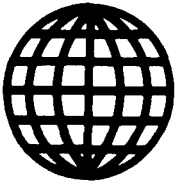


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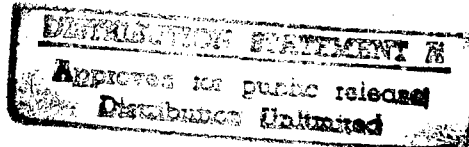
JPRS-SEA-87-119

2 November 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***



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## **East Asia**

### ***Southeast Asia***

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# East Asia Southeast Asia

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**Army Paper Cites Need for Changes**  
*42060124b Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO*  
*in Lao 25 Jun 87 pp 1, 4*

[Editorial: "Changes Are Urgently Needed in the Face of the Country's Revolution"]

[Excerpt] The Second Party Congress was an important signal of the new changes that are taking place. The most important are the changes in economic thinking, the changes in the economic control mechanism, the organizational and cadre changes, and the changes in work plans and work methods.

These changes spell the end of the old and the birth of the new. What is old and backward is being replaced by what is new and progressive. In the new social life, things are being done in a conscious manner. There are organizations. These changes are based on what is modern in view of the rapid change taking place in the world. This need to change stems from the great expansion taking place in society, particularly the effects of the scientific and technical revolution. The scientific and technical revolution has brought very rapid change and achieved undreamed of results. It took only a very short time to put the scientific and technical discoveries into production. It has been necessary to change the production control mechanism in accord with the new techniques based on the scientific and technical revolution, which stems from great mental activity. At the same time, these achievements have had a great effect on people's political, economic, and cultural thinking. All of this requires new changes in order to formulate new plans and correct policies.

In the revolutionary movement, our party has achieved important results. But along with this, mistakes have been made, too. The leaders responsible for explaining the policies to the people have not fully understood the policies. In particular, one of the weaknesses of the administrative sector and military is that they have not stayed close to the masses or grasped the real situation of the departments and divisions. The capabilities of the departments and divisions have not been evaluated correctly. For example, the presentation, promotion, and commendation of cadres has not been done properly. A number of cadres like to toady to and make false reports to higher officials. The things that have happened show that people lack a sense of responsibility. People have tried to shift the blame to others. In particular, the economic views of our cadres and soldiers are still of a very subjective nature. They are very impatient. They want to have large-scale business right away and advance to socialism quickly. They do not evaluate the economic situation based on objective economic criteria. People have seen the advantages in our natural and social environment but have failed to see the difficulties. People want to reach the goals immediately without having to move forward step by step. They want to have a control mechanism that will allow them to participate

in controlling things. They see only the immediate problems. They do not look far into the future. No consideration is given to production efficiency or making changes. They are concerned only with making illegal profits.

Our economic dealings with other countries have not progressed or been expanded properly. We have not really begun to import and use equipment and vehicles with the support of other countries based on the real capabilities of the country, localities, and units. Instead, we have imported luxuries and other goods that have no real value to us.

Because of this, our country's revolution requires that urgent changes be made. Not only is this need for change in accord with the country's economic situation, but it is also in accord with the general trend of the new era. Because today, people want to see rapid economic and social change. They want to eliminate the backwardness in our country. Our party has called on everyone to change their attitudes, particularly their thinking about economic and organizational matters and the cadres. The administrative plans and work methods must be changed. If these changes are not made, it will be impossible to implement the plans formulated by the party. Our cadres, soldiers, and people must quickly change their views and forget the old and incorrect ways of thinking and acting. People must forget about elitism and about individual and dispersed production and farming. People must eliminate the idea of being controlled by nature. They must be willing to try new ways and create a new and clear way of thinking in accord with today's reality.

Our armed forces, which are the sharp tool of the party, must change their view, too, and allow these new views to be manifested in the units.

11943

**Khammouan Local Forces, Security**  
*42060124a Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO*  
*in Lao 18 Jun 87 p 2*

[Article by Luk Ban Mai: "Activities of the Khammouan Local Forces, Continual Progress"]

[Excerpts] Along with carrying on production activities together with the people, the Khammouan local forces are also engaged in activities to defend the production bases and maintain security.

One of our reporters had an opportunity to observe the activities of the Khammouan local forces. The head of these forces talked about the activities carried on in 1987. He said that even though most of our forces are production forces, they are very patriotic and are dedicated to building and improving the locality and economy. Mobile and fixed guerrilla units have been formed and equipped with sufficient weapons. They are responsible for defending the locality. They have completely

suppressed the enemy's underground forces. Political training seminars have been held. Those attending these seminars study documents and reports from the Party Central Committee, antipsyops warfare documents, the duties of guerrillas, and various other documents. This has achieved results of 65 percent. Besides this, they

have studied combat tactics and the characteristics of various types of weapons. Seminars at the district, canton, and village levels have been held. As a result, the local guerrilla forces have made constant progress.

11943

**Muslim, Non-Muslim Viewpoints of S&T Discussed**

*Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in Malay*  
7 Aug 87 p 8

[Article by Ibrahim Abu Bakar, Malaysian National University]

[Text] Muslims have positive and negative views of the abilities of non-Muslims in terms of scientific and technological progress. Muslims who have a negative view of the progress made in Western science and technology are more numerous than those who have a positive view.

