



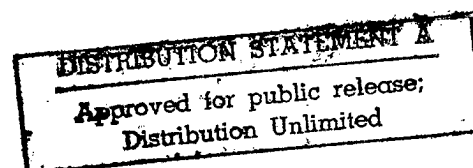
**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

East Asia

Southeast Asia

19980113 192



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East Asia Southeast Asia

JPRS-SEA-92-007

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16 April 1992

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Khmer Rouge Mining, Leadership in Pailin

92SE0197B Bangkok *BANGKOK POST* in English
6 Mar 92 p 27

[Article by Suphaphon Kanwirayothin]

[Excerpts] "No deaths so far, only a few legs lost. And malaria, of course." Veteran gem-miner Somchai was totting up the price paid by gemstone prospectors in this resource-rich area of a country worn down by war.

Somchai (not his real name), is 43. He was born in Chanthaburi but spent most of his youth in Pailin, just across the Cambodian border. It was only two years ago that he was able to return to work peacefully in the place he last saw in the 1970s.

"In my younger days, Chanthaburi was a small and backward town compared to the bustling Pailin," said Somchai, reminiscing about a time when a four-hour motorbike ride along dirt tracks was his means of transport back and forth between the two cities.

Before the war reduced it during the 1980s to the ghost town it is today, Pailin was home to more than 400,000 people, plus frequent visitors from Thailand like Somchai.

With two decades of gem-hunting experience, Somchai is considered a valuable asset of one of the five Thai companies that have bought concessions to mine for precious sapphires and rubies in Pailin.

Organised and recognised by the Khmer Rouge, which controls the zone in cooperation with the Thai military, gemstone mining resumed officially in Pailin two years ago.

Under the system of concessions, workers are able to cross from the Ban Pakkad checkpoint on the Thai side straight to the sites in Pailin using a pass which carries the holder's picture. Valid for one year, the laminated pass states the holder's identity and his affiliation in both Thai and Khmer languages.

This arrangement, which has become possible as armed clashes have subsided, has reduced the risk to life. According to Somchai, those operating in Pailin feel safer than prospectors in Bo Lang, which adjoins Bo Rai District of Trat.

"Here the Khmer Rouge guarantee safety from dangers other than landmines and malaria. But in the areas across from Bo Rai, they don't," said Somchai's boss, who asked not to be identified.

But even with that guarantee there is reason for fear. Somchai said: "We are afraid of anti-tank mines, which can kill us, even more so than anti-personnel mines that may cost us a limb," said Somchai. [passage omitted]

An outbreak of fighting between rival Khmer factions caused a two-month stoppage in June and July last year. The companies had to move their workers and their

costly equipment to the Thai border. They also helped to evacuate Khmer Rouge villagers to safe shelters near the border during that time.

Somchai recalled that Prince Sihanouk had visited Pailin in 1967 and again in 1970. The trip last Thursday and Friday was part of his unification tour around Cambodia.

"Don't talk to strangers. I cannot guarantee you against trouble," one Khmer Rouge officer supervising the "receiving line" warned a Khmer woman.

The woman, who speaks Thai, responded to the order with a smile, and interpreted this message for reporters. [passage omitted]

According to I-Chien, the regional military commander, there are about 23,000 Khmers living in 42 villages in the Pailin area.

Along the 20-kilometre road laterite road built by mining concessionaires that links the border checkpoint and Pailin, massive mounds of reddish earth bespeak the intensity of the search for precious stones.

"Logging fetches tangible profits. As you count the number of logs, you are looking money right in the eye. But with mining, we have to rely on chance," said an executive.

Besides gemstones, the same formal arrangements by the Khmer Rouge and Thai authorities apply to logging activities in another section of western Cambodia opposite Chanthaburi. [passage omitted]

Mining operations can continue despite the arrival of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, whose contingent will also be stationed in Pailin, Khmer Rouge officials said. After all, mining concessions and royalties from the gemstones earn them their livelihood.

The Thai workers in Pailin said the Khmer residents knew nothing of a normal working life, for whatever reason.

"They are not interested in getting a job," said a Thai miner.

To the Khmer inhabitants of Pailin, there is no need for such a thing as a job. Phen, a combatant since 1979, and trained in China, said "the government" takes care of his family's needs.

Born in Kampong Chhang province, Phen (not his real name) said he goes to "the front" for about nine months in a year. Trucks carrying supplies from Thailand travel to the front and back twice a month to support defence operations.

While on assignment at the front deeper inside Cambodia, Phen receives 500 baht salary. His wife and two children, settled in Pailin, receive whatever they need—food, clothing, and other necessities—from "the government."

Once back in the rear with his family, Phen is paid 150 baht.

Phen, who commands a platoon whenever at the front, has no complaints about his assignments. The front line of the Khmer Rouge zone in western Cambodia must always be guarded by more than 1,000 troops, he said.

"If it is not guarded, forces of the Phnom Penh army will harass us around here," he said.

Asked how he visualises his future without front-line assignments, he said: "I don't know yet... But there are gemstones around here."

Columnist Discusses Vietnamese Influence

92SE0197A Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English
13 Mar 92 p 4

[Column by Jacques Bekaert]

[Excerpts] "When you see Prince Sihanouk please tell him we are very worried about the Vietnamese, about the soldiers, about the settlers. They keep coming, more and more of them. They are never controlled at our border. They do what they want. Please tell him."

The man is what you could describe as an average Cambodian citizen. I have known him for years. He is a midranking cadre of the present regime. I always considered him a moderate. A man of good common sense. He was not the first one to talk about the Vietnamese, nor the last one claiming that Vietnamese settlers still arrive in large number in Cambodia, and that they can cross borders as they please. [passage omitted]

Prince Sihanouk told us during recent conversations at the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh that he was annoyed by the constant attacks made by the Khmer Rouge against Vietnam. The prince admitted that many of his compatriots tend to blame the Vietnamese for everything that goes wrong in the country. "I told my people they cannot continue to blame everything on the Vietnamese," said Sihanouk. [passage omitted]

It is easy to see that the reports on the continued presence of Vietnam troops in Cambodia are fabricated, argued Radio Hanoi a few weeks ago. Several sources told us that a few Vietnamese soldiers have settled in Cambodia with their family, sometimes their Khmer wife, at the end of their tour of duty. And, warned a senior Russian diplomat, if you are looking for Vietnamese with weapons, you will find plenty of them. But they are not soldiers, he explained. They are civilians who, like most Vietnamese, are afraid of the Khmer Rouge and keep a rifle at home. They have no other goal than to protect themselves, he added.

Now it seems that UN sources believe there are some elite Vietnamese troops near Siem Reap. This is hardly surprising. Siem Reap has long been a target of the resistance, especially of the Khmer Rouge. To gain control of Angkor would have given the resistance a

tremendous claim to the country. To lose Angkor would have been tragic for the Phnom Penh regime.

I remember a visit to Siem Reap in 1990. "All Vietnamese soldiers have already left," a local party source said. "But I met some Vietnamese soldiers at the market," I replied. "They left today," he said. Suddenly a rumbling noise filled the salon of the Grand Hotel where the conversation was taking place. I rushed to the window in time to see a column of Vietnamese tanks and APCs [Armored Personnel Carriers] rushing toward Angkor. "What is this?" I asked my interlocutor. "It is nothing," he said and concluded the conversation.

Official attitude in Phnom Penh has not changed today. On the record everybody will deny there are still any Vietnamese soldiers on Cambodian soil. But said a source a few days ago in Hanoi, Phnom Penh has requested the presence of a few elite troops just to prevent the Khmer Rouge from pushing too far.

The Cambodian People's Army, the Phnom Penh force, it is true, are not in great shape. Like all Cambodian armies they are underpaid, underfed and anxious to go home. Does Hanoi still have much influence in Cambodia? Yes said a senior East European diplomat based in Phnom Penh, but one must distinguish what kind of influence we are talking. Vietnam is a big country next to Cambodia. So there is a lot of commercial relations between Vietnam and Eastern Cambodia. The Mekong remains a main axis of communication, so a lot of Cambodian goods must transit through Vietnam.

But politically, the influence is not the same, noted the diplomat. Many sources in Phnom Penh told us in the past few years that in fact the most powerful leaders of the ruling Pracheachon party were old fashioned nationalists with little sympathy for Vietnam. People like Chea Sim, Sar Kheng or Say Chhum do not care much about Vietnam, several reliable sources said. Most of them learnt about politics while in the ranks of the Khmer Rouge.

There remains outstanding problems in bilateral relations, admitted Radio Hanoi following the visit to Phnom Penh of Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam. [passage omitted]

Most Cambodians will tell you that among the unsolved problems and one of the most pressing is that of the continuous flow of Vietnamese settlers to Cambodia. They come without visa, cross the border without being controlled. "This is not fair," a Phnom Penh resident said, an opinion shared by the small crowd surrounding us.

There is no doubt that the machinery of the State of Cambodia is still fairly effective, that border control of Vietnamese immigrants is sometimes nonexistent. But the Vietnamese coming to Cambodia in search of a better life have probably nothing to do with any deliberate policy from Hanoi.

Is Vietnam out of Cambodia? No of course not. Beside the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese civilians living in the country and in tribution to the economic development of the country, Hanoi maintains an important intelligence network in Cambodia. For Vietnam, Cambodia is still a matter of National Security, noted a Russian diplomat in Phnom Penh. Hanoi cannot afford to ignore what is going on in Cambodia at a time when the peace process is so fragile and the Khmer Rouge so active.

Some Vietnamese agents may still work in the Interior and Defence ministries, said a reliable Khmer source, but they do not try to influence policy, or decide policies as they did so much in the past. A source familiar with the Vietnamese security service remarked that any agents will probably remain undetected. It could be the man selling Pho, or the barber around the corner, or even a humble fisherman near the Tonle Sap, the source said. But, he added, their role is to report, to be the ears and eyes of Hanoi, not to rule Cambodia.

Most countries in a similar situation would indeed want to keep a good intelligence network in the country, commented a Western diplomat. Especially since the two most powerful forces in Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge and the Pracheachon party are still so secretive, and the Khmer Rouge represents a major threat.

A few months ago leaders from the Phnom Penh regime asked Vietnam for more military assistance, said a Cambodian source. Hanoi refused, arguing it would constitute a breach of the Paris agreement. This was a clear sign that Hanoi has really changed its positions toward Cambodia.

The Vietnamese issue is slowly fading away, claims a Phnom Penh intellectual with no sympathy for the ruling Pracheachon party. We are fully reassured that Hanoi has no more intentions to try to rule our country. We don't believe that Hanoi still has the way and means to do it. The Vietnamese have enough problems with their own economy," added a source close to Prince Sihanouk.

Thai Corporation's Analysis of Economy, Investment*92SE0146A Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 5 Jan 92 p 8*

[Article by Office of Economic Advisors, Charoen Phokphan Group]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In the past four to five years Laos has begun to open up and permit more contact with the countries of the world. Laos changed the administration of its economy in line with the concept called, "the new thinking," which opened the way for more trade. [passage omitted] In addition the Soviet Union began to reform its economy and political system and also ended its military support for other countries including the countries of Indo-china. This had the effect of improving the trade and investment relationship between Laos and other countries. It had an especially good effect on relations with Thailand and provided one way of alleviating economic problems such as the lack of domestic raw materials and the problem of trade competition which was steadily worsening. It is hoped that in the future trade and investment between Thailand and Laos will help develop both countries.

Economic and social data for the LPDR [Lao People's Democratic Republic].

At present Laos is among the poorest nations in the world. The average annual income per person is only U.S.\$180. It has a population of 4 million. About 43.5 percent of the population is working age—between 20 and 59. About 56.3 percent of the population is children or old people aged 0 to 19 or over 60. The birth rate is about 2.9 percent per year. Gross domestic product is increasing at the rate of 9.1 percent. The inflation rate is 18.6 percent. Laos is the sixth riskiest country for investment. [passage omitted]

Investing in Laos.

1. Inducements to invest in Laos have much to attract foreign investors.

1) Labor costs are low because living standards in Laos are generally lower than in Thailand and the Lao are generally poor. The average income is only U.S.\$180 per year. The government was not able to increase the income of the people either before changing the system to socialism or after and so now the people are still poor.

2) Laos still has abundant resources, especially in forests and minerals. These could be used as raw materials for various industries which could be set up later on.

3) Laos has the right to gain special tariff status (GSP)

4) The price of electricity in Laos is low because it is able to generate electricity with water power, and it has abundant other energy sources, especially oil and coal, which have not been developed for use.

2. Lao regulations concerning investment.

Laos has put into effect laws to encourage foreign investment and has set up a "committee to encourage investment" headed by the prime minister. The investment laws include ministerial regulations specifying the initial steps to be taken and the documents to be supplied when someone is interested in providing the documents to indicate an interest in investing to the unit or province where he wishes to invest. Then the province will send all these documents to the committee to encourage investment for permission. When permission is granted, officials will provide documents as proof that the investment can proceed at the province level without having to go through Vientiane. The regulations or policies of each province are not required to all be the same.

Investment in Laos must be in accordance with the "law concerning foreign investment in the LPDR of 1988," which specifies three types of investment:

(1) Business according to contract is joint investment between foreign investors and economic units of the state, collectivities, or Lao state-private stock companies. The goals of the business, the benefits to and responsibilities of each side, and the relationship of the two sides in the venture are to be agreed upon and specified by contract.

(2) Joint ventures are the joint investments of foreign investors and Lao investors under the regulations for joint ventures and according to an agreed upon contract. Such joint ventures have the status of a juristic entity and must operate according to Lao law. The division of profits and the responsibility for losses is done according to the ratio of shares held by each side. The investment of the foreign investors must be more than 30 percent of the total. The term of the investment may be agreed upon by the parties with the consent of the central government and must be specified by contract. But both sides may agree to extend the contract within one year of the end of the contract.

(3) Enterprises which are unilateral investments. These are direct foreign investments which have the status of juristic entities. The term of the investment is not to exceed 15 years. In some cases the term may exceed 15 years depending on the type of production activity or business.

In addition the Lao Government will provide various other benefits. For example investors may send profits out of the country if done according to Lao foreign currency regulations. The government will waive profit taxes for joint ventures and enterprises which are unilateral investments for Two to four years starting with the year that the enterprise starts up and earns a profit and will reduce profit taxes by 50 percent in the first two years that taxes are collected depending on the type of business. The state will not collect profit taxes if the profits are reinvested. If the enterprise loses money in the years that it is exempt from taxes, it will be permitted to apply the exemption to another year or years for up to

five years after the end of the period of exemption in order to make up for the losses.

Laos has set up a system for taxing income from foreign investments. The rate for this tax varies for each business sector but not with regard to the form of the foreign investment. In general the rate for this tax varies as follows:

- 1) Investments in road and bridge construction, irrigation, agriculture, farming and industrial agriculture must pay a tax of 20 percent.
- 2) Investments in oil production and surveying and in forestry must pay a tax of 30 percent.
- 3) Investments in goods production, housing construction, repair operations and services must pay a tax of 35 percent.
- 4) Investments in surveys for minerals, glassware production, hotels, tourism, restaurants and various forms of entertainment must pay a tax of 40 percent.
- 5) Investments in commerce, banking and insurance must pay a tax of 50 percent.

These taxes are to be paid every three to six months. The Ministry of Economics, Planning and Finance will decide which businesses will pay during which period.

3. The types of activities in which Thai businesses have invested in Laos.

The types of businesses in which the Thai have invested in Laos include:

- 1) Processing wood. The forests are a Lao natural resource which have attracted many Thai investors. About 48 percent of Lao territory is forest covered (in 1985). Thai businessmen began to take a great deal of lumber from Laos in 1988. Later Lao officials temporarily prohibited lumber exports. In 1989 a number of Thai companies set up wood processing plants and factories to produce wooden house furnishings (furniture) in Laos. Later most of these companies stopped operations in Laos because of the many problems and obstacles to business.
- 2) Clothing. Businesses producing clothing for export in Laos have received important support. Laos has received special trade privileges from the EC, Canada and Japan, and the labor costs are very low in Laos. Thai clothing businesses have encountered serious difficulties which are getting worse so some Thai businessmen have set up production operations in Laos.
- 3) Hotels and tourism are activities in which Thai investors have shown a great deal of interest. Many Thai business groups have announced their intention to invest in hotels in important Lao cities such as Vientiane, Savannakhet, Pakse, and Champassak etc.
- 4) International commerce.

5) Other types of business such as mining, banking, cigarettes and construction etc.

Laos has a policy of transforming its state enterprises. It is transforming those enterprises which are inefficient, are not very profitable or are losing money. Private parties will be allowed to bid for them. They will be allowed to buy or rent them. This will also require reaching an agreement with the government. If an agreement cannot be reached, the Lao Government will retain the enterprises which are not very profitable or are losing money but may still need to continue operating them unless they were not necessary and then they might be closed. The state enterprises which need to be transformed first are the plywood operations.

Problems and obstacles to Thai-Lao economic relations.

1) The economy collapsed under the socialist system causing Laos to be poor, heavily burdened with foreign debt and with a high rate of inflation.

2) Transportation, communications and public utilities have not been cared for and are of poor quality. They are obstacles for transportation and investment.

3) Brainpower has fled the country to a large extent.

4) Although there is a desire to open the country and transform the economy, the administrators and specialists lack the knowledge and experience for the new system so the process has been very slow.

5) Although investment laws and regulations have been put into effect, they are not complete and are so ambiguous that investors lack confidence.

6) The standards for the production and quality of goods are low, similar to the skills of the workforce and labor costs. Labor costs will probably be set by the state which will make capital requirements higher than expected.

7) Laos lacks hard currency so it does not have a medium for buying and selling goods. It must use the barter system for trade (barter trade) which is not convenient for conducting trade. In addition this lack of hard currency has caused Laos to violate regularly its contracts for paying for goods.

8) Problems with the labor force. There is very little skilled labor. Although there is some unskilled labor to be found, there are problems with work discipline because the Lao are used to conducting their lives in a village setting and have problems when they work in a modern production facility. For example they have problems with being on time, lacking enthusiasm for work, being slow and being accustomed to sleeping during the day or "napping" etc.

9) The market for goods in Laos is small. Laos has a population of only 4 million which has a low income. As a result the domestic market is small and does not support investment in production for sale in Laos.

10) There is the problem of the mutual lack of trust in Thai-Lao business dealings. The old attitudes concerning nationality are still prevalent, and these are an obstacle which keep trade relations between Thailand and Laos from developing as much as they should.

11) Environmental problems. Concerns about preserving nature and the environment have had an effect on various businesses which have come to invest in Laos because foreign businesses in Laos generally invest hoping to use the natural resources which are abundant in Laos. If there are more environmental limitations, it will greatly affect how attractive Laos is for foreign investment in the future.

Recommendations of the Thai Chamber of Commerce for conducting business with Laos.

1) Purchase raw materials needed by Thailand from Laos and sell the consumer goods needed by Laos by bartering. This would take care of the lack of hard currency in Laos.

2) Set up branches in Laos, perhaps with Lao acting as representatives of Thai companies. They would import the consumer goods needed and distribute them instead of the Thai companies.

3) Investments in Laos are suitable in those businesses which do not require a great deal of investment and do not require high technology.

4) Businesses should recirculate the kip acquired from selling goods in Laos by purchasing in Laos the raw materials needed to supply the factories set up in Laos. In the case of joint investments in Laos, if there is no factory in Laos, raw materials should be brought out instead of bringing out kip. Or the kip could be saved.

5) When conducting business in Laos, businessmen must buy and sell through units of the central government, which could be Lao government enterprises.

Table 1 Economic and Social Data for the LPDR

Category	Amount
Population density	18 people/square km
Birth rate	2.9 percent per year
Infant mortality	97 (per 1000)
Literacy rate	83.9 percent
Population per doctor	6,495
Population per telephone	450
Forested area	48 percent of the country (in 1985)
GNP per person	U.S.\$180
GDP growth rate	9.1 percent
Current account	U.S.\$94.3 million deficit
Foreign debt	U.S.\$0.6 billion
Increase in consumer price index	18.6 percent

Table 1 Economic and Social Data for the LPDR (Continued)

Category	Amount
Important exports	Tin ore, teak, coffee
Important imports	Food, clothing, machinery
Important crops	Coffee, corn, ramie, hemp, kapok
Important industries	Cement, beer, plywood, electrical power
Country's danger level for investment	Level 6
Exchange rate	28 kip per baht

Sources: Documents from the seminar, "Methods, Procedures and Regulations for Trade with the Countries of Indo-china", at the Export Training Division; Asia Week, November, 1991; World Development Report 1991; Thahan Thai Bank Ltd., 6 December, 1991

Vientiane Control Measures Against Subversion

92SE0168A Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao
29 Jan 92 p 2

[Announcement of Vientiane Prefecture Administration signed by Dr Siho Bannavong]

[Excerpt] To: All departments of the Vientiane Municipality and every district within the Vientiane Municipality.

This regards maintaining peace and order in society in the face of the destructive schemes of the enemy who is using many different kinds of operations and methods to cause confusion and make society unstable such as: propaganda to misrepresent the policies of the party and state, antisocial behavior, arson, bombings, murder, burglary, causing accidents on various highways, etc.

The administration of the Vientiane Municipality consequently would like to announce to every organization, every service, and every person that they should do as follows: 1. Set up regular watches within every state organization, state enterprise, private organization, and area to assure safety. 2. Organize patrols to follow the operations of bad persons and stop them promptly. 3. Collect information and reports regularly for one's organization and upper echelons. If there are unusual events which are important, inform public security officials urgently. 4. Units which are building the grassroots in each village must coordinate with the village administration in checking for and correcting situations on all sides. 5. Any person who is not a member of an armed unit and who has a weapon, ammunition, or explosives must report this to public security officials. 6. Restaurants which conducted business in 1991 and plan to continue must register for 1992. In this registration they must specify the purpose and program for conducting the business. Organizations which were involved in this business before there was registration are to go through the municipal administrative committee beforehand. 7. Traveling about, meeting people, playing music, driving a vehicle and singing are permitted only until 2330 hours

(twenty-three hours thirty minutes). When it reaches that time, officials will conduct a strict inspection. [passage omitted]

Vientiane

20 January 1992

The Administrative Committee

Vientiane Municipality.

Dr Siho Bannavong

Khamtai Siphandon Biographic Details Reported

92P30084A Bangkok MATICHON SUT SAPDA
in Thai 28 Feb 92 p 78

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] LPDR [Lao People's Democratic Republic] Prime Minister General Khamtai Siphandon, 68, replaced Kaysone Phomvihane who became the nation's president. The two are fairly similar politically: both are hawkish Marxists in the Vietnamese model.

Khamtai was born on 8 Feb 1924 in Attapeu. Very few people know about his childhood. It is known only that

while the French still governed Laos, he worked in the post office department. He joined the central committee of the Lao People's Party in March, 1955. After that, he became a member of the Patriotic Front's central committee. He became the commander of the People's Liberation Army in 1965 and was named to the politburo at the Second Congress of the Lao People's Party. [passage omitted]

Although Khamtai has the reputation of being one of only a few with real political power, it is strange that he keeps so much to himself. Before he became prime minister, he practically never appeared in the news and even more rarely had any contact with the West.

He has been awarded the gold medal of Laos, the country's highest award. His foreign decorations include those from Vietnam, Cambodia, the USSR, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, and Mongolia. He is married to Mrs. Thongvan and they have six children.

From a benighted, backward childhood, he achieved his country's highest position through industriousness, perseverance, and effort.

POLITICAL

Columnist Seeks Changes in U.S. Ties

92SE0200B Bangkok *DAILY NEWS* in Thai
13 Mar 92 p 2

[Column by Trairat Sunthonpraphat: "Thailand and America"]

[Excerpts] Communism is crumbling. Leaders of the remaining communist countries are apprehensive that they might be toppled by their people. Thailand, therefore, has no lingering fear of communism.

Superpowers have lost their importance considerably. Thailand is free from kowtowing to the Great Eagle and is now seeking to open talks with Washington, that will reflect new attitudes toward each other.

Thailand wants to be accepted as an equal of the U.S., not as a country in perpetual need of U.S. aid. On the contrary, at present Thailand is able to give aid to other poor, underdeveloped countries.

Now is exactly the right moment, because after the coup d'etat on February 23 of last year that toppled the elected government of General Chatchai Chunhawan, the U.S. has projected a cold and distant attitude toward the interim government of Thailand by suspending all U.S. aid. The U.S. has been putting economic and trade pressure on us, threatening us with Clause 301, accusing Thailand of protectionism, of violating intellectual copyrights and medicine patents, and of causing the U.S. a huge trade deficit.

Concerning military issues, for many decades Thailand has served as a front for the U.S. in an anticommunism fight. As a result, Thailand has been almost destitute, and has been lagging economically behind countries like South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Malaysia. We have just now woken up with a realization that we have to depend on ourselves, not on others. [passage omitted]

A revision of Thai foreign policy toward the U.S. should develop more in the way of asking for cooperation, understanding, compassion, and for the U.S. to consider Thailand as an equal, to stop looking at Thailand as a minion or a follower, and to stop believing that U.S. dollars can intimidate everyone. [passage omitted]

ASEAN must forge a stronger economy as a bargaining means against other countries, especially against the U.S., who puts pressure on smaller countries for her own economic gain.

Thailand has expressed changes in attitude in order to develop a more suitable approach when dealing with the U.S., as befitting the present world situation.

To put it in plain language, we want to have our Thai style freedom, including military freedom. We want nobody's influence. At one point, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had to discuss with the military a reduction

of Thai-American military exercises from 42 to three or four times annually. There is no more cold war or the threat of communist invasion. If military problems actually materialize, we still have the Manila Treaty, which can be invoked any time it is needed.

Concerning naval bases, many countries have succeeded in inviting the U.S. in. Singapore and Indonesia allow for the repair and maintenance of U.S. warships, without mentioning the word naval bases. Nevertheless, they are naval bases. Malaysia and Thailand do not have much role to play because the U.S. is more interested in protecting a strategic "sea lane."

Talks on various issues have begun a few times. Administrative officials in the State Department have visited Thailand, except James Baker, on the account of the coup d'etat early last year. Officials in the Commerce Department have kept pressure on Thailand time and time again. However, Thailand would prefer that the talks follow the agreement in "GATT," which slightly benefits Thailand.

Many Thai-American agreements were drawn 25 years ago. The world has changed almost unrecognizably since. Those were the days the U.S. had all the advantages over Thailand because we very much depended on U.S. military assistance.

We have to wait for an elected government. Then we can tell the U.S. with conviction that this is what the Thai people in the whole country really want. If the U.S. still refuses, then let's hear it.

Ubun Road Connection to Cambodia

92P30073A Bangkok *LAK THAI* in Thai 3-9 Feb 92 p 4

[Excerpt] Ubun Ratchathani governor, Mr. Saisit Phonkeo and the governor of Cambodia's Phreah Vihear Province, Mr. Sok Sam-eng have signed a joint agreement on building a 3-km friendship road. This will start at the Thai border at An Ma Pass between Nam Yun District and Cheom Khsan District in Cambodia. It will connect with an old Cambodian road. [passage omitted]

Seminar on Foreign Affairs, Aid to Laos

92SE0200A Bangkok *MATICHON* in Thai 8 Mar 92
p 21

[Excerpts] On March 7, the Thai News Agency reported that from March 6-7, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a seminar on foreign policy to mark the first anniversary of Anan Panyarachun's government, at the Dusit Resort Hotel, Cha-am District, Phetchaburi Province. Participants were high ranking officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from director generals, a permanent secretary and above, including academics like Mr. Khian Thirawit, Mr. Chulachip Chinwanno, Mr. Thira Nutpiam, Mr. Likhit Thirawekhin, and Mrs. Pathumpon Wacharasathian. The seminar was chaired by Mr. Asa Sarasin, minister of foreign affairs.

The seminar concluded that foreign policy based on building good relationships with neighboring countries like Cambodia and Laos has been carried out successfully. [passage omitted]

However, participants both at the director general and academic levels thought that the relationship with Burma's military government should be reviewed. It was pointed out that the present government gives so much support to Burma's military government that some problems might result later. This means Thailand might not be able to make adjustments if an incident similar to that of October 14, 1963 occurs, or if the United Nations passes a resolution to sanction Burma under pressure from the Human Rights Organization. [passage omitted]

The Thai News Agency noted that the relationship with the United States, especially foreign policy, should be reviewed because at present defense is not a major issue but the economy is. Thailand should proceed in a more negotiating manner, not reconciling, and should be more independent.

On Thailand's roles in the future, it appears that although Thailand will continue to receive foreign aid, she is in a position to give aid to other countries, especially Indo-Chinese countries whose aid numbers are increasing. Mr. Wichian Wattanakhun, deputy minister of foreign affairs, said that recently the Lao military requested help from the Thai military in standardizing the airport of Louang Phrabang city to accommodate a jet landing. The request and an estimation of about 50 million baht needed for the airport improvement were forwarded by the Thai military to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be submitted to the government at a later date. [passage omitted]

Prawet Wasi Views Role of Monarchy, Constitution

92SE0145A Bangkok KHAO PHISSET in Thai
6-12 Jan 92 pp 12-16

[Interview with Dr. Prawet Wasi by Piyarat Worasiri and Nathawuth Rungwong; Place and date not given]

[Excerpts] First I must explain to our readers that although we may try to be neutral, we all have hidden prejudices. Therefore it is only fair to our readers to explain that I have ties to the King. I received royal funds to study abroad. Although I received countless royal funds, I will try to be neutral. That is my first point. My second point requires an illustration. There was a leader once who felt that when addressing the King, the King should be considered to be like the sun—too close and it is hot, too far and it is too cold. This is an anecdote which demonstrates the need for that which is appropriate. In English it is called a sense of proportion. In some cases good intentions are not enough if one does not have a sense of proportion. The third point concerns the King. I feel that I can say this now because in time he will be judged to be a good person. If we consider the history of Kings, we can see that the people do not love

all Kings equally; they do not love the Kings who are not good. With regard to the Kings in history it can be said that as monarchs they were not all loved. [passage omitted]

The fourth point concerns the coup d'etat of 23 February 1991 and the many questions and issues concerning the involvement of the King. First there are many questions about what he thought of the coup because the existing government was initiated with a royal decree and was driven out by force. They had him sign some things and asked him many questions about what he thought. This is no answer because I do not know the answer. But people have asked many questions and have gotten us involved. Therefore it is not possible not to be involved. People have many opinions, but we do not have all the answers. Second, some have suggested that we conduct a coup. I do not agree with coups. It is not a method for solving problems because we know it will lead to many other problems. We cannot say now why it was done. Even if a coup is conducted with good intentions, it will lead to problems. The use of force leads to problems. Some people have suggested that whatever the reason for the coup, a good way out would be to present royal power to the King as the representative of the Thai people who is most just. It would be hard to find anyone else. If this were done, he would probably not accept this power himself because holding this power would bring problems. He would free himself of it. Presenting him with power as the representative of the people would be the same as returning the power to the people because he is the representative who is most just. There is no one else. This does not mean that he would use the power—there is the example set on 14 October 1973 when he appointed a prime minister and a National Assembly, and the National Assembly selected a legislature. The legislature selected a commission to draft a constitution. [passage omitted]

[Piyarat Worasiri] Would this be the good model for returning power?

