burial rites for two slain National Democratic Front (NDF) security aides.

During a recent anti-Communist seminar, Abenina was quoted by a local tabloid as saying that the military is becoming alienated from the Government because of the latter's policies, which he said discriminate against soldiers and policemen.

The reaction from the civilian offi-

cials was swift. The provincial legislature passed a resolution — actually the second during the RECOM 7 chief's term — requesting AFP chief Gen. Fidel V. Ramos to transfer Abenina to another area.

Last year, a similar rift erupted between the military and local government officials when the Constabulary filed murder charges against acting Pinamungahan Mayor Estrella Yapha and acting Talisay Mayor Delia Tiu.

In a privilege speech endorsing the resolution asking for Abenina's expulsion, provincial board member Winston Garcia said the general's attack on local executives have aroused suspicions that he is making himself the campaign manager of Marcos loyalists and other groups out to destabilize the Aquino government.

Abenina, on the other hand, brushed off the accusations, saying that the local executives were "insecure."—PNF

/9317

CSO: 4200/415

EVIDENCE AGAINST MILITARY IN LUPAO MASSACRE

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 4

[Text]

**T**HE Presidential Commission on Human Rights on Monday reported that five of the 17 massacre victims in Lupao, Nueva Ecija were shot in the back of their heads at very close range.

The Commission made public its findings after a two-day exhumation and autopsy of the massacre victims. It also said that statements from witnesses indicated that the killings were done by "men in uniform."

A lawyer for the Commission also said that one of the principal witnesses, a 17-year-old girl, testified that she saw her father stabbed dead by the same men. The testimony of the other principal witness also pointed out that the victims were shot even while they were raising their hands in surrender.

The killings occurred last February 10 when a military patrol was fired upon by a rebel band hiding in a cluster of houses in Lupao.

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CSO: 4200/415

LANAO ARMED MEN GENERATE REFUGEES

Quezon City VERITAS in English 26 Feb-4 Mar 87 p 6

[Text]

**E**VACUEES crowding the Catholic rectory in Karomatan, Lanao del Norte want to return to their homes but fear to do so because of armed men who have been roaming around their village since last week.

A Philippine News and Features report said that the armed men have left in their wake a dead couple, a seriously wounded youth, four women molested and several houses looted.

Witnesses were also quoted as saying that the Maranao-speaking armed men wore some sort of uniform but their identities have yet to be established. They were first noticed in the village of Ditago some 12 kilometers from Karomatan, last February 4.

On February 8, Ditago was abandoned by its Visayan and Maranao residents numbering around 300 with the former finding refuge at the Catholic parish center and the latter among the relatives in Sigayan and Ilian, 95 kilometers south of Iligan City.

A fact-finding mission organized by the Lanao Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (LAHRA) said that Ditago is still occupied by the armed men and that lootings are still taking place in the area. LAHRA, however, did not give other details about the incident.

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CSO: 4200/414

## HUMAN RIGHTS VICTIMS EXPRESS DOUBTS ON PCHR

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 pp 22, 23

[Article by Patricia L. Adversario: "Is the PCHR Up to Its Task?"]

[Text]

**D**OES the appointment of former human rights lawyers to key government positions guarantee the protection of human rights under that government? That appears to be a naive assumption, say a number of bitter victims of the past regime.

In the early days of the Aquino government, human rights victims of the past regime, still heady with the euphoria of the February revolt, were not so cynical. At tearful reunions following the release of political prisoners, they celebrated the fall of a repressive order and cheered the creation of the Presidential Commission on Human Rights (PCHR).

Lately, however, they have been plagued by doubts. During a reunion of political prisoners in Metro Manila late last year, a huge streamer posted by the door proclaimed: "Our solidarity can set us free."

The fight, it hinted, is not over. There are still political prisoners in jail, while those who have been released feel they have no adequate guarantees against possible re-arrest. Months after former political prisoners and victims of human rights violations filed their affidavits with the human rights commission, their torturers have not yet been arrested nor prosecuted.

Some of the human rights victims have bluntly called the PCHR as an "emasculated body." "We're not very sure about PCHR's claim that it could readily avail of all records from the military. We suspect that records which could render some military men culpable of crimes they are charged with will not be given to the PCHR," says an ex-detainee who requested anonymity.

While it is true that there have been some delays, says PCHR spokesman Atty. Abelardo Aportadera, these have been largely due to the body's "internal organizational problems and some personal problems of the PCHR members" rather than the investigatory body's alleged "lack of teeth" or even will.

He says the PCHR, being a "young agency," had to contend with organizational problems last year. The late Jose W. Diokno had to go on leave for health reasons. Acting chairman former Justice J.B.L. Reyes also had to take a leave for a while to undergo a medical check-up. The body later lost one of its commissioners, Heidi Yorac, to the Commission on Elections. Last January 23, the late Sen. Diokno, ex-Justice J.B.L. Reyes, members Zenaida Quezon Avancena, Sister Mariani Dimaranan of the Task Force Detainees-

Philippines and Antonio Quintos resigned from their posts in protest of the total shooting of 19 marchers during the dispersal of a farmers' rally at Mendiola Bridge.

PCHR members who did not resign were Aportadera, acting Kalinga-Apaya Governor William Claver and Brig. Gen. Samuel Soriano of the Judge Advocate General's Office (JAGO). At this writing, President Aquino has not accepted the resignations. Admits Aportadera: "It's really difficult for us to move forward unless these internal issues are resolved." He adds, that "the structure is still here, it's a strong structure so why not use it."

A few changes by way of expanding the body's investigative functions are already in place. Five divisions now help the commission hear cases. The PCHR has set up its first regional unit in Davao last November and hopes to set up four more regional units within the year. It is already laying the groundwork for setting up regional units in Iloilo, Tacloban and Cagayan Valley.

The commission, according to Aportadera has also expanded its legal and investigating departments to speed up investigation of the 700 cases already filed. Task forces are also in place to respond immediately to incidents like the Lupao "massacre." In addition, the President has just directed the commission to look into alleged abuses of both soldiers and rebels.

On the complaints that the military could have been withholding records on military operations where human rights violations were allegedly committed, Aportadera says the allegation has "no basis in fact."

"There is a negative perception of the PCHR being against the military but in our work, the military and the police have cooperated with us."

Ironically, it is the PCHR's relations with organized groups of human rights victims that have come under some strain. This developed as the government announced its readiness to grant pardon to those who apply for it. Under guidelines prepared by the Department of Justice's Presidential Committee for political detainees/prisoners, any person charged, detained or imprisoned who fall under the guidelines' definition of a political prisoner or detainee may file a sworn application of pardon.

Political detainees, however, question why they have to ask for pardon -- in effect, admit guilt -- before they could be released or before charges against them could be dismissed.

Speaking at a gathering of human rights victims, Justice Undersecretary Emilio de la Paz, Jr. argued that "an admission of committing political offense against a dictatorial regime should be something one should not be ashamed of." Mariles H. Ilao, a former detainee charged with rebellion counters: "Then all the more reason why we don't have to ask for pardon! We have not done anything against the Aquino administration, why do we have to ask pardon from it?"

For its part, the Samahan ng mga Ex-Detainees Laban sa Detensyon at Para sa Amnestiya (SELDA) insists on outright dismissal of charges of political offenses filed against its members.

Government, however, says it cannot just dismiss charges or release a detainee unless the accused comes forward and says that the actions for which he has been charged are political and not criminal as filed in court.

Unfortunately, most of the charges filed during the Marcos regime against former detainees as well as those still in detention were classified as criminal offenses. De la Paz explained that the justice department still has to determine whether the criminal charges were done in connection with or by reason of rebellion.

Similarly, the PCHR can only recommend pardon or release after a ruling by the Department of Justice that the charge was political. The PCHR's recommendation will then have to be studied by the courts, which reserve the right to order a prisoner's release and dismissal of his case.

The newly-ratified 1986 Constitution introduces complications. Under the Freedom Constitution, the President can issue pardon even without judgement of conviction on the case; Article 7 Section 19 of the new Constitution, however, provides that "the President may grant reprieves, commutations and pardons, . . . after conviction by final judgment."

As a result of this, the Presidential Committee on Political Detainees/Prisoners cannot continue to recommend pardon for cases that are still pending.

In light of this, presidential amnesty would seem to be the most logical refuge of political prisoners. Under the same constitutional provision, however, "the President shall have the power to grant amnesty with the concurrence of a majority of all the members of the Congress." But, can the President grant amnesty when the Congress is not yet convened? Answers de la Paz: "I don't know." He says his office has forwarded an inquiry for guidance on what to do with the pile of applications for pardon but he still has to hear from Malacañang.

Barely hiding their impatience over the legal niceties, former political detainees point out that the issue of political prisoners under any dispensation involves more than just legal definitions. Moral and political implications are more important, they maintain. On the other hand, Aportadera, insists that "we operate in a system" and that "we have to go through processes."

Inevitably, comparisons are made between the government's treatment of political offenses committed by loyalists and some members of the NAFP, and those committed by civilian rebels incarcerated during the Marcos regime. What is the justification, human rights victims ask, for the continued detention of political prisoners perceived to have contributed an even "bigger share" in the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship, while the loyalist NAFP rebel soldiers who took part in the aborted Manila Hotel coup got no more than 30 push-ups by way of punishment?

As Capt. Danilo Vizmano of the Partido ng Bayan charged: "We are witnessing a split-level or double standard application of justice, one for the military and another for civilians. This split-level dispensation of justice is in itself a human rights violation."

Swift justice is not a one way road, counters Aportadera. "Government does not know who the political offenders charged with criminal cases are, unless they come out and give us their names."

He expressed hope that monthly dialogues with human rights groups and victims would help strengthen and evolve a partnership with the PCHR. Given the limitations "maybe with constant dialogues, they will know what we are doing here."



WEEKLY UPDATES STATUS OF OUTSTANDING MURDER CASES

The Lota Slay Case

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Ma. Luz Yap Baguioro: "Update--Whatever Happened To..."]