Of course, Christians or Muslims present evidence for what they believe from their respective holy scriptures. However, scientists do not do this. They prove their statements by means of experiments and tests which can be observed by the use of the five senses.

When Christians held positions of power, they once sentenced scientists to death for holding views in conflict with their own. On the other hand, under present circumstances, scientists hold positions of power but do not sentence to death religious figures who do not agree with or oppose their views. Apparently, scientists have a more open view of things than Christian religious leaders.

Modern Western science has received criticism because it opposes what is stated in religious doctrine, which must be accepted and believed by everyone, scientists and lay people alike, whose only thought is to agree with whatever is said by religious leaders. They consider the religious leaders representatives of God or of the Prophet Muhammad and interpreters and teachers of what the prophet said.

They believe blindly whatever religious leaders say because they want to go to heaven. By following the religious leaders they can go to heaven, while if they follow the scientists, this will not be the case. The scientists do not guarantee that people will go to heaven or hell, while the religious leaders guarantee that those who oppose them will go to hell and those who follow them will go to heaven.

The example closest to the experience of Muslims in Malaysia is the question of transplanting corneas from the eyes of dead people. Syed Hussain Al-Attas, a social scientist, has written a pamphlet questioning the decision of the Mufti [Muslim religious leader] of Singapore, who proclaimed that it was prohibited for corneas from the eyes of dead people to be transplanted to the eyes of living, blind people who may be able to see with the transplanted corneas. The reason given by the mufti is that the Islamic faith prohibits such a transplant. The mufti has said that the Islamic religion does not approve of transplants of parts of the body because such operations and transplants injure the bodies of the dead and change the creative action of God in the human being involved. Therefore, if a Muslim is blind, he may not use

the facilities provided by science and technology to open his eyes through an operation involving a cornea transplant. That is the reason given by the mufti in making his judgment that such an operation is prohibited. It is the destiny of the mufti that he does not now have the power to sentence to death a Muslim who does what has been ruled as prohibited. If the Islamic community must reject Western science and technology for the same reason that it rejects the Western Christian religion, the Islamic community view would be identical to the Christian religious leaders who refuse to attend scientific meetings because they consider that they are in opposition to the Christian religious doctrine which they believe in and follow.

Can it be stated that Islam completely rejects the element of humanism? Humanism, as a philosophic and literary movement, originated in Italy in the 14th century AD. From the philosophic point of view, humanism is "that branch of philosophy which recognizes human value or worth and uses it as a standard for all things or uses human character, the limits of its capacity, and its desires as a theme."

Doesn't Islam take into account the limitations which exist among human beings? Doesn't the obligation to make the pilgrimage apply only to Muslims who are able to pay for it and to travel to Mecca and return home? Isn't this evidence that Islam indeed takes into consideration human nature and its limits? In my opinion the example of the obligation to make the pilgrimage to Mecca can be presented as evidence that Islam takes into consideration human strengths and weaknesses. There is no obligation to make the pilgrimage to Mecca for Muslims who are weak, poor, and in bad health. On the other hand, as for a rich Muslim who would not be secure during the trip to Mecca and while there, a well informed ulama [religious scholar] would say that this person is not obliged to make the pilgrimage to Mecca at a time when security cannot be guaranteed.

Can't it be said that Islam accepts humanism or that in Islamic teaching there are some elements of humanism? The Islamic faith itself was brought down by God through the Prophet Mohammed for the benefit of humanity. It is going too far to say that Islam completely rejects humanistic elements. In my view, in fact, Islam very much takes into account the interests of mankind and recognizes human nature and its limits.

The Islamic faith does not approve of Muslims who are able to think but who accept something blindly, who accept what they have learned from their dreams and nonsense derived from the imagination. There are many Muslims who think that dreams and miracles are part of Islamic teaching because, among Malays, stories about ghosts and a thousand other apparitions dominate their thinking, even though they believe in God and in Islam.

Regarding rationalism, don't elements of it appear directly in Islam? If not, it would seem that Islam is a religion for animals and not for people who are defined as rational beings. What is rationalism? According to Bernard William, "the term 'rationalism' (from the Latin word 'ratio' or 'cause') is used to apply to several differing views and the current of ideas." From the philosophical point of view, rationalism "emphasizes the ability to state the causes of things, to seek the truth about the world and, therefore, to regard natural science as basically an a priori enterprise. From the point of view of theology, rationalism is connected with the movement of German theologians between 1740 and 1840 who used rational criticism of what was called Christian doctrine. This movement gave birth to "Biblical criticism" and "antisupernaturalism." If Islam is said to oppose rationalism, this means that Islam is almost like Christianity, in the sense of stating that a given doctrine cannot be perceived by the brain except by believing it blindly.

Islam, as far as I understand it, asks thinking people to consider that the nature of human beings, the nature of things, and the nature of animals exist because they were created by God.

Some Islamic ulama apparently are afraid that Islam will suffer what has already been suffered by Christianity. What are they afraid of? Let the scholars use the method of textual criticism to study the truth of Islamic doctrines.

If Islam rejects rationalism, it can be said that Islam accepts supernaturalism, because there are Muslims who think that Islam rejects and prohibits using their brains in studying Islamic doctrines. Therefore, they believe that ghosts and demons can affect their lives and those of their families.

They strongly believe in "the old days" and are reluctant to follow natural or mechanical laws.