[Dr. Prawet] Returning power here would mean returning power to the people through the King. It would not mean a return to an absolute monarchy. He would be acting as the most just representative of the people. This return of power to the people would free him and would not lead to problems. There are people who have suggested this, and they are connected to the King. I feel as I do because if we did not do this, it would lead to many difficulties—people would ask whether power was being seized for someone else, for the people or for oneself and whether someone else was involved and in what way. We can see the reason for the decline of those who are very involved such as the National Peace-keeping Command and the specialists involved with it. The old-timers, the principals and everyone else involved know that their reputations have been hurt because their power is like a stolen property which destroys what it touches. [passage omitted]

[Piyanat Worasiri] There are those who say that the King made a very clear statement about the problem.

[Dr. Prawet] But there were those who do not agree with this—they say that this group developed its own interpretation. Developing one's own interpretation causes problems. This involves a question about a related point, the last and fifth point, concerning the role of the monarchy in politics. 1. This role is very clear. The King is above politics. Politics are virtuous, it is said, when the monarch is above politics. This does not mean that he is not involved in politics. If there is a political problem or a crisis, he would certainly be involved. Therefore being above politics does not mean that he is not involved in politics. If there were a crisis as there was on 14 October with the nation in confusion and the prime minister having fled, he would appoint a prime minister and a National Assembly. He gets involved in politics when there is a political vacuum. This is clear. No one will dispute this second point. There has been a question whether he must wait for a crisis or not and whether the role of the monarchy includes preventing crises. A crisis demonstrates that something is wrong. If blood might be spilled and there is no way to stop it, would it be his role to prevent the crisis? This is more difficult than the previous question. The previous question was clear but this one is difficult because if it is the role of the King to prevent crises then there is the problem of determining how big a crisis—we must interpret the word, crisis. For example was the last situation a crisis or not? How are they to be evaluated? If a situation is not a crisis, then there are other problems. I do not have an answer. This is very involved. Each group which is involved must be very careful. They all have the same needs in this regard: If the role of the King prevents crises, it is good. On the other hand some would call a crisis not a crisis. [passage omitted]

[Piyanat Worasiri] How can we transform love of the King into building the nation long term in your view?

[Dr. Prawet] We must recognize that in Thailand power is concentrated. It is not shared with the people in general. In complex societies the people have a greater role and have more information. A representative democracy alone is not sufficient. It must be a participatory democracy because if power is centralized, the country becomes difficult to administer. The problems become so numerous that a centralized system can not take care of them. The people become disaffected and look for a new government. They might be enthusiastic about the new government for a time but then would become disaffected because it could not solve the problems. If the situation continued in this fashion, there could easily be a crisis which would affect everyone as well as the institutions of the centralized system. This type of system creates problems easily. Power must be distributed as it is in America. The government in this state is elected directly, and the courts are chosen. Power is distributed to a great extent. There is a broad arena for argumentation.

It is at this point that I say we should transform our love into something of long-lasting benefit. I think we must try to use our love of the King to broaden the base of society. Our society has become larger and more complex and so the base must be broader. If the base remains narrow, the society will not last long. I use the term, the architecture of society, to describe this. It can rise up high if its base is broad. If we apply this to an institution such as the monarchy, if its base is not broad and the wind blows, it will sway and fall into crisis easily. If its base is broad, it will be stable. In my opinion this is the principle point. If we love the King in this way and are serious enough, considering that it could be lost, we should think about transforming this love into something of long-lasting benefit, namely, broadening the base of society. [passage omitted]

[Piyanat Worasiri] As one who has a relationship with the King, you are probably concerned that it appears in this political conflict there will be frequent references to this institution and that these references will tend to increase.

[Dr. Prawet] One should not refer to the King for the benefit of one's own group. This is not right. He is the King in a democratic system. He is very respected by the world. There is no unrest. If there were unrest, he would be affected. There have been frequent references to him, and I must warn that this should not be. They should do as I have said. They are not being sensitive. This is a democracy. Everyone accepts that. He does not have to join a group. He supports democracy and the distribution of power because he believes in democracy. What is most important is that all sides understand each other. I stress the word, all. If they understand this, they can proceed on their own. They should understand this most important point and not say anything to draw the King in for the benefit of their own group. This would bring only short-term benefits and would cause difficulties for the country.

[Piyanat Worasiri] What are your views concerning the request that the King present a constitution and appoint a Senate.

[Dr. Prawet] If the senators could serve as privy councilors, it would be fine in my opinion. But they could not have power. If the senators were to have power, then this should not be done because anyone with power should be elected. As I have said, this power would be like a stolen property. If they do not have power, there would be no problem. He could help appoint the privy councilors, and he would appoint good persons. They would not need to consult with him and should not go to him. Nothing should be done to involve him.

[Piyanat Worasiri] Is the Thai monarchy different from those of other countries with respect to its relationship with power?

[Dr. Prawet] Yes, because Thailand has few mechanisms to resolve problems. If a country has many such mechanisms, such involvement is not necessary. Queen Elizabeth does not need to get involved because the mechanisms can solve the problems. Thailand lacks such mechanisms. We should try to create them and should not disturb the King. If he is kept above politics, there will be no such crises. Queen Elizabeth does not need to be involved because there are mechanisms to resolve problems. That is better. The institution is more stable. Although some day the King will be gone, the Royal Heir will become King. If society has mechanisms to resolve problems, the King to come will be in a stable position.

The King and Politics

Dr Chaionan Samunthawanit wrote in the "On the Banks of the Chao Phraya" column of the newspaper, [PHU CHATKAN], of 23-29 December, 1991 that: "the King in a democratic system is above politics. This situation of being above politics makes the King in a democratic society a 'social institution' more than a 'political or administrative institution.' Therefore when politics is unjust and the government or ruling group is not able to 'govern' (govern), the Monarchy, which is the basic social institution of the nation and which unites all factions (which do not get along well politically) and the people in general (who normally do not vie for power with these power groups), is the only institution which all factions consider to be the 'basic power,' the highest social power. The contending factions accept the King's presence as the 'true authority' in Thai society. This basic power helps resolve the crises better than all the other powers...."

The political events during past crises over drafting a constitution included people trying to use this "basic power" as a last resort many times—there was the view of Dr. Pramot Nakhonthap about restoring royal power, the instance when General Chatichai Chhunhawan requested that the King present a constitution to resolve a conflict over drafting a constitution, the instance when General Suchinda Khraprayun ordered the royal announcement of 4 December 1991 to be printed and distributed to each military unit, and the instance when Dr. Chaionan Samutwanit recommended that privy councilors appoint senators by "royal appointment" whereby the King would choose and appoint the members to a national assembly from many circles and have them hold an election among themselves. Then the King would "appoint" those who were elected.

These actions can be looked at in two different ways. According to the first view they are not appropriate because they are felt to be "bold" attempts to draw the highest institution into politics. In the other view they are felt to be the only way to create solidarity among the people of the nation inasmuch as the Monarchy is the only institution accepted by all.

KHAO PHISSET therefore asked to interview Dr. Prawet Wasi, a person who has served His Majesty closely. He is

also a person widely accepted in society for his principles and abilities. As for "The King and Politics" it was to be done in a way which was not irritating to the institution which was most respected by the Thai people.

ECONOMIC

Head for National Science Center Appointed

92SE0198B Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English
1 Mar 92 p 3

[Text] Dr. Yongyuth Yutthawong has been appointed director of the National Science and Technology Development Agency (NSTDA), Science, Technology and Energy Minister Sa-nga Sabhasri said.

The minister lauded Dr. Yongyuth, who has been hailed as an outstanding scientist, for his past performance.

The newly-founded NSTDA will serve as a national permanent agency responsible for the development of science and technology in the country.

The agency will also support concerned agencies in the government and private sectors.

The NSTDA will encompass four existing agencies, including the National Centre for Genetic Engineering and Bio-technology, the National Centre for Metal and Material Technology, the Technical Information Access Centre and the Office of the Science and Technology Development Board.

Despite being a government agency with an annual budget of about 700 million baht, the NSTDA will take up neither a bureaucratic form, nor that of a state enterprise, according to Dr. Yongyuth.

He said the agency would encourage the use and research of science and technology.

R&D Priorities Described

92SE0198A Bangkok BANGKOK POST (POST DATABASE) in English 4 Mar 92 p 5

[Text] The Ministry of Science, Technology and Energy last week officially announced the new National Science and Technology Development Agency (NSTDA) and introduced three other agencies with plans for five-year science development projects.

Minister of the Science, Technology and Energy Dr. Sa-nga Sabhasri said that the promulgation of the Science and Technology Development Act, recently approved by the Cabinet, would boost the country's progress in science and technology over the next five years. He said it had clearly stated policies that delegated different plans to specific bodies.

All the plans had been laid out, he said, therefore the next Cabinet could easily follow up on the projects and encourage further development in science and technology.

He added that he expected the U.S. Government to also reinstate its financial aid to NSTDA.

NSTDA Director Dr. Yongyuth Yuthavong said the new NSTDA, promoted from its original title—Science and Technology Development Board (STDB)—was no longer a temporary project, and it would be a stable and independent body promoting research and development (R&D).

Its two priorities would be to support R&D in industry and agriculture with a focus on biotechnology, materials technology, electronics and computer technology, as well as to do its own R&D with staff being trained abroad.

He explained that the Ministry was concentrating on the areas of biotechnology, materials, electronics, and computers because it had a lot of experience in these fields and believed they would be important areas to develop for future growth.

Therefore, he said that the Ministry had allocated different budgets to set up the following centres: the National Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology (NCGEB), the National Electronics and Computer Technology Centre (NECTEC), and the National Centre for Metal and Materials Technology (NaCeMM).

Now that the three centres were under the NSTDA, the agency would appoint its board of directors in a couple of weeks, said Dr. Sabhasri.

NECTEC Director Dr. Pairash Thajchayapong said it would get a new bigger laboratory now that it was under the NSTDA.

The centre then would continue to produce electronics and computer prototypes, he said, adding that they would concentrate on developing products with commercial possibilities. It would also put more emphasis on doing software research.

POLITICAL

Joint ASEAN Move Towards Total Cooperation

922E0099A Ho Chi Minh City TUOI TRE CHU

NHAT in Vietnamese 26 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam by Huy Duc; place and date not given: "Vietnam-ASEAN Relations Entering Period of Total Cooperation; Forthcoming ASEAN Conference To Decide About Vietnam Joining Bali Treaty"]

[Text] The important visit of Council of Ministers Chairman Vo Van Kiet in Malaysia was considered a fine success by the public opinion. Vietnam's relations with countries in the region have entered a new stage. TUOI TRE CHU NHAT's reporter had an interview with Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam on this trip.

[Huy Duc] First, please give us an evaluation of the results of the trip.

[Cam] The trip created new bases for the two countries' cooperation, which is entering a new stage. For some time the two countries had been having reciprocal activities aimed at getting to know each other's capabilities, and in this trip they signed an accord on expanding cooperation and investment. In the time to come, a number of other economic cooperation accords will be signed.

During this trip, the Malaysian side expressed a strong spirit of friendship, wanted Vietnam to achieve quick development, and was ready to cooperate. That spirit was very clearly shown in contacts with the Malaysian leadership and businessmen, and in the results obtained.

[Huy Duc] Malaysia's Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad strongly supports Vietnam's participation in the regional treaties. The trip in Malaysia that the Vietnamese delegation made prior to the fourth ASEAN summit lasted only a few days. Did it open up any possibility for Vietnam to participate in the regional treaties?

[Cam] Malaysia strongly supports our participation in the Bali Treaty; other ASEAN countries also support us in this matter. The ASEAN summit conference will make a decision on it. To participate in the Bali Treaty will create favorable conditions for Vietnam to cooperate with individual countries on the basis of stepping up the efforts to develop a common cooperation with countries in the region.

[Huy Duc] Foreign sources in Kuala Lumpur quoted Malaysian Foreign Minister A. Badawi's statement to reporters to the effect that Malaysia wants Vietnam to become an official ASEAN member country in the near future. In their meeting did the two foreign ministers raise this issue?

[Cam] Malaysia had the initiative of creating an economic forum among Southeast Asian countries. It

explained that the forum would not be a bloc but would serve as a place for exchanging experiences and exchanging cooperative capabilities and would not affect the relations of a country with another country, another region. Vietnam supports this forum.

To participate in ASEAN also depends on many factors. Vietnam has not yet raised the question of participating or not participating in ASEAN. In the immediate future, Vietnam is ready to participate in it in the capacity of an observer.

[Huy Duc] The determining factor, according to a recent statement by Singapore's Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng, is that "Vietnam must reach a proper level of economic development." Do you think it is the main factor?

[Cam] This needs to be pondered over. All cooperative relations must go forward in steady steps.

[Huy Duc] The agreements on the disputed islands in the South China Sea, according to a statement made to reporters by Foreign Minister Balawi, resulted from the two foreign ministers "working together, jointly reaping the fruits, instead of wasting time on quarreling with each other." Can you reveal the substance of "the fruits that were reaped" in the 90-minute meeting?

[Cam] About the issue of resisting encroachment of the boundaries of the two countries' territorial waters, the two sides agreed that they would cooperate and jointly exploit them. Regarding a number of islands in the Spratly group, the two sides agreed that they would not do anything to make the situation worse and would not let it affect their relations, in the spirit of trusting each other in order to jointly resolve problems.

[Huy Duc] Malaysia supports Vietnam in its efforts to normalize relations with the countries in the region, but what about the attitude of these countries toward Vietnam-U.S. relations?

[Cam] Malaysia's attitude is to support normalization of Vietnam-U.S. relations and quick lifting of the trade embargo against Vietnam.

[Huy Duc] Please let us know some of the activities on the part of Vietnam to step up its relations with other countries in the region in the time to come.

[Cam] Following Chairman Vo Van Kiet's previous trip in Indonesia, Thailand, and Singapore, his trip in Malaysia this time, and the forthcoming trip in the Philippines, we may say that Vietnam's relations with the ASEAN countries have entered a new stage, that of totally ending confrontation in order to move to a period of cooperation. There must be a process, of course, because the remnants of the past must be resolved step by step to create more understanding and trusting of each other. The coming direction is to accelerate cooperation, and cooperation creates more opportunities for greater mutual understanding.

[Huy Duc] About our relations with other countries in the world, can you make some assessment?

[Cam] The international situation is in a transitional stage. Events are complicated but there also are greatly favorable aspects. The question is whether we seize in time the good opportunities and whether we adopt appropriate policy changes or not.

I think that now Vietnam is under favorable conditions and has good prospects for expanding its relations with other countries on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and mutual interests.

Interview on Weakening of Communist Youth Union

922E0113A Ho Chi Minh City TUOI TRE
in Vietnamese 11 Feb 92 p 12

[Interview with Ha Quang Du, first secretary, Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee, by N.H.T.; place and date not given: "Taking a Look at the Youth Union in the Present Situation"]

[Text] [N.H.T.] Compared to the beginning of the 5th term, the national membership of the youth union has decreased by 1.5 million members. Is it because the youths have shown a great deal of 'worsening'?

[Du] This is not the fault of members but rather the fault of local and superior executive committees. We can even blame the directly involved party committee echelons for a poor performance in motivating the youths.

The HCMCYU [Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union] Statutes stipulate that a member will find his name deleted if he stops joining its activities for three months—this is a requirement. But I do not advocate expelling large numbers of members just because they have stopped taking part in activities for some time. The reason is that not all of them are those who are not politically active. To cross out the names of those members who have failed three times to take part in activities is a very easy thing to do, and anybody can do it without learning. However, in the present situation, the HCMCYU *must both uphold its principles* in order to maintain the objectives of its struggle *and have a very flexible and sentimental method of conduct* in order to correctly express itself as the friend and guide of members and youths.

[N.H.T.] You have just mentioned the situation. What will be the projected future of the HCMCYU in the light of its membership now decreasing and fewer youths coming to join it as the result of the common situation?

[Du] The collapse of the socialist system in a number of countries has naturally created bad impressions and has affected political ideals among the youths. That is why it is understandable that some of them currently are reluctant to join the youth union. However, if it organizes scientific and technical activities, encourages young

farmers, opens computer science clubs or centers for intellectual development, as well as cultural, artistic, information and propaganda activities, and still attracts large numbers of youths, it will have nothing to worry about. Presently, there still are many youths who wish and like to actively participate in social activities, in research, studies, and so on. This is also a political attitude on their part, which is suitable for the HCMCYU's set direction. Therefore, if some youths say that they are no longer interested in politics, that is only their *temporary act*. Later youths will find that social development always requires that we link culture with politics, and economy with politics. Youths *cannot isolate themselves from social development and, as a result, will finally come to and go along with the youth union*. Naturally, the latter must renovate itself in order to respond to what life demands and to youths' legitimate, ever changing, and multifaceted needs.

[N.H.T.] How does it renovate itself?

[Du] *In the world, there has been no model yet of a communist youth union being in charge of the youths' movement in the situation of a multicomponent economy like the one that now exists in our country*. We are being in a process of developing sociopolitical activities at a time of transformation of the economic mechanism. Consequently, we should not evaluate the HCMCYU's renovation by making a comparison with changes in the economic mechanism because the latter itself must go through a process of both development and adjustment in order to make gradual improvement.

Nevertheless, the youth union organization has recently made achievements in its own renovating efforts. Theoretically speaking, it has viewed more clearly the position, nature, and functions of the HCMCYU *as compared to the present conditions*, instead of mentioning them in a more generalized manner and without relating to their historic character. About organization, the rebuilding of its organizational system all the way from the central level to the basic level is being done to turn the youth union into a *dynamic, close to social life and the needs of today's youths*.

While the direction for renovation has been seen clearly, the delay in carrying out renovation has partially resulted from stagnancy and conservatism in the HCMCYU machinery here and there, at one time or another. Consequently, one of the objectives we have set is to continue *retraining* our cadres and to link this job with building a *streamlined and effective machinery capable of maintaining alliance* with various organs in the political system.

[N.H.T.] Today you have seen a weakening of the youth union at the basic level, mostly in local chapters, the cells of its organization. Do you think that the fact that chapters have been being organized for some time on the basis of administrative and boundary patterns has caused this weakening?

[Du] *In the country, where the system of state subsidies no longer exists, we can no longer maintain the form of chapters patterned after administrative activities.* Currently there are two kinds of outstanding chapters in the countryside: One kind enjoys the concern of the administration and party committee echelons who want to keep them because of their children's educational interests and also because of the reputation of their villages. The second kind is *the chapters that by their own efforts and success can continue to develop for a long time because they link their interests with those of youths*, such as encouraging young farmers, having family-based economic activities, and introducing biological progress to production. In urban areas, the form of chapters must be greatly varied. We have been maintaining the form of basic level chapters based on administrative levels (subward, ward, and neighborhood), with youths as objectives being the interest of subward and ward chapters. Today, we must introduce to these chapters the forms of *chapters based on occupational interests*, including youth association chapters based on personal interests and being the source of membership for the youth union. I would not object to the form of *chapters based on personal interests*.

Generally speaking, we must ponder more multifaceted forms of organization, but so far we have not been very successful in this regard.

[N.H.T.] Thank you.

Vice Foreign Minister Le Mai on World Politics
922E0108A Ho Chi Minh City QUAN HE QUOC TE
in Vietnamese Jan 92 pp 2, 3

[Article by Le Mai: "Spring Presentiments"]

[Text] The first days of the new year are usually bitterly cold. But in the cold of that bitter winter month people everywhere can perceive and feel the flavor of the coming spring. Never have we felt that as deeply as on the first day of spring this year.

The winter of 1991 was truly severe. The stunning news about dissolving the CPSU Central Committee and forbidding that party to operate had not yet been forgotten when, on a night at the end of December, many Vietnamese fell silent as they saw on the small screen the sight of the hammer-and-sickle flag being lowered from the roof of the Kremlin. And on 25 December, when passing by the (former) USSR Embassy in Hanoi I saw a small piece of cloth covering the Soviet national emblem. Had such an imposing period of history been ended so simply? Parting with a reality that had lived deeply in one's soul and had been an indispensable factor in all thoughts about the destiny of one's country was not easy. "Living without the Soviet Union," which was the title of an article on the first page of LE MONDE, was something new, for both its friends and its enemies.

But was only the winter of 1991 severe? At the beginning of the year a whirlwind arose. "Operation Desert

Storm," conducted by an alliance headed by the United States, and which all members of the Security Council supported or did not protest, quickly smashed Iraq's powerful war machine before people knew what had happened. The clear boundaries between "just war and unjust war" and "war of aggression and war of liberation" are not sufficient to explain an event as complicated as the "Gulf war." Those who could not see the overlapping relationships of intertwined interests at first were convinced that "Iraq will teach the United States a second Vietnam lesson" and were caught short when they learned that the Iraqi president had surrendered.

If we enter a little more deeply into the events of the year we see that 1991 included a number of things that were all but paradoxical.

According to an American opinion poll at the end of the year, the people's confidence in the president had fallen to an alarming degree, equal to that of American's most difficult periods during the Vietnam war and the Watergate crisis. Why did the elation America felt after the victory in the Gulf and after it had emerged as a "superpower without any opposition" because of the collapse of the Soviet Union not result in the confidence of its people being higher than during the blackest periods in its history: the Vietnam war and the Watergate crisis? Why has the current U.S. President been unable to do what all the presidents before him had done: pump money into the economy to overcome the recession and gain momentum for the coming election?

The year 1991 has passed but the sound of gunfire is still heard here and there. With the clash in Yugoslavia, after more than 45 years of peace Europe still has not completely said a "farewell to arms." Racial clashes and border clashes have broken out at the highest level of ferociousness ever. On the other hand, 1991 was also a year in which a large number of regional crises were resolved by negotiations: Cambodia, Angola, El Salvador, etc. at a time when America is endeavoring to take advantage of its momentum to impose a new order that benefits itself, the tendency to affirm national independence and national sovereignty is developing very strongly.

In the economic sphere, 1991 also included some problems that were difficult to solve: At a time when the scientific-technical revolution was breaking out, the production forces were developing greatly, and the world had embarked upon economic and technical competition, the overall picture of the world economy was rather gloomy and the growth rate was the lowest since the beginning of the 1980's. Furthermore, America was superior regarding global strength but proved to lag behind its economic adversaries, especially Japan and Western Europe, in many regards.

Many people think that last year events piled up as if wanting to close the door on the old world order and open up a new world order. But the closing is not yet complete and the opening is still only halfway. And if

people were accustomed to the old way, the features of the new world order are not yet visible enough to be seen.

The think tanks in many countries, either meditating by themselves or collectively with one another, are thinking about and debating that new look of the world. Too many questions cannot be answered clearly. Will it be a "mono-polar" or "multipolar" world? (Don't insult the physicists, for they do not recognize a "single pole;" if one "pole" is removed the other "pole" cannot exist.) Is the world a unified unity or an assemblage of many centers of power? And if the world is made up of many centers, does one have a superior position? But perhaps the most important questions are "What factors will determine international relations in the future?" and "In what direction will the new world move and develop?"

I have just finished reading opinions expressed at a "roundtable" on "How to approach the world system of today," that was published in a foreign research journal. Practically none of the opinions were identical. Nearly all of the people participating in the "roundtable" were questioning themselves, answering themselves, and then answering themselves again. The intelligence of man, which has been trapped in the mold of old-fashioned thinking about "this side" and "that side," appears to be in an explosive new status. It is as if everything lies within "chaos." But from that very status there is emerging a new creative intellectual strength. We have reencountered a philosophical truth: creation arises from chaos; the more rapidly a top spins, the more stable the condition it is in.

The world continues to exist. Each nation, each people, and each individual continues to exist. They exist in reality, not in the abstract. The greater the chaos, the more necessary it is to find a way to live with balance and vigilance. Can an entity exist without finding balance and stability, even temporarily?

But where are those balanced and stabilized relationships to be found, on order to exist or, even more, to develop? They must be found in the world around us, and even in ourselves. In the end, even though the world is chaotic, and no matter how many "unknowns" there are, it has the foundations and standards with which to exist, in the past, at present, and also in the future. The chaotic world of today contains within itself the common values for which mankind has searched for and found in history over a period of hundreds and thousands of years.

Those values are the values of socialism, national independence, democracy, social justice, the development of each individual, economic trade, culture, the market, etc., have been accumulated in that long historical process. And perhaps there has never been an era as resplendent with those values as our era. To go against those values would be to come to an end, to be defeated. To go in their orbit would be to be in accord and to be successful.

Furthermore, those values are not foreign to our people and to each of us individually. They are within us, distilled from the effort and sacrifice of many centuries of the existence and struggle for the right to life of our people and of mankind, and crystallized in the words of President Ho Chi Minh, which have the value of historical truth: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." National independence and the freedom of man. Those are the standards of our lives. They are standards we hope the world will live by and must live by. Freedom and independence are the soul of all our internal and external policies, for that very reason! In the chaotic world of today, we must quickly find balance and stability in our external relations, also for that reason.

In the spring of 1992, with the experience of last year, perhaps few dare make specific predictions. History is marching to an "accelerated" tempo. All predictions, even the boldest ones, are in danger of being overtaken. But can we live without knowing about tomorrow? Therefore, for my part, I would like to present a few things that may be called "presentiments at the beginning of spring."

Beginning this year, a new world structure will form rather rapidly. I think that it will continue to be a multipolar world. Even though a power may want to rule that world, it will be unable to overcome its own limitations and cannot squash the desire for independence and freedom of more than 180 countries in the world. There will exist a situation of balance among groups of countries and competitions among regions. From the point of view of modern civilization, which people often call "a computer-age civilization" or "a civilization of intellect," that structure will include different levels, and our country is well aware of that.

In view of such a world now, more than ever, we realize clearly that we must rack our brains when working, in order to reduce the gap between ourselves and the more developed countries in the world, and even in Southeast Asia, and in order to adapt to the new civilization. Of course, we should not go it alone but must welcome international cooperation, in accordance with the slogan of "wanting to be friends with all countries in the world community." That flexible slogan will create an advantageous economic-political environment for obtaining the maximum capability for building and defending our nation.

Then the deficit caused by "having lost our bloc" will pass, just as winter will have to pass so that the buds can blossom. The permanent loss of the habit of receiving subsidies from the "fraternal nations" will bring about a high degree of dynamism on our part, in order to live in a pluralistic world, although we cannot abandon the peoples with whom we have shared good times and bad and are encountering difficulties like ours, or even worse than ours.

If the policy of "independence, autonomy, and pluralized international relations" becomes a lively reality in

order to carry out the tasks set by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, it is certain that our international trade and cooperation will take a qualitative step forward. There is no longer any doubt: that is the key that will open for us an advantageous position of us at the international political and economic chessboard, and enable our beloved socialist Vietnamese fatherland to keep abreast of the civilization of mankind while retaining its national character.

Of course, there will be large and small social upheavals when there is intercourse with foreign countries. But a people with the character of the Vietnamese people, who have sacrificed for independence and freedom, will never be worried about those upheavals, provided that they will attain even more solid independence for the fatherland, a more prosperous economy for our people, and a greater degree of freedom for each person. In the present era, we can only affirm ourselves in that harmony, and harmony with the world will help us affirm ourselves even more strongly.

Discussion on Draft Constitution Amendments Noted

Deputy Comments on State Authorities

922E0123A Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
21 Feb 92 p 1

[Article under the rubric "Discussion on the Draft Amendments to the Constitution" by National Assembly Deputy Dinh Nho Liem: "On Organs of State Authority"]

[Text] Generally speaking, Chapters VI, VII, and VIII of the draft amendments to the Constitution have given expression to the renovation of the organization and operation of the central state organs in the new situation.

I would like to make two suggestions:

1. Regarding the National Assembly, the last sessions of the eighth legislature have steadily increased in efficiency. We should draw experience from this fact to enable the Ninth National Assembly to continue enhancing its role, its responsibilities, and the efficiency of its organization and activities. To achieve this goal, a number of questions should be resolved:

- In the composition of National Assembly deputies, although we should pay attention to the makeup (such as the sexes, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the ethnic minorities, the religions, the center and localities, the various sectors, and so forth), but, first of all, we should attach importance to the quality, standard, and capability of deputies. Only in this way will members of the National Assembly be able to make good suggestions, work efficiently, and overcome the tendency toward formalism.

- Reduce the number of deputies who are concurrently in charge of several posts, especially those deputies who are leading cadres of executive or judiciary organs. Increase the number of deputies exclusively in charge of specialized duties (they could be about one-fourth of the total number of deputies). The majority of these deputies must be members of the various councils and committees of the National Assembly.

- Increase the number of sessions to four annually (instead of three as stipulated in the draft amendments). Each session must be carefully prepared for and of short duration.

These changes will put the National Assembly in a better position to make decisions on basic domestic and foreign policies and effectively exercise its right to supervise the activities of the state, especially the government.

2. No Council of State should be set up. Although in recent times the Council of State's activities has yielded some definite results in the conditions that prevailed then, renovation should be carried out now along the line of upholding the responsibilities and powers of the National Assembly, which is the highest representative body of the people and the highest organ of state authority of the SRV (as stated in Article 82).