[Text] The defense hopes to demolish the prosecution's case against loyalist leader Fernando Diaz, accused killer of Batangas fiscal Felizardo Lota, Jr., with the written testimony of Ireneo B. Salazar.

Salazar is a 30-year-old Cebuano who sought a job and a better life in Manila. He has no relatives with whom he can stay. "Kung minsan dito na lamang sa Luneta (ako natulog) at sumasama ako sa mga loyalists." "Sometimes I just sleep at Luneta Park, and I became friends with Loyalists."]

According to Salazar, on Aug 19, 1986, at about 7 o'clock in the evening, while he was walking near Hilton Hotel, he saw the late Batangas fiscal Felizardo Lota. Salazar says he followed the loyalist lawyer because he wanted to ask for some money. He was four to five meters behind when Lota was gunned down.

The assassin, Salazar continued, emerged from T.M. Kalaw street and fired the first two shots from a .45 caliber pistol while facing Lota. The third shot hit the head of the late fiscal who was by then lying prostrate on the street.

The witness claims he saw the assassin again at the slain fiscal's wake on August 23 at about 7 o'clock in the evening. He says the gunman wore a khaki police uniform and had a gun tucked in his waist.

Salazar also testified that Diaz was not the gunman. He said the NBI cartographer's sketch does not resemble Lota's assassin. "Hindi po iyan ang mukha at hindi rin kahawig iyan dahil ang buhok noon ay medyo wavy." [That's not the face, it's not even similar because the other's hair was somewhat wavy.]

The prosecution, on the other hand, does not seem "shaken" by Salazar's testimony. Positive identification weighs far heavier, government prosecutors point out.

## The Salcedo Case

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Ma. Luz Yap Baguioro]

[Text] The Marcos loyalists charged for the death of Stephen Salcedo last July 27, 1986 deny they dealt the fatal blow. According to Oliver Lozano, national vice chairman of the Loyalists for Marcos movement and charged as an accomplice in the case, Salcedo was still "okay" when he walked away from the loyalists.

Salcedo was mauled to death at the Rizal Park last July in full view of promenaders and newsmen. Witnesses said a group of Marcos loyalists ganged up on him after their regular Sunday rally because he was wearing a yellow t-shirt. The color yellow is identified with the Aquino Administration.

As in the Lota slay case, where a loyalist leader is also accused of murder, the loyalists believe the charges against them are "pure harassment and oppression." They deny the "genuineness and due execution" of all the evidences so far submitted--death certificate, autopsy report, police progress report and pictures taken at the scene of the incident.

Meanwhile, one of the eleven accused, Raul Billosos, has been found to be a schizophrenic.

Minerva O. Peregrino, the psychiatrist of the National Mental Hospital who made the psychiatric evaluation of Billosos, noted in her medical report that Billosos "suffers from a major psychosis" and is "currently functioning under the mild retardation level."

## The Escalante Trial

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Ma. Luz Yap Baguioro]

[Text] The nature of the gunshot wounds sustained by the victims of the "Escalante massacre" indicates that they were fired upon from an elevated position, "possibly on the rooftop of the Escalante municipal building or on top of several firetrucks used in the dispersal."

This was the gist of the testimonies of Joventino Roque, resident physician of the Vicente Gustilo District Hospital, and Antonio Hinolan Jr, owner of the Pedro Hinolan Sr Memorial Clinic in Escalante.

The two also testified that several of the victims were hit by ricocheting bullets which bounced from the road (because they came from a higher level) while others were directly hit in the thigh, shoulder and back.

The doctors' testimonies reinforce those of witnesses that a .50 caliber gun was positioned on the town's hall rooftop.

### The Olalia Murder Investigation

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Ma. Luz Yap Baguioro]

[Text] Task Force Olalia, the probe body assigned by Pres Corazon Aquino to investigate the brutal murder of militant labor leader Rolando Olalia and his driver last November 13, admitted facing a blank wall after four months of sleuthing.

"There's no new development worthwhile releasing. Task Force Olalia is pursuing the same leads. The case is difficult to crack," Justice Secretary and Task Force chairman Neptali Gonzalez said.

"If we can take in the three persons whom police operatives believe must be questioned, we believe we will crack the case," Gonzalez said.

The failure to make substantial progress in the investigation has exposed the probe body to a lot of criticisms. Jaime Tadeo, chairman of the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas, said he fears a whitewash.

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CSO: 4200/415

SPOKESMAN DENIES MNLF-MILF SHOOTOUTS

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 18 Feb 87 p 39

[Text]

"Deceptive."

Thus did Ustadz Abdul-  
aziz Mimbantas character-  
ize newspaper reports of  
alleged clashes between  
the Moro National Libera-  
tion Front (MNLF) and  
the Moro Islamic Libera-  
tion Front (MILF), ac-  
cording to the *Media Min-  
danao News Service*  
(MMNS).

According to Mimbantas, the MILF and the MNLF, notwithstanding the split between their respective leaderships, have been in constant contact with one another's units to avoid encounters.

Mimbantas further said that well-publicized fire-fights between MILF and MNLF units were actually results of fights between two feuding families, at the same time, saying that such reports of MILF-MNLF clashes were part of the government's divide-and-rule tactics.

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CSO: 4200/414

KMP PAPER SUGGESTS LAND REFORM GOALS

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 18 Feb 87 pp 18, 19

[Article by Benjie Pineda: "What Is Genuine Land Reform?"]

[Text] The massacre of over 19 peasant marchers at Mendiola Bridge last Thursday has drawn widespread attention to Filipino farmers' demands for genuine land reform.

Even known conservative institutions like the Catholic Church, whose vast landholdings are themselves threatened by land reform, have come to acknowledge the legitimacy and urgency of the issue.

The catch, however, is in the interpretation of what is "genuine." It was precisely the conflicting positions of the government, thrus Agrarian Reform Minister Heherson Alvarez, and the peasants led by the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Philipinas (KMP Movement of Peasants of the Philippines) headed by Jaime Tadeo, over the issue which compelled the latter to march to Malacanang Palace last January 22.

In a paper entitled "Policy Proposal for Agriculture and Countryside Development" KMP outlines what it means by a "genuine and comprehensive" land reform program for the country. It describes in detail KMP's program of action, including immediate tangible targets and alternatives.

The free distribution of land is the cornerstone of the program, but in areas where this is not immediately realizable, the policy proposal carefully presents alternative urgent demands.

The proposal spells out various policies for rice and corn lands and sugar and coconut lands, although it is stressed in the paper that KMP wants to have all these types of lands declared part of the land reform program immediately. Tenanted sugarlands are distinguished from capitalist-owned sugar plantations.

Other immediate demands of KMP contained in the paper are: invalidation of all existing laws, decrees, orders and regulations that contradict land reform, such as Presidential Decree No 27 and General Order 47 (PD 27 embodies the land reform program of the previous government and GO 47 paved the way for

corporate access to peasant lands); immediate expropriation of all lands acquired by deposed President Ferdinand Marcos and his cronies through fraudulent means; and rescinding all lease contracts for agricultural lands government agencies like the National Development Corporation (NDC) had signed with local and foreign private entities.

KMP also wants a stop to all expansion projects of foreign and local agribusiness enterprises; recognition of the inherent right of tribal communities over their ancestral lands; and a declaration that the country's natural resources must be exclusively exploited by Filipinos.

For rice and corn lands covered by PD 27, the policy proposal called for an immediate end to all amortization payments of the farmers and to have Certificates of Land Transfer (CLTs) converted to actual land titles; and the gradual removal of the seven hectare limit for land owners.

In sugar lands where land distribution cannot immediately be implemented, the present 50-50 share arrangement should be overhauled to 75-25 in favour of the tillers, the paper said. Apart from a 20 percent allocation of capitalist-owned sugar lands for the free use of peasants, other excess lands should also be distributed. For coconut lands, the policy proposal is for a land rent reduction equivalent to "tersya-baligtad" (2/3-1/3 scheme) in favour of farmers.

In all land classifications, the paper further suggested, peasants should have the right to choose whatever crop they would like to plant.

In order to reduce the costs of production for farmers, fertilizer prices should be immediately lowered and a corresponding intensification in the production of local organic fertilizers undertaken. It was also suggested that biological forms of pest control should be instituted and irrigation fees reduced to approximately two cavans (one cavan = 50 kilos) per hectare per harvest.

Farmworkers in sugar and coconut land should be paid adequate minimum wage to ensure decent living conditions for them, the paper said. In all instances, "fair and just pricing" and "just profits" for farmers' produce should be ensured.

Towards this goal, the paper called for the strengthening of support systems such as agricultural credit, rural infrastructure programs, housing, education, and health and nutrition.

KMP wants a public accounting of the controversial coconut levy funds and to have the farmers determine for themselves the best use for these funds.

Government agencies like the Philippine Sugar Marketing Authority (PHILSUMA), Philippine Coconut Authority (PHILCOA) and institutions like the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) should either be re-oriented, democratized or dismantled. It called for the setting-up of truly independent and scientific research programs in agriculture.

But in order to achieve a comprehensive and genuine land reform, the KMP policy proposal stated that there must also be a nationalist and self-reliant economy that would dismantle foreign and local monopoly on agriculture and uphold the rights of peasants to free and collective actions and self-organization.

Lastly, the paper called for a halt to militarization in the countryside. It said land reform "cannot take place" where peasant livelihood and economic activity are interrupted by continuous military operations.

KMP proposes to achieve this land reform program in a period of five years, divided into three phases.

The first phase constitutes confiscation and distribution of lands owned by the Marcoses and their close friends and idle, foreclosed and abandoned lands. This phase is to be implemented in the first two years, and serves as KMP's minimum program for land reform.

From the fourth year of the first phase up to the fourth year where free distribution of land will expand to all croplands is the second phase.