The farmers who strongly believe in supernatural powers will be hesitant about protecting themselves against evil spirits and the poisons of evil spirits. In their view the supernatural powers need to be worshipped. If the supernatural powers hear the prayers of the farmer, the rice harvest will be dedicated to them and, if their help is not requested, the rice harvest will be lost.

The scientist creates something for use by humanity or animals or plants. If the scientist discovers and develops a medicine to treat sick people, isn't this a service to humanity by the scientist? If you say that the same medicine is misused by a certain party to obtain money from the person taking the medicine, is it proper for the scientist who discovered this medicine to be sentenced to death by hanging?

Using the standard of thinking of a person like Zaini Ujang [a professor at Malaysian Technological University], it appears that the scientist who discovered the

medicine should be found guilty. This way of thinking has led to the emergence of an anti-scientific spirit among Muslims throughout the world.

In their view there is no point in seriously studying science and technology, because the results of their efforts and discoveries will be harmful to humanity. For that reason there is no Muslim community or country, with a majority Muslim population, which is able to develop military technology capable of competing with the military technology of such non-Muslim countries as the United States, Russia, France, or Great Britain. Weapons manufactured by these non-Muslim countries are purchased by Islamic countries, including Iran, for cash or by means of loans. There are those who say that Iran depends on the arms it has made for itself since the Imam Khomeyni turned Iran into an Islamic republic. In fact, these people deliberately close one or both of their eyes so that they cannot see what in fact has happened between Iran and the United States in terms of military weapons from the time of the shah to the period of Khomeyni.

How long will the Muslims need to be imbued with useless scientific and technological attitudes? What use is it to make this an obligation for them? The tendency of Muslim science and technology students to involve themselves in compulsory religious activity and so forth can be understood as being the result of an "anti science and technology" attitude which has been spread by certain Muslim groups.

These Muslims are spreading negative Islamic teachings regarding science and technology. They say that Islam will win in war, not because of the power of their weapons but because of the power of their beliefs. If what they are saying is true, why does the Khomeyni government need to buy weapons from the United States? Why don't the mojahedin [Muslim fighters] in Afghanistan, who lack weapons, win their war against Russia? Why doesn't the Prophet Mohammed (may God have mercy on him) himself order the Muslim army under his command to throw away their weapons and face their enemies with empty hands? Why doesn't the Prophet Muhammad and his army fight, using the weapons produced by the science and technology of our time?

Western science and technology is blamed because it has not brought the faithful back to God. My problem with those who give this reason is that, whether they are believers or not, scientists are engaged in scientific matters or in the affairs of God. What becomes of the scientist and the science of that scientist?

If Western science is rejected by Muslims because it fails to bring the believing scientist back to the God who created nature, I find that this reason is lacking in logic.

Islam itself does not expect that all mankind will become Muslim, although it urges all mankind to accept Islam as its religion. Mankind may accept or reject Islam. Islam

does not force every human being to accept Islam. Whoever wants to do so is a believer and whoever wants to be a non-believer is a non-believer (this is the meaning of a text from the Koran.). It is not true that science and technology should not be studied by Muslims for the reason that such study will not bring the believing scientist to God. Not all members of a community containing apostles of the faith [rasul] or prophets [nabi] sent by God accept such prophets or apostles. Does this mean that prophets and apostles do not need to be sent to urge humanity to believe in God?

The reasons for rejecting modern Western science mentioned above can be understood in the writings of Zaini Ujang, who represents one way that Muslims think about modern Western science. Members of this group only focus on the negative aspects whenever something comes from the West, even if it is science and technology. They do not want to admit the superiority of the non-believers in this connection. They adopt a more defensive attitude by saying that the Islamic science popularized by Muslim scholars in the past was good and that the science popularized by Westerners now is bad.

Science and technology do not need to be linked to religion as the Christians linked science and technology in past centuries. The linkage of religious people to science and technology only harms the progress of science and technology. Muslim students who study science and technology need to realize that their science and accomplishments are important and significant for the survival of the Islamic community as a group.

They should not feel that Western science and technology are not needed by the Islamic community. Islam did not come into the world to teach mankind science and technology. What Islam teaches is service to God and humanity through special and general devotions in which Muslims need to participate. The UTM [Malaysian Technological University], from the point of view of its very name, has the objective of graduating students in the science and technology sector. A spirit of opposition to Western science should not be a reason for failing in this effort.

In my discussion with a graduate scholar in the science sector but who changed the direction of his PhD toward education, I asked what was the difference between Western science and Islamic science in planting rice. Does Islamic science teach Muslims to plant paddy without paying attention to the weather? Does it say that there is no need to use fertilizer, to make sure that there is the right amount of water, to guard against insects and enemies of the rice plants, such as mice? Doesn't Islamic agricultural science teach all of that but also teaches planting seeds and leaving it to God to make the seeds grow and be fruitful? If that is Islamic agricultural science, the farmers have broken natural laws, which relate cause and effect in their activities. The graduate scholar I mentioned did not distinguish between Islamic and Western agricultural science from the point of view

of preparing the land, planting the seeds, and fertilizing and protecting them against attack by insects and mice. What he said was that he wanted scientists to say: "I am a Muslim because I am a scientist." What my friend hoped to obtain from Islamic science was developing science for Muslims.