Some reasons do not stand for the setting up of a Council of State:

- It will not fit in with the new orientation mentioned above. There will be difficulty distinguishing the power of the National Assembly from that of the Council of State when it comes to making decisions on important issues concerning policies, promulgation of laws or regulations, appointment and ratification of personnel, and so forth. As the experiences of the eighth legislature have shown, there were a few cases in which the Council of State had promulgated regulations, but the National Assembly still had to discuss them again, such as the Regulation on Real Estate Tax, and so forth. If the National Assembly holds four sessions a year, it, instead of the Council of State, will make decisions on major issues.

- When a decision has to be made on an important and urgent issue, it will have to go through many levels both on the party side and the government side, thus making it difficult to ensure timeliness.

- It will not be consistent with the policy of streamlining the state apparatus.

We should apply the formula of president of the country and chairman of the National Assembly with definite powers and responsibilities vested in them. We should not worry about the possibility of this formula reducing the collective character of important decisions because the state already has an entire system of organizations to guarantee democratic centralism such as the party Central Committee and its Political Bureau and Secretariat, the National Assembly and the government.

As a substitute for the National Assembly's permanent function assumed by the Council of State (as stipulated in Article 98 of the draft amendments), the National Assembly chairman will assign to its various councils and committees the task of preparing the agenda of its sessions.

Comments on Civic Rights, Duties

922E0123b Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
22 Feb 92 p 1

[Article under the rubric "Discussion on the Draft Amendments to the Constitution" by Le Hong Son: "Basic Rights and Duties of Citizens"]

[Text] The question of basic rights and duties of citizens is an important topical issue that occupies a fitting place in the constitutions of various countries. For this reason, in the process of discussing and contributing opinions to the draft amendments to the 1980 Constitution, this question has provoked many divergent ideas.

First of all, regarding the title of Chapter I, in our opinion, the term "Freedoms" should be added to it. As we all know, right and freedom are two closely related but different notions. The notion of freedom can be understood in two ways: First, freedom can be perceived simply as a political concept; and second, it can be interpreted as a right to freedom.

Besides, after carefully reading Chapter V, which deals with the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, and numerous other legal documents, we saw that they have touched upon many freedoms of man, for example, the freedom of movement and residence, the freedom of faith, the freedom of speech and the press, the freedom of speech, the freedom of association, the freedom of enterprise, the deprivation of freedoms.... Thus, concerning the content of this chapter, in Article 48, another idea should be added, namely: In the SRV, all people are entitled to exercising the rights and freedoms of man, and only when man has rights and freedoms will these rights and freedoms be respected and protected. Article 49 stipulates that the rights of citizens are inseparable from their obligations. As we see it, for various reasons the inclusion of this article in the Constitution should be weighed carefully. First, the content of the articles in Chapter V have plainly defined the basic rights and duties of citizens. Secondly, the stipulations of Article 49 are not really precise. It is not true that right and obligation always go together. A person may have a certain specific right to which no related obligation is attached. For example, a person may inherit a certain asset from another person without having any obligation to that asset. Conversely, a person may be obliged to discharge a certain duty without receiving any right after fulfilling it. For example, a citizen who caused a traffic accident has to pay compensation without having any right vis-a-vis the injured party.

Another viewpoint in Article 49 that needs further discussion is the responsibility of the state toward citizens and the later's obligations to the state. Here, in order to officially acknowledge the equality between the state and citizens, or, in other words, to promote a correct and comprehensive perception of the notion that the state bears as much responsibility toward citizens as citizens have obligations toward the state, we think the phrase "has the responsibility to" should be added to make the sentences read "The state has the responsibility to guarantee all citizens' rights, and citizens must fulfill their obligations toward the state and society."

Another issue to which we should pay attention is citizens' right to ownership. Article 56 contains too long, yet noncomprehensive, a list of the objects of citizens' ownership. It is difficult to fully spell out all the objects of this right of ownership in just one article. For this reason, in our opinion, this right should be determined succinctly in two ideas as follows:

1. Citizens have the right to ownership of their legal property.
2. The state and the law protect citizens' legal right to ownership, including the right to inherit and enjoy inherited assets.

Article 80 determines the rights and obligations of foreigners. In addition to the stipulations in this article, we think the two following ideas should be added:

- Regulations should be crafted in such a way as to allow foreigners' assets to circulate in Vietnamese society in accordance with Vietnamese law.

- Foreigners have the right to own their property in Vietnamese territory. These rights are protected by the Vietnamese state and law. No property of foreigners will be nationalized, except when it must be requisitioned because its use violates Vietnamese public order. However, adequate compensation will be paid in such cases.

Concerning citizens' cultural rights, in our view, aside from the stipulations in Article 58, another idea should be introduced, namely: All citizens have the right to express scientific viewpoints, provided these viewpoints are not at variance with the interests of the party, the state, society, and the people. In our society, there has long been an objective phenomenon, namely: Many people are very reluctant to express scientific viewpoints that in certain aspect are not in tune with our party's and state's viewpoints. On the other hand, many citizens have conducted meticulous researches based on sound scientific facts and have put forth no few scientific notions that at first seemed at odds with the party's and state's viewpoints but, under the process of social evolution, were later proved correct by realities. The significance of the introduction of this idea into Article 58 is that it will encourage and ensure effective use of the creative labor of all citizens.

Concerning the social rights of citizens, Articles 40 and 63 also determine the responsibility of the state, families, and society for demographic work, family planning, child's care and education. For the sake of conciseness, we suggest that the two articles be merged into a new one.

Article 76 determines that citizens have the obligation to respect and protect socialist property. The stipulations contained in this article are general and not comprehensive. What is socialist property composed of? Does it include collective property? In our opinion, Article 76 should determine that citizens are dutybound to respect and protect the property belonging to the entire people, the state, collectives, and other people.

Comments on Political System

922E0123C Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
25 Feb 92 pp 1, 4

[Article under the rubric "Discussion on the Draft Amendments to the Constitution" by Hong Tu: "Some Suggestions Concerning Chapter I on the Political System"]

[Text] Compared with the 1980 Constitution, Chapter I of the current draft amendments contains many progressive points such as:

1. The chapter clearly states that the state is "of the people, by the people, and for the people" and that it "guarantees and unceasingly brings into play the people's right to mastery in all respects." The chapter has logically screened out the paragraphs dealing with the functions of the state of proletarian dictatorship and with the essence of the system of socialist collective mastery contained in the 1980 Constitution.
2. The chapter does not state that the National Assembly and the Council of State at all levels are the "political bases of the system of state organs" as it did previously, but points out more accurately that they are "organs that represent the people's will and aspirations." As for the Vietnam Fatherland Front [VFF] and its member organizations, they alone are the "political bases and firm support of the state."
3. The chapter contains a realistic and essential amendment, namely: Not only the voters but the "National Assembly and the People's Councils" are also empowered to dismiss unworthy National Assembly deputies.
4. The chapter clearly points out that the primary task of the trade unions is "to devote themselves to protecting the interests of workers, civil servants, and laboring people." It has screened out the paragraphs saying generally that the "trade unions are the school of communism, economic management, and state management."
5. Article 14, which deals with foreign policies, conforms to reality and favors foreign relations, and so forth.

However, in my opinion, this chapter also contains some points that need to be examined further.

First, SRV state is of the people, by the people, and for the people. *All state power belongs to the people* and is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, and the intellectuals."

In my opinion, this article should be revised to read: "In the SRV, *all power belongs to the people*. The state is of the people, by the people, and for the people, and based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, and the intellectuals."

I suggested this revision for the following reasons:

1. Any democratic regime will affirm that "all power belonging to the people" is its paramount principle.
2. Power will be meaningless if it is not closely linked to interests and translated into interests. Therefore, the "people's power" concept has a broader connotation and more extensive means of implementation than the "state power" concept.
3. "All state power belongs to the people"—that is the most important criterion by which one can judge the success of a genuine people's revolution. This is because if we control the state, we will have everything. The state is the most important "channel" through which the people can express and realize their will and aspirations.

But the state is not the "sole channel." Moreover, in the realities of history, we have seen states that originated from the people and were really democratic at first, but they gradually became corrupt and degenerated into organs that "oppressed the people," as President Ho Chi Minh used to say. For this reason, to ensure and exercise their power, the people also need the leadership of a party that is wise and loyal to their interests, other nongovernmental political and socioeconomic organizations, and the mass media, which are becoming what is often called "the fourth estate" of society. In other words, the people's power must be guaranteed and implemented by means of the activities of the entire political system, not only of the state organs. Articles 4, 8, 9, and 10 of the draft amendments are precisely an expression of that spirit. In addition, the people's power is also implemented by means of *direct forms of democratic activities* such as electing and dismissing National Assembly deputies and People's Council members; supervising the activities of state organs; complaining about and denouncing violations of the people's interests; setting up popular organizations and applying people's self-management measures with no intervention by various organs of state authority, and so forth.

Second, there still are discrepancies among various articles to which we should pay attention such as:

1. *Article 4* states that all organizations of the party operate "within the framework of the Constitution and law." However, *Article 8* [Article number as published;

in the publicized Draft Amendments to the 1980 Constitution, it is Article 9 that deals with the VFF], which deals with the VFF and its member organizations, does not mention this "framework" and only says that the VFF "mobilizes the people to implement the Constitution and law."

2. *Articles 9 and 10* describe both the *roles* and *tasks* of the VFF and the trade unions in a relatively concrete fashion, but *Article 4* fails to set forth specifically how the Communist Party of Vietnam should exert its leadership over the state and society.

Thus, one wonders whether the following points should be added to Article 4: "The party sets forth and control the implementation of major lines, positions, and policies to renovate and develop the country in accordance with the socialist orientation. All organizations and members of the party must affirm their vanguard and exemplary roles by means of actions that have a practical effect on society and that are convincing to it."

Aside from the two "discrepancies" mentioned above, there is also an "omission," namely the fact that the draft amendments only mention the VFF and its member organizations and say nothing about other social bodies *outside the VFF*, especially the associations and groups of a professional character that are playing an increasingly important role in the period of transition in our country. These are the associations of writers, journalists, stage artists, cinematographers, photographers, painters, scientific researchers, gardeners, apiculturists, aquatic products farmers, and so forth. In addition, there are also the charitable, environmental, tourist, and other societies. These are voluntary and self-managed organizations of different social groups set up to serve, first of all, the interests of each group. However, all of them must also operate within the framework of the Constitution and law and contribute to building the new regime and the new socialist people. Therefore, the state should adopt a policy to encourage and help these organizations. In the Constitution, there should also be a separate article to deal with them.

Comments on Draft Constitution

922E0123D Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
26 Feb 92 p 1

[Article under the rubric "Discussion on the Draft Amendments to the Constitution" by Bui Dinh Nguyen: "Many Points Should Be Supplemented to the New Constitution"]

[Text] As citizens, we heartily welcome the state's decision to release the draft amendments to the Constitution for the entire people to discuss and make suggestions before submitting them to the next National Assembly session. After studying it, we see that the new (draft) Constitution contains many important revisions compared to the 1980 Constitution currently in force. The new version accords with the orientation of the political platform and the socioeconomic strategy determined by

the seventh party congress and suits with the present renovation process in our country. In my limited view, I see that the new Constitution contains some very fundamental and positive points such as:

First, the amended Constitution still upholds and affirms the role of the Communist Party of Vietnam as the force that leads the state and society (Article 4) under a political system wherein the state power belongs to the people. There is no interweaving, no mixture of power as in the regime of a state practicing political pluralism and multiparty leadership. This is a pivotal issue of decisive significance to the country's destiny.

Second, instead of being vested in a particular individual—such as a president—the power delegated by the people is concentrated in the collective of National Assembly and the Council of State (Chapters VI and VII), which manage the country on behalf of the people.

Third, the amended Constitution clearly defines the three powers of the legislative organ (the National Assembly—Chapter VI), the executive organ (the government—Chapter VII), and the judiciary organ (the Courts and People's Organs of Control—Chapter X), but does not allow these powers to be separated from and counterbalance one another as under the parliamentary system of some other states.

Fourth, the principle of democratic centralism is determined by the Constitution as being the principle of management and leadership of our state.

Fifth, the new Constitution defines our country's economic system as a system of multisector economy operating in accordance with the market mechanism, under the state management, and in line with the socialist orientation (Article 15). This is a completely new article compared to the 1980 Constitution.

These new amendments highly accord with our people's aspirations in the new conditions and respond to the real situation in the national and international communities. We heartily approve of and welcome these changes. However, some points still need revision, especially in Chapter VI, which deals with the National Assembly. Specifically, they are the following:

1. Article 82 determines that "the National Assembly is the highest representative body of the people and the highest organ of state authority of the SRV." Article 83 stipulates that the National Assembly has 14 duties. However, the duties of the National Assembly chairman as defined by Article 89 are too simple and sound like the functions of an arbitrator. To confine the National Assembly chairman's functions to the four duties as stated in the Constitution is to lower his power and responsibility before the law. This carries the risk of making him passive and dependent on the deputies of the chairman of the Council of State as indicated in Article 89. Thus, to ensure that the National Assembly chairman is the real representative of the highest organ of authority acting on behalf of the people, his power and

duties should be amended to include such authority as the power to supervise executive and judiciary organs in the discharge of their duties; the power to recommend appointments and dismissals of government officials; the power to guide, on behalf of the National Assembly, the activities of the People's Councils at all levels, to convene National Assembly sessions, to supervise the work of executive and judiciary organs to ensure citizens' rights as determined by law...

2. In Article 82, Point 7 [Article number as published; Point 7 is actually included in Article 83 of the publicized version of the Draft Amendments to the 1980 Constitution], the Constitution determines that the National Assembly is the highest organ empowered to elect and release from duty the chairman and other members of the Council of State, the chairman and vice chairmen of the National Assembly. Why, then, does Article 95 stipulate that National Assembly deputies are empowered to question only officials from the rank of prime minister down? Why are the Council of State chairman, other members of the Council of State, and the National Assembly chairman and vice chairmen exempt from being questioned by deputies? Who supervise these officials? If they do something wrong that affects national interests or national prestige, who will have the right to question them and make them testify before the National Assembly?

However, In Article 88, Point 4, [Article number as published; Point 4 is actually included in Article 89 of the publicized version of the Draft Amendments to the 1980 Constitution] and Article 102, the Constitution determines that the chairmen of the National Assembly and Council of State are responsible for reporting their work to the National Assembly. If so, when hearing their reports, can the National Assembly ask questions if it found something questionable? Therefore, I would like to suggest that Article 95 be amended to empower National Assembly deputies to question these officials as well.

3. In its last paragraph, Article 94, which defines the duties of National Assembly deputies, states: "National Assembly deputies shall disseminate the Constitution, laws, and National Assembly resolutions and motivate the people to implement them." In my opinion, such a stipulation is incomplete because it fails to mention an important responsibility: The National Assembly deputies themselves must implement those documents first. For this reason, it should be clearly stated that: "National Assembly deputies must implement the Constitution, laws, National Assembly resolutions, and government positions and policies in an exemplary and scrupulous fashion; at the same time, they must disseminate them and motivate the people to implement them...."

If this point is stated simply as it is in Article 94 of the draft amendments, it would be tantamount to exempting

National Assembly deputies from an important responsibility, namely the duty to be exemplary in implementation. Deputies who go for exhortation and motivation alone without implementing what they preach themselves will not be able to set good examples for voters. Reality has shown that nothing is more convincing than the exemplary action of an agitator.

4. In Chapter I, Article 9 should include the name of the Vietnam Veterans Associations [VVA] as a member of the Vietnam Fatherland Front [VFF], thereby increasing the VFF membership to five popular organizations with identical sociopolitical character comprising workers, peasants, revolutionary soldiers (who have completed their active duty), youths, and women. If Article 9 is retained as it is, with the name of the VVA left unmentioned as a number of other VFF member organizations are, it would mean a lowering of the role of the VVA, a hard-core force of the revolution in national construction and defense.

Opinions on Constitution Draft Amendments

922E0121A Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 26 Feb 92 pp 1, 5

[Article by Tran Binh Long: "The Important Contents of the Draft Amendments to the 1980 Constitution Receive Many Suggestions From the People: Affirm the Party Leadership, Build a Firm and Strong Political System Under Which the State Power Belongs to the People"]

[Text] One month and more after the Draft Amendments to the 1980 Constitution were released for public comments, by 15 February the first phase of the drive to gather Ho Chi Minh City people's suggestions to the document had been completed, and the city's Guidance Committee has fully summed up the public views for forwarding to the Central Guidance Committee. The local population, on approximately 500,000 occasions, have contributed many different ideas, touching on all the chapters and articles of the draft amendments and proposing that they be supplemented and revised to different extent. Prominent among the questions dealt with by the people is a host of important issues concerning politics, the economy, citizens' rights, state organizations.... Here, we would like to review only some of these important issues, chosen mainly on the basis of their *essence* and of the *majority* of public comments they generated.

The Draft Embodies Economic and Political Renovation

In airing their views, the majority of people made a common observation: Compared to the current Constitution, the draft represents substantial changes. It gives expression to many of the party's renovated economic and political concepts in tune with the present stage of the revolution, reflects a more democratic tendency, and, at the same time, affirms the position of our country, society, and nation in the period of transition to socialism. In their opinion, the general deficiency of the

draft is that it is not sufficiently assertive; lacks cohesiveness, clarity, comprehensiveness, and conciseness; and contains many defects in its form as a document.

The Draft Must Give Expression to a Firm, Strong, Suitable, and Highly Assertive Political System

Public opinion synthesis has shown that this is a major aspiration of the people in Ho Chi Minh City. Therefore, although most of the opinions agreed to the content and arrangement of Chapter I of the draft amendments, which deals with the political system, they suggested that the title of the chapter be reworded to read clearly as *"The Fatherland of Vietnam—The Political System,"* and that all the pertinent factors—the name of the country and its geographical position, territory, population, and sovereignty—be fully stated in Article 1. All the syntheses of suggestions contributed by the grassroots requested that the proletarian dictatorship character of the state be clearly spelled out (it should not have been deleted in the draft) and expression be given to the fact that state power belongs to the people. The most outstanding fact about this chapter is that the people discussed it very lively and reached a high identity of views on the need to include in the Constitution the statement that the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] is the force that leads and formulates lines and policies for national development. However, the draft should defined more clearly the relations between the party and the National Assembly and the state and the party's position and role in the Vietnam Fatherland Front. Many opinions suggested that the CPV be determined as the *sole* leading force of the country.

The Rights, Responsibilities, and Equality of Various Economic Sectors in Society and the Right To Use Land

Chapter II, which deals with the economic system, drew many suggestions and provoked numerous debates. According to the majority of opinions, it is an apt expression of the economic renovation policy and has bred confidence and enthusiasm in all economic sectors of society and has encouraged foreign investment. As a result of this, the contents of all other chapters and articles and the layout of the draft are, in the main, fairly rational. The questions about which supplements and revisions were called for included the following: The need to define very clearly the powers, responsibilities, property ownership, and the control and supervisory system of the state economic sector. In addition, the power of—and limits to—promulgating sublaw documents of the various ministries and branches must be clearly determined to prevent duplication and contradictions in implementation. The task of clearly defining the essence and nature of the "market mechanism" and "socialist orientation" concepts should be made more specific. Regarding the section on individual economy, it was suggested that its wording should be more liberal, more open, and clearer to ensure equality before the law for all economic sectors in view. In regard to foreign trade, the majority of views were unanimous in

holding that all activities must be unified from the central to the local level. The question that attracted the most suggestions and aroused the most debates in this chapter was the determination of the right to use land. The majority of suggestions agreed in principle that land is under the ownership of the entire people, but they contended that there remained many contradictions between theory and practice in giving a concrete expression to this ownership by granting the people the right to use land (including the right to inherit and transfer residential land, land slated for housing construction....). This is an issue to which the people has paid special attention because it directly concerns the interests and livelihood of each person and family.

Regarding this chapter, there also were many suggestions that the managerial, controlling, and supervisory role of the state be upheld through the adoption of realistic and appropriate organizational forms and work methods and by means of a system of clearly defined and concrete policies on economic activities.

The Draft Must Be More Concise and Concrete on Cultural and Educational Questions and Be People-Oriented

Concerning culture, education, science, and technology (Chapter III), the people's common observation was that these questions are fully covered by the draft, but the wording is confusing and abstract and the subject and activities are not clearly defined. Therefore, it is necessary to revise this chapter to give it both a general character and a distinct and concrete orientation in order to foster the development of the Vietnamese personality and spirit with a national character. The chapter must also be amended to meet two requirements: attaching importance to the human strategy and developing science and technology, thereby making practical contributions to implementing the socioeconomic strategy in the 21st century. The draft drew numerous suggestions regarding the methods of training and educating people, investment in scientific and technical development.... Another aspect of this question requires that the draft set forth strict regulations on the preservation and protection of the cultural values of our nation and mankind.

The Party Must Exert Direct and Absolute Leadership Over the Military Line and the Task of National Defense

In Chapter V, which dwells on the "Defense of the Socialist Fatherland," aside from the points contained in the draft, on which the people have expressed a high identity of views, there are three other issues to which they have paid much attention and made many suggestions. They are: Affirming more clearly and more profoundly the party's military line (including the specific determination of the forces standing ready to fight to defend the fatherland); affirming the party's direct and absolute leadership in the field of national defense; and strengthening and modernizing the means of and conditions for fighting, diligently building the armed forces in

all respects, and enhancing the standards, quality, and capability of the public security forces.

Clearly Define Human Rights and Citizens' Rights

This is also a point that has attracted many suggestions. Generally speaking, the majority of opinions agreed to the amendments to the 1980 Constitution and held that the draft reflects the renovation of thinking, pays attention to the applicability of the regulations on the rights and obligations of citizens, and meets the demand of society for the development of democracy. Many issues in this chapter attracted concrete suggestions. First of all, human rights and citizens' right must be clearly and unequivocally defined. At the same time, the draft must give full expression to citizens' interests to ensure that they are commensurate with their obligations. Secondly, there must be more specific, more concise, and clearer regulations on the right to run for election (especially the criteria of candidacy), the right to vote, the right to work, the right to use one's own home, the freedom of movement and residence, the right and obligation to study, the wage system, and the right to be considered innocent until proven otherwise in court. The freedom of faith in particular—as stated in Article 67 of the draft—was welcomed by many people, especially believers. The right to demonstrate, as expressed in the draft, was found satisfactory. However, there still were many suggestions that it should be amended to be stricter and more realistic.

The State System Must Be Organized in Such Away as To Be Strong and Uniform and Help Develop the Role of the People as the Masters

The majority of the people's opinions held that the chapters on the National Assembly (Chapter VI), the Council of State and its chairman (Chapter VII), the government (Chapter VIII), and People's Councils and People's Committees (Chapter IX) of the draft amendments are much more progressive than they are in the current Constitution. This progressive character is most evident in the trend toward enhancing the role, position, and power of the elective organs, streamlining the state machinery, and strengthening the responsible role of its head. This will permit development of socialist democracy, give expression to the fundamental principle that all power belongs to the people, and, at the same time, favor the building of a firmer, stronger, and more efficient state management system. Specifically, the number of National Assembly deputies exclusively in charge of specialized duties will be increased, the powers and responsibilities of the National Assembly chairman, the head of state, the government prime minister will be enhanced, and so forth.... However, there still are many issue that have aroused many public discussions and debates. For example, a very large number of opinions suggested that there should not be a Council of State but only a head of state, mainly because this would enhance and unify the powers of the National Assembly in carrying out its activities; that the majority of National Assembly deputies should not assume several positions

at the same time; and that deputies should absolutely not be concurrently in charge of other functions in the executive apparatus, especially the functions of cabinet ministers. These opinions also proposed that the duties and powers of the National Assembly be defined more clearly and increased, especially in the domain of law-making (some suggested that the draft should state: The National Assembly institutionalizes the party's lines and policies), and that the term of a legislature be limited to four or three years (the draft prescribes a five-year term) so that those deputies who are incapable of meeting the new requirements of the situation could be promptly replaced. Many views maintained that there still are many contradictions among different articles of the draft concerning the determination of the roles and duties of the chairmen of the National Assembly and the Council of State and the specific duties and powers of these two organs, and that there is a lack of guarantee that the National Assembly is the highest organ of authority.

The majority of opinions agreed to Chapter IX, which deals with People's Councils and Administrative Committees. According to many of them, the most important amendment they suggested was that the current People's Councils at all levels be kept intact, that they be determined as being the organs of authority of the people in localities, and that People's Councils' standing committees be maintained to affirm the position and role of the People's Councils and give expression to the people's mastery in the localities. However, many opinions also contended that subward and village People's Councils be abolished and that, if they were to be preserved, the Law on Organization of People's Councils and People's Committee be revised to give real power to the People's Councils. The administrative organ (the term *committee* should be scrapped) and administrative chairman system should be implemented to ensure enhancement of the responsibilities of the heads of public organs. The system of appointed administrative chairmen should be implemented at all levels, not excluding the village and subward levels (as stipulated in the draft).

The majority of opinions agreed to the chapter in the draft that deals with People's Courts and People's Organs of Control. At the same time, they raised some noteworthy additional issues, namely the need to organize the court system according to the level of adjudication, not according to territorial divisions as it is at present (and as prescribed in the draft), and to quickly set up administrative and economic courts. It is necessary to consider carefully whether it is advisable to split the two functions (general control and prosecution) of the people's organs of control and assign them to separate, suitable organs for implementation. The title of this chapter should be changed to read "The Judiciary System" and the chapter itself should contain regulations on the organization and operation of the courts, organs of control, people's jurors, and the bar.

The remaining chapters on the "National Flag, National Emblem, National Anthem, and Capital" and on the "Effect of the Constitution" won approval of the majority of opinions.

In addition, the people in Ho Chi Minh City proposed that after the revised constitution is promulgated, the state should quickly perfect the legal system, concretize the spirit and contents of the Constitution for an early implementation in society, and adopt measures to ensure scrupulous enforcement of the Constitution and state laws.

Discussions on Draft Amendments Noted

Amendments on Local Authorities

922E0112A Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
28 Jan 92 pp 1, 4

[Article by Bui Xuan Duc and Vu The Lan: "Discussing Draft Amendments to Constitution—Local Administration Is Important Subject for Constitutional Amendments"]

[Text] To determine the organization of local administration organs is an important part of the Constitution. The Constitutions of many countries in the world determine how to organize local administration organs. Our country's previous Constitutions did the same. At its 5th session, on 30 June 1989, the 8th National Assembly issued a resolution to amend a number of articles of the 1980 Constitution dealing with local administrations, including the ones on establishing standing committees of people's councils at provincial, district, and equivalent levels. For the amendments this time, the issues having to do with organization and activities of local administration organs are being raised for the drafting of fundamental amendments. In the process of drafting constitutional amendments, there are many different views offered regarding the organization and activities of such organs. We think that it is the right thing for the draft amendments to the Constitution to assert that our state is a unified one and its powers all belong to the National Assembly, and to require that we avoid the concept of the state being both central and local. This is the fundamental guideline creating a basis for building a model for the organization and activities of local administration organs. On the other hand, in our opinion, the issues regarding local administrations that are reflected in the draft amendments are ones that have to do with a lack of success and involve the greatest confusion.

According to the current Constitution, our country's administrative units consist of provinces and municipalities directly subordinate to the central government; provinces are divided into districts, municipalities subordinate to provinces, and cities; municipalities directly subordinate to the central government are divided into wards, districts, and cities; districts are divided into villages and towns; municipalities subordinate to provinces and cities are divided into subwards and villages;

wards are divided into subwards. In all of the above-mentioned administrative units there are people's councils and people's committees.

The draft constitutional amendments retain the same division of administrative units but do not specifically determine how to organize administration organs in each administrative unit. "The establishment of people's councils and administrative committees in the administrative units is determined by law." (Article 115) There are two reasons behind this open-ended statement. One, there presently are many different opinions regarding the question of organizing local administration organs. Some people suggest that we do away with people's councils in the intermediary administrative units, such as districts, wards, and even provinces. Others suggest that we eliminate some administrative units like subwards and establish hamlet and village administrative units. Two, because of the fact that people's councils of all levels were reelected not too long ago and the newly set term is five years, they do not want to upset things and would rather wait until the end of their term to make any changes. No matter which reason is correct, to determine the establishment of administration organs in administrative units is a constitutional matter and the subject for amending the Constitution. The latter must positively decide which administrative units will have people's councils and administrative committees, and which administrative units will have only administrative committees, in order that we could later decide upon subsequent matters having to do with the law on organization. On the other hand, considering the spirit and content of Article 118 and 123 of the draft, we note that all administrative units will have people's councils and administrative committees. The Constitution, being the state's fundamental law, should not leave such matters of principle an open-ended one. The reason is that this open-ended situation will create different ways of understanding and easily lead to debates that should not happen in the first place.

A second issue that is also very important is the need for the Constitution to clearly assert the nature of various local administration organs. According to the draft, the latter will consist of people's councils, administrative committees, and chairmen of people's councils. About these councils, the old Constitutions (the 1946, 1959, and 1980 Constitutions) all defined them as the state's local organs of power. We agree to the view expressed in the draft, to the effect that people's councils are not considered the state's organs of power in localities, which is aimed at avoiding the concept of dividing the state power and creating power abuses in localities. Instead, it defines in a generalized manner as follows: "People's councils are organs that represent the local people; represent the will, aspirations, and ownership right of the people; are elected by the local people; and are responsible to the local people and superior state organs." (Article 116) Thus the nature of people's councils being the state's organs is not defined yet. This way of avoiding a clear definition will lead to two different

ways of understanding it. Some people will understand that they are state organs; others will understand that they are the local people's self-governed organs. To avoid these different ways of understanding and to provide a basis for a future law on organization and activities of local administration organs, we suggest that we clearly determine the state nature of people's councils in the amended constitution.