The last phase, or the completion of KMP's maximum program, involves the nationalization of transnational agribusiness plantations and the "total abolition of feudalism."

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CSO: 4200/414

## CORDILLERA PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE INVITES EEC TEAM TO CONGRESS

Baguio City THE GOLD AGE in English 21 Feb 87 p 12

[Text]

BONTOC, Mt. Province — The Cordillera Project Team composed of representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (MAF), the National Irrigation Administration (NIA) and the Ministry of Public Works and Highways (MPWH), has been invited to attend the Third Congress of the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) after it failed to meet local organizations during their visit here last February 16.

The Cordillera Project Team, led by MAF special projects office head Marcialito Zalameda, is tasked to conduct consultations with communities in the Cordillera in relation to the projected \$20 million development program of the European Economic Community (EEC) for the re-

gion. The project is known as the Central Cordillera Development Program (CCDP).

The team was in Banaue, Ifugao on February 12-15, then proceeded to Bontoc on the 16th. However, because of a last minute notice given to local organizations and agencies of their arrival on that day instead of the initial schedule on February 14, they were unable to meet concerned groups, except for the MAF-Mt. Province and other local government agencies.

Non-government organizations which were scheduled to meet with the team were the Development Agency for Tribes in the Cordillera (DATC), the Cordillera People's Alliance, the Cordillera Bodong Association (CBA), the Montanosa Research and Devel-

opment Center (MRDC) and a number of community organizations within the province.

Since all these organizations will be represented in the coming CPA Third Congress at the St. Vincent Gym in Baguio City on February 23-25, it was suggested in a letter that the team attend the activity as part of their consultations. The letter which was coursed through John Medina, Provincial Agricultural Office of MAF in Mt. Province and signed by CPA representative Joseph Facullo, reiterated the importance of democratic consultation in any development effort in the Cordillera.

The response of the EEC team to the invitation could not be learned as of press time.\*

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CSO: 4200/414



SRV, NICARAGUAN DELEGATES AT WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL AFFAIR

Quezon City VERITAS in English 5-11 Mar 87 p 11

[Article: "Nicaragua's Second Revolution"]

[Text]

**I**N Nicaragua, says Ivonne Siu, director of the Women's Institute in the Office of the President, "women are going through a second revolution." After fighting alongside the men in a bloody revolution that took all of 50 years, Nicaraguan women "cannot easily go back to their old life." Through the Revolution, adds Siu, "women have been able to share (in bearing) the difficulties and problems that we used to bear individually. We understand now that problems are not the individual's alone but are society's. And that women's problems (like childcare), are the problems of society."

But are Nicaraguan men changing, too? "That's the question," laughs Siu. "While individual men have begun to change, there's still a long way to go."

Siu is one of four women from socialist countries brought in by GABRIELA as part of the Women's International Solidarity Affair in the Philippines (WISAP), which was part of the local celebrations of International Women's Day. With Siu at the press conference were Madame Nguyen Thi Nhu, from Vietnam, the Secretary-General of the Vietnamese Women's Union; Lourdes Ulloa, from Nicaragua, deputy director of the Nicaraguan Women's Association; and Marie Antonietta Saa, from Chile, women's representative in the Civic Assembly of Chile, an opposition group.

GABRIELA, through its member organizations

is also hosting a week-long affair of art and photo exhibits, cultural shows, songs, dances, symposia and fora "celebrating women's achievements in various fields including women in the struggle." GABRIELA holds its National Congress on March 14 and 15 in Davao City, and will stage an all-women's rally on March 8.

Other women's groups and alliances are hosting their own activities in observance of International Women's Day.

WIN or Women Involved in the Nation, "an alliance of women organizations and individuals from the middle forces" will hold its founding congress on Sunday, March 8 at the Folk Arts Theater. At least 500 women are expected to attend the congress which will define the thrust and programs of WIN. Keynote speaker will be Foreign Affairs Undersecretary Leticia Ramos-Shahani. / Lakas ng Kababaihan, an alliance of women's groups, together with the Cultural Center of the Philippines, will hold "A Fair for Women" on Saturday, March 7 at the CCP Little Theater and lobby.

The whole-day observance of International Women's Day will start with the display and sale of books, cassette tapes, records, art prints, crafts and health foods, all done by women. Special screenings of women-oriented films, dance presentations and skits complete the day's celebrations.

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CSO: 4200/415

STRAITS TIMES ON MALAYS IN ARMED FORCES

BK181537 Singapore THE STRAITS TIMES in English 18 Mar 87 p 18

[Editorial: "The Malay Problem"]

[Text] The participation of Malay Singaporeans in the armed forces is a complex problem. That both the government and the Malay community have been grappling with it ever since Singapore's independence 22 years ago clearly underlines this. Actually, part of the larger question of Malay participation in the mainstream life in Singapore, it was brought into focus again recently during discussion of the National Agenda. Judging from the sentiments it has aroused, both here and in Malaysia, a quick and easy resolution of the problem is unlikely.

Singaporeans, in general, have been reminded by the ongoing debate that it is a difficult problem and one that cannot be easily wished away. Instead of keeping it under wraps, discussing it openly, as is being done at present, will go a long way towards strengthening the mutual trust and confidence between the Malay community and the government, as well as the climate of mutual understanding in society.

It would be a mistake to assume that the problem will never disappear. There is evidence in recent weeks that suggest otherwise. First, the candour:

Those involved have been very open in stating their positions. The remark by Brigadier-General (Reservist) Lee Hsien Loong, which started the controversy, was so startlingly frank, it discomfited some, given the restrained manner in which race issues were discussed in the recent past.

Malays and Malay organizations that have since spoken up have also been equally frank. The Malay leadership has been quick to take a position. Through the Central Council of Malay Cultural Organizations, Majlis Fusat, they declared their readiness to tackled problems themselves; in other words, saying pointedly to Singapore's critics in Malaysia they have no business interfering in our internal affair. They recognize the advances Malay Singaporeans have made and made clear their long-term goal is full Malay participation in the armed forces. Their attitude is, to say the least, constructive and improves the climate necessary for a satisfactory solution.

In addition, Singaporeans, Malays and non-Malays alike, have been able to discuss this sensitive issue in a dispassionate, rational and open manner that speaks volumes about how far the nation has matured as a multiracial society. Ideally, issues should be dealt with without regard for racial considerations. But, obviously, at this stage of Singapore's development, it has not always been possible to do so. As long as Singaporeans continue to recognize, as they have done so far, common interests rather than group interests, and the easier it will be to deal with this problem.

To the statements by some Malaysian critics on the matter, members of the Malay community have reacted in different ways, from those who reject them outright to those who feel differently. But the majority of Singaporeans are doubtless of the view that Singapore should brook no interference. And rightly so. This is consistent with the principle that sovereign states should operate within a framework of internationally-recognized rules. Even in the case of Singapore and Malaysia, which are not only geographically very close but also share long and deep historical ties, there can be no exception. The more so when there are grounds to be suspicious of the political motivations behind the Malaysian statements.

The extremely complex nature of the problem itself need not deter Singaporeans from continuing to tackle it resolutely as the results show they are making progress. In doing so, they must not lose sight of the main object of the whole exercise, which is to get Malay Singaporeans into the mainstream as quickly as possible.

/12624  
CSO: 4200/419

SINGAPORE

BRIEFS

INDONESIAN NAVY CHIEF VISITS--The commander of the Indonesian Navy's Western Fleet, Rear Admiral Imam Taufiq, is here for a three-day visit at the invitation of the Fleet Commander of the Republic of Singapore Navy, Colonel Lee Seng Kong. Rear Admiral Imam Taufiq, accompanied by three senior Indonesian naval officers, arrived on Tuesday [17 March]. During his stay, he will visit Pulau Brani Naval Base and discuss holding combined exercises between the two navies. [Text] [Singapore THE STRAITS TIMES in English 19 Mar 87 p 13 BK] /12624

CSO: 4200/419

MILITARY OFFICIAL ON SOUTHERN COMMUNIST SUPPRESSION

BK151051 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 14 Mar 87

[Interview with Commander of the 4th Army Region Lieutenant General Wisit Atkhumwong at Border Patrol Police Camp in Sadao District, Songkhla province -- date not given; recorded]

[Text] [Wisit] We have continuously launched campaigns against the Communist Party of Malaysia [CPM] since May 1986. Our targets are their bases along the border areas in Sadao, and Na Thawi districts, Songkhla Province, and in Betong, Thanto, and Bannang Sata districts, Yala Province. We have seized altogether about nine of their bases, and destroyed a large number of camps. At present, what we are doing is trying to pressure those CPM guerrillas living under dual autonomy. We are trying to cut the communications lines between the urban guerrillas and the armed guerrillas of CPM operating at the border areas. Those were steps taken by us. In areas where we have completed suppression operations, our forces are still in place in order to carry out development projects, that is, to set up strategic villages by bringing progress and achieving lasting stability for the areas. We have continued to take steps toward that end. We have captured and destroyed a large number of camps. There has been a tendency for CPM guerrillas in the area to surrender to the authorities. In Songkhla Province especially, we have successfully ended the state of war, and through our psychological operations have made them understand that the Thai government is sincere in its desire to end the fighting and achieve peace for the area. As a result, wherever the CPM guerrillas feel that they have fought for too long, about 40 years now, under the communist banner without any success, their surrender is always welcomed by the Thai government which only desires to bring lasting peace to those Thai-Malaysian border areas so that people can live peacefully.

[Question] How many have already surrendered following campaigns of pressure by the authorities?

[Answer] After having applied pressure on them, we expect to see a gradual surrender by the guerrillas in those areas in large numbers.

[Question] Are they still carrying on activities?

[Answer] We expect activities by regiments 8, 10, and 12.

[Question] Are there any in Songkhla Province?

[Answer] There, we expect surrenders.

[Question] At present, most of those who have surrendered came from the same area, didn't they?