I have already made clear that not all scientists will become Muslims through their study of science and technology because the question of belief and Islam is a question outside the purview of science and technology. If a student of the Koran itself is not sure whether he believes in the Koran, why should it be hoped that all those who study science and technology will become Muslims and true believers?

The weakness of science and technology among Muslims is caused by many factors. However, the factor of belief is also involved. In this context there are too many Muslims who believe that science and technology are not important, because God is able to do whatever he wishes with humanity. If God wants the United States, even though its military weapons and technology are powerful, to be defeated in a struggle against Muslims who have only knives and spears, the United States will lose. Such a belief, in my view, is really not based on the military preparations made at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, who was armed in accordance with the weapons technology of the time. Furthermore, there is a verse from the Koran which calls on Muslims to prepare their weapons as well as they can to fight against their enemies and those of God. May the Muslims survive the shortcomings of their military weapons in opposing their enemies. Their sufferings will be mitigated by the belief that in the world to come they will be happy. However, they suffer because they forget the Islamic teaching which calls on Muslims to have their weapons ready before they enter combat. The mojahedin [freedom fighters] in Afghanistan, Palestine, and the Arab world, the Moro nation in the Philippines, and many other Muslims suffer because their armed strength is not enough to make war on their enemies. What they have is the hope that God will help them to gain a victory under such circumstances.

Does the Islamic community or individual Muslims need to take a negative view of modern Western science and technology because it is based on materialism and not on spiritual life? Aren't these two elements the core of human life whether they are Muslim or non-Muslim? Their bodies consist of matter which may be held, touched, and felt. Their spirits are non-material. What Islam does not approve is extremism in material or spiritual matters. Islam approves of matter and spirit as two aspects which need each other, while human beings are called "intelligent animals" or "social animals."

Does the Islamic community need to struggle against and to blame modern Western science because there are Westerners who criticize it? If this is a reason, the Islamic community should blame Islam because there

are Westerners who say that Islam means war, killing, poverty, and disturbances. They say that the Islamic community suffers from backwardness and poverty because of its religion.

Meanwhile, the Muslim reform movement, which is led by Mufti Muhammad Abduh in Egypt and Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India, repudiates this view. They declare that the backwardness and poverty of the Islamic community is not because of Islam but because the Islamic community is being led by Muslim religious teachers and governments along the path of backwardness and poverty.

5170

**Education Given Top Priority in Budget Allocation**  
*42130116a Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 8 Aug 87 p 3*

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 7 August—The government will continue to give top priority to the Ministry of Education in the state budget, because that is an important ministry. This was stated by Deputy Prime Minister Encik Ghafar Baba.

He told reporters after listening carefully to proceedings in the MARA [People's Consultative Assembly] on 7 August: "It has been customary for that ministry to be given priority in budgetary allocations."

On 6 August an English language newspaper reported that the government will cut the budgetary allocation for that ministry by 200 million Malaysian dollars in 1988.

A source in the ministry reportedly said that the reduction was made as a step toward reducing state economic burdens.

Deputy Minister of Education Encik Woon See Chin said that the ministry is still discussing with the Treasury its total budgetary allocation for 1988. He said that the total amount of the allocation will only be known when the budget is presented in Parliament in October.

Regarding the report that the allocation of the Ministry of Education for 1988 will be reduced by 200 million Malaysian dollars, he said that his office has not yet been informed officially of this matter.

Whatever the case, Encik Woon said that if the ministry's budgetary allocation is reduced, the portion which will be involved will be the construction of educational facilities and teachers' travel expenses.

Speaking to reporters here, he said that the allocation for state educational facilities may also have to be reduced.

He said: "It is difficult to determine the amount of the reduction at this point because every educational facility must present its budget to the ministry."

According to him, the ministry will also depend on a World Bank loan to carry out its construction projects. Encik Woon gave assurances that the salaries of teachers will not be affected if there is a cut in the ministry's budgetary allocation.

**Budget**

The reduction in the budgetary allocation is calculated to affect school construction, the grant of scholarships for study abroad, education travel allowances, and the purchase of school equipment.

According to a newspaper report, in 1986 the Ministry of Education received a budgetary allocation of 920 million Malaysian dollars. In any case, in 1987 the allocation was reduced to 720 million Malaysian dollars.

Encik Ghafar said: "I don't think that is right. That newspaper report may just be speculation."

Regarding the allocation for other ministries, Encik Ghafar said that the cuts will be made depending on economic conditions. He said: "If the economic situation is good, all ministries will receive increased allocations. If the economy is not so good, reductions have to be made. In any case, the Ministry of Education will continue to have top priority."

5170

**More Polytechnic Institutes To Meet Skilled Labor Needs**

*42130116b Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 9 Aug 87 p 2*

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 8 August—The Ministry of Education is planning to introduce several new courses in regional polytechnic institutes in an effort to meet the need for skilled labor in the crafts and technical sectors.

Among the courses which will be offered are metalworking, chemistry, textile production, and industrial skills. The courses which are offered now are general skills, machinery and electricity, and accounting.

Datuk Haji Ahmad Salleh, the director of the Technical and Vocational Education Department (BPTV), said that the ministry hopes to turn the polytechnic institutes into the principal choice for graduates of the vocational high schools (SMV), in accordance with the new educational system which was introduced at the beginning of 1987.