A third issue that attracts the interest of many people is about administrative committees. This issue has to do with reforming the national administrative system for the purpose of ensuring the smoothness, increasing strength, and effectiveness of state management. Consequently, the organization and activities of this kind of organs are amended quite considerably. First, the current name of people's committees is changed and becomes administrative committees. We think that this change is appropriate in order to clearly define the functions and duties of the state's local executive organs. However, in our opinion, to determine that "Administrative committees are the state's administrative organs in localities" is correct only in the case of administrative units having no people's councils, if this is the way the amended constitution will say. As for the ones having people's councils, we must clearly determine the executive nature of administrative committees, in spite of the fact that Article 122 already states that administrative committees are responsible for "implementing resolutions of people's councils of the same level." Another important change in the organization and activities of administrative committees is about defining the procedures for appointing and dismissing chairmen of administrative committees at provincial, district, and equivalent levels in order to strengthen the powers and responsibilities of the heads of executive organs at these two levels. But such appointments must be made "in accordance with recommendations of people's councils at the same level." There are many different opinions on this matter, too. Some people think that it is not necessary to base their appointment on recommendations of people's councils at the same level. The reason is that there will be problems when we face reality. For instance, it may happen that the chairman of a provincial administrative committee wants to appoint somebody as administrative committee chairman of a district, but the people's council of this district refuses to recommend him; on the other hand, the people's council concerned may appoint him but the provincial administrative committee chairman wants to appoint another person to the position. In our opinion, it is appropriate to define appointment procedures, but we should require only consultation with people's councils at the same level, instead of their recommendation.

All of the above-mentioned issues having to do with people's councils and administrative committees lead to a common matter that may determine the success or failure of the efforts to renovate the organization and activities of local administration, i.e., to define the relationships between these two kinds of organs.

Article 124 of the draft stipulates that "when a people's council chairman finds that the decision and directive of an administrative committee at the same level go against the Constitution, the law, decisions of superior state organs, and resolutions of people's councils at the same level, he must suggest that the chairman of a superior administrative committee directly interrupt the implementation of or abolish such decision and directive." And on the other hand, "when an administrative committee chairman finds that the resolution of a people's council at the same level goes against the Constitution, the law, and decisions of superior state organs, he must suggest that the chairman of a superior administrative committee interrupt the implementation of this resolution...." This move on the one hand lowers the role of people's councils, which no longer have the right to change or abolish wrong decisions on the part of administrative committees. On the other hand, as we look at the matter from the angle of the state's management power, we will find that the responsible state organs (here the responsibility is for interrupting and abolishing wrong decisions and resolutions on the part of state organs at lower levels) must exercise this responsibility in time to uncover wrong things, instead of waiting for suggestions elsewhere. In the case of suggestions becoming necessary, this responsibility (or obligation) also belongs to other state organs, officials, and citizens. Thus the stipulation is not constitutional. We suggest that we keep intact the powers of people's councils as they are defined now. In the case of inappropriate resolutions of people's councils, superior administrative committees not only can interrupt their implementation but also can change or abolish them.

About the relationships between local administrations and central state organs, item 3 of Article 109 in the draft stipulates that the government has the power and responsibility to lead the work of administrative committees at all levels, to create favorable conditions for people's councils at all levels to carry out their task and power as defined by law. Correlatively, Article 111 also notes that "the premier assumes leadership over administrative committees at all levels." In our opinion, the activities of any local administration organs, whether they are people's councils or administrative committees, are aimed at executing the law of the state and therefore must be placed under the unified leadership of a single organ, the government. Thus it is necessary to redefine the powers and responsibilities of the government in regard to its leadership over people's councils and administrative committees. When decisions of local administration organs are found to be wrong, the government and the premier have the right to interrupt their implementation or to abolish them, and to dismiss the heads of these organs as well.

Changes in Political System

922E0112B Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
29 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Dao Tri Uc: "Discussing Draft Amendments to Constitution—Constitutional Amendments and the Issue of Renovating Our Country's Political System"]

[Text] On Renovation of Political System

As the program of our party clearly indicates, the essence of the renovation of our country's political system is democracy. Democracy, first of all, is the people's power. Our country's three Constitutions have all affirmed this vital point. The amending effort this time certainly is aimed at reflecting the people's tested and proved ownership right and the increasing level of their understanding of the role and ownership right of people of all social strata. It is for this reason that the draft amendments to the Constitution have moved Article 6 of the current Constitution to a leading position, Article 2, which now reads: "The SRV is the state of the people, by the people, and for the people. All state power belongs to the people, whose base is the alliance of the worker class with the farmer class and intellectuals."

To achieve this fundamental substance of the socialist democracy, the Constitution has a duty to create legal preconditions for realistically affirming the people's power. In our country, the people exercise their power through the state, and in this regard democracy has the fundamental substance of existing in the state form. Our people also exercise their power through the party, social organizations, and mass organizations. Being the subjects of political power, the party and social organizations can exercise their power either through the state or in the form of self-management. To clearly affirm such a sphere of action will create the preconditions for correct relationships between the party and the state, and between social organizations and the state. For instance, within the sphere of state power, the party and organizations in the (fatherland) front can actively exercise the right to take legal initiative, i.e., to submit legislative bills to the National Assembly, to take part in discussions of vital issues in government sessions, and so on. And in the multifaceted forms of self-management, social organizations and mass organizations create favorable conditions for the people to take part in increasing numbers and more and more realistically in social and economic management. That is democracy being exercised as a principle of organization and action by sociopolitical organizations.

As it exists in the state form, the socialist democracy requires that we strengthen the forms of direct democracy and further renovate the representative democratic system. Here the draft amendments to the Constitution have resolved an important problem having to do with the relationship between the professional (specialized) character and the representative character in the system of representative organs. Under our country's actual conditions, this relationship has been resolved by gradually strengthening the ability to fulfill the legislative functions and to monitor compliance with the Constitution and the law. This ability, in turn, requires that we set the number of meetings of the National Assembly, the number of specialized deputies serving on National Assembly councils and committees, and so on.

Within the framework of existing in the state form there still is another important matter, namely, how to organize the state as a reflection of the substance and nature of the people's power. Our state is a unified one and has the National Assembly, the government, and unified judiciary organs serving the entire country. But reality has recently shown the negative aspects of state management, such as acting according to one's own convenience, localistic behavior, and bureaucratic conduct at the central levels. Amending the Constitution must be aimed at creating a legal mechanism to help overcome this shortcoming. To do so we need to start from the nature of the economy and economic relationships in order to devise a mechanism that will on the one hand guarantee centralized, strong, and flexible management and operations; and on the other clearly determine the extent of local self-management and create favorable conditions for management echelons and local people to develop their potential, initiative, and creativity on a common ground, which is the system and order of law set by the Constitution and materialized by the legal system. It is on the basis of this view that the draft amendments to the Constitution have included new articles dealing with the functions and authority of the government, of the premier, and with the legal position of people's councils at all levels.

The internal relationships of political and social organizations, and the mechanism of interaction among political institutions in any country manifest themselves on the basis of definite principles and for the purpose of creating a force that drives the entire system. The political system in our country is organized and operates on the basis of power being centralized in the National Assembly, the SRV's highest representative organ, and with at the same time rational division of work and close coordination of activities.

Reality has pointed out that although the form of organization of the state and the mechanism of its operations are not totally an internal factor, nor its nature, they are capable of reflecting the nature of power and either stepping up or slowing down its activities. Therefore, when we propose the ways to coordinate the three spheres of power, we must concentrate all efforts on perfecting the mechanism of coordination and relation to both strengthen the power and abilities of each and every component and to create the combined abilities and effectiveness of state power, thus preventing state organs from deviating from the orbit of representing and serving the people, nor becoming a force of resistance against our socioeconomic renovation.

Socialist democracy has an important substance in the form of a political system. Our political system is a system for the people, for man, based on ceaselessly strengthening the socioeconomic guarantees, political stability, and social security, with all cultural and spiritual aspects of life being cared for.

The draft amendments to the Constitution clearly state that "in the SRV, the rights of people are respected and

protected by law." "The rights and duties of citizens are defined in the Constitution and by law." "Citizens are free to do business in accordance with the law." "Nobody can be considered guilty and subjected to punishment until a 'guilty' verdict of the court against him has legally taken effect." These are totally new articles that reflect the determination of our state to create the necessary legal preconditions for the construction of a state of law and a society of civilized citizens.

Comments on Amendment on State Apparatus

922E0114A Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 24 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

["Forum" article by Tran Minh Thu: "On Organization of the State Apparatus"]

[Text] By submitting the draft amendments to the 1980 Constitution to the people for suggestions we will make the most of the intellect of all the people and realize democracy in political life. I would like to contribute some opinions as follows:

On the powers of the National Assembly, Clause 7 of Article 38 of the draft amendments stipulates that the National Assembly is empowered "...to ratify the appointment of deputy prime ministers, cabinet ministers, and other members of the government at the proposal of the prime minister."

With this stipulation, a new institution on personnel recommendation—an outstanding feature of our national history—has been established, and this will doubtlessly help discover talents and positive factors that will contribute their ability to the service of the fatherland. However, when we say that the National Assembly has the power "to ratify appointment" but fail to mention its right "to ratify dismissal," we have not yet considered this matter thoroughly. The reason is, as an entity in objective reality, man must move along with the general movement, a motion that can be either ascendant or descendant.

In Chapters VI, VII, and VIII, which deal with the National Assembly, the Council of State and its chairman, and the government, we can see that "elect and dismiss" and "appoint and dismiss" are two aspects that always go in pairs, that one cannot exist without the other, and that they must complement each other in order to perfect each other. In regard to the positions of deputy prime minister, cabinet minister, and other members of the government, the draft amendments only mention appointment but not dismissal. This is a shortcoming.

I would like to suggest that the term "dismissal" be added to Clause 7 of Article 83 as follows: "...to ratify the appointment and dismissal of deputy prime ministers, cabinet ministers, and other members of the government at the proposal of the prime minister."

The same term should be added to Clause 2, Article 111 (Chapter VIII) of the draft amendments to make it read: "To recommend that the National Assembly set up or abolish ministries and other government agencies; and to submit the appointment and dismissal of government members to the National Assembly for ratification."

In Paragraph 3, Article 85, the draft amendment stipulates: "The new National Assembly may convene its first session two months at the latest after its election...."

The phrase "at the latest" means that an essential exact point of time has not been determined and that the new National Assembly may hold its first session anytime before the two-month period is up, and up to the last moment of the deadline, that is two months after its election.

Law-making techniques require that we must be able to anticipate circumstances similar to the ones that have arisen in real life as well as the possibility of their emergence to incorporate them in concrete written provisions in a precise, concise, clear, and easy-to-understand style. In this case, the phrase (two months) "at the latest" is not as effective as the term "after" (two months).

The term "after" helps establish a more exact time limit than the phrase "at the latest." At the same time, it reflects the linkage and unity between Article 85 and Article 84 of the draft amendments, which says in Paragraph 2: "Two months before the term of office of the incumbent National Assembly expires, the election of a new National Assembly must be completed...."

The term "after" ensures a more concise, clearer, and easier-to-understand expression than the phrase "at the latest," because, normally, the new National Assembly can only convene its first session two months after its election for the simple reason that the out-going National Assembly's term of office only ends two months after the new legislature is elected.

If we contend that the phrase "at the latest" must be used to provide for extraordinary circumstances in reality, as noted in Paragraph 3 of Article 84 of the draft: "Under special circumstances, the National Assembly may, if voted for by at least two-thirds of the deputies, shorten or extend its term of office...", then even in this particular case, the anticipatory power of the phrase "at the latest" is also unnecessary because it can only meet the prescription for shortening the National Assembly's term of office, but not for prolonging it. Besides, should an extraordinary situation arise, this stipulation will neutralize the effect of both the term "after" and the phrase "at the latest." However, the term "after" is less exaggerative than the phrase "at the latest."

I would like to suggest that Paragraph 3 of Article 84 be reworded to read: "The new National Assembly may convene its first session two months after its election...."

In Chapter III, which sets forth regulations on the organization and activities of the Council of State and its chairman [chapter number as published; in the text of the draft amendments released by Vietnamese media, this subject is dealt with in Chapter VII] the draft amendments have established a new institution: that of the head of state being an individual (Article 101). This is a new feature that determines the special position of the chairman of the Council of State.

Article 102 of the draft points out two additional characteristics of the chairman of the Council of State: the criteria of being a National Assembly deputy and being elected through secret ballots. What ought to be discussed here is the deputy criterion.

If we compare the formation of the Council of State with the election of its chairman, we can see that the draft amendments spell out the deputy criterion for the chairman of the Council of State, but not for the Council of State itself. If the deputy criterion is not a special factor in deciding the status of all members of the Council of State, then why did the draft amendments not state this as it did in Article 107 of Chapter VIII, which deals with the government? Owing to the nature of the Council of State's activities, the deputy criterion should be established.

In Paragraph 3 of Article 102, the draft amendments state that "the term of office of the chairman of the Council of State corresponds with that of the National Assembly."

If we compare the term of office of those organs directly elected by the people with that of those indirectly elected by them, we can see some differences depending on the scope of the operations of the organs concerned. (The people directly elect the National Assembly and indirectly elect the Council of State, its chairman, the government....).

Let us read the last paragraph of Article 99 and Article 110 of the draft amendments dealing with the question of term of office:

—"The Council of State under each term of the National Assembly shall discharge its duties and powers until the new National Assembly elects a new Council of State."

—"The term of office of the government corresponds with that of the National Assembly. When the National Assembly's term expires, the government shall continue to discharge its duties until the new National Assembly elects a new government."

The term "correspond with" used here does not mean instantaneous accompaniment, but denotes events occurring in succession. The Council of State and government do not appear immediately after the first session of the elective National Assembly begins but must go through an electoral process. To ensure the continuous operations of the state apparatus, it has been

absolutely necessary to add the following specifications to the draft amendments: "...until the new National Assembly elects a new Council of State" and "when the National Assembly's term expires, the government shall continue to discharge its duties until the new National Assembly elects a new government." This is an essential requirement. The term of office of the chairman of the Council of State must also be affirmed in the same manner.

Thus, Paragraph 3 of Article 102 lacks that specification to bring out the necessity of the Council of State chairman's activities during the remaining days of his term. But when we consider the fact that the chairman of the Council of State is also a member of the same council, the entire Paragraph 3 of Article 102 of the draft amendment appears redundant. This is because this question has been dealt with in the last paragraph of Article 99: "The Council of State under each term of the National Assembly shall discharge its duties and powers until the new National Assembly elects a new Council of State."

MILITARY

Strength, Position in Military Art Viewed

922E0111C Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN
DAN in Vietnamese Feb 92 pp 47-51

[Article by Professor Senior Lieutenant General Hoang Minh Thao: "On the Relationship Between Strength and Position in Vietnamese Military Art"]

[Text] Recently, in the military science a number of projects were undertaken to continue studying in a relatively systematic fashion the question of stratagem, strength, position, and opportunity in armed struggle. These studies have made new contributions to the treasury of Vietnamese military art. However, further discussion is needed on the analysis of the relationship among these factors. In this article, I will *discuss further* the relationship between *strength* and *position* in the hope of contributing to further deepening our knowledge.

Strength and position, position and strength have for a long time been considered to be one of the (pairs of) categories of patriotic war and people's war in general and of the Vietnamese military art in particular. The *position and strength* category is one of the concepts that have been examined within the context of their inherent relationship of interaction in each belligerent side (our side or the enemy). This relationship is closely linked to the antagonistic relationship between the two sides (our side and the enemy), the relationship of balance of force between us and the enemy, and the state and changing motion of these relationships in the process of preparing for and conducting armed struggle between the two belligerents. This category is a product of the cognition of the phenomena of war and armed struggle in our country, of the unique scientific thinking in the process of formation

and development of the Vietnamese nation's past patriotic military doctrine as well as its current theory on the people's war and all-people national defense.

A correct analysis of the relationship between strength and position or between position and strength (in each side and between the two belligerents) normally constitutes the most reliable basis for leaders and commanders to plan and execute decisive moves, forecast the situation of the war in general, the situation of the battlefield in particular, and bring out the lessons learned from war and armed struggle. Obviously, the role of the position-and-strength category is not confined to being an instrument of cognition and explanation of the phenomena of armed struggle and war. Even more important is its role in helping to orient the actions of leaders and commanders and enabling them to create greater strength and a more advantageous position than the adversary's to achieve battlefield victory in the process of armed struggle in which "the few are pitted against the many, the small is used to defeat the big."

As everyone knows, strength and position have a dialectical relationship and are interdependent and fairly diversified. In this relationship, **strength constitutes the material base of position; strength is what exists beforehand. Strength is a concrete material mass embodying the quantity and quality of force, weapons, and technical means; it is the force and overall strength used by a belligerent against his opponent in the process of armed struggle.** In other words, strength is a concrete entity with a form, mass, organization, and scale; it exists and develops in definite period of time and extent of space. Strength is the sum total of both quantity and quality, mass and essence, armed force and military strength as well as overall strength of a belligerent state.

Position always means the position of a definite strength. **Position is the state of existence and motion of strength in a definite extent of space and period of time; it results from the interaction between the two belligerents (our leadership and command action and the enemy's reaction, or the enemy's action and our reaction).** It could be clarified further that position means status and situation (freedom of action), space (targets and terrain occupied, the airspace under one's control), time (opportunity, amounts of time saved...), and other conditions for developing or inhibiting action.... Position is created by the actual effects of the process of motion and action of strength on its object (the opponent army); it reflects the developmental trend of strength....

This, however, does not mean that position totally depends on strength. *Position is relatively independent.* Concretely, *position is created by strength but acts upon strength in return. In this way, position could either promote or inhibit the development of the effects of strength.* This fact has been mentioned by many eminent thinkers and leaders of our nation.

Nguyen Trai bequeathed us the notion that "if one has good opportunity and is in a strong position, one can

turn losses into gains and small forces into large ones. But if one lacks good opportunity and a strong position, one's strength will turn into weakness, and one's weakness will become a danger." ¹ Using this thought as a guideline, Nguyen Trai looked into a broader relationship and interaction—the relationship and interaction between *opportunity* and *position*, and among *opportunity*, *position*, and *strength*. *Opportunity* could be understood as *being a concept denoting the situation and fortunes of a belligerent nation and people that reflect the developmental trend of that national and people.* Could it be that what Nguyen Trai wanted to say was: If a nation and people make war at an opportune time—when their situation and fortunes are thriving—and in conformity with their own developmental trend and fundamental interests, they can usually create for themselves an *advantageous and strong position*. For this reason, they will produce a salutary effect on "strength," turning a "loss" of strength into a gain in strength and changing a small force into a big one. On the contrary, if a belligerent wages war or armed struggle at a time when its situation and fortunes are declining and, furthermore, if its action is not in tune with the developmental trend and fundamental interests of its own nation and people..., then, even if it has a powerful "strength," this belligerent will become weak and may face annihilation. Thus, according to Uc Trai [Nguyen Trai's pen name], in the relationship between opportunity and position and among opportunity, position, and strength, *opportunity is the common denominator, the decisive factor in the motion of strength and position in struggle.*

President Ho Chi Minh's dialectical viewpoint concerning the opportunity-strength and position-strength relationships still retain its great practical value today. The president generalized: In a chess game, if we make a wrong move, even two knights will be worthless. But if opportunity knocks, even a single pawn could lead to success." The concept of *opportunity* here could be understood as having both a broader and a narrower sense. In its broader sense, opportunity means the *situation and fortunes of a belligerent nation and people.* According to its narrower definition, opportunity may mean *occasion*. If war or armed struggle is waged at the opportune moment, the use of a small or even a very small "strength" could produce a very great effect in relation to the "actual strength" and could lead to success. Two knights, a very strong force, are worthless if a "wrong move" is made, if we are disoriented and lack opportunity, and if the circumstances are unfavorable. According to Ho Chi Minh's viewpoint, in the opportunity-strength relationship, *opportunity is the decisive factor.*

The intricate relationship between *position* and *strength* was described with great simplicity by Ho Chi Minh as follows: "A 1-kg weight, if placed in an advantageous position, could increase its effect considerably and could help lift an object weighing hundreds of kilograms."² This viewpoint also affirmed that position has a considerable effect on strength and may cause a qualitative change in the effectiveness of strength.

The thoughts and concepts cited above are the products of the dialectical and new thinking of the outstanding leaders of a people and country that frequently had to struggle against adversaries many times stronger than they, and often had to accept a test of strength in which the opposing side has greater strength.

What should be discussed in depth and on a reliable scientific basis is how to apply the concept of "using half the force but doubling the effect" and "expending a 1-kg weight to lift a 100-kg object" on the battlefield. Evidently, political and military qualities, independent and scientific thinking, determination, courage, creativity, and the military skills and art of a commander plays a decisive role here.

In war, leaders and commanders always have to harmoniously combine the *contest of wits* and *contest of strength* to create a powerful strength and an advantageous position. A contest of wits is always more demanding than a contest of strength. If one has courage but no stratagem, one can hardly expect to defeat one's opponent. In the military art, position cannot develop by itself but must be created by an astute use of strength. Having strength alone is not enough; there must also be good and advantageous position if strength is to fully develop its potential, to increase its effectiveness many-fold, and to achieve the best possible results. If the few can stand up to the many and the small can prevail over the big, that is because a good position can help enhance the effectiveness of strength and turn a small and weak force into a big and potent one. Using stratagems is to create an advantageous position for strength, to use strength in a better situation, under better conditions, and from better position than those of our adversary on the battlefield, and to make us stronger than the enemy (in the process of motion of strength) although our strength is smaller than his.

Using stratagems is to know how to create a good position for ourselves and undermine that of the enemy, to reduce the effects of the enemy's strength on us, and to multiply the effects of our strength on the enemy. To do so we must use diversionary tactics to deceive the enemy, to break up his well-coordinated and strong position, and to surprise him while we have the freedom of action and initiative and can concentrate our forces to strike at his strategically important points and win decisive and quick victory.

To sap the enemy's position and create our own, normally we must develop a suitable battle disposition. The recent wars have shown that such a disposition is the *battle disposition of people's war*. This is essentially the development of all the people's forces to fight against the aggressors; the development and strategic deployment of the three categories of troops; the determination of the tasks and actions of the main-force corps in the important directions and theaters of operations; the coordination of action among different forces, theaters, and regions, and between conventional warfare and guerrilla warfare, between the armed force and political force,

between armed struggle and political struggle, between the battlefield and the world political arena.... The important thing is that we must make this battle disposition "alive," break up the enemy's position when he changes it, and ceaselessly improve our position. Experience gained in the recent wars has shown that selecting appropriate targets of attacks for each specific period of time, determining the principal theater of operations and direction in conformity with the objective requirements, opening up new fronts and theaters, developing and combining different combat tactics, incessantly enhance the effectiveness of the decisive blows dealt by main-force corps... are measures that help constantly renew our people's war disposition and make it increasingly impenetrable and dangerous for the enemy, and unceasingly multiply our strength.

Owing to our dangerous battle disposition in the anti-French war of resistance, "only 50,000 of the 500,000 officers and men of the French expeditionary corps were used against 125,000 Vietnamese main-force troops. The remainder 450,000 French soldiers were dispersed on all fronts to fend off the people and guerrillas."³ The battle disposition of the anti-U.S. war of resistance forced the largest and most modern aggressive army in history into a position in which its forces and means were widely scattered. This army of aggression had to cope not only with the army of its adversary but also with the political forces, with the entire Vietnamese people on both the battlefield and the political arena, and with public opinion both in the United States and in the rest of the world. For this reason, the U.S. army of aggression, equipped with war means that military generals of other countries could only dream of, but forced to operate from a passive, disadvantageous, and weak position despite its powerful strength, saw its efficiency reduced to the minimum and suffered defeat at the hands of an army and people whose material and technical strength was many times weaker than that of the United States.

The methodology used in studying the relationship between strength and position is one that calls for the **examination of a process full of changes and developments in all fields and marked by constant contradictions between essence and appearance**. The cause of these changes and developments is the actions of the opposing side and the effectiveness actually achieved by strength. Therefore, coarse, superficial, and simplistic thinking cannot be used to draw hasty conclusions, nor can intuitive impressions be substituted for an incisive study of the essence of things. It is all the more inadvisable now to pay attention only to the military, army, and combat factors and ignore the political and moral factors as well as the all-people factor.

The Vietnamese military art is marked by a strong specific trait characteristic of oriental people. In the particular conditions of a small country, which has had to pit its small army against larger forces of aggression and which has limited strength, the Vietnamese must think, first of all, of using stratagems and different methods of fighting, building their own position and

undermining that of the enemy.... In this effort, satisfactory settling the relationship between strength and position to turn a small force into a large one, little strength into substantial strength, and weak points into strong points is one of the keys to vanquishing the enemy. The law of struggle is that the strong win and the weak lose. Therefore, if we have little and weak strength, we can defeat our enemy only if we make ourselves stronger than he is. This is also the unity of opposites of the armed struggle process. From past to present the Vietnamese military art has affirmed and developed this military dialectics with its real victories in the patriotic wars.

Strength and position are fairly interesting issues of the Vietnamese military art. Many more studies of military science are badly needed to supplement the previous studies and make them even better with each passing day.

Footnotes

1. Nguyen Trai, *Collection of Army Orders*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 47.
2. Ho Chi Minh, *Conversations With High-Ranking Cadres of the Vietnam People's Army*, May 1969.
3. Andre Teuliere, *The Vietnam War 1945-1975*, Paris, Lavanzelle, 1975, p 86.

Enhancing Quality of Border Defense Troops Cited

922E0111A Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN in Vietnamese Feb 92 pp 24-27

[Article by Major General Trinh Tran: "Enhance the Quality of Border Defense Troops in the New Situation"]

[Text] The Border Defense Force is one of the people's Armed Forces of the party and state. Now directly subordinate to the Ministry of Interior, it is a hard-core force of the entire people charged with carrying out the state functions of safeguarding the sovereignty and maintaining public order and security on the borders and offshore islands of the fatherland. In recent years, especially since 1989 to date, the world and regional situation has undergone far-reaching changes characterized by both a trend toward dialogue and cooperation and the danger of the imperialist and international reactionary forces implementing their "peaceful evolution" scheme to do away with the socialist countries. In the wake of the political upheavals in East European countries and the Soviet Union, they have actively shifted to opposing and sabotaging the remaining socialist states, of which Vietnam is regarded as a main target. The nature of our country's borders and territorial waters is changing but, generally speaking, many new, complicated problems are continuing to crop up in the task of defending our sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national resources, and in the maintenance of public order and security.

To fully implement the resolution of the Seventh National Party Congress, border defense tasks must be uniformly and comprehensively renovated to contribute to enhancing the effectiveness of state management of the national borders; safeguarding the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and natural resources on the borders and in the territorial waters of the fatherland; firmly maintaining public order and security on the borders; building borders of peace and friendship with neighboring countries; serving the efforts to achieve political stability and socio-economic development and to broaden international relations in various domains; and successfully carrying out our people's renovation undertaking.

Border defense policies and operating methods should be renovated to achieve the following objectives:

1. We must build up a mass movement for the protection of national security closely linked to the strong people's security network and all-people national defense system to create an aggregate strength to struggle against political, economic, and common criminals undermining public order and security on the borders and offshore islands. Security inside the borders, along the coasts, on offshore islands, at airports and in harbors... must be firmly maintained to ward off intrusions by external enemies. Contradictions among the people must be correctly resolved, and a bloc of unity grouping all the people, nationalities, and religions must be built to prevent the enemies and opponents of the regime from causing trouble and stirring up rebellions.
2. Relying on the state law and international treaties, we must enhance the effectiveness of state management of the national borders in order to safeguard our sovereignty, territorial integrity, and natural resources on the borders and in our territorial waters. We must restore order in immigration and emigration through the borders, in arrivals and departures by way of the coasts, and in activities on sea areas; and must enforce border defense regulations. We must oppose all violations of our national sovereignty, territory, and resources and combat illegal emigration and smuggling activities across the borders and on the sea. However, we must ensure favorable conditions for the people to earn their living, to produce, to develop the economy in a legitimate manner, and to broaden international relations in strict accordance with our current state laws and regulations and international laws.
3. We must fully understand and seriously implement the foreign policy of our party and state, make every effort to build borders of peace, friendship, and cordial relations with neighboring countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, and mutual benefits in conformity with the nature of each border and sea area. We must prevent hostile forces from sowing disunity, arousing nationalistic tendencies, causing national and religious contradictions between the peoples on the two sides of the border, and provoking border disputes, conflicts, and tensions.

4. We must be constantly on the alert, enhance the level of combat readiness and fighting ability of the people's Armed Forces as a whole and border defense troops in particular. We must closely link the border defense and security system with the local defense network to safeguard the borders, the coasts, and the offshore islands, and to protect the people's lives and property. This is because the hostile forces, while carrying out their peaceful evolution strategy and sabotage and subversive activities inside the country, have not given up their efforts to foster and use armed reactionary groups, bandits, and commandos from outside the country—or to carry out armed interventions themselves—to undermine and overthrow our socialist regime.

In view of the requirements of our tasks in the new situation, border defense work must be thoroughly permeated with the concept of all-people participation and all-sided effort. We must rely on the aggregate strength of the political system and the revolutionary active nature of the bloc of national unity. At the same time, we must renovate our policies and tactics, make use of combined measures, firmly adhere to the law, and closely combine economic, security, and defense work with diplomatic activities in carrying out the task of struggling against criminal elements, defending national sovereignty, and maintaining public order and security on the national borders.

Building and consolidating the border defense corps into a revolutionary, strong, standardized, and well-trained force is a basic, long-term task in the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland, safeguarding the national borders, and protecting the national sovereignty. All the plans for and elements of this building effort must conform to the situation and tasks in each specific period of time.