[Answer] There should be surrenders in Betong District also. They surrender wherever we apply pressure on them, wherever we launch campaigns, and give them assurances of our desire to end the war.

[Question] What steps are followed each time there is a surrender?

[Answer] We point out to them that they have taken the right course which is in line with the policy we publicized. We want them to stop the fighting. Once the area is under our control, we will develop it, bringing stability and peace to it. After a surrender, we disarm them first, and we hold on to the area for a certain time. After a surrender, we take them into temporary custody.

/12624

CSO: 4207/160

FOREIGN MINISTER SITTHI DISCUSSES POLICIES

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 12 Jan 87 p 3

[Interview with Air Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, minister of foreign affairs; interviewer not identified; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What are your plans for visiting other countries? There are reports that you will go to Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

[Answer] Africa will be the last place; I will go to Eastern Europe first on my way to the Soviet Union in February. I will take people from the private sector with the team this time, so that they can see with their own eyes.

[Question] How hopeful are you that the Soviet visit will be successful?

[Answer] I hope it will be politically successful as well because last year we did not follow through completely, but let go, such as the Cambodia issue where we let Indonesia and Vietnam star and we let Sihanouk star at a time when Thailand might have expanded its role, especially by leaning toward India, which is an influential party. During his visit, India's minister of foreign affairs told me that Mr Gorbachev has an open mind. I should go and talk with him as a Thai, talk clearly and frankly about what kind of role we want him to have in this region, what we want him to fix.

I think we have the upper hand in various political activities, such as what Mr Kapitsa, the Soviet deputy foreign minister, mentioned about the Cambodia problem--that in 1987, there will not be any more anti-Khmer troops. Then I told him that in 1987 we will take another look and that now we see everything clearly.

In addition, I also hope to have talks about trade relations and other understandings, about geopolitics, about changing existing cultural exchanges, and about cooperation in certain areas in which they have expertise, such as technology.

[Question] How are you going to proceed with scholarships from the Soviet Union?

[Answer] Thailand will maintain its old regulations; we must review scholarships before we accept them. Not everyone can go, but we will choose who should go and whether they will study things that Thailand needs.

[Question] Expositions of Thai merchandise in the Soviet Union supposedly have been very successful.

[Answer] The Soviets are using a completely new approach toward Asia in according importance to Asia and the South Pacific. But we might just tell them that if they are not successful with this approach--and give us things but have somebody come behind our back and knock us on the head--this would not be acceptable.

[Question] When you meet with Soviet leaders, are you going to talk about reducing military aid to Vietnam?

[Answer] This is not something that only Thailand wants, but also what China and ASEAN want. It is not a reduction, but a complete cut-off of military aid to Vietnam. If this is done, Vietnam might turn to checking its own deteriorating economic situation, which might force it to negotiate with us.

Right now Vietnam's attitude is better, but in practice, it is constantly changing, such as the issue of sending back Thai fishermen.

[Question] What will be the impact from improved Thai-Soviet relations?

[Answer] It will impact many areas. Vietnam will be suspicious about what the Soviets say to Thailand, but don't hope for some fantastic results. We consider the visit to the Soviets a chance for some straight talk with them, to talk with the big boss. Don't hope that we can split the Soviets from Vietnam; even China cannot pull off that. But at least Thailand will be a factor.

[Question] Aren't you afraid that the Soviets will exploit your visit for propaganda?

[Answer] I think it is like boxing: no one can take advantage of me. I, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consider the national interest above every thing. We think about things that will affect our interest, so we will not do things that will affect us afterwards. We will not do anything violent that will come back to us, but we will be ourselves more and make them respect us more.

[Question] With Vietnam.... When are you going to meet with Nguyen Co Thach, the foreign minister?

[Answer] He wants to meet with me. But we will wait until the foreign minister of Indonesia visits Thailand first; we will not jump right in, we will not invite him. Even though there are changes now in Vietnam, there has not



been any change of government or prime minister. There should be some action in February when their assembly is in session. I would like to see what their policy is; we will watch from now on to see if anything good comes of it. Vietnam seems to want to talk with us and have good relations with Thailand but its actions are not sincere regarding having talks or solving problems.

[Question] Are you going to visit Vietnam?

[Answer] No, I am not going to visit Vietnam. Whatever we do we have to have procedures; we cannot jump to conclusions right away. Some people like to hurry; they say, let's go right now. Before visiting a country, we have to know what we will get: Will it be useful, will it be opposite to other people's opinions and what our friends think? We also have to see how prepared we are, such as with Mr Arun's visit to Laos; we could not invite a Lao delegation right away because we had to give them 2-3 months' time. There was a boat race, a visit by a cultural group, and other things, then we considered whether there was anything more. For my visit to Laos we also had to look for the appropriate time and look at the situation from a world perspective. We have to have a plan to work with; I have a plan where I am going during the year.

[Question] Are you going to Laos this year?

[Answer] I will go if results from the negotiations improve; that's my condition.

[Question] How are relations between Thailand and China?

[Answer] Very healthy. China has stressed to me that even though it has improving trade and is a wealthy country, it will not do anything to affect Thailand negatively. Thailand and China will preserve good relations; we might have closer relations, but I think that the Thai people do not want to be under China or anyone: Thais want to be Thais. You can ask Thais of Chinese ancestry, and they will all say they are Thai.

I say that we have survived in the trade area, which has made our country survive, whether politically, economically, or socially. I will not say how China is, but it says it will not interfere in Thailand's domestic affairs.

[Question] What will military aid be if the U.S. aid budget for Thailand is cut a lot? Is there any way that we will turn to promote this kind of cooperation with China?

[Answer] In terms of national interest and national security, we must know that any aid from any country is important, if we can use it to develop and make it useful to the country. But we would not go and be a bloc, nor be any part of any group, as Vietnam is with the Soviet Union.

But as for Thailand and China, we exchange views on certain issues, and visit each other and make some tradeoffs in some things if they are necessary. But

this has to be reviewed by people from many areas. But right now is not the time to talk about that. What we are doing right now is to develop something positive for the peace and security of our region. We have to associate and be a good friend with China.

[Question] How about other areas, such as culture?

[Answer] There are regular cultural exchanges, but they are done on a case by case basis. We don't forbid them, but according to the laws of Thailand, we don't have cultural exchange agreements with China. We might not have exchanges but if we do, we must have exchanges with many countries. We have cultural exchange agreements with a few countries which have cultures similar to ours or they are our Free World allies. This kind of agreement involves one for unlimited exchanges in education and other areas.

[Question] Is Thailand going to open a consulate in Canton? This matter has been dragging on for some time.

[Answer] A consulate in Canton will not be opened because the Thai International does not stop there; we might review again where to open one.

[Question] How are Thai-Indian relations?

[Answer] When the Indian foreign affairs minister visited Thailand, he said that he would like closer relations with Thailand. This April, he is coming here again and a commission to promote cooperation in economics, trade, culture, and fisheries is going to be set up. India attaches a lot of importance to our region. The foreign minister of India visited two countries last year, Thailand and Indonesia. He also invited our prime minister to visit his country; we accepted the invitation, but a visit has not been scheduled yet.

In addition, Princess Chulabhorn will also pay a visit to India, which is good. However, I feel that India wants Thailand to be a bridge for it, especially with ASEAN, while we are able to have connections with China. Thailand can play many roles, quite a few.

[Question] How about Australia and Thailand? How are relations?

[Answer] We have good trade relations with Australia; there are very few discriminatory practices in the Australian market, even though it is an ally of an anti-export group. There is a lot of investment in the two countries, but Thailand has more investments in Australia, in fisheries as well as in other areas. Thailand considers Australia and New Zealand to be good friends.

In the Pacific, which are a lot of small islands, with each island having a few hundred thousand people. The largest population is in Fiji, which has 600,000 people. We headed there for fisheries and have a small volume of trade. We are not neglecting it.

[Question] How much does Burma accept us? There are reports that Burma has expelled a lot of foreigners; how is Thailand going to take advantage of this?

[Answer] Too much has been written that Japan has made a lot of investments in Burma, even though there actually is none. I think that this is the golden year of Thai-Burmese relations. In addition, the visit to Burma of General Chavalit Yongchaiyut, the army's commander-in-chief, will clear up a lot of problems along the border. We must be generous on the border issue if we really want to solve the problem. After the Mae Nam Sai River problem is solved, then I think other solutions to other problems will follow. Mr Praphat, the deputy foreign affairs minister, will visit Burma on 7-11 February, when he will persuade them to be closer to us.

12597/12851  
CSO: 4207/113

WRITER WANTS GREATER PARLIAMENTARY INPUT ON ARMY BUDGET

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 13 Jan 87 p 7

[Article: "MP's: Democratic Measures"]

[Excerpt] The revision of the national budget by Thailand's House of Representatives coincides perfectly with the investigation of the Iran arms sale and the arms sale to Nicaraguan contra rebels in Central America.

All Americans are very proud of their Congress and institutions. And they are proud that the Congress is investigating the secret budgets of secret government organizations and that Congress is empowered to do so. Political parties, civil servants, the military, police, civilians, state enterprises, and the people all believe that the U.S. Congress is doing the right thing in line with democracy.

But in the Thai Parliament, certain working units have opposed the Budget Commission's bringing up the government's secret budget for the army for review. Worse than that, those so-called representatives of the people who were elected by the people and those who were nominated but are considered to be representatives of the people have opposed it. (It is strange that they do not perform the real duties delegated to them; why they burden themselves with such extra duties at all is not understandable, because there are some MP's who are more conscientious about doing their duties and who should work more with the members of Parliament.)

Members of the U.S. Congress believe that the national budget comes from taxes that the people pay, so they as the people's representatives must control expenses so that they will uphold the public interest as much as possible. But in Thai society, merely holding a high position is a sufficient qualification for administering secret or regular budgets. It should not be like this because some people in high positions are unscrupulous. In addition, Thai society is still underdeveloped because the Thai people believe more in individuals than in principles.