He said: "This action is intended to meet stated needs for skilled labor, which will quadruple by the end of 1995. According to the Industrial Centers Plan (IMP) which has been issued by the government, the country is still short of skilled labor, such as specialists in the crafts and technical sectors."



### Larger Number

According to Datuk Haji Ahmad Salleh, it is hoped that these new courses will make a major contribution toward meeting the need for skilled labor in this country in the future.

He said that, in this connection, the ministry will open two more polytechnic institutes in Port Dickson and in Kuching, in addition to the five existing schools.

These new polytechnic institutes are under construction, and it is estimated that they will be ready for use before the end of the Fifth Malaysian Development Plan (RML).

With the construction of the two new polytechnic institutes the Ministry of Education will have seven such schools, including the present institutes in Ipoh, Kuantan, Kota Bharu, Alor Star, and Batu Pahat.

He said: "The ministry hopes that there will be more graduates of the vocational high schools who go on to the polytechnic institutes to continue their education."

Meanwhile, beginning in 1987, a course on Small Business Practices is being introduced for second year vocational students in the regional polytechnic institutes. Every student will be required to take this course in an effort to prepare them for business problems and to help them to be self-supporting and no longer dependent on working for someone else when they complete the course.

5170

**Anonymous Writer Urges Amnesty for Coup Plotters**

*42070283d Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 23 Aug 87 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "The 9 September Coup, Isn't It Time To Review This Matter?"]

[Excerpts] In just another 10 days or so, it will be the second anniversary of the 9 September 1985 rebellion. Very few troops participated in that rebellion. It can be said that that was the smallest coup attempt ever staged in Thailand. The events of that day have greatly puzzled the Thai people and left them wondering about those close to these events. To date, no one really knows the identity of person actually behind this. He is still the "hooded man."

However, in the wake of that rebellion, 7 of the 40 defendants in the case are now out on bail. Those seven are Gen Soem Na Nakhon, the former supreme commander and former deputy prime minister; Gen Kriangsak Chamanan, the former prime minister; Gen Yot Thephatsadin Na Ayuthaya, the former deputy RTA CINC; Air Chief Marshal Arun Phromthep, the former deputy supreme commander, Air Chief Marshal Krasae Intharat, the former deputy supreme commander; and Mr Amat Khamthetthong and Mr Sawat Lukdot, who are both senators and former railroad union leaders.

That leaves 33 defendants still in jail. Their lawyers have submitted requests for bail several times, but for various reasons these requests have been denied.

On 19 August, Mr Thongbai Thongpao, the Magsaysay lawyer, submitted another appeal to the criminal court asking it to grant bail to all 33 defendants. The appeal stated: "This case has reached the point of questioning prosecution witnesses. We 33 defendants have been in jail since 9 September 1985. We have never received temporary release or been permitted to post bail. We have been detained for almost 2 years now. In this case, defendants No 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 32, and 33 asked for temporary release on bail, and the court ordered all seven released on temporary bail.

"The 33 defendants who have requested but been denied bail and the 7 who have been granted bail have all been charged with the same crime. The charges are exactly the same. So far, 200 prosecution witnesses have been questioned. The only thing that these witnesses have said is that they saw the defendants on the day in question. The witnesses and defendants received orders from their superiors to make preparations and stand ready to provide protection, which is in accord with military regulations and the regulations of the units to which the defendants were subordinate. Not one of the witnesses said that any of the defendants gave orders or formulated a plan to carry out a coup to topple the government. Even if more witnesses are questioned, the testimony will probably be the same. This is because the defendants and witnesses were subordinate to the same units. They

received orders from their superiors and acted on those orders. All of us were soldiers or low-level employees. We did not have the authority to issue orders or formulate plans. All we could do was carry out the orders given.

"On the day of the coup attempt, initially, those involved obeyed the orders of their superiors without realizing what was really happening. Later on, the government, though the Internal Peacekeeping Command, issued a statement clarifying the situation. The statement said that military forces were being used to carry out a coup. It called on the soldiers to return to their base or lay down their weapons. It told them to disregard the orders of the Revolutionary Council. When we learned the truth, we laid down our weapons, and some people returned to their base and reported in to their superior officer or surrendered to government forces. As a result, the situation quickly returned to normal. This was evident to people in general and later on to the court during the questioning of prosecution witnesses.

"We are heads of families. We are low-ranking soldiers and employees. We earn only a small salary. When charges were filed against us, we were suspended from our duties and are not being paid our salary. This is causing great difficulties for our families.

"The king will turn 60 years old this year and so this is a year of rejoicing for the state and people. People must cooperate with each other and do good as an offering to the head of the nation. The government has promulgated a law to grant amnesty to criminals as an offering to the king in accord with Thai traditions. Thus, we ask the court to grant bail to the 33 defendants in this same spirit.

"For the reasons mentioned, the 33 defendants have asked the court to show mercy. In the interests of fairness, the court should allow us to post bail so that people do not think that certain people have received special treatment. This should be done in order to relieve our suffering and the suffering of our families. And it should be done as an act of goodness dedicated to the king. We will act properly and not do anything that might affect the prosecution's case or witnesses. We will come to the court as ordered and not do anything to delay the trial. Thus, the court should permit us to post bail."