In the current situation, enhancing the quality of the border defense troops in all respects is a pressing, immediate task. In carrying it out, we must concentrate on a number of principal factors as follows:

1. Border defense troops must be strengthened politically and ideologically. This is a foremost task. Border defense cadres and combatants, especially the contingent of party cadres and members, must have good political ability; persist in their pursuit of the socialist ideal and goals; be unshakably loyal to the party and people; heighten their revolutionary will to fulfill the political tasks of the Border Defense Force; resolutely protect the fatherland, the socialist regime, the party, the people.... They must be really attached to the people of various nationalities and to various religions in the border and sea areas. They must strengthen internal solidarity and singlemindedness; cadres and combatants must be closely united and achieve unity of views and action in all circumstances. They must heighten vigilance and political alertness to protect themselves; promptly oppose negative phenomena in society and the tricks of hostile forces and criminal elements; and ward off the assaults by nonproletarian tendencies and thoughts and

by opportunistic, pragmatic, and hedonistic ways of life on their internal ranks. At the same time, they must serve as militants on the front of political and ideological struggle to defend the party's ideals, lines, viewpoints, and policies.

2. The Border Defense Force must be compact, strong, well-trained, and rationally organized, and its quality must be improved. Building a contingent of politically reliable leaders, commanders, and professional and technical cadres of high quality must be regarded as a key factor. On the basis of building a strong all-people border defense network, we must organize and deploy border defense forces and a rational system of border defense posts and border checkpoints, which must be appropriately concentrated in important localities. We must increase the fighting strength of mobile units so that they may carry out tasks that require mobility and cope with unexpected developments in public order and security. We must satisfactorily launch a movement to build strong and standardized grass-roots units, a task that must be regarded as a decisive factor in ensuring that the Border Defense Force will fulfill its regular duties and maintain its initiative in any circumstances.

3. We must renovate cadre training in schools and training work in units. We must renovate training programs, curricula, documents, and methods. Border defense personnel's training must keep pace with the demands of the struggle to safeguard national security and defend the socialist fatherland against the "peaceful evolution" scheme of the enemies. It must serve the purposes of renovating border defense work and building and consolidating the Border Defense Force in the new situation.

We must enhance the quality of border defense personnel's training in all respects but we must stress the key task of developing their political ability as well as revolutionary qualities and virtues. On this basis, we must heighten their political and professional standards, improve their military skills and legal knowledge, and develop their capability to correctly apply and implement the party's domestic and foreign policies, the state law, and international law; to apply combined measures in border defense operations; and to suppress criminal elements and exercise dictatorship against them. However, border defense personnel must ensure socialist democracy, respect the people's right to mastery, and uphold the policy of broadening our foreign relations. They must make every effort to overcome the phenomenon of acting at variance with official policies and the law and to avoid doing things in a conservative and mechanical manner. But, at the same time, they must oppose laxity and right-wing deviationism in dealing with criminal acts. They must act in strict accordance with their functions and powers but must oppose all manifestations of negativism and authoritarianism and avoid causing trouble to and offending the people.

Logistics Planning With Economic Strategy Viewed

922E0109A Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN in Vietnamese Dec 91 pp 39-43

[Article by Major General Dang Huyen Phuong: "On Some Solutions To Ensuring Logistics in Line With the Economic Strategy From Now Up to the Year 2000"]

[Text] Ensuring logistic support for troops is also part and parcel of implementing the defense and economic strategy and the human strategy in the Armed Forces. No matter how strong a will to fight a soldier displays, how good his technical equipment is, and how well he is trained in techniques and tactics, he still needs good care and feeding to turn his strength to good account in the defense of the fatherland. Troop messing, education, and training are closely and dialectically related, and none of them should be neglected.

It must be said that although their living conditions have been further improved compared to what they used to be in the late 1980's, generally speaking, soldiers still face many difficulties and deprivations in their daily life. On the average, their diet can provide only 85-90% of the required calories. Worse still, in some units where well-organized logistic support is lacking, troops' standard of living has dropped even further.

Looking at this problem from a another angle, we can cite the monthly earnings (including basic pay and various allowances) of military personnel from the rank of company officer to that of general officer as an example of this situation. In the years before 1970, on the average these officers still had around 80% of their monthly income left after paying for their rations. By December 1985, their take-home pay had dropped to around 65% of their earnings and by December 1988, it had plunged to 46-50%. In December 1989, it was raised to 60-65%, only to fall again to 50-52% in December 1990 and to under 48% in early 1991. By October 1991, it had risen back to 52%. With that much income left, the officers can support only one dependent. That is to say nothing of other vital and unforeseeable needs of an officer.

Comparing the monthly allowance paid to noncommissioned officers and enlisted men with the food pay they received, we can see that before 1970, their food pay was equal to 23.8% of their monthly earnings (five dong for food and 21 dong for salary). By December 1989, however, this percentage had been reduced to 15.5% and by December 1990, to 12.8%, although it was raised to 18% in August 1991. Obviously, the annual national defense budget as a whole and troop messing expenditures in particular, constitute a very difficult problem indeed, especially in the recent years. Despite the efforts made in this field in 1991, we are still unable to raise officers' and enlisted men's incomes in general and their living standards in particular to the pre-1970 level.

The makeup of troops' food allowance during the 1970's was as follows: On the average, rice expenses accounted only for 35-40%¹ and foodstuff and fuel expenses for 60-65% of the allowance. Today, however, that ratio has been reversed, with rice expenses rising to 60-65%² and foodstuff and fuel expenses reduced to 35-40% of the food allowance. Generally speaking, troops' diet remains very meager.

The exceedingly low budget allocations and the above-cited irrational food allowance makeup have directly affected the efforts to ensure logistic support. With an unreasonably low outlay for the production of troops' uniforms, hard hats, canvas shoes... these items could hardly be expected to last as long as they are supposed to, despite the fact that we have adopted numerous measures to improve quality in the production process and enhance maintenance and care in the utilization process. Although enlisted men's allowances have been increased, they are hardly enough to cover all monthly petty expenses, while a second lieutenant's salary is not enough to pay for his food (and the state budget must cover the balance).

In view of such a difficult situation, what should be done to prevent the prescribed amounts of logistic supplies from falling off? What are the measures to be taken to see to it that troops' living conditions are stabilized, steady, and gradually improved?

1. We should clearly define a number of issues in connection with the mechanism of and responsibility for providing national defense (including the mechanism designed to ensure the implementation of regulations, policies, and norms relating to ensuring logistic support for and the livelihood of the Armed Forces). This is to create a basis for the Council of Ministers to issue concrete regulations for various sectors, echelons, and localities to provide for national defense and the Army in accordance with the new economic management mechanism in a responsible, effective, orderly, and timely manner.

I should think that in the current situation, this must be done urgently to create proper conditions for the Army to satisfactorily fulfill its weighty, important tasks. The Army's national defense duty should not be understood as being simply a duty to oppose foreign aggression and safeguard territorial integrity (as claimed by the reactionaries in their noisy propaganda campaigns in the wake of the events in East Europe and the Soviet Union). In fact, the Army is also dutybound to defend the regime, protect political security and public order, and serve as a firm support and a sharp, reliable tool of the party and state in safeguarding and preserving the people's power and the socialist state.

2. As permitted by our economic capabilities, and on the basis of renovating our thinking and correctly perceiving the laws that govern the movement and evolution of the relationship between economy and national defense, we should reexamine the defense budget structure to make it

more rational. The defense budget structure must cover all expenses for the Army and must take into account the outlay on technical equipment, the purchase and production of military means, ammunition.... Formerly, during the war, owing to the substantial aid we received from the socialist countries, especially in the forms of modern weapons and equipment—this aid even provided an important part of grain and foodstuffs we needed—the state budget allocations for the Army were concentrated mainly on ensuring our troops' standard of living. At present, the defense budget structure, in the main, still rests on the same basis. Statistics show that, in different periods of time, regardless of price fluctuations, the outlay on troops' livelihood still accounts for up to 60-70% of the defense budget (as for the armies of advanced countries, the ratio is around 15 or 25% at most). Thus, only 30-40% of the defense budget are left to cover other vital needs. Such a budget makeup is irrational and should be reconsidered and restructured. To help resolve this difficulty, we should mobilize local budgets to strengthen defense work. Local budgets can provide for the local Armed Forces (chiefly by providing for the livelihood and training and for part of the equipment of the reserve and local forces).

In reality, by taking action of a supportive and reinforcing nature, many localities, to a varying extent, have proceeded along this line, and have won voluntary support and contributions from the local people, sectors, and echelons. The problem here is that this task must be turned into a common policy and translated into state regulations and statutes. If this is done, another 10-15% of the defense budget could be saved and concentrated on the purchase of additional equipment and weapons for the standing main forces and on maintenance, technical work, training.... This would be the embodiment of both the economic-defense strategy and the all-people national defense concept. It also constitutes an obligation of the local party committee echelons and administrations to the cause of national defense in general and to the local Armed Forces in provincial and city defense zones in particular.

The Ministry of National Defense (through the General Rear Service Department), will issue concrete regulations regarding the amounts and norms of logistic supplies so that the localities may provide them for their local Armed Forces in a uniform manner. However, the following phenomenon will be inevitable: Some provinces and cities in the rear may have a developed economy but small local forces; on the contrary, the mountainous and border provinces, which have an underdeveloped economy, need larger local Armed Forces. The result is that the living conditions of troops in the provinces in the rear may be better than in the forward localities.... Concerning this matter, if we can restore the tradition of fraternity among provinces so that they may help one another, that state of affairs could be overcome. National defense is not an exclusive responsibility of any particular localities. The rear can go about economic building in peace only if the front takes

up arms to defend the fatherland. Therefore, the provinces in the rear are obliged to assist the forward provinces. This fine tradition of loyal fraternity is a long-standing attribute of the history of our nation and people.

3. On the basis of improving and renovating the state wage system, I would like to suggest that a plan be formulated at an early date to increase the salaries of officers and the allowances of noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, to raise them—in the immediate future, within the 1991-1995 period—to the same level as that of the 1970's; that is, to make it possible for officers to keep 70-80% of their earnings after paying for food and to give enlisted men an allowance for petty expenses equal to 25% of their food compensation at any given time. From 1996 onward, soldiers' level of income should be gradually raised in conformity with the economic development defined in the strategy for socioeconomic stabilization and development up to the year 200 (Documents of the Seventh National Party Congress of Delegates). On the other hand, we must intensify production and other economic activities in a really efficient manner to create additional sources of budget revenue to help defray other expenses for which too little money is allocated. In particular, we must define our orientation accurately so that budget allotments could be concentrated on important projects instead of being spread out evenly. For example, when funds are lacking for upgrading an entire hospital, we should have a definite budget allotment in the immediate future to replace backward, obsolete, and seriously degraded equipment, to buy more medicine for patients.... We have a contingent of highly experienced medical scientists and technicians equipped with a high sense of responsibility, a correct concept of service, a 40-odd-year tradition of Army medical corps members acting on Uncle Ho's teachings.... However, if we lack modern, advanced means and do not have enough money to buy good drugs, the quality of medical treatment will be limited.

4. For the logistic service in general and the General Rear Service Department in particular, the strategic solution for the next five to seven years should be for them to improve the method of logistic services that have been renovated to suit the mechanism of management of the multisector economy in the period of transition to socialism and meet the Armed Forces' demands for logistic support. They must always be capable of resolving new problems in reality to prevent their adverse effects on the quality and pace of logistic services in normal times and when required by unexpected duties as well as in times of hostilities. They must work out measures to bring into full play the strengths of the in-place logistic services, of the system of logistic services in each provincial and city defense zone, in each direction, and in each strategic area. Technical units (chiefly transportation and oil supply units) using large amounts of technical equipment and means that our industry is still unable to produce in the years ahead and that are very difficult to import should reserve part of

their technical equipment and means still in good condition for future use in combat. They should devise plans to ensure the most efficient possible logistic support for the Armed Forces in carrying out their regular duties by using few vehicles and little gasoline but still fulfilling their tasks. In regard to logistic production (including agricultural and industrial production, project construction and installation...) and other kinds of scientific and technical services, there should be long-term orientation to permit consolidation, development, and efficient operations, thereby contributing to cutting defense expenses. Favorable environments and conditions should be created for other units, economic establishments, and service activities to bring into full play all their potential in terms of technical equipment, production floor space, experience, traditional skills...; to select suitable economic products for production; and to make contact with customers and get in touch with markets in strict accordance with state and Defense Ministry regulations. The logistic sector must manage and perform its duties in a really correct, precise, and timely manner in conformity with the new management mechanism to create proper conditions for the grassroots to create wealth for society and contribute to the defense budget, which is facing great difficulty in the years ahead.

5. Whether troops' standard of living will be stabilized or allowed to deteriorate is a responsibility that rests directly and primarily with unit commanders. Commanders must make use of their own service apparatus (that is, the logistic and financial components of their units) to work out their own plans to overcome difficulties under any circumstances, thereby steadily ensuring the standard of living of their troops.

Cadre training plans must include adequate teaching of logistics and economics to provide unit commanders with a knowledge of the fundamentals of financial, logistic, and managerial work necessary for ensuring troops' livelihood. In particular, logistic and financial cadres at all levels must have a basic knowledge of the multisector commodity economy and economic management in accordance with the market mechanism, and must correctly understand and apply strategic logistic solutions in the current stage. Teachers and the schools themselves should be equipped with fresh knowledge; curriculae should be rewritten and supplemented to suit the renovated economic mechanism.

6. Education in the traditions and history of the country and people and in the traditions of the Army and its logistic branch should be enhanced; everyone should be inculcated with a sense of responsibility for the cause of national defense and for the Armed Forces. We should instill in the younger generation a sense of gratitude in accordance with the sayings that "he who drinks the water should remember its source" and "he who eats the fruits should remember the grower of the tree," thereby reminding youths that they owe everything they have today to the labor and blood expended by their elders in national construction. This is aimed at teaching the younger generation how to treasure those traditions and

correctly define for itself its responsibility for carrying on national construction and advancing the country on the socialist path chosen by the party and Uncle Ho. There should be a policy to give really preferential treatment and repay our debts to the war invalids and their families, the families of fallen soldiers, and the families that have rendered meritorious services to the country. There also should be a practical policy on the welfare of the Army's rear echelons. The real value of these policies must be ensured when our economy remains underdeveloped and unstable as it is now. Cadres and personnel of the logistic service must memorize Uncle Ho's teachings; deeply understand the concept of practicality, independence, and self-reliance in logistic work; ceaselessly raise their level of specialized and professional skills; bring into full play their sense of political responsibility; and overcome all difficulties by means of positive, active, and creative measures to satisfactorily manage and organize Army logistic work in accordance with the renovated logistic operating methods and fulfill all tasks of combat readiness, combat, training, building, and productive labor.

Footnotes

1. The cost of 600 grams of rice was 0.24 dong, equal to 35% of the daily food pay of 0.7 dong.

2. The cost of 600 grams of rice was 1,320 dong, equal to 60% of the daily food pay of 2,200 dong (based on the food pay rate applied to Hanoi area, with the amount of daily rice consumption fixed at 600 grams).

Colonel Views Organizing, Building Armed Forces
922E0109B Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN
DAN in Vietnamese Dec 91 pp 62-66

[Article by Colonel Cao Son: "Some Reflections on the Organization and Building of the People's Armed Forces and People's Army in the Current Stage"]

[Text] Organizing and building the people's Armed Forces is an important element of the party's military line. If optimal policies, plans, and solutions are to be worked out for this task, many organs of the Army as well as various departments and branches of the party and state must contribute their energy and effort. Recently, we carried out strategic readjustments by applying numerous correct and timely measures including reducing the standing Army's troop strength, consolidating the reserve force for mobilization and the militia and self-defense forces and improving their quality, reorganizing the mobile standing units, and so forth.... But those were only initial steps. Basically, those measures were still inadequate to cope with the complicated and fast-changing world and regional situation as well as the new requirements of both the short- and long-term tasks of defending and building the socialist fatherland.

National defense consolidation and people's Armed Forces buildup must fully reflect the basic factors of

building the all-people national defense system and building the people's Armed Forces as described in the Platform for National Construction in the Period of Transition to Socialism adopted by the seventh party congress. In both our theoretical thinking and practical activities, we must continue to show a thorough understanding of the party's renovation concept. The requirements of this task were clearly pointed out by Comrade Former General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, who said that "we must carry on, supplement, and develop our party's correct and creative military line and art," and that "in the last war of resistance, we carried out the party's line of people's war, that is, the Vietnamese people's war, and did not blindly copy the people's war model of foreign countries. Naturally, at times we had made the mistake of mechanically learning from other countries' experiences, without paying attention to the realities in and traditions of our country and people, and to the experience accumulated by our party, such as the all-people national defense system, the people's war, the three categories of troops...."¹ In the present situation, we must understand this renovation concept even more deeply and apply it more creatively in studying and organizing the implementation of the line of all-people national defense and in building the people's Armed Forces. Organizational work could be very revolutionary and scientific, as it was correctly and efficiently done by us—throughout the past process of our revolution and during the wars of resistance—in organizing the buildup of our Armed Forces. But it could also be conservative, backward, empirical, and dogmatic, as we have done it to varying extent at certain times and in certain places.

With this issue-raising method, I would like bring up some basic points and factors directly relating to the question of organizing and building the people's Armed Forces and people's Army in the new stage of our country.

1. We should seriously study the past process of forming and developing our people's Armed Forces to find the laws governing it, the experience gained from it, and the traditions built on it to carry them on and to supplement and develop them further. Looking far back into history, we can see that, owing to the unique position of our country, our ancestors frequently had to conduct just wars of self-defense against enemies many times stronger than they to protect or save the country. Under such conditions, our people had devised national defense strategies aimed at creating the greatest possible forces to vanquish the enemies. Those were the strategies of "considering the people as the foundation of the country," "all people are soldiers," and "in soldiers, what counts is their quality, not their numbers"; of organizing Armed Forces in rural hamlets and villages, in mountain districts and communes; of developing the Imperial Court's regular Army.... In their revolution and throughout the anti-French and anti-U.S. wars of resistance against aggressors, under the leadership of the party, our people had inherited from their ancestors the traditional forms of military organizations and developed them into

extremely diversified organizational patterns, and brought into full play the concept of all the people fighting against the aggressors, with the Armed Forces serving as the activist component. Relying on their political bases and the masses, our people organized their Armed Forces composed of three categories of high-quality troops. These forces benefited from a rational composition and a rational distribution of effectives among their three categories of troops and among the various armed branches and services that were in tune with the development of the revolution, the task of armed struggle, the capacity of the national economy, and the foreign aid.... However, since the end of the anti-U.S. war of resistance, in organizing and building up our Army we have also made mistakes and developed shortcomings, such as our mechanical application of some foreign concepts including that of matching strong force against strong force. There still remain some aspects that are not quite rational in the organizational structure and equipment of the various categories of troops and the various armed branches and services. In organizing militia and self-defense forces, we have gone for quantity, large scale, and formalism.... We are continuing to study these problems to pave the way for radical readjustments and improvements on the basis of sound theory and practice.

2. The task of organizing and building up the people's Armed Forces and people's Army must be placed in the new world, regional, and national setting, that is, "an international situation marked by momentous and far-reaching changes," while inside the country "the hostile forces constantly seek to undermine the socialist regime and our people's national independence"² by carrying out a comprehensive strategy of sabotage and the scheme of "peaceful evolution." The new challenge and opportunity require that we secure peace and stability for national construction, to extricate the country from the current socioeconomic crisis, and to attain, step by step, the objective of enriching the people and strengthening the country along the line of socialism. On the other hand, when studying and appraising the situation, we must be dialectical to the utmost and avoid holding one-sided views, adopting ambiguous attitudes, nurturing illusions, seeing only peace, failing to anticipate complicated situations that should not be dealt with lightly. This is a new meaning of military thinking that should be correctly perceived in defining the objectives, concepts, essences, measures, and steps of the defense and military strategy and the task of building the people's Armed Forces and people's Army.

In recent years, we often perceived and resolved the issues of national defense, military affairs, and Armed Forces buildup in accordance with the old ways of thinking prevalent at the time when the whole country was at war or experienced both war and peace, and when international conditions were still favorable. Therefore, in certain aspects and at certain places, mistakes and shortcomings were inevitable in organizing the implementation of our policies, and these deficiencies showed

in some plans as well as in the organization of implementation of national defense and military tasks. This reality requires that we be capable of making accurate and scientific strategic forecasts for use as a firm basis for the formulation of short-term as well as basic, long-term solutions and appropriate steps, thereby creating new and sound premises for consolidating national defense and building the people's Armed Forces and people's Army.

3. The task of building the people's Armed Forces must be placed within the framework of its dialectical relations with the strategy for socioeconomic development, in accordance with the concept of aggregate strength, independence, sovereignty, and self-reliance. We all know that during the recent wars of liberation, our Armed Forces relied on aid from friendly countries for the bulk of their equipment and weapons. Today, the situation has changed, and we have to build, with our own resources, a sufficiently strong all-people national defense system with an Army that has rational troop strength, high quality, good equipment, and superior combat and combat readiness capabilities to serve as the activist force to safeguard peace and prevent and frustrate all attempts at sabotage and aggression if they ever occur. However, our country is still poor economically and has not yet extricated itself from the current socioeconomic crisis. This is a knotty problem requiring the party and state to set objectives, take steps, and adopt measures to organize the implementation of the national defense strategy, especially to determine the structure of military and Army organizations and of the national defense budget, and to build up the defense industry for the purpose of ensuring the supply of military equipment, making preparations for the Armed Forces to oppose internal enemies and foreign aggressors, first of all to frustrate the scheme of carrying out peaceful evolution and fomenting rebellions to provide an excuse for external hostile forces to interfere in our country. We must admit that, in the past, in the domain of providing for national defense and military activities, we were accustomed to the mechanism of state subsidies and state supplies and relied on aid from friendly countries. On the other hand, some economic sectors did not really pay attention to defense tasks, contending that they were the duty of the Defense Ministry. Obviously, this practice no longer suits the present conditions. In the near future, the national economy should strive to fully meet, with its own resources, the demands of consolidating national defense, building the Army, and preparing for mobilization in case of hostilities. The state must really devote itself to consolidating national defense and regard it as its basic function in the process of carrying out the two strategic tasks.

4. Another basic point is that we should correctly consider and evaluate the actual state of our people's Armed Forces and people's Army after many years of war in order to find their strengths and weaknesses; to determine the objective and subjective causes of these strengths and weaknesses; to assess the object of our

combat activities and the characteristics of all situations that may arise and threaten our socialist fatherland's security, independence, and territorial integrity. On this basis, we should create a model for the organization of forces and determine the requirements, staff, equipment, education, training, and combat activities of the people's Armed Forces so that we can meet their immediate and long-term needs.

In addition to these factors, we must also study other countries' experience and trends in Armed Forces building and closely follow new developments in order to choose suitable solutions. This is particularly important in view of the fact that in the wake of the Gulf incident, many countries have paid attention to studying and readjusting their military strategies and reorganizing their Armies to counter the forms of warfare based on the air-land combat and rapid reaction doctrine....

Proceeding from the points mentioned above, we can cite some views currently under discussion concerning the orientation for organizing and building up our people's Armed Forces at this juncture.

First of all, we should affirm that the organizational structure of the people's Armed Forces still comprises three categories of troops and two forces: the in-place force (local troops and militia and self-defense forces) and the mobile main force, which should be compact and strong and have a reserve force for mobilization that is well organized and ready for a timely callup. On the basis of this orientation, the following questions concerning Armed Forces development should be studied:

We should select a scale and form of militia and self-defense force organization suitable for the political and military tasks of each grass-roots unit and for the multi-sector economic structure based on diversified interests in order to continue developing the strength of this strategic force. We should consolidate local military organs so that they may efficiently assume the tasks of consolidating national defense in their own localities and building provincial and district defense zones in peacetime as well as wartime.

In regard to the organizational, staff, and equipment structure of the people's Army, there is the view that, in its present form, the readjusted Army organization is not really suitable for the deployment of people's warfare for national defense. Some views support the solution that advocates maintaining a skeleton staff of all existing units and keeping all existing cadre frames for future mobilization. But there also is the view that the staff and organizational structure of infantry units, armed branches and services, and local forces should be revised to suit the capacity of the national economy, the new situation of the country, and the tasks of safeguarding peace and stability, maintaining a high level of combat readiness, ensuring prompt reaction, and defending the fatherland's territorial integrity.

As for the reserve force for mobilization, we should determine a rational ratio between it and the standing

force and prescribe a formula for building up the reserve force for mobilization in conformity with socioeconomic development and with the need to expand the Army when necessary.

In accordance with the concept of independence, sovereignty, and self-reliance, we must determine how to maintain, improve, and develop Army equipment and how modern weapons and equipment should be to suit the capacity of the economy while ensuring the building of a "revolutionary, standardized, and well-trained Army that will be modernized step by step."³

Secondly, the peacetime national defense system should be supplemented and changed in line with the new renovation concepts concerning the political organization system, socioeconomic development, and national defense and security consolidation. Under the new conditions, in regard to the national defense task, it is advisable to combine the form of voluntary service with obligation in conformity with the law and the right to mastery of each citizen and of various organizations and economic sectors. Along with the Law on Military Service, there should be sublaw regulations and concrete policies and measures to create favorable conditions for every youth in the draft age bracket to fulfill his obligation to the fatherland, and to realize social justice.

There should be concrete guidance and regulations for each echelon concerning the mechanism of the party exercising leadership, the administration assuming management, and the military organs serving as the staff in the consolidation of national defense to ensure that the people's right to mastery and the leading and managerial roles of the party and administration from the grassroots to the central level are turned to good account in conformity with the current renovation of the political system.

Third, regarding the question of the national defense budget in providing for the building of the people's Armed Forces and people's Army and for other defense expenses, cutting the defense budget is the right thing to do under the conditions of peaceful reconstruction. However, I would like to suggest that the state carry out study in order to achieve a rational defense budget allocation sufficient for troop messing, for implementing the various Army rear welfare policies, and for creating the minimum conditions needed for the Armed Forces to maintain, research on, improve, produce, and purchase weapons and equipment.

Footnotes

1. See article: "The People's Army in the Cause of Socialist Renovation of Our People" by Nguyen Van Linh, TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN, issue 8-9, 1990, p 6.

2. *The Platform for National Construction in the Period of Transition to Socialism*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, pp. 6, 8.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Need To Reorganize Army Production Forces Stressed

922E0111B Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN in Vietnamese Feb 92 pp 28-32

[Article by Senior Colonel Nguyen Ngoc Ky: "Production Forces in the Army Should Be Quickly Reorganized"]

[Text] To implement one of the basic orientations of the socialist construction and national defense process—namely, "to develop the multisector commodity economy in accordance with the socialist orientation and making it function in conformity with the state-managed market mechanism, with the state-operated and collective economies increasingly becoming the foundation of the national economy..."¹—over the past years various organs and production sectors throughout the country have reorganized their production step by step. This reorganization process is aimed at enabling all economic units, regardless of their ownership relations, to operate in line with the mechanism of business autonomy, cooperation, and competition on an equal footing before the law. Economic and business units must be highly dynamic and creative, observe order and discipline in their economic activities, ceaselessly renovate their equipment and technology, and ensure the quality of raw materials and supplies to make their products more competitive, encourage the production of new items, and broaden the forms of joint ventures and cooperation within the country and with foreign countries to modernize their sectors. All economic establishments must operate efficiently and profitably and fulfill their social obligations according to the law..., thereby contributing to quickly extricating the national economy from the current crisis and making the people prosperous and the country strong along the line of socialism.

Against this common backdrop, with their distinctive developmental characteristics, the production forces in the Army—an integral part of the national economy—are required to be quickly reorganized according to the orientation that calls for "building the defense industry in conformity with the capacity of the economy so that it may serve as the hard-core element in assuming, together with various civil industries, the tasks of maintaining, restoring, and producing part of the Armed Forces' equipment; carrying out the division of labor; promoting cooperation between civil and defense industries; satisfying the demand for industrial mobilization when required by the situation; and mobilizing the capacity of defense industries to produce goods for civilian use with practical results."²

At present, the production forces in the Army have developed in both systems (the military goods production system and the civil goods production system), employing tens of thousands of workers and operating hundreds of factories, enterprises, production establishments, corporations, general corporations....

Coming into being during the war of resistance against French colonialism, today the military goods production network has evolved into a system of factories and enterprises specializing in producing and repairing assorted weapons and military products and equipment in various armed branches and services. Most of these establishments belong to the military industrial sector. Through each stage of development of the revolution, these factories and enterprises have produced, repaired, and assembled weapons and equipment, making no small contributions to ensuring the Armed Forces' combat success. As for the civil goods production system, which now exists in all army units, it has developed vigorously since the country was reunified. This is a military force that participate in productive labor and economic work around troops bivouacking areas or in military stations and barracks, in enterprises, farms, corporations, general corporations, unions of production establishments.... Operating on various scales, it has connections with many sectors of the national economy such as industry, agriculture, forestry, fishery, public health service, electronics, chemicals, capital construction, natural resource exploitation, services, natural gas and oil, maritime and land communications and transportation.... Army economic production organizations always aim to achieve the goal of combining national defense and economy by organizing production in strategic positions and areas on the borders, offshore islands, and key defense zones, and by preserving their military forces to stand ready to fight in case of hostilities. Products turned out by this force directly serve the Army while supporting the people's livelihood and helping meet the demands of Army welfare policies and improve the living conditions of cadres, workers, and soldiers. At the same time, Army production forces also take part in export activities and contribute to the state budget.

Although the Army's past economic and military production activities have yielded definite results, they are now in a very difficult situation.

In the past, as defense industry factories and enterprises were organized in accordance with wartime demands, they were mostly concentrated in one part of the country, where they operated in isolation and closed to the national economy. Their infrastructure was old, outdated, and seriously degenerate. Poor roads and difficulty in commuting made it hard for them to maintain contact with markets. Ensuring the welfare of the defense workers in their enterprises constituted a very heavy burden for them. Each enterprise was "a society in microcosm" in which its director often had both to organize production and to take charge of the heavy duty of managing social welfare work.... The professional structure of defense industry factories and enterprises was utterly imbalanced. Repair enterprises in charge of the same kind of products were concentrated in large numbers in a single area. There also were fairly substantial discrepancies in the technical and technological standards among factories and enterprises making the

same kind of products or offering the same level of maintenance (medium or major overhaul), thus causing considerable disparity in production costs and the loss of uniformity in the value and quality of products of different defense industry factories and enterprises.