The House of Representatives' revisions to cut or increase the secret budget are measures that underscore political democracy. A budget is money that can be used to pay off debts legally: MP's should not respect it as something so sacred that it cannot be touched, because to do so would cause us to grope

blindly in ignorance. Those who use secret budgets confirm that they can be talked about (that they are not something sacred). The U.S. government has constantly played the role of big brother supporting and praising the Thai government. It has watched majestically over the budget expenses of the government's secret working units. Thai MP's would be justified in reviewing both the open and secret national budgets as is their duty.

Consequently, the secret budget matter is a measure of the conscientiousness of Thailand's Parliament in discharging its duties and of its level of democracy. If not, then the standing of Thailand's Parliament will fall far short of that of the U.S. Congress. Isn't that right, respected and beloved members of Parliament?

12597/12851  
CSO: 4207/113

## BRIEFS

TRADE DEFICIT DROPS--According to the Bangkok Bank Economic Monthly Review February 1987 issue, Thailand's trade deficit last year declined from 61,700 million baht in 1985 to only 20,300 million baht, the lowest trade deficit in the past 10 years. Besides the decrease in the trade deficit, Thailand's balance of payments was 33,500 million baht in surplus. The improvement in the country's monetary situation is attributed to effects of the government and the sharp decrease in crude oil prices in the world market. The import value of fuel oil and lubricants fell by 40 percent. [Summary] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0000 GMT 4 Mar 87 BK] /12624

TRADE DEFICIT WITH JAPAN DECREASES--Director of the office of the governor of the bank of Thailand Siri Kancharoendi has reported on the impact of the Japanese yen appreciation on Thailand's trade and external debt in 1986. He said that the appreciation of the Japanese yen against the baht had several positive effects on Thailand, such as trade, tourism and investment; however it might have an adverse impact on the country's external debt. According to figures for the first 10 months of 1986, Thai exports to Japan increased from 0.83 percent of that country's total imports in 1985 to 1.08 percent last year. At the same time, Thai imports from Japan fell as a result of the strong yen. Thus, Thailand's trade imbalance with Japan improved from a deficit of 40,000 million baht in 1985 to only 32,000 million baht last year. As of September of last year, the country's total external debt was \$16,000 million, of which about 30 percent was in yen owed by the government and state enterprises and another 2.8 percent in yen owed by the private sector. [Summary] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 4 Mar 87] /12624

SRI LANKAN AMBASSADOR--The Foreign Ministry reported on 12 March that the Thai Government had approved Sri Lanka's nomination of (R. Premaratane) as the new ambassador of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka to Thailand replacing (Kane Godaka Don Irwin Gameni Serirattananan). [Summary] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 12 Mar 87 BK] /12624

THAI RICE FOR LAOS--Permanent Secretary of the Agriculture and Cooperatives Ministry Chulanop Sanitwong Na Ayutthaya reported that the ministry had instructed the Farmers' Marketing Organization to ship 172 tons of 25-percent rice worth 900,000 baht to Vientiane, Laos, in August. This is in accordance with the request by the World Food Program in exchange for the organization's annual fund for assistance of the Indochinese refugees in Thailand. The help is also a gesture of good will from Thailand to Laos. The amount of rice given to Laos this year is the same amount as that of last year. [Text] [Bangkok NAE0 NA in Thai 12 Mar 87 p 3 BK] /12624

RICE EXPORT FIGURES--The Foreign Trade Department of the Commerce Ministry has reported that the country's rice exports between 1 January and 10 March totalled 948,728 metric tons, up 81,360 metric tons or 9.38 percent over the same period of last year. Of the total exports, 251,180 metric tons accounted for government sales and 697,548 metric tons for private sector sales, as of 10 March. Another 498,033 metric tons or so of rice will have to be delivered this year. [Summary] [Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0000 GMT 16 Mar 87 BK] /12624

PRIME MINISTER RETURNS FROM TOUR--Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon and his party have returned from his visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Spain, and arrived at the military airport of the Royal Thai Air Force at 0745 today. Upon his arrival, Gen Prem Tinsulanon disclosed that his trip abroad was highly successful both politically and economically. He was given a cordial reception by his counterparts during his stay in the four countries which, he said, indicated that Thailand has now been recognized by many countries as a result of the implementation of its foreign policy. During this trip, the prime minister said that the Cambodian problem was brought up for discussion more prominently than before. He believed that after his visit to the four countries, the Cambodian problem will be looked into more extensively.

/12624

CSO: 4207/160

## GENERAL VIEWS SAPPER CORPS COMBAT ART

BK191549 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2330 GMT 18 Mar 87

[Article by Major General Nguyen Tu Cuong in the March 1987 Issue of TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN: "On the Combat Art of Sapper Forces" marking the 20th anniversary of Sapper Corps]

[Text] The combat art of our combined arms in general and of the sapper forces in particular must be constantly improved and developed in line with the laws governing and new conditions of the armed struggle in the people's warfare to defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. The combat art of sapper forces is by nature offensive. However, offensive combat is usually the art of annihilating the adversary by using forces, facilities, and weapons that are superior to those of the adversary while the sapper forces' offensive combat is the art of eradicating the enemy with forces and facilities that are several times smaller than his.

Clearly realizing the need to constantly develop and improve this special offensive art is an essential and urgent requirement for the sapper forces in fulfilling their immediate and long range combat duties. First we should scrutinize and firmly grasp the various factors that determine the combat art of sapper forces.

We all know that there are three general factors in the armed struggle that decide the course and results of a battle, campaign, or other strategic operation: strength, position, and time. Strength depends on troops, equipment, and weapons both qualitatively and quantitatively. Position involves both battle plan and combat position. Time means both duration and opportunity. These factors are interrelated and reinforce one another. Strength is a basis on which positions and opportunities can be created to varying degrees. On the basis of such created positions and opportunities, we can enjoy simultaneously strength and favorable conditions for using the same amount of force to create greater combat strength and effectiveness than would be possible under normal conditions.

A company that is in a truly strong position and can take the initiative to attack at the best opportunity has greater combat strength and effectiveness than a regiment that launches an inopportune attack from a disadvantageous position.



The armed struggle is an hostile activity against human groups. It is a very dynamic activity involving both opponents. The factors of strength, position, and time are always dynamic. Strengths and weaknesses do not remain static on either side. A regiment is usually stronger than a company. However, if it is driven into a weak position, it will not be as strong as a company that is in a stronger position and has better opportunities.

The strengths of modern equipment and weapons are their accuracy, lethal effectiveness, and long-range operation, but their weaknesses are their dependence on logistics, technical support, and road and weather conditions.

The sapper forces' combat art is characterized by the use of small forces and fewer facilities to attack and annihilate larger and better equipped enemies. Once the attack has been launched, it must be aimed at specific targets to achieve special combat results.

Using small forces to score great victories over larger forces does not, of course, mean relying on superior strength to defeat weaker forces as in ordinary combat. In applying the rule governing relations among the factors of strength, position, and opportunity, the sapper forces' combat art is to create and rely on positions and opportunities superior to those of the enemy to create strength superior to that of the enemy to defeat him. This is also the core of the sapper forces' combat art.

The sapper forces' combat tactics in our people's warfare are a special form of offensive combat conducted by the specially organized, trained, educated, and armed forces. As a result, the formation and development of the sapper forces' combat art is further determined by the following subjective factors:

-- Such as the special combat duty of launching attacks to eradicate important targets deep into the enemy's strategic, tactical, and campaign positions. On many occasions, we had to launch attacks to overrun targets which we could not do through usual offensive methods. For example, during the anti-U.S. resistance struggle, when we lacked the air capability to attack the enemy deep in the rear, we used the sapper forces to destroy enemy aircraft at strategic air bases and to attack the puppet troops' general staff headquarters and the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

-- Another factor is the strategic position of the people's welfare and the characteristics of the specially courageous and creative combat tactics of the sapper forces. On the strength of this factor, sometimes a team or a just spearhead element of sapper forces can eradicate an enemy force that is several times more numerous or is solidly defended.

-- One more factor is the organization, equipment, tactical armament, and special tactics of the sapper forces. It is mainly on this basis that the sapper forces have creatively and victoriously used the various combat forms and measures to create strong positions and good opportunity to kill dozens and hundreds of enemy soldiers by the use of one man, and to use rudimentary and modern weapons to defeat the enemy having the best system of armament.

In the modern defense system, the defensive side normally gathers forces and uses many combat tactics in its forward elements and basic defense line in order to prevent a close combat breakthrough by the offensive side. This can be said to be the strongest aspect of the defensive side. To overcome this strong aspect, there are only two ways to either smash or neutralize it.

Normally, the offensive side uses superior force to smash this strong aspect of the defensive side, overrun the enemy, and occupy the defensive position. In case the enemy troops are numerous, the sapper forces use the combat art of overcoming this strong aspect by neutralizing all the strong points in the enemy's line of defense. Relying on their own strengths in terms of combat spirit and will, technical standards, well learned combat tactics, and compact and small organizations, the sapper forces capitalize on the elements of secrecy and surprise.

The sapper forces secretly sneak deep into the various barrier systems of the defensive side, stay inside the defense position, and approach the various targets of attack. Secret and deep penetration is a decisive measure to neutralize the strong points of the defensive side. It is at the same time a decisive condition for creating a position from which to strike the final blow. What is the most advantageous is that once we open fire, the enemy can not react. We are small but strong, the enemy is numerous but weak. Secret and deep penetration to create a position from which to launch a surprise attack on targets right in the center of the enemy's defense network has become a law to win victory. It is the very reason why the sapper forces' combat art has defined that deep penetration to over run targets, win great victories, and achieve high combat efficiency is the primary principle. The tactics of deep penetration to neutralize the enemy strengths and create our combat positions really constitute a course of extremely fierce and complicated combat even though fire has not been opened because the defensive enemy has combined many measures, tricks, facilities, weapons, and equipment to develop their strong points and limit their vulnerabilities and weaknesses.