The court considered the request that same day. But after considering what had happened based on the testimony of the prosecution witnesses and on the principles involved, the court refused to allow the defendants to post bail.

On 20 August, Admiral Supha Khotchaseni, the supreme commander, turned over power to Gen Wanchai Chit-chamnon, the deputy chief of staff officers. He submitted a complaint to the civil court seeking damages from

the defendants on the grounds that they had done 1,495,677.40 baht worth of damage to the 1st Division's radio antenna and buildings.

From what has transpired so far, it is impossible to guess how the 9 September case will turn out. If we look back at how previous coup cases have turned out, it can be seen that coup makers are usually granted amnesty or a royal pardon on various occasions or for various reasons.

On 5 May 1981, Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, signed the royal command granting amnesty to the rebels who had tried to seize power during the period 31 March to 3 April 1981.

As for why amnesty was granted in this case, in suppressing the rebels, the government acted very carefully in order to prevent a fight. It wanted to prevent loss of life and property and did not want to endanger the country or throne. Thus, the government announced that if the rebels would lay down their weapons and return to their bases, the government would not prosecute them. The rebels obeyed and so the situation returned to normal very quickly.

From the investigation, it became clear that most of the rebels acted in accord with the government's statement. And so it was proper for the government to grant amnesty. Turning to the present situation, in which enemies are present both along our borders and within the country, it is essential that we have national solidarity. We must build national unity as quickly as possible. Continuing on with this case will just create splits among the people. Thus, it is essential to grant amnesty.

Based on past lessons, isn't it time that the government of Gen Prem Tinsulanon reviewed the case of the 9 September rebels, many of whom are still in prison?

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**Deputy Finance Minister on Politicians' Subservience**

42070284c Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai  
15 Aug 87 pp 1, 14

[Unattributed report: "Suphachai Says That Politicians Are Subservient to Government Officials"]

[Text] At noon on 14 August at the Monthian Hotel, Mr Suphachai Phanitchaphak, the deputy minister of finance, gave a speech on the topic "The Economy and Politics, Splits and Cooperation."

Mr Suphachai said that there are presently four influential groups in Thailand that have a great effect on the decisions made by the government. These four groups are:

1. Regular government officials: This group is trying to maintain its position. Attempts are made to solve only the immediate problems. They do not try to solve the long-term problems. However, instead of trying to make use of modern economic theory to solve the problems, the regular government officials usually pay more attention to political changes, such as who will be minister and prime minister. These officials do not play a role aimed at developing things but rather at dominating things.

The regular government officials are able to dominate the politicians because the politicians who are supposed to be administering the country are not prepared and do not have any policies.

"In my view, the attempt by the regular government officials to monitor the political changes can be compared to choosing a horse. If you make the wrong choice, this will have a great effect on you personally," said Mr Suphachai.

However, there are many cases in which problems have been encountered even though the politicians have implemented policies and played a role. For example, the government implemented a policy on reforming the state enterprises 2 years ago. But so far, no progress has been made in reforming the state enterprises. They have requested additional funds from the government and paid bonuses without first obtaining approval. Some state enterprises have asked for special privileges and requested permission to sell their services 30 percent above the normal price.

2. Businessmen: In the past, this group was often at the mercy of others. But in the past 5-6 years, businessmen have begun playing a much greater role. People in the private sector are playing a much greater role in solving the problems and formulating plans. This stems from the formation of the Joint Public-Private Committee for Solving the Economic Problems. This committee works in the various regions and provinces and with the provincial chambers of commerce.

3. Politicians: The political parties should review their role and reveal which businessmen support them, which is how things are done in other countries such as the United States and Japan. This will help the people decide which parties and business groups to vote for. Besides this, the law limiting each candidate's campaign expenditures to 350,000 baht should be repealed.

4. Scholars: This group began playing a greater role about 7-8 years ago. As a result, they have played a major role in changing and improving the economic structure. For example, scholars exerted pressure to change interest rates. But today, they are not as united as before. This is because they have built their own territory and are trying to bring about perfection in the commercial sector. As a result, their views no longer exert much influence with respect to economic change.

As for the Thai Development Research Institute (TDRI), Mr Suphachai said that "I am very disappointed." He said that this institute has opposed the rice price guarantee policy implemented by the government. As a result, the Public Warehouse Organization has a debt of 6 billion baht. Last year, when the government stopped guaranteeing prices, students demonstrated to have the government guarantee rice prices again.

"Actually, scholars should remain neutral and not try to push their ideas through other groups like this," said Mr Suphachai. He added that interest groups are now playing a major role. They are exerting great pressure on matters of economic and financial policy, such as devaluing the baht.

Mr Suphachai said that the role played by the political groups affects all groups. For example, they have intervened in matters of economic and financial policy, such as devaluing the baht. This has led to a shift in the balance of power. The Commercial Banking Act, the Share Fund Act, and the revision of the liquor contract of the Thip Liquor Company are other examples.

Even though the political groups and interests groups are very close to each other, recently, there have been some "head on collisions," such as over sugar cane and sugar in the 70/30 system. As a result, the government has had to borrow money abroad.

Mr Suphachai said that the government has tried to solve the problems involving the state enterprises. But it has encountered many problems. In trying to solve the problem of the budget deficit, the government has encountered pressure from a variety of sources.