Over the past few years, owing to a drop in the demand for defense products, many defense industry factories and enterprises have suffered from a lack of work and have been compelled to shift to making civil products. In their switch to economic operations, defense industry factories and enterprises, especially the maintenance workshops, have shown confusion in choosing the kind of civil products to make. Because of their unstable organization and their lack of capital and a well-defined management mechanism... their production efficiency has been low.

And there was the case of the logistic sector's enterprises such as engineering factories, transportation and oil-and-gas equipment repair workshops, tailoring firms, grain and foodstuff production and processing plants, state farms growing industrial crops and medicinal herbs..., whose products consist mostly of goods made for both military and civil use. When shifting to the new method of providing logistic services and to the practice of profit-and-loss accounting, many of these enterprises also lacked work and showed confusion in determining the orientation of their production activities and developing their production forces. The Army's printing enterprises run 50 establishments of various sizes. Now that their printing tasks have been markedly reduced, in what form these establishments should be maintained is a question requiring careful study.

Concerning the Armed Forces participating in production and economic work and the enterprises, corporations, general corporations, and unions of production establishments... set up by virtue of various Council of Ministers decisions to carry out economic activities in the Army, the Ministry of National Defense has gradually and fully applied cost-and-profit accounting in these units, which are now operating in accordance with the general economic management mechanism of the state, in the past, owing to a profound understanding of the viewpoint that national defense must be combined with economic activities and that the Army must not only satisfactorily fulfill its military tasks but also to actively participate in economic building, many establishments were set up in a correct fashion. By accurately determining the orientation of their tasks, they were able to bring their strengths into full play and to do business in an efficient manner. However, there also have been many establishments that have become confused, suffered losses, and lacked work when coming to grips with the market mechanism. In these establishments, the forces that only indirectly took part on production and that have to rely on the welfare policy remain large. Between enterprise and ministry, there are now no less than four or five levels of management (enterprise; specialized and technical department; military region, armed branch and service; and ministry; or, enterprise;

corporation; general corporation; military region, armed branch and service; and ministry). The state management and production management enterprises of the echelons directly above the production enterprise have not been clearly defined. The application of the new economic management mechanism to practical production activities of these forces has been hampered by numerous impediments.

Thus, it is obvious that along with reorganizing production in the national economy, reorganizing the Army production forces in all the fields of military and civil goods production and economic building is a pressing and objective demand. This is particularly true when we consider the fact that, in conformity with the new situation, we are building the people's Armed Forces with appropriate standing troop strength along the line of a revolutionary, standardized, and well-trained army that is to be modernized step by step. For this reason, the demand for reorganizing the production forces in the Army has become even more imperative.

Under the light of the resolution of the seventh party congress, and to suit the new economic management mechanism, the reorganization of the Army production forces must be aimed at creating a rational production structure in accordance with the economic-military and economic-technical sectors, shaping defense technological clusters in accordance with territorial divisions, and affirming and enhancing the efficiency of the combined economic and defense goods production activities of the Armed Forces in various strategic areas. In the immediate future, we must maintain and develop their existing production capacity, gradually renovate the equipment and technology of production establishments so that they may not only satisfy the Armed Forces' demands for the production and repair of weapons and equipment and satisfactorily fulfill their role as the hard-core force in the mobilization of industry, but also actively take part in economic building with high efficiency. We must strengthen the organization of production enterprises and establishments step by step along the line of concentration and high-level specialization in accordance with their own forte and strengths and of increasing the scientific, technical, and technological content of their products. We must reclassify the production establishments and enterprises in a really accurate manner and in strict accordance with their actual situation and the requirements and tasks assigned to them. On this basis, we must carry out study to rearrange capital investment and give priority to the concentration of investment on enterprises producing vitally important military products and on production establishments making civil products with high economic efficiency, thereby fulfilling both the tasks of national defense and economic building in the new situation. We must create every favorable conditions for production establishments to preserve and increase their capital; study the application of a suitable management mechanism for both production systems (military and civil products); carry out a clear-cut division of management responsibilities; curtail the overlapping of functions and duties;

streamline the management apparatus; and slash the numbers of intermediary management levels. We must also really create favorable conditions for production enterprises and units to turn to good account their right to autonomy in production and business activities; strengthen the association and joint ventures between production establishments inside and outside the Army and inside and outside the country; harmoniously combine the three interests; and satisfactorily implement the welfare policies concerning cadres, workers, and civil servants in the enterprises.

Thus, in regard to the echelons directly above production enterprises and establishments (general department, military region, armed branch and service, army corps, and specialized department directly subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense), on the basis of the policies, orientations, and tasks laid down by the state and the Ministry of National Defense, we must promptly formulate plans to determine the orientation of production development; accurately determine the product orientation for production enterprises and establishments; determine the possibility of providing funds for investment in capital construction and for in-depth investment on a priority basis (taking into account the possibility of the defense industry taking over additional enterprises or building new ones) to achieve the objective of providing equipment for the Army and ensuring the effects of production on national defense and economic building in strategic areas and defense zones. We must devise plans to reorganize the existing production establishments, and to dissolve, consolidate, or build new ones in a precise and realistic manner to serve long-term strategic purposes. We must rearrange and reorganize various research institute and scientific and technical units belonging to the defense industrial sector into scientific and technical centers and experimental establishments and organs...capable of absorbing new science and technology, closely cooperating with other scientific and technical centers of the Army and the state, successfully conducting researches on technical innovations, and undertaking invention and discovery projects in support of combat and combat readiness duties and of the preparations for industrial mobilization. These scientific and technical centers will not functions merely as research organizations but must really become a force that directly participates in production.

Proceeding from the building of a suitable management mechanism on the basis of determining a uniform management structure, a rational division of management responsibilities, expeditious reception and processing of information..., we must revamp the management apparatus of various levels to enable production enterprises and units to turn their capabilities and efficiency to good account in production, and must ensure their right to exert autonomy in forming associations and joint ventures in the production and sales of both military and civil products, their right to take the initiative in cooperating with other units in the production and import-export of civil products....

As for production enterprises and units, basing themselves on the upper-echelons' production reorganization plans and projects, they must reexamine their own production and business functions, correctly assess the factors that ensure production (in regard to equipment, techniques, technology, materials, capital, labor...) in order to rearrange their production line in conformity with the formula of making the fullest use of their existing equipment. On the basis of their sources of capital (self-procured capital, state-supplied capital, capital allocated by the defense budget, and credit-based capital), the enterprises must formulate plans for in-depth investment and expansion of production installations, thereby permitting the application of many new scientific, technical, and technological advances to production, and raising labor efficiency and product quality. They must restore the balance between the amounts of materials needed for regular production and those kept in reserve, sell those materials that are no longer usable to make the most of their circulating capital, and cut the costs of maintaining materials and safeguarding warehouses and reinvest the savings for the development of production. They must reorganize their work force to suit their factories' production line, provide full unemployment benefits for redundant workers in accordance with the official policies, and find work for them. Regarding the enterprises producing or repairing military products, they must both satisfactorily implement the welfare policy and create jobs to maintain at any cost the highly skilled technical workers of the technological production line that turns out defense products.

Reorganizing production is to realize one of the objectives of the renovation of the state economic management structure and mechanism. At the same time, it constitutes a preparation for the efficient implementation of the defense industry strategy and the plan for the Army's participation in productive labor. For this reason, to allow this work to progress satisfactorily, we must have a correct understanding of and well-defined view on this task, and there must be well-coordinated movements on each echelon. This is an extremely weighty and complex task, and we cannot expect our goals to be achieved overnight in accordance with our subjective wish. However, if we fail to act urgently, production activities in the Army will drop in efficiency, and it will be more difficult for them to keep pace with the demands of the new tasks and new mechanism.

Footnotes

1. *Platform for National Construction in the Period of Transition to Socialism*, Documents of the Seventh Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p 9.

2. *Strategy for Socioeconomic Stabilization and Development Up to the Year 2000*, Documents of the Seventh Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p 18.

Existence of People's Committees, Councils Viewed

922E0114B Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 22 Jan 92 p 1

["Forum" article by Lawyer Nguyen Thanh Vinh: "On the Organization of People's Councils and People's Committees"]

[Text] Administrative organizations will produce practical and proper effects only when we have a correct concept of the administration's duties.

One month after seizing power, in October 1945 President Ho Chi Minh, who led the Vietnamese people in liberating their country in order to emancipate man, sent a letter to the People's Committees of various regions, provinces, and villages. The letter said in part: "We must understand that all government agencies, from the national down to the village level, are the people's servants, that is, they are set up to work for the people, not to oppress them like in the times of foreign domination. Whatever is good for the people, we must do it to the best of our ability. What is harmful to them, we must try our utmost to avoid doing it."

The National Assembly's Constitutional Amendment Committee has conducted research and surveys in localities, has received many suggestions from various seminars, and has drawn on the practical experience we have gained in the building of the state apparatus over the past decades. However, it still has some concern about the "existence of the central state and the local states."

This worry is not speculative; it is based on reality. For our part, we lawyers, having contacted large segments of the people in many localities, must take notice of concrete matters, and one of them is the fact that a large number of legal documents promulgated by many localities has overstepped the laws that substantiated the party's lines and policies and that have been passed by the National Assembly. This fact has caused much confusion among the people.

Many localities (precincts, districts, villages, and subwards) have served their people well, but the above-cited shortcoming remains serious and should be overcome at an early date.

The state manages the country, society, and economy by means of socialist legislation, and all people must live and work in accordance with the Constitution and the law. Therefore, we should put an early end to the phenomenon of using "customs" (and not the law) as the basis for conducting public affairs, a practice that has had the consequence of eroding the masses' confidence in the law.

We are studying the revision of the 1980 Constitution so that, on the basis of a new constitution, the National Assembly will promulgate many laws in the political, economic, cultural, and social domains, thereby concretizing the party's line in accordance with the resolution of

the seventh party congress. It is also time for us to restrict or remove the support for local administrations to discharge their duties according to "customs" that are at variance with the letter and spirit of the law and with the universal legal principles. This measure will help indirectly overcome the phenomenon of the local administrations at several levels having different legal systems in a unified country.

For this reason, the revised constitution should decide at once whether to preserve or abolish the People's Councils and People's Committees below the levels of provinces and municipalities directly subordinate to the central government and replace them with appointed officials. This may give rise to some contentions that there will be a lack of the local people's voice. This knotty point can be easily resolved, because when the people elect the National Assembly and People's Councils at the levels of provinces and municipalities directly subordinate to the central government, they already tell the deputies about their feelings and aspirations.

The crucial question is that these deputies must closely follow the masses' aspirations and satisfy the people's legitimate demands and interests in accordance with the real capabilities of the country and society.

Production, Business Activities of Military Factory

922E0111B Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN
DAN in Vietnamese Jan 92 pp 72-76

[Article by Nguyen The Phac, director of factory Z176: "Factory Z176: What Should Be Done To Maintain Production and Business Activities?"]

[Text] Factory Z176 has two main specialized branches: the chemical branch, which produces special kinds of paint for seagoing ships and military hardware, and makes plastic products such as water bottles, nylon, slippers, mine and grenade components... and the engineering branch, which specializes in making gun stands, trunks, containers.... In the multisector economy that is developing vigorously in accordance with the new management mechanism, the engineering branch of the factory has become almost "paralyzed," while the chemical branch also faces extremely difficult problems. Army units' orders for special paint, a traditional item accounting for 60-80% of the factory's gross output, which should have gone to the factory in bulk, have for various reasons decreased markedly. Marketing plans and consumers lists for this item are no longer made as they used to be, and there is fierce competition on the market because of a glut of paint and plastic goods. This situation has stalled the sales of the factory's products, causing production to slacken off and forcing some workshops to cease operation.

An even greater difficulty is that all the equipment and machines of the factory are old, outdated, and seriously degraded. Its paint production line was installed in the 1960's. Part of its plastic products-making machines was

designed and assembled by the factory itself, and the rest was imported from China and Germany in the early 1970's. Today, a number of these apparatuses have become inoperative while some others consume fairly large amounts of fuel, energy, and materials. The engineering machines are in the same condition, functioning at less than 50% of their design capacity. There also are other problems: the factory's nominal capital is fairly substantial, but its actual funds for production and business operations are meager. A backlog of over 60% of its inoperative equipment is still awaiting liquidation. The amounts of materials and products that have been in stock for decades (a leftover from the state-subsidies period) worth hundreds of millions of dong have not yet been deducted from the factory's capital. Despite its fairly large numbers of workers and high-grade craftsmen, only 10% of them are competent enough to do their jobs properly. Nonstaff personnel account for nearly 30% of the factory's work force....

What should Z176 do in seeking optimal solutions to maintain and enhance production efficiency, to keep its personnel, to ensure and gradually raise the living standard of its cadres and workers, and to preserve at all costs its defense production line in the hope of gradually developing to a certain extent in the years ahead to contribute to boosting the defense industrial output capacity?

For Z176, the first thing to do is to study and make contact with the market. Drawing on its existing technology and equipment and its traditional products, the factory has made relatively comprehensive and accurate general studies of the demands and tastes of consumers both in and outside the Army, and has calculated its production capacity to satisfy these demands and tastes. The factory makes comparative studies of items that it can produce and that are also marketed by other producers. If its products do not compare favorably with its competitors' in terms of design and quality, the factory would try by all means to encourage technical innovations, increase investment for scientific and technological research, acquire more equipment and machines, enhance workers' skills... to raise the quality of its products and improve on their design to match or surpass that of the competitors' products. As for selling prices (including wholesale and retail prices), the factory would do everything possible to price its products at least 10% less than their current market prices.

Regarding items that are in great demand—but not yet available on the market—and that Z176 can produce, the factory carries out studies of them, makes them on an experimental basis, then produces them in small quantities for display at its outlets in many different localities in Hanoi and some other cities. After that, the factory will take all measures to quickly put its products in the hands of consumers, thereby testing their marketability and competitiveness.

This is one of the many marketing methods used by Z176: It has coordinated the supply and demand factors

in a relatively flexible and active fashion; encouraged the development of innovations and talents in people from workers to managers and enterprise directors; promotes scientific and technological progress; and successfully exploited all its sources of manpower. However, this approach has provoked skepticism in not a few people regarding its effectiveness because of the many questions that cannot be easily answered: How can the price of a product be set at 10% lower than its market price but its quality is higher than that of the products turned out by other manufacturers? How can one go about promoting production of a new product involving substantial expenses when one does not know whether the product will sell?

But the answer is: **Let us heighten everybody's sense of responsibility, renovate management methods, and reorganize the factory's production to suit the new management mechanism.** After a long period of state subsidies, there is still considerable waste of materials, fuel, energy, and labor in the production process. Everyone has paid very little or no attention at all to where their products would go or how they would be used. Even if their products did not sell, production stagnated, and workers were furloughed for long periods of time, their living conditions would remain unchanged. That situation is no longer acceptable under the current new management mechanism. To survive and move ahead, each employee and each component of the factory must uphold their responsibility for their production work and products.

The factory signs production contracts with its workshops in accordance with the predetermined quality and selling prices of products (on the market, which incorporate all expenses of the workshops including management and insurance fees...). The factory sells materials, tools, energy... to its workshops, which in return sell their products to the factory according to plan.

Basing itself on the predetermined product quality and to help cut production costs, Z176 allows its workshops to buy supplies, raw materials, and tools on the market, provided the purchases are made in strict accordance with the law, quality is ensured, the buying prices are lower than those applied in the factory's sales to the workshops, all the purchases are to be stored the factory's warehouses, and payments are made by the factory's financial component. All materials and tools—from those stored in the factory's general warehouse to those used in the workshops—are to be accurately inventoried and their values estimated in accordance with their market prices. These measures have enabled the factory to tightly manage the quantity and quality of materials acquired; suppress the negative phenomena that often occur in buying or selling materials and fuel; prevent collusion between the factory's employees and outsiders in business deals, theft of materials.... Results have shown that in 1990, in the production of some principal items such as paint, plastic, and plate, the amounts of materials consumed were slashed by about 10% compared with the factory-set norms, but the quality of these products was still ensured.

Even in the use of electricity, Z176 has had to find ways to manage it more tightly and rationally. All consumer households are provided with their own meters, which are installed, checked, and serviced by technicians assigned exclusively to this task by the factory. If there is an inexplicable loss of power in a certain section, the person in charge of the meters in that section must compensate. Thanks to this measure, the value of the factory's output in 1990 increased by 120% over 1989, but its power consumption dropped by 10-20%.

The factory has also paid attention to paring down management expenses. For starters, its nonstaff personnel were reduced. The factory also set forth strict regulations on various positions and the number of people holding them. Qualifications for all positions were clearly defined to enable each employee to judge his own suitability, to accept assignments voluntarily, and to assert himself through self-improvement. As a result, all veteran and high-ranking employees who had a low professional standard have stepped down from their official positions. The factory's nonstaff personnel have been scaled down to about 7% of the total work force; the accounting office now has only five workers and other offices have only one or two employees left, yet, everything is "running" smoothly with little redundancy and overlapping of duties. Besides, all operational, public relations, and other expenses... are covered in the contracts for specific jobs and products in accordance with a definite ratio. Workers are paid according to their products. If a product has to go through several different technical stages of production, employees who work in the same technical stage of production will be given credit and paid according to the degree of complexity of their work, regardless of their grades. Workshop management cadres and personnel are remunerated at a rate equal to the average income of the entire workshop. Enterprise management cadres and personnel are entitled to a salary equivalent to the average income of the personnel of all workshops in the factory. The incomes of workshop and factory management cadres and personnel are also pegged to the quality of their work in each month—which is rated in alphabetical order as A, B, C...—and also to their positions and the volumes of products sold. The factory's position indexes are determined in conformity with the state compensation schedule. In particular, scientific, management, and supervisory cadres capable of research and creative work have begun to be paid according to the research subject matters assigned by the factory. Thus, the grade-based salary system and the discrepancies between Army officers' pay and defense workers' salaries have been abolished, as has the phenomenon of those who work well are paid less and vice versa.... The wage-fund proportion in production costs is always determined, and the selling prices of products are not allowed to be jacked up.

To enhance the quality of its products, Z176 has actively carried out researches on renovating equipment, technological production lines, worker training.... Any workshop that turns out products of poor quality or at

variance with the established specifications is liable to a fine. Recently, the factory successfully repaired a Kuasi 500 plastic press, increasing its value by 30-40 million dong and adding a key production machine to its equipment. In addition, the factory has made investment for the construction and installation of a special paint production line with a 3,000-4,000 tonne/year capacity. It is now striving to raise the quality of its special paint to international standards in the years ahead. It is also pressing forward with its efforts to expand its container production line using PE, PP, and PVC [polyethylene, polypropylene, and polyvinyl chloride] to achieve a capacity of millions of products per year to serve the armed forces and other economic sectors.

Aside from the key items to be produced according to plan, Z176 advocates the fullest exploitation of all potential to turn out many different kinds of products to ensure its workers' employment and incomes and to prevent the decline and losses of its potential and high-grade workers. The factory allows its workshops to make the fullest use of their equipment capacity and manpower, to utilize their extra and discarded materials... to contract to make items not included in the nomenclature of state-managed products. The factory has modified and made the most of its long underused metal-container production line and its facilities for the minor repair of the means of transportation to produce hundreds of thousands of bicycle and pack-bicycle wheels, handlebars, stems, and pedals per year; assemble thousands of bicycles of the ESKA brand per year; and produce thousands of decorative lamps and floodlights per year. It has also designed, manufactured, and installed a plating line to plate all mechanical products, a service the quality of which meets the state-established standards. Using its plastic production line, the factory has expanded its line of products to include thin curtains, children's boots, buckets and basins, and rigid PVC pipes. Concerning its plating and chemicals production line, the factory is planning to use it to produce color powders, filler powders, and toxins for making shipworm-resistant paint. In regard to a number of workers with insufficient skills, the factory has organized them to make secondary products and to carry out capital construction. As for a number of workers with poor health, the factory has organized industrial, social, and cultural services to create jobs for them, or has used them as shop attendants at its shops in various localities. All legal formalities in connection with contracts for these activities must be fulfilled through the intermediary of the factory, which also strictly checks product quality, import-export operations, contract fulfillment, deposits in bank accounts of an amount equivalent to 10-20% of the contract value.... Thanks to these principal and "secondary" plans, various workshops of Z176 factory have been able to take the initiative in their operations and workers of the factory and its workshops have always been provided with employment in many different forms to turn out a host of different products. With its 1990 "secondary" production plan, the factory has increased the number of jobs by 20-30% for its workers. Each line of work mentioned above has created

jobs for 50 to 200 workers. Employment generates income, which will in turn ensure and stabilize workers' living standard and will enable the factory to maintain and gradually advance its operations.

To do the work cited above is essentially to reorganize production and renovate the management methods of a defense industrial enterprise. Carrying out economic accounting in production and business operation is a struggle, a strong movement involving perception, viewpoints, resolve, and concrete actions. We must combine numerous measures including party and political work and the emulation efforts of the trade union movement and the youth union to motivate all cadres and workers of the factory to participate in and satisfactorily carry out the renovation undertaking.

Over the past three years, like other factories, Z176 experienced numerous difficulties. However, despite the present extremely trying conditions and the many new difficulties that lie ahead, it can be said that the factory has surmounted its difficulties.

During that three-year period, Z176 achieved an average growth rate of 115% compared with 1987; in 1991, this rate is expected to reach 125%. In 1990, the average monthly income of each cadre, worker, and civil servant of the factory hovered around 80,000 dong; in the first quarter of 1991, it was 122,000 dong. The factory's capital was retained and expanded, its emulation movement continually maintained, and its party organization awarded the 1988-1990 "Pure and Strong Party Organization" banner. The factory itself was presented with the traveling banner of the General Department of Defense Industry and Economy for two years in succession (1989 and 1990), the Military Exploit Order Third Class in 1988, the Military Exploit Order Second Class in 1989 and again in 1990. The mass organizations of the factory were also fittingly commended and rewarded by the upper echelons.

The valuable lesson here is that the factory itself has shown resolve and has organized the implementation of its tasks in a dynamic and creative manner and in conformity with reality and the new management mechanism.

Self-Defense Force at State-Run Corporation

922E0111B Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN
DAN in Vietnamese Jan 92 pp 68-71, 90

[Article by Luu Van Thong, deputy director of Hoang Lien Son Land and Waterway Transportation Corporation: "Building Self-Defense Forces at a State-Run Corporation"]

[Text] The Land and Waterway Transportation of Hoang Lien Son¹ is a joint transportation unit with the principal duty of meeting ever more fully the demands for land-and-waterway freight and passenger services inside and outside the province to provide timely support for local socioeconomic and cultural building and

development and national defense and security consolidation. The corporation has five production units scattered in various areas—some located hundreds of kilometers from its main office—and one administrative unit with a total work force of 548 people. Its assets, worth more than 2 billion dong, are composed of hard-to-find, valuable properties that can be easily sabotaged or stolen by corrupt elements who, in so doing, can affect the circulation of goods and people's travels and directly influence the livelihood of cadres and workers of the corporation.

In the previous years, our corporation was one of the units credited with definite achievements in building self-defense forces and participating in local defense work. However, since our switch to the new economic management system, although we have never belittled the task of building self-defense forces, we have encountered no little difficulty—or worse still, at times we seemed to have reached an impasse—in carrying out this task. Many other corporations and enterprises of Hoang Lien Son have found themselves in a similar situation. In view of this state of affairs, there have been some opinions that the new economic management mechanism has caused great difficulties and has even broken up the organization and operations of the self-defense forces. Of course, that assertion is incorrect; nevertheless, it does reflect to a certain extent the difficult, complicated reality in the current building of self-defense forces in various enterprises and corporations. What should we do to overcome this difficulty? This is a matter that is causing much worry and concern to us as well as many other sectors in our search for a solution. From the practice of building self-defense forces over the past few years, we have drawn the following experience:

1. Concentrate on resolving difficulties in production, creating jobs and ensuring stable living conditions for cadres and personnel.

In the initial stage of the change of the management mechanism, because of the corporation's inability to adapt to the new system, its production activities were brought to a standstill. In the entire organization, only 10-20% of its means of land and waterway transportation remained in operation; life became extremely difficult for its workers; and the income of its cadres and employees dropped markedly. Difficulty in production had directly affected all activities of the corporation, including building self-defense forces. Although the corporation's existing self-defense forces had been maintained, their operations were largely formalist and ineffective. In view of this situation, the party committee, the management board, the transportation units, and the workers union of the corporation reexamined and reappraised the amounts of their means and materials as well as their economic and technical norms and targets. They made studies to gain a firm knowledge of the market, the transportation channels and routes, and stations and landings. They reorganized production along the line of improving the quality and efficiency of freight and passenger services. Following comprehensive surveys

and reappraisals, the corporation began to apply the contract system to each unit, including business returns contracts, vehicle bidding contracts, insured repair work contracts, and wage funds contracts to the nonproductive administrative units. At the same time, the corporation expanded its interprovincial routes, associated with other provinces and production establishments to exploit sources of commodities, set up services to create jobs for the redundant work force.... Thanks to these measures, the difficulties were eliminated; production was gradually stabilized and developed; the corporation's means of transportation in operation increased by 50-60% over the previous level; and the living standard of its cadres and workers was ensured and gradually improved, with each employee making 70,000-220,000 dong a month on the average, depending on the production efficiency of each component. In 1989-1990, we contributed to the state budget an amount of money exceeding the norm by 6-10%. Stable and developing production has created favorable conditions for building self-defense forces.

2. Really attach importance to the task of building self-defense forces.

Proceeding from the reality of production, we have come to understand that building self-defense forces is a requirement of our corporation itself. These forces are needed not only for the purpose of safeguarding the corporation's production, property, and materials, but also for serving as a hard-core and shock component in production. The party committee and management board have organized for the entire corporation to study Resolution No. 2 of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee, Directive No. 55 of the CPV Central Committee Secretariat, Decree No. 29 of the Council of Ministers, and the resolution of Hoang Lien Son Provincial Party Committee on the local military work. The task of building self-defense forces and consolidating national defense has been closely linked to the corporation's production and building duties. Military work has been included in all quarterly, biannual, and annual production plans of the corporation. Military tasks and self-defense forces building have always been incorporated in the corporation's social and production activities such as internal wired-radio transmissions, mass organizations' work, and shift hand-over meetings. Performance of military tasks has always been an important criterion by which to evaluate cadres and personnel for salary rises and to assess the fulfillment of plans by all units. This is why everyone, from director to employee, has a thorough understanding of and shows a high sense of responsibility for the national defense tasks and building self-defense forces.

3. Reorganize self-defense forces to suit the new form of production organization.

In the times of state subsidies, the corporation's self-defense forces were 150 strong and organized into a battalion composed of five companies. The annual

expenses for these forces' activities were considerable, but their effectiveness was very low. To enhance the quality of our self-defense forces in the new economic management mechanism, we guided various teams, units, and mass organizations in holding informal discussions on the criteria and forms of self-defense forces organization and staffing, and in evaluating and recommending fully qualified cadres and personnel for admission into the self-defense forces. The management board then examined these recommendations and made decisions.

After the corporation's self-defense forces were reexamined and reorganized, they were reduced to 68 strong. These comrades have been organized into one company composed of two platoons and four squads. The company command is made up of three comrades: the corporation director cum party committee secretary, who serves as company commander; the deputy director cum deputy party committee secretary, who acts as political officer; and a cadre exclusively in charge of military affairs, who serves as deputy company commander. The heads of production units and party chapter secretaries in various components of the corporation serve as platoon or squad leaders and are accountable to the corporation's party committee and military command for military work in their units. Because of its peculiar, diversified, and scattered organizations and production activities—plus the application of the contract system in production—the guidance over and the building of the corporation's self-defense forces have proven to be equally complicated and difficult. To suit these peculiarities, these forces are divided into two components with different methods of operation: one component for concentrated activities (set up in repair workshops, offices, and service stations), and the other component for scattered, uncoordinated, small-scale, and constantly mobile operations (organized in the land and waterway transportation units).

Regarding the concentrated self-defense component, the guidance over and development of its management and activities have been relatively smooth. This is the corporation's main mobile force. Aside from its duty to protect production installations, it also serves as a mobile force to ensure the safety of the corporation's property and means. At the same time, it participates in the maintenance of public order and security in those areas where elements of the corporation are stationed. In particular, at important points such as warehouses, bus stations... the corporation has worked out plans for using its own forces in coordination with the local self-defense and public security forces to ensure public safety both as a regular task and as an ad-hoc duty. Thanks to an effective implementation of security measures involving close coordination between the corporation's mobile and in-place self-defense forces and the security forces of each component, there have been no major fires or thefts in recent years.

Concerning the land and waterway transportation units, because they have to be constantly on the move, and also

because of the scattered, small-scale, and uncoordinated nature of their activities, in building and organizing self-defense forces and planning their operations, we must ensure the initiative and independence of these forces in the performance of their duties. In these transportation units, although the self-defense forces are still organized into platoons and squads, in reality they mainly operate as two- or three-man teams. In the waterway transportation component, which usually operates in four- to six-vessel units carrying goods of high economic values on 30- to 45-day trips, the self-defense forces are organized into squads, which are equipped and armed as warranted to ensure safety throughout their journeys. As for the land transportation component, which usually uses vehicles singly in short-distance trips, self-defense forces are mostly organized into and operate as teams. However, both components share a common trait in their production activities: they are highly vulnerable to threats to their safety. For this reason, their self-defense forces' activities consist mainly in ensuring the safety of their means and property during the transportation process. In cases they have to operate on routes where security is not guaranteed, the corporation may commit larger self-defense forces and coordinate with public security forces to ensure the safety of passengers, goods, and means of transportation.