If we look into the defense systems of the U.S.-puppet troops during their war of aggression in South Vietnam, we can see that those systems not only were strongly capable of preventing all of the sapper forces' combat operations of secret and deep penetration to over run targets. All the enemy defense bases were provided with all kinds of fire power, and surrounded by many strata of barrier and fence, mine fields, strong searchlights, sound detectors, and magic eye radar while patrols, guards, and ambushes were conducted day and night both inside and outside the bases.

To penetrate deep through those prevention and detection systems of the enemy really constitutes a course of opposing many strong points of the enemy. A small mistake and an irrelevant act could lead to casualties and defeat. If we failed to make deep penetration there would be no battle at all. To avoid the smallest mistake in case of strong enemy defense

and to be able to achieve secret and deep penetration, there should be careful and comprehensive preparations. Adequate preparations, preservation of secrecy, and surprise attack have become a law of victory. These are also the principles of a matter of life and death in the sapper forces' combat art.

Obviously, ordinary combat also requires adequate preparations, preservation of secrecy, and the element of surprise as one of the fundamental principles. However, this requirement of the sapper forces must absolutely reach the level of an art. Secrecy must be preserved to the extent that the enemy can not detect us when we penetrate and approach to attack and even after we complete the attack, the enemy still does not know how we have launched the attack.

During the anti-U.S. resistance struggle, there were three targeted attacks on an objective such as the one launched against the Long Binh base area. The enemies still could not definitely know whether this was our attack or they themselves tried to sabotage each other.

If we succeed in achieving deep penetration, we have made the first important step toward creating a strong position and a good opportunity to attack and eradicate the enemy because once we have successfully deployed our striking forces among the enemy defense line and formation, we have already created a very strong position from which to attack. Even if the enemy troops are numerous, their ranks are all confused and cut off and they become weak. Nevertheless the offensive forces are still in the position of using small and fewer forces to defeat larger ones. This requires that each combatant, each team, and each spearhead element of the sapper forces must create a position from which to launch surprise, simultaneous, and continuous attacks on one target after another in a resourceful and creative manner.

Since the time for launching surprise attacks is limited, we must launch a lightning attack to drive the enemy into confusion, making them unable to resist, reorganize, redeploy, and rescue each other. This is really an art and also a guiding principle in the combat tactics of the sapper forces. The aforesaid basic combat principles have correctly reflected the combat rule and art of the sapper forces. They are also the scope, procedures, and maneuvers of combat art based on strong positions and good opportunities which have been created to use the smallest force to defeat a strong and numerous enemy force in critical areas from the tactical, campaign, and strategic standpoints.

These fundamental combat principles are reflected in the tactics, campaigns, and strategic operations of the sapper forces such as the principles for deep penetration to launch selective attacks in a battle, a campaign, and a strategic operation. Evidently, the organization of forces and the forms and maneuvers of penetration in a battle differ from those of a campaign and strategic operation.

These fundamental combat principles must be thoroughly understood in the organization, development, equipment, and training of sapper forces. A combatant and a team of sapper forces can be an offensive spearhead element. The weapons and equipment of sapper forces must be light, compact, effective, multi-purposeful, convenient, and suitable to the tactics of secret and deep penetration for launching selective surprise attacks, using small forces to defeat larger ones.

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CSO: 4209/341

## BRIEFS

HANOI PUBLIC SECURITY ACHIEVEMENTS--Last year, the public security service of Hanoi was once again awarded the traveling banner by the Council of Ministers. The service was honored for the 5th year in a row, between 1982 and 1986, as the pacesetter of the Vietnam People's Public Security Force in the emulation movement for national security. It also won the outstanding emulator banner of the Ministry of Interior for its achievements in the movement to study and implement the six teachings of Uncle Ho. The People's Committee of Hanoi awarded the outstanding emulator banner to the following units of the public security service in the capital city: the Reactionaries Suppression Bureau; the Public Security Force of Dong Anh District; and the Public Security Force of Minh Khai subward, Hai Ba Trung ward. [Excerpt] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 7 Mar 87 BK]

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CSO: 4209/323

## BRIEFS

ROGACHEV ON SHEVARDNADZE TOUR--According to the Soviet news agency TASS, on 17 March, at the press center of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev held a press conference on the results of the visit to a number of countries in the Asia-Pacific region by Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet foreign minister. Comrade Rogachev pointed out: This visit was a concrete step aimed at implementing the Soviet Union's views on preserving peace and security in Asia and the Pacific. Many countries in the region think that the Soviet initiatives contain proposals which are acceptable and which respond to their interests. The meetings and talks held by Minister Shevardnadze in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam showed that the Soviet Union's system of multilateral cooperation with these countries, built over the past years, is functioning harmoniously and developing dynamically. The three Indochinese countries proceed from the viewpoint that normalization and improvement of relations with the PRC on the basis of equality and a principled stand will be a great contribution to purifying the atmosphere in Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole. Comrade Rogachev stressed: The continued search for various solutions to conflicts through political measures is not a one-sided action but a reciprocal process demanding some sort of response from the other side. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 18 Mar 87 BK] /12624

CSO: 4209/341

## COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION TO HOLD CONGRESS IN NOVEMBER

BK150750 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 1 Mar 87 pp 1, 4

[Text] The Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh communist Youth Union [HCMCYU] held a plenum in Hanoi from 23 to 28 February to discuss its tasks and the youth movement for 1987.

With determination to renovate the union's activities, to make practical contributions to the common efforts of the entire country in implementing the three major economic programs set forth by the sixth party congress, and at the same time to resolve three current pressing problems concerning youth, namely employment, study, and living conditions, the HCMCYU Central Committee decided to organize a movement of assault youths in propagandizing and applying technological advances in the production of grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods, and export articles. All HCMCYU grass-roots units should actively participate in building and implementing the new economic managerial system and combatting the system of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. By taking practical actions, all HCMCYU echelons should assert their position in the new managerial system. To disseminate and satisfactorily implement the party's social policy, HCMCYU organizations at all levels should apply themselves to creating jobs for youths by taking part in assigning laborers, developing various sidelines, and motivating youths to carry out household economic activities and to undertake youth construction projects. In 1987, the HCMCYU should concentrate on building assault youth units in all provinces and cities, raising the total number of assault youths from 50,000 to 100,000, thereby laying the foundation for greater developments during the next 5 years. The youth unions at all echelons should coordinate with the sports and physical education sector to provide youths with physical education and should participate in satisfactorily organizing the second national Phu Dong sports festival and in various tourism activities of youths. The youth unions should promote self-management activities, satisfactorily organize collective life in university students centers and families, contribute to building the new countryside, and promote a civilized life-style at public places. Grass-roots youth union organizations should motivate young people to participate in the struggle against negative phenomena and social evils and in the organizing of a new joyful, and healthy life. Concerning the national defense task, the grass-roots youth union organizations should renovate their methods of educating and motivating youths to implement the law on military obligation, help ensure that youths having

required qualities are called up in sufficient numbers for induction into the army, and enhance the quality and efficiency of the movement "for the forward strong points" and the movement for "coordination of three forces -- youth, public security, and army -- to maintain public order and security."

The HCMCYU Central Committee decided to convene the fifth national congress of delegates of the HCMCYU in November 1987. From now until the HCMCYU congress, one of the important tasks of the union is to organize for HCMCYU cadres and members to contribute opinions to the writing of the union Central Committee's draft report and the union's draft revised statutes. The HCMCYU appealed to youths throughout the country to play the role of an assault force in satisfactorily carrying out the union's program of action and conducting the youth movement in 1987.

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## PRESS ON NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CANDIDATES

BK161631 [Editorial Report] Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese on 8 March carries on pages 1 and 4 a 350-word report on activities in connection with the selection of candidates to run in the national assembly and people's council elections in Ho Chi Minh City. The report, however, does not say how many candidates the city has selected to stand in these elections.

NHAN DAN on 9 March carries on page 1 a 350-word report on activities in preparation for the coming national assembly and people's council elections in Hoang Lien Son, Phu Khanh, Thuan Hai, and Ha Nam Ninh provinces. The report does not mention the numbers or names of persons who have been nominated to run in these provinces.

NHAN DAN on 11 March carries on pages 1 and 4 a 500-word report on the selection of candidates to run in the national assembly and people's council elections in Quang Nam-Danang, Ho Chi Minh City, and Haiphong municipality. The report says: "Based on the recommendation of various basic organizations, 72 persons were selected as candidates to the eighth national assembly by Ho Chi Minh City at its first consultative conference."

NHAN DAN on 12 March carries on pages 1 and 4 a 650-word report on Minh Hai, Bac Thai, Lang Son, Hoang Lien Son, Thuan Hai, Hanoi, Dac Lac, and Tay Ninh recommending candidates for standing in the national assembly and people's council elections. Touching on activities in preparation for these elections in Hanoi municipality, the report says: "According to a preliminary report, 59 persons have been recommended for standing in the elections to the national assembly and the people's councils at the district, village, and corresponding levels. These include 12 scientific and technical cadres, 12 cadres and workers of the industrial sector, 10 cadres and members of agricultural cooperatives, and 9 cadres and members of handicraft cooperatives."

HANOI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese on 9 March on page 1 carries a 600-word report by VNA on activities in preparation for the elections to the national assembly and the people's councils at the district and village levels in Ho Chi Minh City, Thuan Hai, Ha Nam Ninh, and Ha Tuyen. The report does not say how many candidates have been selected in these localities.

QUAN DOI NHAN DAN on 12 March carries on page 1 a 550-word report by VNA on preparations for the coming national assembly and people's council elections in Cac Lac, Thai Binh, Tay Ninh, and Quang Ninh provinces. The report says: "The Dac Lac provincial VFF committee has held its first consultative conference to recommend eight candidates to run in the election to the eighth national assembly. Five of these candidates belong to the Ede ethnic group."