Mr Suphachai observed that it should be possible for the various groups to cooperate with each other. For example, the administration and parliament should separate their duties more clearly. Today, they meddle in each other's affairs too much. When the administration submits a budget, there is usually a shadow budget for comparison. Parliament has tried to play such a large role in administering things that there are rumors that administrative power will be separated from legislative power. This has become a very complex matter.

In coordinating things between regular government officials and politicians, the two groups must talk to each other more in order to increase efficiency. This does not mean that a reform committee needs to be established. But there must be a clear separation of powers and duties. It must be clear that politicians have the power to formulate policy while regular government officials are responsible for administering things.

The political and business groups should play a role in promoting democracy. But as mentioned above, it should be revealed which business groups support which political parties.

The views of the scholars should be in line with the administration of the country. Something must be done to eliminate the charge that there is a split among scholars. The ideas of Dr Pridi Phanomyong and Dr Puai Ungphaphong should be discussed again, because their ideas have not been discussed rationally.

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**Farm Activist Interviewed on Ties to Chawalit, Thianchai**

42070286b Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai  
19-25 Aug 87 pp 13-15

[Interview with Ubonsak Bualuangngam; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Would you give us some background information on the formation of this party, which is said to be tied to the farmers and laborers?

[Answer] By law, senators cannot belong to a political party. The law forbids this. This is according to the law. On the agricultural front, it must be admitted that the government has never done anything to solve the farm problems. Usually, nature is allowed to take its course in solving the problems. Technology and other new advances have not been introduced to help develop agriculture. In particular, people must see where the government's administrative structure comes from. Actually, it comes from the people, that is from the farmers. It is the people who elect representatives. The representatives then choose the prime minister, who in turn selects the ministers on the approval of the MPs.

It must be admitted that while the 40 million farmers, who comprise 80 percent of the population, have cast votes, the MPs whom they have elected have not really fulfilled the promises made to the people. Actually, they have forgotten what they said to the people. The farmers are sinking deeper and deeper into the mire. Farm leaders from several regions have held meetings. Most agree that they should have a role to play in administering the country. Thus, given our existing system, that is, a democratic system in which elections are held, we should form a political party of our own.

[Question] When did you begin taking action?

[Answer] We have been discussing this for a year now. But problems were encountered at the outset. To establish a party, the farmers needed capital. In the past, it took a lot of money. But now, farm leaders have said that it isn't necessary to spend so much. We are the ones who will choose. If we choose the same people, that should bring results. There must be a political party. Today, very few farmer representatives have a chance to participate in promulgating laws. Who writes the laws? It is the wealthy who write the laws. And the fact is, they don't write any laws to benefit the farmers. How many laws of benefit to the farmers have been promulgated? None!

Which laws benefit the farmers? There is just the issue of liquor. Thus, farmers agree that the time has come for us to unite. In particular, it must be admitted that in Thai society, certain people have been given free medical treatment and free schooling and they are allowed to retire at age 60. But the other 80 percent of the population, the farmers, have to pay for medical treatment and the education of their children. And they can't retire at age 60. This is clear. Are there any guarantees for the farmers? Thus, if the farmers have a chance to participate in administering the country, social welfare laws will be promulgated on behalf of the farmers and those in other occupations, including laborers.

[Question] Thus, the party's base is the farmers and laborers, is that right?

[Answer] Usually, the word "laborers" refers to those who work in industrial factories. Nothing has been said about laborers who work in the agricultural sector. Hired farmers harvest beans and other crops for 10-20 baht a day. The labor law does not afford them any protection. Thus, we must give the word "laborers" a broader meaning and have it include laborers in the agricultural sector. Today, not even domestic servants are included. Have any of our administrations ever looked into these problems?

This political party must clearly state that business must be conducted openly. We have to announce what percentage the farmers will get when their rice is exported. The sugar cane formula, for example, stipulates that the farmers are to receive 70 percent, the government is to receive a commission of 20 percent, and the political parties are to receive 10 percent.

[Question] You are talking about obtaining funds for the parties openly, right?

[Answer] Yes. This must be done openly instead of trying to deceive the people as is done today. Today, the political parties are trying to deceive the people into thinking that they are doing things on behalf of the people. But actually, as everyone knows, they are just trying to profit.

[Question] Returning to the matter of this political party, how much progress has been made in forming this party?

[Answer] We now have party branches in all 73 provinces. We are ready to field candidates in every province in accord with the law. We can field as many candidates as required by law. We can register the party any time. Because according to the law, a party must have branches in at least five provinces in each of the four regions. And there must be at least 50 party members in each province and a total of at least 5,000 members. We already have an organization. All we need to do to establish the party formally in accord with the law is to submit the forms.

[Question] Who are the key people in the party?

[Answer] Farm leaders from the various provinces. Most are already leaders.

[Question] And what about the involvement of this party with Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut?

[Answer] That day (referring to a newspaper interview at the beginning of August), they asked me who will be the party leader. I said that the party leader would be elected at a party meeting. They asked me why this was scheduled for 1988. I said that there was no significance to this. We don't mind. Whoever is chosen at the party meeting is fine with us. No one will be asked to serve as party leader. We have not asked anyone or plotted (with Gen Chawalit). But we will welcome anyone who agrees with us and who feels that this will be of value.

[Question] Are the policies of Gen Chawalit, such as Order 66, in accord with the party's policies?