Together with revamping our organization, we have always devoted ourselves to **training self-defense forces**. Each year, along with its production plan, our corporation also formulates a training plan, which must be approved by the director himself. Prior to each training season, we always send military cadres to attend all military training courses organized by the local military organ. In addition, those self-defense force members who have served in the army are given additional training so that they may serve as instructors to directly train their fellow self-defense force members. Because the corporation's units are stationed fairly far from one another, and also because they have different production characteristics, we have set up two or three training points and sent military cadres of the corporation there to monitor training work and give assistance. Basing themselves on their production plans, each component conducts training at suitable times. Regarding the substance of training, we have carried out studies and have selected subject matters in conformity with the requirements of the tasks of each specific component and unit. Therefore, different components are taught different subjects. The mobile component's training differs from that of the stationary component. Even within the transportation component itself, the waterway section is also trained in a different way from the land section. Besides the individual technical training, we also provide training in other subjects in accordance with the combat plans of city defense zones, such as the shipment of goods, provisions, and weapons; the evacuation of people and wounded soldiers; or ferrying troops according to upper echelons' requests.... Concerning the maintenance and repair workshops, we pay attention to giving training in the techniques of fixing military means

and weapons for the battlefield and producing some rudimentary, traditional weapons such as spikes, mines, booby traps.... This is aimed at both training self-defense force members to be skilled in these techniques and evaluating the actual capacity of the workshops in supporting combat activities. At the end of each training phase and training year, we always conduct inspections and assess results. The results of training in 1990 showed that 30% of the corporation's self-defense forces were rated excellent, 50% good, and 20% satisfactory. In 1991, 20% were judged excellent, 70% good, and 10% satisfactory.

The corporation pays utmost attention to ensuring the benefits provided by state policies for self-defense forces. Each year, we usually spend more than 3 million dong for military activities, chiefly for training, for holding contests, and for the regular operations of our self-defense forces. In the 1991 training year, each self-defense force member was given an additional daily food allowance of 4,000 dong, and all units and individuals credited with achievements were presented with fitting material rewards. In addition, we have issued regulations making fulfillment of military tasks one of the criteria by which to evaluate the results of emulation activities and to judge people for quarterly, biannual, and annual awards and commendations. Together with ensuring the benefits provided by state policies for self-defense forces, we have also applied ourselves to implementing the army rear welfare policy. Employees of the corporation who perform their military duty in the Army are paid due attention, and when their term of service is up, they are provided with employment by the corporation. During the time they serve in the Army, their families will receive aid from the corporation if they face difficulties.

Putting cadres exclusively in charge of military affairs is a tradition that our corporation has maintained even in the most difficult times. Cadres doing military work on a full-time basis are hired as regular staff members and entitled to the same compensation rates, bonus, and supplemental food allowance as other regular cadres and workers of the corporation. The qualifications required of cadres doing this work are that they must have served in the Army, have the necessary experience in and knowledge of military affairs, and, at the same time, must show a high sense of responsibility and ardor in performing their duties.

As a state-run corporation, after more than 10 years of carrying out military work in general and building self-defense forces in particular, although there still remain many difficulties, we are convinced that we will be able to satisfactorily fulfill our duties—thereby contributing to national construction and defense—if the leaders and commanders really pay attention; if there are adequate material investments; if renovation is boldly carried out; if every measure is adopted to accomplish our undertaking in conformity with the new situation and tasks; if all cadres and personnel could be educated, persuaded, and motivated to participate.... Our achievements of being named the Determined-to-Win Unit of the 2d

Military Region and the Ministry of Interior for three years in a row (1988, 1989, and 1990) and of being awarded the Military Exploit Second Class by the Council of State have to a certain extent proven our determination to make good.

Footnote

1. Since 1 October 1991, Hoang Lien Son Province has been divided into two provinces: Lao Cai and Yen Bai.

Region 9: Meeting on Building, Defending Border
922E0111B Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN in Vietnamese Jan 92 pp 19-27

[Article by Nguyen Nhu: "The 9th Military Region With the Task of Building and Defending the Southwestern Border"]

[Text] Recently, the 9th Military Region held the third conference on building and defending the (land) border with the participation of all comrades in the military region command; leading cadres of various military region organs; cadres delegations from the military, public security, and border defense forces of the provinces in the region; and leading cadres of the people's committees and military and public security organs of a number of border districts and villages charged with the task of making reports at the conference. The three border provinces also sent representatives of the standing committees of their provincial party committees and people's committees. The conferees also included representatives of the head of the Ministry of National Defense and some departments concerned. Amid an atmosphere permeated with renovation, democracy, and a high sense of responsibility, the conference correctly assessed the true nature of border building and defense over the past three years and drew some experience from the organization of practical work in some localities; achieved unity of perception and views; and set forth the orientation, tasks, and measures to organize border building and defense in the days ahead. I would like to report on some of the major gains we made at the conference as follows:

I. The Border in the 9th Military Region Is Stable, But the Struggle To Defend the Border Still Proceeds in a Very Complicated Manner

The 9th Military Region has three provinces bordering on Cambodia, namely Kien Giang, An Giang, and Dong Thap, with a (land) border stretching 207 km in length. Seven districts and towns of these provinces, with a total of 29 villages, are adjacent to the border. We all know that, during the years Cambodia was ruled by the Pol Pot regime, the Khmer Rouge power-holders had turned the Cambodia-Vietnam border into a battlefield, invaded Vietnam, and perpetrated untold bloody crimes against our compatriots in the border areas. It was only after the Pol Pot administration was toppled in early 1979 that, promoted by the consolidation and development of the Cambodian revolution and thanks to the common

efforts of the two nations, the traditional solidarity and friendship between Vietnam and Cambodia were restored and their common border were once again turned into a boundary of amity. In that new situation, stability has returned in the 9th Military Region's border areas throughout the past few years, and Vietnamese and Cambodians on the border have lived in an atmosphere of peace and friendship and have gone about their business in safety.

However, the conference appraised the complicated nature of the struggle that is constantly going on in the border areas. In the Cambodian provinces and districts bordering on our country in the 9th Military Region, many opposing Khmer Rouge forces are holding on to their bases of operation and carrying out sabotage activities against the Cambodian revolution. They are actively trying to build up underground forces, preparing the terrain, stepping up psychological warfare, slandering the Cambodian revolutionary administration and Vietnam, sowing disunity between Cambodia and Vietnam, mounting raids and ambushes... against the Cambodian Armed Forces and administration. Recently, seeing that a political solution to the Cambodian issue was imminent, they boosted their forces and stepped up their political and armed activities in an attempt to "win over the population and grab land" from our Cambodian friends.

Leaning on the support of and acting in collusion with the opposing Khmer Rouge forces, a number of exiled Vietnamese reactionary exiles have come into the area to set up bases of operations. These Vietnamese have sought to link up with the reactionaries inside our country—especially the reactionary elements among various religions and former members of the puppet Army and administration who are still "dreaming of revenge"—in an attempt to build up reactionary forces and create bases of operations and infiltration corridors to oppose and sabotage our revolution both from within and without. In recent days these elements have tended to intensify their activities.

The border areas in the 9th Military Region traditionally offer highly favorable conditions for communications between the two countries by land and river (to say nothing of the seaways). But if this special feature has made it convenient for the peoples of the two countries to trade through official channels, it also favors the development of cross-border smuggling. Proliferation of contraband has spawned a string of social evils such as robbery, fraud, prostitution, debauchery, bribery, and so forth, which have had a very bad influence on the public order and security in the border areas.

The 9th Military Region's border areas also boast many famous places of scenic beauty such as Phu Quoc Island, Ha Tien, Tinh Bien, Chau Doc with its Sam Mountain, and so forth, which attract many visitors and tourists. For instance, between the fourth and fifth lunar month each year, 30,000-40,000 pilgrims from many localities flock to Sam Mountain for the offerings-making festival

to mark the "Mountain Lady's birthday anniversary." The enemies and bad people take advantage of these occasions to mix with the crowds and congregate to exchange information, discuss plans, carry out intelligence and espionage activities, spread baseless rumors, plot illegal emigration and immigration, commit theft and robbery, and so forth.

In recent years, thanks to the goodwill and common efforts of the two states, Vietnam and Cambodia have signed an agreement on delineation of the boundaries between the two countries. To date, however, planting border markers to concretely indicate the boundary in each specific section of the border in the 9th Military Region's provinces still remains unfinished. On the other hand, both the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples in the border areas have not been satisfactorily inculcated with a sense of national sovereignty over their respective national border territories. They are not accustomed to—and still lack a sense of—seriously implementing the border statutes promulgated by the two states. For this reason, over the past few years, there has been the phenomenon of the two peoples growing crops and establishing residence in each other's territory and there still have been widespread violations of the border statutes by both Vietnamese and Cambodians.

The conference paid much attention to exchanging views to arrive at a correct and unified understanding of the situation on the Cambodian border at present and in the period ahead, when the peace agreement on Cambodia is implemented. The conference affirmed that, equipped with a thorough understanding of our party's internationalist viewpoint, in any circumstances our people will consistently respect the Cambodian people's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and right to self-determination, and always wish to live in peace, friendship, solidarity, and cooperation with the Cambodian people on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Vietnam always wants to be friends with all countries of the world community. At the same time, we must ceaselessly heighten vigilance and prepare to actively cope with all sinister schemes of the imperialists and reactionaries, who may take advantage of the political solution to the Cambodia issue to oppose and undermine our country's revolution.

II. Over the Past Three Years, the Border Provinces Have Made Numerous Efforts, Have Recorded Some Important Initial Achievements, and Have Set Forth Orientations and Taken Fairly Systematic Steps

The 9th Military Region has clearly affirmed that our strength in national defense and security as well as in border defense is an aggregate strength. Therefore, we must build a border that is strong in all respects—economic, political, military, cultural, and social.

Socioeconomic building and development is regarded by the border localities as an activity of paramount importance that serves as the foundation for building in other domains.

The 9th Military Region's border areas, especially the districts and villages located along the border, are a traditionally sparsely populated and economically undeveloped region where the population has a low standard of living. Therefore, it is of primary importance that more people must be encouraged to resettle in this region to increase its population density, that everything must be done to help people reclaim fallow land, open new land, carry out intensive farming and multicropping, and develop production in order to steadily stabilize their livelihood and to enjoy an ever higher material and spiritual life. Only in this way will people be able to live permanently in peace and be content with their occupation in the border areas. Also only in this way *can strong in-place forces be created for economic development and border defense work*. To achieve this goal, and also to rectify their shortcoming of having failed for a long time to pay due attention to developing remote areas and former resistance bases, over the past few years all the three border provinces have made appropriate investments for the border areas to develop communications, dig and dredge irrigation canals, bring electricity to the border districts and villages; and build new schools and first-aid stations as well as agricultural and other essential service stations to serve the people's lives.

Initial statistics show that, in the field of water conservancy construction alone, over the past three years, An Giang Province, applying the formula "the state and the people work together," have dug 20 canals totaling almost 100 km in length, each 1.2-1.4 meters deep and eight to 12 meters wide, to provide water for production and the population on the border. Dong Thap Province has dug new canals and dredged the existing ones, increasing the total length of its canal system to more than 70 km, with each canal measuring four meters deep and 20 meters wide. The province has built 80 km of roads linking the border districts to their villages and to the provincial capital. It has also built a power grid and postal service network for the border districts and villages. Aside from water, the water conservancy system, convenient communications, electricity, and schools for their children—things that people in the border areas have dreamed of for generations—today the peasants are granted by the party and state the right to own rice fields and orchards through the application of the contract policy to each peasant household and given multifaceted assistance under their provinces' agricultural promotional policy. In some places, they are also accorded agricultural tax cuts or exemption according to established policies (in addition to the tax cuts granted in accordance with Uncle Ho's testament). For this reason, the peasants now engage in production with even greater enthusiasm. The volume of grain production and the yields of crops and animals in the border districts and villages have increased significantly compared with the previous output levels. The material and spiritual life of the people in the border areas have been markedly improved step by step over the years. The people have shown even greater enthusiasm and confidence in the renovation policy of the party and state and have

become more attached to their new places of residence. Thanks to this, several new villages and one new district have been founded in the border areas. People now live and own property in many places that were previously devoid of population or barely inhabited. Compared with 1986, in 1991 the population in the border districts and villages of Kien Giang, An Giang, and Dong Thap Provinces have increased by 160,000.

While devoting themselves to socioeconomic building and development, all the border provinces have attached importance to **consolidating border villages and hamlets politically**.

In recent time, various localities have concentrated their efforts on satisfactorily carrying out the following pivotal tasks:

- Improve the contingent of village and hamlet cadres, paying special attention to doing a good job of selecting and appointing five key officials, namely village party committee secretary, village people's committee chairman, village military unit commander, village public security chief, and village Fatherland Front committee chairman. Resolutely replace cadres who are weak and inefficient and not trusted by the masses with new ones who have good political quality, are competent and trusted by the people, and can serve as worthy representatives of the people's right to mastery. In important places and whenever it is necessary, higher-ranking-than-ordinarily-required cadres may be assigned as reinforcements. For example, in An Giang Province, a captain was appointed to directly serve as commander of the military unit of Vinh Te village, which is subordinate to Chau Doc City.
- Once again consolidate the party, administrative, and mass organizations along the line of enhancing their quality. Examine and expell from these organizations those people who are now judged unqualified, incompetent, degenerate, and deviant. At the same time, progressive, good, and qualified people must be selected, promoted, and admitted.

Many security-defense party chapters or security-defense party cells have been set up in villages and subwards to strengthen the grassroots party organization leadership over defense-security work during such consolidation drives.

- Regularize the activities of various organizations in strict accordance with their functions and duties; satisfactorily implement the mechanism of the party leading, the administration managing, the people acting as masters, and military and public security organs serving as the staff in defense and security work.
- Step up political and ideological education and raise the population's cultural standard to make cadres and the people steadfastly adhere to the socialist regime chosen by Uncle Ho and the people and clearly realize their duty to build and defend the borders in the new

situation. Enhance their sense of national sovereignty over the national borders and make it possible for them to clearly understand and seriously abide by the border statutes and firmly maintain their traditional neighborly solidarity and friendship with the Cambodian people. Educate cadres and the people, heighten their vigilance over the enemies, and enhance their sense of mastery in border defense and building so that they may actively join the Armed Forces in opposing the insidious all-sided sabotage strategy and "peaceful evolution" strategy of the enemies and struggling against all wrongdoings by criminal elements in the economic, social, and security fields in the border areas.

To ensure an effective implementation of the plan of consolidating the grassroots on the border, recently the provinces have paid attention to satisfactorily bringing into full play the role of provincial and district border committees. A number of provinces have also sent groups of their grassroots-building cadres to villages and hamlets to assist them in all fields. Thanks to this, after a number of consolidation drives, *the political battleground* in the border villages and hamlets has been initially purified and undergone significant changes. According to reports by An Giang and Dong Thap Provinces (Kien Giang's report not available yet), there are no more weak villages in their border areas.

Building the defense and security battle disposition, a contributing factor to creating an aggregate strength for border defense, is a task to which the border provinces have attached much importance. In building the battle disposition of national defense and people's war in the border areas, the 9th Military Region has determined that each province must serve as a strong defense zone, each district a strong defense combat position, each village a strong defense support point, and that the districts and villages in the rear must be used as direct rear bases for the border districts and villages. Acting in line with the formula of closely linking economic building to national defense work and vice versa, after three years of hard work, the border provinces have accomplished a number of important tasks.

All these provinces have worked out basic defense plans and basic combat projects. Relying on these provincial plans and projects, all the border districts and villages have formulated defense plans at their own levels consisting of many combat projects designed to cope with all combat situations that may arise both in the near and distant future. To date, their defense plans and combat projects have been supplemented several times and approved by the higher responsible levels.

Together with the redeployment and redistribution of the population, the administrative boundaries of some border districts and villages have been readjusted one step further to create better conditions for administrative management, socioeconomic development, and national defense and security work.

Initial steps have been taken to build the defense positions of the border districts and to shape defense clusters, combat clusters, and combat villages and hamlets along the border.

A communications network and crisscross canal system have begun to take shape to link the rear to the front to effectively serve the national economy, the people's livelihood, and national defense and security interest.

Initial steps have been taken to create tree lines, orchards, and forests on the road and canal systems, on vast areas of uncultivated land to overcome the barrenness and fallowness in the border areas, thereby contributing to improving the environment while satisfactorily serving the economy, national defense, and security.

The network of public health, information, postal, food storage, technical, and other services has also been built step by step in accordance with the unified plan for combining economy and national defense to satisfactorily serve economic building and the people's livelihood as well as national defense.

In conjunction with their building efforts on other fields, the border provinces have constantly **devoted themselves to building the local Armed Forces** to serve as the hard-core component for the entire population to exert their mastery over the border and to defend it. Regarding this very important task, along with attentively improving the quality of the combat activities and work of the local military organs at all levels, the local force units of various provinces and districts, and the reserve forces in accordance with the guidelines of the Ministry of National Defense and the 9th Military Region, various border localities have concentrated on making an all-out effort to *build and consolidate the militia and self-defense forces at the grass-roots level*.

Most of the border villages now boast a combat militia company with one of its detachments staying on duty at the village military organ in one of the following two ways: either all detachments taking turns at serving as duty units for a specific period of time, or a single detachment being permanently assigned to this duty. In the border hamlets, each has a combat militia squad in addition to its own ordinary militia and the village-controlled combat militia forces stationed there. The militia units have been consolidated once again along the line of attaching importance to their quality and ensuring their political reliability.

The task of perfecting and improving cadres has been regarded by various localities as the key link in the building the Armed Forces at the grass-roots level. At present, in all the border villages, their village military commands are fully staffed with three or four officials; the village party committee secretary concurrently serves as the village military unit political officer; most of the village military unit commanders sit on the village party committees; and most of the village military unit deputy commanders are party members.

Building the Armed Forces at the grass-roots level now faces a major difficulty: Because of the limited defense budget, the state only gives each village enough money to maintain two or three militiamen, while the task of standing ready to fight in defense of the border remains very heavy. Reality has shown that, if each of the frontline villages on the border is not equipped with a well-managed, well-trained, and well-equipped standing combat militia unit, these villages can hardly be firmly defended or maintain the initiative in all circumstances. This difficulty, however, has been resolved by the border provinces in the 9th Military Region in a fairly active and creative fashion. Their solution consists in the localities upholding their self-reliant spirit and creating their own budgets to pay their standing militia detachments. In these localities, the provincial budget normally provides each border village with money for the employment of six to 12 militiamen, with the costs of maintaining extra militia personnel to be covered by the villages themselves with the money coming from two sources: the village budget defraying part of the expenses and the militia forces covering the balance by organizing production and providing services. I would like to cite the case of Vinh Te village (of Chau Doc city) as an illustration. Vinh Te is a village adjacent to the border. Sam Mountain, located in the village, each year attracts 30,000-40,000 pilgrims and festival organizers. Vinh Te maintains a 22-strong standing combat militia platoon. In addition to the 10 province-paid slots, the remaining 12 positions are financed by the village itself by creating favorable conditions for the militiamen to grow rice, operate water pumps to provide irrigation services for peasants, raise fish and cows, provide boat transportation services, give film shows... which help bring in tens of millions of dong a year. Also by means of production and services, the militia forces in Phu Binh village, Phu Chau District, An Giang Province, have managed to create a 30-million-dong budget to employ 12 additional members of the village's standing combat militia detachment and, at the same time, to defray other expenses necessary for the livelihood of the local militiamen.

It is owing to such attention to satisfactorily building and managing the militia and self-defense forces that over the past three years, these forces in the border villages have satisfactorily turned their functions to good account to defend the border. Acting in close coordination with the local troops, the border defense forces, the customs, the tax service... the local militia and self-defense forces have successfully foiled many attempts at illegal emigration and immigration; have curbed, to a certain extent, smuggling and other acts of lawbreaking and disturbing public order and security; have safeguarded our territorial integrity; and have firmly maintained stability on the border.

In building and defending the border, recently the localities concerned have also attached great importance to building and consolidating the relations of solidarity, friendship, and neighborliness between the administrations and peoples of the two countries on the border. These

relations of solidarity are established on the basis of mutual respect for each other's independence, territorial sovereignty, and border regulations and statutes. They are also built on the spirit of true solidarity unity, mutual assistance, and cooperation to satisfactorily promote order and security on the border of each country and of both countries, thereby contributing to turning the Vietnam-Cambodia border into a zone of stability and friendship.

On this border, in accordance with the agreement between the two sides, *periodic meetings* have been held on a regular basis between the local Vietnamese and Cambodian border administrations. The provincial administrations of the two sides usually meet once every three or six months; the districts administrations, once every month or three months; and the village administrations, once every month. These meetings are held in Vietnamese and Cambodian territories alternatively. Vietnamese and Cambodian delegations normally comprise representatives of party committee echelons, the administration, military organs, border defense forces, public security service, and the customs. Whenever warranted by the situation or tasks, Vietnamese and Cambodian military and security organs may hold separate meetings. During such meetings, the two sides normally inform each other of the status of public order and security in their respective border areas, and the status of cross-border exchanges and trade between the two peoples. On this basis, the two sides discuss policies, plans, and measures for coordinated actions in purifying their localities, safeguarding public order and security on the border between the two countries, promptly settling any cases of illegal cultivation and settlement in each other's territories, cross-border thefts, minor conflicts and clashes... between the two peoples on the border.

III. On the Orientation in the Coming Years

While correctly evaluating the tasks already achieved, the conference on building and defending the border in the 9th Military Region also remarked that these were only initial results. In view of the demands of the task of defending the border in the new situation, effort still has to be made to do many things well for many years to come.

An important and pressing demand at present is that we should step up political and ideological education to enable all the party organizations, all the people, and all the Armed Forces to clearly understand the political tasks laid down by the second-round provincial party congresses and the enemies' designs on our country against the backdrop of the collapse of the socialist regimes in many countries. Especially, they should clearly understand the new political situation in Cambodia and its effects on our country's southwestern border. On this basis, we should raise the *level of perception* of everyone to match the requirements of the task of building and defending the southwestern border in the immediate future as well as in the long run.

We should continue to make adequate investments for socioeconomic development on the border, turning it step by step into an increasingly prosperous zone with a stable and an ever better material and spiritual life for the local population. At the same time, we should continue to devise plans to resettle more people in the border areas in order to increase their population density, thereby gradually creating a sufficient source of manpower the border areas need for socioeconomic development and for their own defense. In this matter, experience has clearly shown that wherever water, communications, and electricity are available, production is possible; wherever production is possible, there will be people; and wherever people are present, there will be in-place manpower for all kinds of work. Nowadays, if the people trust the party, it is because the party follows the policy of bringing about a decent life and happiness for them.

The system of party and administrative organizations, committees and sectors, and mass organizations in the border districts and villages, which were recently strengthened, now should continue to be further consolidated and improved politically, ideologically, and organizationally. These organizations must do a good job of applying the mechanism of the party leading, the administration managing, the military and public security organs serving as the staff, and the people acting as masters in order to unite all the people and to lead and organize them to satisfactorily implement all lines, positions, and policies of the party and state and to fulfill all political, economic, defense, and security tasks on the border. We should attach due importance to political and ideological work. Aside from satisfactorily educating the people throughout the country in the general issues, we must pay attention to giving them additional education in problems directly relating to the border areas such as the essential knowledge about the agreement on border delineation between Vietnam and Cambodia, the border statutes, our state laws on cross-border exchanges and trade, our party and state policies on nationalities and religions, and our policy of solidarity and friendship with the Cambodian people.

The local Armed Forces should continue to be improved both quantitatively and qualitatively. We must strive to organize in each border village from two platoons to one company of (mobile) combat militia including one platoon that stays on combat alert on a rotational or permanent basis; and in each hamlet from one squad to one platoon of combat militia in addition to the ordinary militia units. The combat militia forces must absolutely be tightly organized, effectively educated and trained, and satisfactorily maintained by means of many self-procured sources of revenue of the localities concerned.

Concerning the local forces, in addition to the troop strength prescribed by the Ministry of National Defense and the 9th Military Region, any locality that is required by its tasks and in a position to do so should organize additional economic-defense units to contribute to local economic development while providing more troops for

permanent combat duties. These units also constitute a reserve force of the provinces and districts for future use.

It is necessary to consolidate and develop even more satisfactorily the role of the **unified command of all echelons** to bring into fuller play the combined fighting strength of the various forces entrusted with special functions on the border as well as the aggregate strength of various localities in performing their tasks of building, managing, and defending the border.

In conjunction with implementing the plan for socioeconomic development on the border and for closely combining economic building and national defense work, we should continue to devote ourselves to building the battle disposition of national defense and security and people's war on the border in accordance with the requirements of the basic defense plan and various combat projects. We should continue to satisfactorily redistribute the population, readjust the boundaries of some districts and villages as warranted; develop the land and waterway communications network and the information and postal system; step up the implementation of the afforestation plan.... We should reexamine and amend the various combat plans to suit the new situation.

We should be active and take the initiative in firmly maintaining the relations of solidarity, friendship, and neighborliness between the administrations and peoples of the two countries on the border. We should discuss with the administration of our Cambodian friends the need to continue to hold meetings between the two administrations in a certain form suitable for the new situation. We should realize that in peacetime, meetings held between the border authorities of neighboring countries to compare notes on the situation and to discuss plans for coordinated action in maintaining public order and security on their common border is a normal practice of many countries of the world. This is an essential requirement of both sides.

ECONOMIC

Joint Ventures With Hungary Announced

92SE0196B Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
27 Feb 92 p 1

[Article: "Hungarian-Vietnamese Joint Ventures Formed"]

[Text] Taurubchimex, a joint venture between Taurub, the Hungarian union of rubber factories, and the Union of Southern Rubber Enterprise of Vietnam, has been established at the Binh Trieu Rubber Factory in the suburban district of Thu Duc, Ho Chi Minh City.

Present at the inaugural ceremony on Tuesday were Hungarian Ambassador Toth Rajmund and Deputy Minister of Heavy Industry Do Dai Loc.

The joint venture has an investment capital of 1,380,000 dollars equally shared by the two partners, and a duration of 20 years.

In the first half of this year, Taurubchimex will be provided with Hungarian equipment for the manufacture of 2 million rubber work gloves and 5 million surgery gloves a year. All the products will be sold to Hungary and other foreign markets.

The joint venture will become operational in July, with sales estimated at 1.5 million dollars a year.

On Monday, another Vietnamese-Hungarian joint venture, Politropic, was founded in Hanoi. It is formed by Bemex of Vietnam and Tropika of Hungary, both private companies.

Politropic will specialise in heat-and sound-proof corrugated iron.

1991 Economy Reviewed, 1992-95 Policies Projected

922E0100A Ho Chi Minh City THOI BAO KINH TE
SAIGON in Vietnamese 30 Jan-12 Feb 92 pp 2-4

[Interview with Vo Van Kiet, chairman of the Council of Ministers, by THOI BAO KINH TE SAIGON; place and date not given: "In the 1992-95 Stage, Many Policies Will Be Promulgated To Give Special Privileges to All Those Who Invest Capital in Development"]

[Text] Editor's note: Toward the end of 1991, the head of the Vietnamese Government, Chairman Vo Van Kiet, granted an interview to the editor in chief of THOI BAO KINH TE SAIGON [TBKTS], in which he answered questions on evaluating the 1991 economy and projecting the work of the government in 1992 and the coming years.

[TBKTS] Mr. Chairman, 1991, the first year of your term as chairman of the Council of Ministers, was a difficult year. Adverse weather caused a loss of over 1 million tons of grain in the winter-spring crop in the north; the unprecedentedly long flood in the Mekong Delta caused an additional loss of 300,000 tons of rice; the changes in the Soviet Union suddenly turned the economic accords into valueless documents and greatly disturbed the export-import market; our national economy failed to emerge from a long crisis.... Mr. Chairman, how do you evaluate Vietnam's 1991 economy?

[Kiet] 1991 really was a year full of challenges. There were difficulties that had been foreseen, but at the same time, realities turned out to be more complicated than we had expected. But now we can see that Vietnam's 1991 economy did not show any decline, and in fact, in some aspects, it continued to undergo positive changes. The estimated national income increased by 2.4 percent over 1990; grain production was 21.7 million tons, or equal to that in 1990, with 1 million tons of rice being

exported. Industrial production increased by 5.3 percent; in the case of a number of industrial products, their competing power was improved. Our foreign trade was able to change the market direction in time and to keep the export-import balance even, with export totaling 1.8 billion dollars. Direct foreign investment showed a greater increase than in previous years and relatively large projects began to emerge.... Now I can say that the Vietnamese economy in 1991 did not suffer from any major disturbances. That was a fact of important significance compared to the difficulties that you have just mentioned. And that was the results of the policy that we continued to implement calling for switching to the market mechanism and continuing to exploit the capabilities of all economic components and the efforts of the people and many echelons and sectors.

As I said, "the economy did not suffer from any major disturbances," I meant to say we still had to deal with many problems. Inflation remained high; production was far from stable; economic accumulation was still minimal; the living conditions of a segment of our population remained difficult; disrespect for the law, corruption, smuggling, counterfeiting, and so on were still serious; macrocosmic management showed shortcomings, particularly in the financial field; the state-operated and collective economic components were reorganized too slowly, with the organization of the machinery and cadres failing to keep pace with the needs of the new mechanism.... Many difficulties and obstacles were still serious ones and need to be overcome in 1992 and the coming years.

[TBKTS] From the podium of the National Assembly during a year-end meeting, you mentioned "a new opportunity" that was opening up. What are the factors behind this "new opportunity?"

[Kiet] On the domestic front, they are: The renovation trend continues in political stability and in a lack of economic disturbances; we have more experience in leadership and management as we switch to the new mechanism; and there are more material resources, such as electric power, oil and gas, grain, export capacity, and so on. On the foreign front, new foreign relations have been established since the end of 1991, when a peace solution was found for Cambodia, the Vietnam-China relations were normalized, and relations with the Southeast Asian nations and many other countries were developed. We can see that Vietnam's position has been raised to a higher level than before, that the confidence in and good will toward Vietnam are increasing, and new opportunities to expand the relations of cooperation and mutual interests are appearing, which will help us get foreign capital and industrial enterprise in order to further develop our domestic resources.

[TBKTS] We had had a great opportunity but failed to exploit it for restoring and developing the country. I want to talk about the opportunity after 30 April 1975. Do you think we now can effectively exploit the new

opportunity that you, Mr. Chairman, have just mentioned? In the economic field, what are the main directions for the government's work in 1992 and the coming years?