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## BRIEFS

PROVINCE PARTY HOLDS CONGRESS--According to a Voice of Vietnam correspondent, the party organization of Ben Tre Province held its fourth congress, second round [vongf hai], from 10-15 March. The 398 delegates attending the congress enthusiastically discussed the report recapitulating the previous provincial party committee and the orientations and tasks for economic construction and development in Ben Tre Province between now and the year 1990. According to its orientations for comprehensive economic development between now and the year 1990, Ben Tre Province will give first priority to developing the provincial economy in line with the three targeted economic programs set forth in the resolution of the sixth national congress of party delegates. The province will concentrate on developing its three spearhead crops, namely rice, coconuts, and sugarcane; gradually increasing its herd of hogs; and promoting fishery and the raising of marine products. The fourth congress of delegates of the Ben Tre Province party organization elected a new executive committee. Also attending the congress was Comrade Tran Kien, secretary of the party Central Committee Secretariat and head of the party's Central Control Committee. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 100 GMT 17 Mar 87 BK] /12624

CSO: 4209/341

## WAYS TO IMPROVE EXPORT POLICY OUTLINED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 13 Jan 87 pp 3, 4

[Article by Dang Van Tiep, delegate from Dong Nai Province to the National Assembly: "About Export Policy"]

[Text] In the recent past, Dong Nai Province has increased its export value annually and has fulfilled the norms on export deliveries to the central government 10 years in a row. The province still encountered difficulties in its export and import plans; however, in the past 3 years, it has achieved a gradual growth to strike a balance. It has made plans for commodity designs and investment in strategic exports, including coffee, pepper, shrimp, and squid, while developing and expanding step by step new exports, such as ginger, redwood nuts, and sesame, along with small-industry and handicraft articles, enabling its export activity to play the expected role of a foremost economic thrust.

Nevertheless, in light of its existing potential, its export value is still very low, and it still has great trouble making obligatory deliveries to the central government. A main reason lies in the constraints of the old system of state subsidies and bureaucratic centralism; the lack of a clear-cut and rational investment policy based on incentives, from the central to local levels, and of a satisfactory pricing policy; a shortage of merchandise and money to finance two-way economic contracts and the purchase of agricultural products for export; a failure of the central echelon to send adequate supplies both to contractors to enable them to produce goods for delivery to the state and to localities to exchange for their products; the manufacture of goods which are out of tune with production and living needs; a sluggish supply pace; and vague and inconsistent policies on distribution and on the right of localities and export producers to collect foreign exchange (or an equivalent in merchandise). Competitive purchases and sales and, more seriously, the practice of localities which do not produce for export of buying up goods at high prices have led to a sharp increase in prices and the use of a great amount of cash.

However, to help localities and basic installations attain production and business autonomy, especially in the field of export, and to encourage them more forcefully to increase export production, we suggest the following:

In light of the principle of "using all local capabilities fully and adequately to balance the plan at the maximum and build it diligently, cohesively, and firmly from the basic level up," the effort to achieve a production balance in agriculture, industry, small-industry, handicraft, and other sectors in Dong Nai Province must begin with agricultural exports. The local socioeconomic situation, including industry, has taken a turn for the better, mostly because of that balance. Hence, we should insist more on the right of localities and installations engaged in export production to collect foreign exchange, linking the size of foreign earnings proportionately to the quantity and quality of exports.

We should take special steps to achieve export efficiency and overcome current shortcomings by selecting consumer goods to suit the tastes of areas making agricultural products for export and by exchanging goods at appropriate and profitable agreed upon rates. Since goods are scarce, we must spend a large amount of cash to acquire them. The buying power of the dong will therefore go down and prices will go up, requiring additional cash input. Thus, since localities deliver their agricultural products to the state, it is best that the latter keeps handy a corresponding amount of industrial goods for exchange. Industry, small industry, and handicrafts in Dong Nai Province have come to understand fully that to survive and develop they have only one way--bending over backward to increase agricultural production and living standards. Agriculture is a leading battlefront, a life-and-death matter, a law, and a just cause for comprehensive socioeconomic development of the province.

Imports designed to boost agricultural production for export and commodities used by various sectors in product barter should absolutely comply with production and living requirements. In the past, a wasteful practice prevailed, with barter goods going out late and with upper echelons delivering only what was in stock. Producers were compelled to receive unneeded items (clocks, meat grinders, etc.) Therefore, we suggest that sectors be allowed to use their foreign exchange allotments to import goods or to ask other contracting parties to do so for them according to production needs, or to help localities develop their economies comprehensively and vigorously. Localities and basic installations must receive long-term assurances to give them peace of mind.

We were encouraged to see that the Council of Ministers has affirmed that agricultural products (in places where the state has made no investments) should be purchased at agreed-upon prices. Of course, these prices should be rational. To prevent man-made negative factors from influencing agreed-upon prices, we suggest that the Council of Ministers take effective steps to prohibit localities from hiking prices in order to purchase exportable products from other localities. Localities can export only those goods which they do produce. The Ministry of Foreign Trade cannot issue export licenses to localities seeking to export the kinds of goods which they do not produce. This is an important factor aimed at putting an end to the current practice of competitive purchases and sales, which has jacked prices up continuously.

To encourage the thrifty use of exportable commodities, we suggest that in case the central sectors ship that surplus to their own warehouses they should credit the influx to the export column of localities, thus enabling the latter to continue, as usual, to receive their foreign currency shares.

## INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE IN MEKONG RIVER DELTA

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 13 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Phong, delegate to the National Assembly from Dong Thap Province: "Invest in Agriculture in the Mekong River Delta"]

[Text] The Mekong River Delta is the nation's largest rice granary. According to estimates by the central government, by 1990 it can produce 8-9 million tons (compared with 4.1-4.3 million tons for the Red River Delta). Adequate investments can bring that figure higher.

In addition to rice, the region boasts a great potential in short- and long-term cash crops, fruit trees, saline-water forests, cajuput forests in sulfate-soil areas, animal husbandry, poultry, and marine products.

Mother Nature has graced the region with fertile land, year-round alluvial deposits by the Mekong River, a generous weather rarely marred by typhoons, and a confluence of light and heat that fits in well with animal husbandry and farming.

Indeed, difficulties exist--droughts, waterlogging, flooding, pests, epidemics among animals, saline soil along the coast of many provinces, and sulfate-heavy soil (in the quadrangle formed by Long Xuyen and Dong Thap Muoi). A worry is that the local manna tends to decline seriously (fish, shrimp, eel, turtles, snakes, and storks), attaining 60-70 percent in some places, compared with a few decades ago, since the environment has been badly damaged by nonscientific exploitation by man in the face of a rapid demographic rise.

In the days to come, the region will deteriorate further, or will develop very slowly, if no vigorous action is taken to introduce science and technology, new investments, and proper rearing, planting, and protective methods.

All this calls for a prompt and intensive effort to invest in the Mekong River Delta to create more grain and food for society and other agricultural exports.

In the past more 10 years, expressing their aspirations--and also worries--at CPV congresses at various levels and people's council meetings, local farmers have noted that the state has not provided them with enough supplies in time to meet their production needs.

Investments in agriculture in general and in the Mekong River Delta in particular have not delivered the goods because:

1. Implementation of the resolution of the Fifth CPV Congress is faulty, with a failure to use agriculture and consumer good industry as a basis for industrialization, overfinancing of heavy industry (whose many projects do not serve agriculture), and the earmarking of too little money for agriculture.
2. There is no consensus on turning the Mekong River Delta into the nation's primary agricultural center for fear of being unable to handle a production glut and ship it to the north. This has led to a tendency to allocate supplies and machinery irrationally, giving every area the same quotas and refraining from investing intensively in key centers.
3. A rational policy on the economic relationships between the state and peasants is lacking. Farmers who produce rice directly and localities which mass-produce it have received no truly proper attention. On the one hand, we acknowledge that rice is a strategic commodity; on the other, however, we do not translate this into policy. The more farmers and localities produce rice, the poorer they become. They should have made a fortune turning out a strategic commodity in abundance. This paradox is caused not by the riceplant, but rather by our policy.

To overcome these shortcomings, the group of delegates from Dong Thap Province to the National Assembly has suggested the following:

1. The state should intensively invest in agriculture in the Mekong River Delta by financing capital construction, chiefly water conservancy projects.

Funding should concentrate not only on rice but also on subsidiary food crops, cash crops, fruit trees, animal husbandry, marine products, and forestry. Areas with great economic potential should be vigorously exploited simultaneously with building water conservancy projects, opening roads, and redistributing local populations, using state farms as a stream-roller to bring people in.

We should introduce science and technology into agriculture, especially new crop varieties and biological knowledge. To do so, we should fight the tendency to delimit the land into closed areas with the duty of achieving self-supply and self-sufficiency; furthermore, we should foster local assets and coalesce them into the nation's strength. When all areas are allowed to nurture their advantages through a division of responsibilities, it will be imperative for them to achieve mutual assistance by maintaining economic cooperation ties and broadening commodity exchanges.

2. It requires a huge amount of capital and supplies to exploit new land in the Mekong River Delta--especially Dong Thap Muoi (in the three provinces of Long An, Dong Thap, and Tien Giang) or the Long Xuyen quadrangle (in An Giang)--which the localities cannot furnish because of budget constraints.

It is suggested that the central government direct its own economic units to invest capital and supplies directly in that region through local contracting, involving one area, one crop, or one animal at a time and emphasizing investigation, research, and economic analyses. Crop results will be split among investors in proportion to their shares. The central government may export agricultural products on the spot, and the localities may request it to export their own quotas. This is a very profitable endeavor, allowing central economic organs to stay close to local realities, evaluate the strong and weak points of localities and the merits of central guidance, promptly cater to production needs, and devise suitable policies to use the nation's potential. This being done, the volume of grain, food, and agricultural product exports will shoot up, thereby promptly generating a profusion of foreign exchange and revenue for the state and certainly reducing overdrafts and inflation.

3. Economic relationships between the state and peasants should be changed. More supplies should be sent to peasants in exchange for agricultural products. Purchasing prices should be very flexible and rational to favor those directly engaged in production, especially agricultural production, which is marked by hard work, adversities, and heavy dependence on nature--a factor often leading to capricious productivity.

4. In developing agriculture in the Mekong River Delta, we should simultaneously develop small industries, especially those involved in processing agricultural, forestry, and marine products, accelerate trade, and expand association and cooperation with other economic areas, enabling us to foster local pluses and blend them into the nation's strength. The central sectors' involvement in the region is based on common interest, with absolutely no parochial and local overtones.

5. We suggest that the central government strengthen its leadership and guidance over the region. A command cluster should be set up with enough authority to solve snags (in line with the division of responsibilities and common regulations) to handle the situation and address problems which may arise. In fact, in the past few years the effort to consult with, report, and suggest ways to solve problems to superior echelons has been very slow, because our elongated country makes travel from one region to another difficult.

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## INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL GUIDANCE URGED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 13 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Nghiem Xuan Yem, delegate from Hanoi City to the National Assembly: "About Guiding Implementation of the 1987 State Plan"]

[Text] The resolution of the Fifth Congress of the leading party outlined three great economic programs and affirmed the need for seeing agriculture as a foremost battlefield.

Thus, agriculture should rise to the occasion to carry out three major production tasks simultaneously. They are to develop grain production, along with food production, to ensure a full and adequate diet for the entire people and army; to develop the production of agricultural products for use as raw materials for the processing industries in small industry; and to develop the production of agricultural commodities for export, mostly tropical products of value.

In our opinion, to carry out these three tasks simultaneously, we should build and develop agriculture in a comprehensive and balanced manner and with a focus on high-yield intensive farming.

In past years, on the agricultural battlefield we have achieved important results through intensive cultivation and have begun to develop cash crops and animal husbandry. However, a general overview shows that guidance still focuses more on rice, enabling it to thrive, and less on subsidiary food crops, food crops, cash crops, and animal husbandry, resulting in an inability to make fast, vigorous, and sound progress.

In light of that agricultural production picture, we suggest that in planning for 1987 and the coming years, the party and state adopt tangible and synchronized policies and lines and strengthen leadership and guidance on the agricultural battlefield, truly developing production in a comprehensive and balanced fashion and with an emphasis on high-yield intensive methods.

We look forward to growing food crops intensively, steadily, and cohesively to add more food to the human diet and ensure feed for animal husbandry. In the 1987 plan, the norm of 2.4 million tons for subsidiary food crops (converted to paddy) is still low. Peasants should be therefore guided to attain 3 million tons.

We also look forward to seeing food belts take a clearer shape in the coming years, with luxuriant orchards around cities and industrial zones, first of all, the capital city of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

We look forward, especially, to seeing animal husbandry develop in a stable and solid manner and promptly mature into a main productive sector in agriculture.

In sum, we suggest that the effort to guide the implementation of the 1987 plan in the agricultural battlefield be started anew, with the stress not only on intensive rice farming but also on all aspects of production in cultivation and animal husbandry.

To guide people in implementing state plans successfully, state organs at all levels should achieve high efficiency in guidance and administrative work. We suggest that the party and state urgently study and draw experiences from the past to enforce compliance with all regulations, especially those concerning state plan management. In our judgment, the legal character of state plans and budgets should be heightened. Drafting state plans and budgets by the Council of Ministers is comparable to drafting laws. Passage of these state plans and budgets by the National Assembly turns them into laws. Therefore, guidance to implement a state plan should be as strict as guidance to enforce a law.

The resolution of the Sixth CPV Congress outlined 10 tasks, including those on fostering the laboring people's right to collective mastery, raising the managerial efficiency of the socialist state, and outlining the guidance and administrative skills of the party and state apparatus.

We look forward, in the atmosphere of general emulation to bring the resolution of the Sixth CPV Congress to completion, to seeing more progress in guidance and administrative skills in socioeconomic management so as to ensure successful implementation of the 1987 state plan.

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## WATER CONSERVANCY UPGRADING SEEN AS KEY TO PRODUCTION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 13 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Quat, delegate from Ha Bac Province to the National Assembly: "Two Important Measures Designed To Contribute to Implementing the Grain Program in the 1987 Plan"]

[Text] Ha Bac is an agricultural province marred by difficulties. That is why we were encouraged to see that the Council of Ministers has outlined, in its report, the methods, procedures, and measures designed to implement the three great economic programs--grain and food, consumer goods, and export goods--which were put forward by the resolution of the Sixth CPV Congress.

To contribute, along with the entire nation, to bringing to completion the three economic programs, especially the grain and food one, our group of delegates offers the following two suggestions:

1. A midland province, Ha Bac has been laboring under difficulties in developing agriculture, especially those stemming from natural calamities--flooding, waterlogging, and droughts--which have taken place 4 years in a row (1983-86). Flooding and waterlogging have seriously damaged agricultural production in Ha Bac. Our party organization and ethnic people have concentrated manpower and various measures on fighting calamities; however, the results were still limited. Water conservancy projects, which were built many years ago, were upgraded, but that effort still lacked synchronization and balance because management was not cohesive and unified from the top down, and especially because the supply of electricity and spare parts for repairs were deficient. Hence, in general, pumping stations involved in irrigation and drainage could operate at best at 50 percent of capacity. This is not to say that in the past 6 years, there has been very little funding for new water conservancy projects. Only one pumping station in Dang Xa (Yen Phong), which was built in 1983 and put into commission in 1986, took part in reducing to a certain extent the 10th-month crop acreage hit by waterlogging in the districts of Soc Son, Dong Anh (Hanoi), Yen Son, and Tien Son (Ha Bac).

In our opinion, to carry out the grain and food program successfully, we should resolutely overcome the faulty tendency to slight agriculture and, particularly, to refrain from investing intensively in a foremost technical endeavor--water conservancy.

In light of local realities, we earnestly and urgently suggest that the Council of Ministers invest capital, supplies, and spare parts in a synchronized manner in water conservancy projects, which were built many years ago, to repair and renovate rundown components and obsolete, dilapidated, and damaged equipment. Energy should be supplied promptly to make the most of these facilities and ensure adequate irrigation and drainage to serve acreage expansion and intensive cultivation. Furthermore, on the basis of local planning by the water conservancy sector, we should invest vigorously in new projects--especially those that are apt to contribute to a rapid increase in agricultural commodities--striving to put them into commission in the last years of the 5-year plan to meet the norms of the grain and food program by 1990.

Aside from building new water conservancy projects, we should not neglect the need to repair and strengthen the dike network. Ha Bac has four big rivers with more than 490 km of dikes and tens of underground culverts and protective walls. This is a strategically located project which protects production and the people's lives and living standards and which has a great economic, political, and social impact. In recent years, however, state funding for dike repairs has been little.

The main sections of the dike system and sluices were not adequately fortified, costing people a pretty penny and holding them at bay each year during the flooding season. We suggest that each year the state make an appropriate effort to reinforce and elevate dikes, repair protective walls and culverts, diligently overcome the disaster created by predatory floods, and protect the lives and property of the state and people.

2. Simultaneously with water conservancy measures, the Council of Ministers should promptly take truly effective steps to remove snags and send supplies to the agricultural battlefront. In our judgment, this is a key and pressing activity which plays a substantial role in accelerating intensive farming and multicropping and in increasing the production of grain, food, and agricultural exports. The supply of provisions to agriculture will also consolidate production relationships and help establish an equitable agricultural contract system. In implementing Directive No 100 people were left to themselves--a situation which prevailed not only in basic cooperatives but also at the district, provincial, and even central levels. The state has supplied tools, draft power, provisions, fertilizer, and insecticide to basic installations without caring for economic and technical standards. Worse still, it has not made good on two-way contracts with peasants. This has led lower echelons to pass the buck. The supply of provisions to agricultural production is also aimed at achieving equality between

production installations, their laborers, and the state and at strengthening the confidence of the peasant class and handicraft workers in the CPV and state. Currently, the supply of provisions is still beset with difficulties although our party and state have issued many resolutions and decisions on the matter. Supplies, already scarce, are spread thin to many sectors, where they are stolen, diverted to private merchants, and intercepted before reaching their destinations. When they do arrive, they tie the hands of cooperatives and growers. In cahoots with speculators, profiteers make a fortune blackmailing and exploiting peasants illegally. These phenomena should be dealt with appropriately.

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## BRIEFS

SON LA WIRED-RADIO NETWORK--In 1986, Son La Province consolidated and built 45 wired-radio stations for various sectors and cooperatives, laid 50 km of new transmission cable, and set up scores of new clusters of loudspeakers, raising the total number of loudspeaker clusters in the entire province to 256 with nearly 1,000 large loudspeakers. [Excerpt] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 6 Mar 87 B K]

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## BRIEFS

CHIEF JUSTICE DIES--The Party and People's Committees of Ho Chi Minh City, the VFF, the Supreme People's Court, and the bereaved family announce with deep sorrow that: Comrade Pham Van Bach, born on 18 June 1910; native of Khanh Loc, Tra Vinh (Cuu Long); member of the CPV, member of the VFF Central Committee Presidium; former National Assembly deputy, first, second, and third legislatures; former chairman of the Nam Bo Administrative Resistance Committee; chief justice of the Supreme People's Court; and recipient of the Resistance Order, first class, and Independence Order, first class; Passed away at the age of 77 at 1200 on 8 March due to old age and failing health following a long period of illness in spite of the dedicated care and treatment by the party, government, and doctors. His remains are laying at rest at No 272 Vo Thi Sau Street, 3d Precinct, Ho Chi Minh City. A Memorial service will be held at 1420 on 11 March 1987. The burial service will be at the Municipal Cemetery. [Text] [Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 10 Mar 87 p 1 BK] /12624

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END