[Kiet] I think that the new domestic and world scenes both create new opportunities and motivate us. We must have great determination and bold policies, with special measures to be taken, to reverse the situation, to bring the country out of the (present) crisis, and to promote faster development—that is the central task today.

To fulfill this central task the government has submitted to the National Assembly positive programs for the period of 1992-1995, such as the anti-inflation program, the grain and food development program, the program to raise animals and to process meat for export, the industrial crop development and afforestation program, the electric power development program, the program to resolve the job problem, the program to renovate the state-operated economic sector, the program to improve quality of education and training, the state-level scientific and industrial programs, the program to reform the state administrative system, and so on.

We will step up our foreign activities in order to gain outside resources and to create more favorable conditions for exploiting to a maximum all domestic resources. I can say that in the 1992-1995 stage the government will recommend many policies to grant more tax and credit privileges than in the subsequent stages, for the purpose of mobilizing domestic and foreign capital for investment in development; promulgate early guidelines to implement on an urgent basis the corporation law and the private business law; and turn a number of state enterprises that are capable of attracting capital into shareholders' corporations—and these enterprises include existing and newly-established ones. To create additional factors supporting investment, in the near future, we will consider allowing many foreign banks to open branches in Vietnam. From 1992 on, we will also take a fundamental renovating step in two directions in connection with the state budget: to decentralize again the budget and to reorganize the budget structure to create favorable conditions for ensuring satisfying some really urgent spending needs, in which there is spending aimed at gradually reforming the extremely outdated (1992-1993) wages system.

I think that bold and appropriate policies will be the tools for developing the strength of the Vietnamese people's traditional patriotism and mobilizing the country's potential and the nation's strength for the task of achieving "rich people, strong country."

[TBKTS] When we talk about developing the economy and achieving "rich people, strong country," we cannot help thinking about building a body of businessmen having strong will, abilities, and talents. In this regard, our country does not really attach importance to businessmen—this fact has been partially due to a protracted war plus a period of bureaucratic centralism and state

subsidies, one in which we may say there were many enterprises but no businessmen. What do you think about this issue?

[Kiet] This is really a very important task, both strategic and very urgent one. We are lucky to find that, in the few years that we have switched to the market mechanism, there have appeared many dynamic and resourceful business people in all economic components. We must do a lot of work to create additional favorable conditions for them to develop themselves and to reach new levels and sizes, thus being capable of competing with businessmen from other countries. It is time for us to pay special attention to training and forming the class of businessmen currently at 30-40 years of age.

[TBKTS] Along with training businessmen we also need to train a body of civil servants. You have repeatedly mentioned the need for building a state of law. In the immediate future, are there any steps to take in this matter?

[Kiet] The National Assembly will fulfill the task of amending the Constitution and I hope will achieve really appropriate changes. Currently, the code on organization of the state machinery is being prepared for submission to the National Assembly at an early date. The matters that need to be resolved in connection with reforming the administrative structure are: to renovate party leadership over the state; to make a clear distinction between state management and business management; to draft regulations for civil servants; to reduce payrolls and to reform wages, and so on.

[TBKTS] Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the time you granted us in this interview with TBKTS.

[Kiet] 1992 and the years ahead are a time of decisive significance for fulfilling the task of moving our economy out of the crisis and creating favorable conditions for national development. Through TBKTS, I send my best wishes to businessmen in all economic components and hope that in the new year they will have many new energies, take full advantage of the new opportunities, and respond to the government's new policies in order to develop their business and to actively contribute to the task of achieving "rich people, strong country." I also wish our foreign friends-businessmen a year of success in their cooperation and business ventures in and with Vietnam.

Interview Focuses on Diplomacy, Foreign Trade
922E0102A Ho Chi Minh City THOI BAO KINH TE
SAIGON in Vietnamese 30 Jan-12 Feb 92 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam by Hoang Mai; place and date not given: "Lunar New Year Interview With Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam—What Do Diplomatic Activities Contribute to Economy?"]

[Text] The 1991 review of foreign economic activities shows that Vietnam has begun to attract the attention of foreign businessmen and investors as a candidate of great potential for economic activities in Southeast Asia. It is obvious that foreign economic activities occupy a special position in the present situation. On the occasion of the Nham Than Tet (Year of the Monkey), THOI BAO KINH TE SAIGON has interviewed Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam on this issue.

[Hoang Mai] Please let us know the position that foreign economic activities have in our state's foreign policy.

[Cam] The foreign political activities of any nation are aimed at three major goals—to defend its independence and sovereignty, to strengthen its prestige and position in the international arena, and to create favorable outside conditions in order to build and develop the country. In this era, when internationalization and interdependence among countries and nations are raised to an ever increasing height, foreign economic relations have a more important significance.

In our past revolutionary stage, diplomacy was one of the three aspects of our struggle, played an important role, and made deserving contributions to the liberation of our nation and reunification of our fatherland. Today, our foreign policy activities also hold a position that is not less important than what it was, with the task of creating favorable international conditions for the construction and defense of our fatherland. For this reason, to expand foreign economic relations is a priority direction in our state's foreign policy activities. The activities that helped us adopt an independent, self-ruled, and open foreign policy in 1991 reflected this priority.

[Hoang Mai] But so far our country's socioeconomic situation has not yet been stabilized; therefore, what are the prospects for expanding our foreign economic activities in 1992?

[Cam] The socioeconomic situation of the country and expanding foreign economic relations have close relationships. The fact that our country's socioeconomic situation remains unstable definitely affects our foreign economic activities, but just under such conditions to expand foreign economic activities is even more necessary in order to make direct contributions to stabilizing our domestic socioeconomic situation. Even in 1991, under unexpectedly difficult conditions, we were able to step up export activities, which brought us U.S.\$1.8 billion just as our plan had projected, and marked progress in regard to moving the market in a new direction and balancing export and import; the number of foreign investment projects that were approved in 1991 equaled the total number of projects approved in three years, 1988-1990; and the number of economic and commercial delegations visiting our country last year showed a large increase over the previous years. These activities made realistic contributions to stabilizing the socioeconomic situation.

In 1992, as we continue to implement an open foreign policy and to further develop the results that have been obtained, our foreign economic relations, along with an expansion of our foreign political relations, will certainly be much strengthened and expanded. We are optimistic, not without a rational reason. The fundamental favorable factor is the fact that the foreign policy outlined by the 7th party congress has been correct and has quickly become part of our life, with obvious results being obtained. Another favorable factor is that the world has recognized that our line on renovation has been bringing about very important achievements and opening up good prospects for accelerating economic and commercial cooperation with other countries. More and more countries have abolished their policy of blockade and embargo against Vietnam, have resumed development aid, have stepped up investment, and have expanded cooperation with our country on the basis of equality and mutual interests; international organizations have also increased aid to our country. Those are fundamental favorable factors that help us to quickly expand foreign relations in general, and foreign economic relations in particular, and contribute to further loosening the trade embargo against our country and bringing stability and development to our economy.

[Hoang Mai] In the time to come, what will Vietnam's diplomacy contribute to our foreign economic activities?

[Cam] In diplomatic activities, economic matters are an increasingly important part. Along with maintaining peace and strengthening friendly relations with other countries, our diplomacy will do its very best to contribute to increasing the dissemination of economic, scientific and technical, and cultural information, and expanding economic and commercial cooperation. What we call "to create favorable international conditions" for national construction comes from there. To be more specific, our diplomacy has the duties to seek, exploit, and create sources for our efforts to get aid, to attract capital investment, to have advanced industry-handicrafts and technology, to gain experience in management and business, and to initiate and expand business relations. In order to achieve it, our diplomacy will actively contribute to formulating policies in various fields and toward various subjects, for the purpose of gaining to the highest degree all obtainable capabilities devoted to our national construction.

Another important direction is that our diplomacy will actively contribute to studying and contacting new markets, creating a favorable economic and political environment for investment and trade, and seeking to gradually widen our country's participation in international labor division, first in the Asian and Pacific region, the region that lies "at our country's side" and is now the most dynamic area in terms of economic development in the world.

[Hoang Mai] But how about the trade embargo imposed by the United States? When does the United States normalize relations with Vietnam?

[Cam] The fact that although the war ended 17 years ago the United States still keeps its trade embargo policy against our country is an irrational one because it not only causes difficulties for us but also causes damages to the United States, for it is virtually "isolated" in regard to its embargo policy against Vietnam. In the face of the changes in the world situation and in the region, public opinion in the United States, including the business circles and politicians, has condemned that policy, has demanded that the trade embargo be lifted, and has demanded normalization of relations with Vietnam.

On our part, our position is to establish relations with the United States without any preconditions and on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual interests, and peaceful coexistence. To normalize early the relations between Vietnam and the United States conforms to the trend in the world situation, the common aspirations of the people of the two countries, and world opinion, as well as benefits the people of the two countries, peace, and stability in the region. As soon as the American side fully understands this issue there will be normalization of the relations between the two countries.

Joint Venture's Import, Export Earnings Noted

92SE0189C Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
10 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] The joint venture company for the export and import of electric and electronic products and general services (GETRONIMEX) last year grossed 11 million dollars for sales of sarsaparilla extract, pepper, peanuts, cashew, green beans, sesame, maize, coffee, rubber and garments.

The company also imported 13,654 million dollars worth of chemicals and materials for production.

In the first half of January the company got orders from Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Germany for 450 tonnes of coffee, 600 tonnes of rubber and 600,000 articles of clothing worth 3 million dollars.

Joint Venture To Upgrade Tourist Facilities

92SE0189D Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
10 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] A joint venture has been licensed for upgrading a number of tourist facilities in the mountain resort town of Dalat north of Ho Chi Minh City.

The joint venture, known as Dalat-Resort Incorporacion (DRI), involves the tourist service of Dalat and Danao Ltd of Hong Kong. It will renovate an 18-hole golf course, the hotels Palace and Dalat, 16 villas and a conference hall.

The 40 million dollars capital is equally divided between the two partners, and work will be completed by the end of next year.

Private Sector Urged To Join Rubber Production

92SE0189E Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
13 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] According to the Vietnam Rubber Corporation, the largest rubber producer in the country, more private ventures will be encouraged to join the rubber sector this year to expand the nation's rubber plantation.

The encouragement is necessary in order to boost rubber planting, one of Vietnam's hard-currency earners, because 1992 investment by the government-run sector alone is insufficient. A cash shortage of about 23 million dollars will make it impossible to plant new trees in the eastern part of South Vietnam. Existing funding is only enough to maintain the existing plantations.

Private planters who decide to participate will not be alone in rubber production. The Vietnam Rubber Corporation will provide them with seeds and planning techniques in addition to an allotment of land, said officials from the corporation.

Last year the Vietnam Rubber Corporation produced more than 54,800 tons of dry latex. Despite the loss of shares in its traditional market in the former Soviet Union, the corporation managed to find other outlets for nearly half of the product. It now plans to turn out 67,000 tonnes this year and export most of the surplus.

So far, approaches have been made by many foreign businesses and dozens of delegations of foreign investors, most of them Malaysian, have come to seek investment opportunities. It is hoped that this increase in foreign and private investment will be pooled in order to fill the vacuum left by partners from the former Soviet Union and East European countries.

Southern Provinces Need More Electricity

92SE0189A Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
10 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] South Vietnam is still short of electricity despite an increased supply last year. The total output of 3,811 billion bwh, 400 million kwh more than in the previous year, could hardly meet the increasing demand of low-voltage users.

The situation was compounded by the low water level in the dry season which limited and sometimes even interrupted the operation of the two biggest hydro-electric power plants in the region, the 400 Kw plant at Tri An and the 160 Mw plant at Da Nhim.

The shortage is so acute this dry season that rotative blackout has been effected since last November (customarily the regimen does not begin until April or May).

To partly solve the problem, the Southern Electricity Company has put 20 million dollars in four more gas turbines and several more diesel generators, thus raising daily output to one million kwh. At the same time, work

has started on an auxiliary 150 Mw hydro-electric station at Thac Mo, near the Da Nhim plant.

But given the sharp increase in demand, the situation will not be much better until plans for the unification of the national grid are completed.

Medicine Manufacturers' Earnings Discussed

92SE0189B Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
10 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] Nineteen ninety-one was a good year for medicine manufacturers. That was the main remark of the participants in a recent meeting reviewing pharmaceutical production in the provinces of South Vietnam.

It was reported there that 10 central pharmaceutical enterprises had delivered to the State 21 billion dong, 4 billion more than the previous year.

One of the most successful State-run unit was enterprise No. 25 which grossed 25 billion. Its sales to Cuba alone amounted to 1.5 million dollars.

Local enterprises were doing equally well. One in Hau Giang grossed 29 billion dong in the first eleven months. An export-import company in Khanh Hoa sold 1 million dollars worth of medicines. One particular product—Thien Sanh Duong—has won great credit in Ukraine. The company is now filling orders from the republic for 500,000 dollars worth of the same product.

Enterprise No. 26 in Ho Chi Minh City put out more than 100 kinds of oriental medicines. It also made great progress in the production of western medicines. As a French expert put it, the enterprise's products are comparable to equivalents in other countries.

Expansion of Economic Relations Discussed

92SE0196C Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English
28 Feb 92 p 8

[Interview with Mr. Pham Chanh Truc, vice-chairman of the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City, by Phuong Son, VIETNAM COURIER special correspondent; place and date not given: "Expansion of Economic Relations With All Countries"—first paragraph is VIETNAM COURIER introduction]

[Text] Overcoming serious difficulties in 1991, Ho Chi Minh City has created positive changes, maintained and developed its external economic activities.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, 1991 was a year of great changes in the world. Were the City's external economic activities affected by these developments?

Yes, like the other parts of the country, this City of roughly 4 million people came across difficulties and favourable conditions in its external economic relations. The shrinking of the Eastern European and former Soviet markets prevented the deployment of some activities. On the other hand, the relations of Vietnam with

other countries, especially Southeast Asia and Western Europe, developed. The resumption of relations with China and the prospects of relations with the United States are creating a favourable climate for economic relations.

Last year, the City mobilized various economic sectors into the export trade. Export services are being reorganized. New equipment and technologies are being used in production units with a view to improving the quality of export goods. As a result, food processing, light industry and handicrafts made progress, turning out increasingly better products with higher export value. We have conquered certain place in the world market.

At the same time, we have built material bases for the requirements of foreign investments: opening airlines between Ho Chi Minh City and Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Germany..., entering into joint ventures to build new hotels and offices for foreign representations, modernization of the AXE-103 telephone network for direct communications with foreign countries, etc.

So, the City's external economic activities have kept developing in spite of all changes.

In 1991, the City virtually achieved the targets of the plan on export turnover and could balance imports with exports; raw materials, fuels, machinery and equipment serving production accounted for 70 per cent of the imports, an important part of the requirements of production was thus met.

We directed the various economic sectors to create sources of goods for export on the basis of the strong position of the City's processing and consumer-goods industries. Agricultural products and processed agricultural products accounted for 44 per cent of the export turnover. Other processed agricultural products such as frozen meat, beans, etc., also increased. The volume of exported aquatic products which accounted for 25 per cent of the export turnover remained the same as in 1990 but their quality was improved and their species increased thanks to the existence of fairly stable markets and to the investments in modern equipment and technology. Industrial and handicraft products accounted for 18 per cent of the export turnover. Consumer goods such as textiles, ready-made clothes, leather shoes, cigarettes, plastic and rubber products, etc., not only met the domestic demand but could also compete with foreign goods.

There were 83 units involved in direct import-export activities in 1991 as against 60 in 1990. In order to make inroads into the market, we organized trade fairs twice a year. If only 100 foreign companies participated in the Summer Fair 91, the figure rose to 162 in the Autumn Fair 91 together with more than 200 Vietnamese economic units. The fairs provided conditions for the conclusion of many trade contracts.

One hundred and thirty-eight units are operating in the City under the Law on Investment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; 76 of these belong to the City. In 1991, the City had established economic and commercial relations with 24 countries.

Are you optimistic with regard to the prospects for 1992?

In my view, the open-door policy of Vietnam, the continuing improvement of the relations between Vietnam and all other countries have created fine prospects for the City's external economic relations. On the other hand, after many years of sounding by foreigners, long-term investment projects have emerged besides investments to gain immediate profits. For instance, out of the investment projects in Vietnam, nine have been for the building of the infrastructure of Ho Chi Minh City. Among these, there is a 127-million-U.S. dollar project for the building of a port. Late in 1991, 24 delegations including 112 representatives of various companies, corporations, enterprises from the United Kingdom, Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Canada..., visited Vietnam to discuss programmes for long-term business. Noteworthy is the visit to Ho Chi Minh City made by a delegation of the Singapore Trade Development Board after Singapore lifted the trade embargo against Vietnam. The Chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong, Mr. Warren W. Williams visited Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh City on a fact-finding tour seeking business opportunities for the forthcoming period.

The City is still facing many difficulties: lack of capital, dispersion prevailing in the import-export business, poor infrastructure, inappropriate administrative procedures that we are striving to overcome.

In 1992, we will expand our economic relations with many other countries, especially Cambodia and Laos. We will further broaden our relations with Southeast and Northeast Asian markets and at the same time we will perseveringly promote relations with the European market including Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. We will encourage the various economic sectors to invest in the production of goods for export, to develop traditional agricultural, forest and aquatic products, and to increase the percentage of processed and industrial goods for export. The City will strive to increase the export goods produced from foreign investment capital to an appreciable percentage. Services catering for external economic activities will be promoted, earning some 20 per cent of the total export turnover.

The above-mentioned steps are aimed at achieving an annual rate of development of 16-20 per cent for the City's import-export turnover. An important contribution will thus be made to the implementation of Ho Chi Minh City's socio-economic tasks.

Two Export Zones To Be Established

92SE0196A Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
27 Feb 92 p 1

[Article: "More EPZ's [Export Processing Zone] in the Making"]

[Text] The government has given the green light for the construction of two more special export processing zones (EPZ) similar to the one now being built at Tan Thuan, Ho Chi Minh City.

One of the two new EPZ's is at the port city of Haiphong in northern Vietnam. The other will be set up in the central province of Quang Nam-Danang.

An official from Quang Nam-Danang, who attended the recent Foreign Direct Investment Exposition in Hanoi told VIETNAM NEWS the Danang EPZ would begin by giving priority to consumer goods including textiles, garments, glassware, furniture, household durables and car and motorcycle repair and assembly. At a later stage, focus will be shifted to products involving higher technologies, said the official, Mr. Ngo Van Tran of the provincial bureau for external economic relations.

Mr. Tran said his province, which is known for a vast, perfectly sheltered sea harbour had great potentials in fishery, forestry, agriculture, handicraft and tourism. Already eight companies from Australia, France, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the former Soviet Union have invested a total of 28 million dollars and 2 million roubles in different joint ventures there, he said. One project, for gold mining, has attracted 13.2 million dollars, he added.

The official also said that a local manufacturer had just won contracts totalling 25 million dollars from Germany and Italy for the production of containers.

Over 20 Companies Registered in EPZ

92SE0196G Hanoi VIETNAM NEWS in English
9 Mar 92 p 1

[Article: "Over 20 Foreign Companies Registered in Southern EPZ (Export Processing Zone)"]

[Text] More than 20 foreign companies, the majority of them from Taiwan, have applied for investment in the Tan Thuan EPZ [Export Processing Zone] in Ho Chi Minh City, said Mr. Hsien Wen Chang, a 68 year old Taiwanese, who has been appointed general managing director of this first export processing zone in Vietnam.

The Tan Thuan EPZ being built and managed by a joint venture involving two Taiwanese companies—Panviet Corp. and Central Trading and Development Co.—and Ho Chi Minh City covers an area of 300 hectares. Capital investment infrastructure construction and business exploitation totals 89 million U.S. dollars.

"We believe the Tan Thuan EPZ will start operation within a year and attract hundreds of workers to the light industries," Mr. Hsien, said adding that later, when it is operating at capacity, the EPZ will employ about 300,000 workers to process some 3 million tonnes of goods for export a year.

The general managing director said he hoped the EPZ would help accelerate Vietnam's economic development "at least from our own experiences."

The combined area of the three existing EPZs in Taiwan totals only 192 hectares but they have attracted 235 foreign companies and a work force of 70-90 thousand and earning from 2.5 million tonnes of merchandises export every year making up 20 percent of Taiwan's annual income, he said. Tan Thuan had plenty of good conditions, a good location, proximity to an ample labour supply, etc. "Within just one year of preparations we have been able to get a special status for this industrial complex. Previously, similar work took us 10 years in Taiwan," the businessman said.

Quang Nam-Da Nang Mineral Resources Noted
922E0105A Ho Chi Minh City THOI BAO KINH TE
SAIGON in Vietnamese 16-22 Jan 92 pp 20, 30

[Article by Huynh Ngoc Chanh: "Mineral Resources in Quang Nam-Da Nang"]

[Text] Finds Gold by Accident

While on summer vacation in a remote village in the Dai Loc area, geology student N.T. one moonlit night went swimming at the river wharf at the head of the village. He noted glittering flakes mixed in with the sand on the river bed. The next morning, with self-made tools N.T. went to the river and panned from morning to evening, under the curious eyes of many villagers.

After a day of labor the student had at the bottom of a glass jar a cluster of glittering flakes. After drying them in a flame he had three grains of more than 80 percent pure gold.

The next day his entire family went to the river to pan for gold, and the day after that all the villagers went to pan for gold.

The rumor of alluvial gold then spread and resulted in visits by a large number of professional geologists. They scooped soil from the river bed, from the fields, from gardens, and even from the foundations of houses and ran streams of water over it to test it, in hopes of finding a gold mine.

Then alluvial gold was found everywhere, from the Tam Ky and Dai Loc lowland areas to midland areas and such mountainous areas as Tien Phuoc, Phuoc Son, Hiep Duc, Tra Mi, Hien, and Giang.

The gold-panning fever spread rapidly. It brought in people from everywhere, who overflowed the areas with

gold and caused considerable disturbance in Quang Nam-Da Nang, which began in 1985 and subsided only recently.

But there is more than alluvial gold in Quang Nam-Da Nang. Ninety years ago five Frenchmen used industrial methods to exploit the Bong Mieu gold mine in Quang Nam. During more than 40 years of operations they took about 1.8 tons of silver, 40 tons of lead, and about 3.5 tons of gold from the zinc mountain at Bong Mieu.

After the liberation our state continued to exploit the Bong Mieu mine but has obtained less than 15 kilograms of gold, although the Bong Mieu gold reserves are still very large.

In addition to the gold mine at Bong Mieu, Quang Nam-Da Nang has a gold mine in Hien District usually called the Funep gold mine. The reserves there are smaller than at Bong Mieu but are also exploitable on an industrial scale. The Funep gold corporation has been doing so for 10 years.

As the alluvial gold fever has subsided, the tin ore mining fever has grown worse. Tin ore was first discovered accidentally by people building a water conservancy project in the Dong Nghe area of Hoa Khuong village, Hoa Vang District. The tin reserves are unknown, but from the thousands of people who have poured in to dig for tin for nearly a year we can forecast the importance of that type of ore. Later, tin was discovered at Tuy Loan, Son Cha, Hai Van, and Tra, with reserves amounting to thousands of tons in each place.

"Inexhaustible" Sand and Rock

Granite is an inexhaustible mineral resource of Quang Nam-Da Nang. In Que Son, which is being exploited by the Quang Nam-Da Nang export rock enterprise, reserves amount to more than 30 million cubic meters. At present, 3,000 cubic meters are exported from that quarry every year. In the past, the primary market was Eastern Europe, but now it is Japan. In addition to Que Son, there is mulch granite at Tra Mi, Tien Phuoc, Dai Loc, Hoa Vang, Hien Giang, etc. According to Dinh Trung Hoang, a cadre at the rock export enterprise, although the turn-over rate of capital invested in the rock sector is slow the profit rate is as high as 30 percent. Unfortunately, there are no modern industrial facilities at Da Nang to process the rock into finished products before it is exported, in order to attain higher economic effectiveness.

Another mineral resource with "boundless" reserves is white sand. There is white sand at Nam O, Nui Thanh, Tam Ky, and Hoi An, but it exists in greatest quantities at the Trung Giang (24 million tons) and Thang Binh (172 million tons) sand-mining areas. White sand is a raw material used to produce the various kinds of glass. A rather great advantage is that in addition to white sand Quang Nam-Da Nang also has dolomite and tin, important ingredients in glass production.

In addition to the above mineral resources, Quang Nam-Da Nang also has the Nong Son and Ngoc Kinh coal mines, kaolin at Thang Binh and Deo Le, and wolfram accompanied by Tin.

Offshore, Quang Nam-Da Nang has considerable oil reserves. The B.P. and Shell corporations have completed the first phase of exploratory drilling and have made initial confirmations of oil and gas.

Exploitation Prospects

Since the liberation, Quang Nam-Da Nang has directly exploited the Ngoc Kinh coal mine. But Ngoc Kinh coal contains much sulphur and is accompanied by radiation, so a few years ago Quang Nam-Da Nang closed the mine. Nong Son coal is of higher quality and the central government has invested in mining it in quantities sufficient to supply cooking coal to several provinces in central Vietnam.

Recently granite has been exploited by the rock export corporation of the Quang Nam-Da Nang Construction Service at the Que Son site, which has many advantages: it is 10 kilometers from National Route 1 and less than 70 kilometers from the port of Da Nang. Rock is exported in the form of raw materials, i.e., it is cut into blocks of from one cubic meter to two cubic meters. The corporation saws edges and fragments by hand to transform it into paving rock, granite rock, etc., but productivity is very low. At present, the French UNIPROGE corporation is investing in a joint venture to process the rock.

The Australian Victory Corporation is investing in mining Bong Mieu gold by modern industrial methods, with initial capital of \$13.5 million. The Huay Corporation, from Hong Kong, is investing and exploring for gold at the Hien (Funep) gold mine.

Quang Nam-Da Nang Province does not yet have a policy toward mining tin but the price of tin ore—25,000 dong per kilo—has attracted people to mine for tin, which has resulted in the province having no way to prevent a human wave from illegally mining more and more in ore.

The white sand reserves excited Japanese businessmen, but when asked about the composition of the sand the Quang Nam-Da Nang technicians were puzzled. Therefore, we had to take the customers to the sand-mining area so that they could take samples to take back to their country to analyze. The Japanese promised to build a glass factory in Quang Nam-Da Nang because it has the necessary ingredients to produce glass and has the port of Da Nang, which is very convenient for exporting to places all over the world.

But There Are Still Many Difficulties

According to Comrade Tran Van Dong, director of the Quang Nam-Da Nang Industrial Service, "Mining and processing minerals requires a large amount of capital

and a high technical level, both of which Quang Nam-Da Nang lacks. We are setting up a Minerals Corporation to be concerned with mining and marketing, but the important thing is there must be foreign investment." We then asked him, "But here has apparently been very little foreign investment in Quang Nam-Da Nang. Is that because they encounter obstacles in doing business here?" Comrade Tran Van Dong replied, "Those who say that are uninformed. In fact, we continually create favorable conditions for the commercial delegations. Every time they arrive we receive them cordially and spend money, but then they go for good."

But according to Mr. Pham Khuong, deputy director of the SCITEC Corporation, who is enthusiastic about attracting foreign investment to Quang Nam-Da Nang, Quang Nam-Da Nang Province lacks another important element: investment projects. It needs a committee to draft specific investment projects, so that when foreign commercial delegations arrive we can show them the projects, not merely feed them. Although it has great potential with regard to minerals, Quang Nam-Da Nang lacks many other things, including capital, technology, grey matter, and specific commercial projects. Therefore, potential remains potential.

BIOGRAPHIC

Paper Publishes Short Biography of Prime Minister

92P30082A Vientiane PASASON in Lao 13 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] Comrade Vo Van Kiet was born 23 Nov 1922 into a peasant family in Trung Hiep Village, Vung Liem District, Cuu Long Province.

He joined the revolution in 1938 and was admitted as a member of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1939. He was active in the anti-imperialist youth movement as the secretary of a party chapter and as a member of the district party committee. He participated in the armed uprising in Vung Liem.

From 1941-45, he operated in Rach Gia, joining the provisional provincial party committee. He participated in the uprising to seize administrative power in Rach Gia.

After the August 1945 armed uprising, he was a member of the provincial party standing committee and deputy secretary of the Rach Gia Province Party Committee. In the initial phase of the anti-French resistance, he was a political cadre of the people's armed guerilla units in the southern provinces. In 1950, he was transferred to work in Bac Lieu Province as the deputy secretary and then as the provincial party secretary.

In 1955, he was assigned as a member of the Southern Region Party Committee, as the deputy secretary of the Hau Giang inter-zone. After that, he became the party secretary of the Saigon-Gia Dinh zone.

At the third party congress in 1960, he was elected as an alternate member of the party Central Committee's Executive Committee, as a member of the Central Committee for the southern provinces and as the party secretary for the Saigon-Gia Dinh zone. He then became the party secretary for zone 9 (the Southwestern Zone). In 1972, he was elected as a member of the party Central Committee's executive committee. In 1973-75, he returned to work at the Central Committee level in the southern region as a member of the Southern Region's Standing Committee.

At the time of the liberation of Saigon, he was assigned by the Central Committee as the secretary of the special party committee of the Military Management Committee while also serving as vice chairman of the Military Management Committee of Saigon. He was the deputy party secretary and the chairman of the Ho Chi Minh City People's Committee. He was elected as a member of the sixth National Assembly of the SRV.

At the fourth party congress in 1976, he was elected as a member of the party Central Committee's Executive

Committee and was chosen to be an alternate member of the politburo. He was assigned to the position of Ho Chi Minh City party secretary.

At the fifth party congress in 1982, he was elected as a member of the politburo. At the same time, the National Assembly appointed him a vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and as the chairman of the State Planning Committee.

At the sixth party congress in 1986, he was elected as a member of the party Central Committee's Executive Committee and the Central Committee also made him a member of the politburo. In 1987, he was elected as a member of the eighth National Assembly and appointed as first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers.

At the seventh party congress in 1991, he was chosen as a member of the party Central Committee's Executive Committee and once again to membership in the politburo.

At the eighth session of the ninth National Assembly, he was chosen as the chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

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