[Answer] To be honest, I have never read Order 66/23. But our policies may well be in accord with Order 66/23. There are more than 40 million farmers. There are undoubtedly similarities. From what I have seen, I agree with his policies. For example, I agree with his policy on the "greening" of the northeast. Because to date, few people have taken any action on this. He is sincere toward the poor people. This is my personal view. But this has nothing to do with our selecting 1988. We chose this year because we have finished making preparations. Some have said that this happens to coincide with his (Gen Chawalit's) resignation. But the two are not related.

[Question] They are separate matters?

[Answer] That's right. (Laughs)

[Question] But things will be ready by 1988, right?

[Answer] I think so.

[Question] From where is the money coming to carry on activities?

[Answer] Most people are already involved.

[Question] There are rumors that Prem supports this party. Is there any truth to this rumor?

[Answer] No. I have never met him. He does not know me. If we met at a meeting, he would not know me.

[Question] Do you still have any ties to the Ratsadon Party?

[Answer] Yes, I do. I resigned from the party in accord with the law. But I still discuss things with them. But as far as this new party is concerned, I am the one who founded it.

[Question] Will politicians from other political parties switch and join this new party?

[Answer] There will probably be some from various parties, including the Democrat, Thai Nation, Social Action, and Progressive parties. If they agree with us, they will probably switch. At present, most of our members are the children of farmers. Initially, we will have each province choose their own. As for campaign funds, if each farmer donates 1 baht, that is 40 million baht. And we will all help each other in the campaign.

[Question] In reality, what are your actual chances?

[Answer] I think that this is possible. The people are tired of what has been happening in politics. Today, the farmers know that they have to have their own political party.

[Question] In view of the fact that laborers and farmers form the party's base, aren't you afraid of being labeled a "hammer and sickle" party?

[Answer] Today, we survive because we have sickles to harvest the rice, right? Without sickles, where would we get our rice? That doesn't bother me. Because that is a fact.... I would like the agricultural-industrial party to associate with people in all circles. I don't want to see the barns of those who don't grow rice filled with rice while the farmers don't have any rice to eat. Criticism doesn't bother me. Because that is the truth. My dream was to establish this mass party. And it is a real mass party. We are building branches very quickly and will have more than any other political party. We have not paid people to become party members. They have joined of their own free will.

[Question] Right after you took action to establish this party, people immediately tied this to Gen Chawalit. How do you feel about this?

[Answer] It doesn't bother me. I know him, but I don't have a special relationship with him. (Laughs) I think that he is very sincere toward the poor and those who live in remote rural areas. These are the people who are at a disadvantage in our society today.

As for myself, I have never desired to obtain anything more than this. I feel that my life is already very full. I never dreamed that I would come this far. My life should be centered on the fields.

[Question] How would you feel if people charge that this is a left-wing party to support Gen Chawalit?

[Answer] I never get excited about rumors. Everyone has the right spread rumors. But we know that we are working on behalf of the people. Those who spread such rumors without knowing the facts are really hurting the people. I am not interested. I have overcome greater obstacles than this. I have been shot at. I am not afraid.

For example, the superintendent of Lopburi recently conducted a background investigation on me. If people want to know the truth about me, they should come and ask me. I think that the people of Thailand should cooperate with each other for the benefit of society. We should not try to destroy people for no reason.

[Question] What are the main policies of this party?

[Answer] Our land reform policy and our "diggers and plowers" policy. Only the people who actually work the land should have land. People living somewhere else shouldn't be allowed to own thousands of rai of land. Only the producers should set the price of goods. The agricultural organizations at all levels must be open, and they must be able to become juristic entities and conduct business at all levels. The farmers should have their own council. A council of farmers does not mean an agricultural council composed of merchants and others who are just using this name. A vocational insurance law should be promulgated for the farmers. This last point is the main point.

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### Moves To Form Farmer-Labor Party, Activist's Links Seen

42070286a Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai  
19-25 Aug 87 pp 12, 13

[Unattributed report: "Formation of 'Agricultural-Industrial' Hammer and Sickle Party, a Plan To Help (or Destroy) Chawalit?"]

[Text] In the midst of a political transition and the confusion regarding the country's present situation, all of the reports and rumors that have appeared are being analyzed carefully based on the position of each group and each person. Most recently, there have been reports, which have not been played up in the press, to the effect that a Farmer-Labor Party will be established next year. The reports say that this political party will be formed in order to support Gen Chawalit when he retires from the military. This rumor has several sources.

The person who is said to be the activist in forming this political party is Ubonsak Bualuangngam, a senator and the chairman of the Central Committee of the Farmers Group of Thailand. He is also the spokesman for the Agricultural and Cooperatives Subcommittee.

In a special interview granted to SU ANAKHOT, Ubonsak talked about the reasons for establishing this party. He said, "It's time that we had a political party that will represent 80 percent of the country's population instead of having parties that represent just a few people. Past experience has shown that after the campaign, these people never give any thought to those who voted for them. It's time that the farmers and laborers, particularly

laborers in the agricultural sector, had people who will really represent them. We must struggle to gain state power. And in this system, that means forming a political party."

Ubonsak told SU ANAKHOT that based on a broad policy line, this will be an "agricultural-industrial" party. "It might have a more concise name. This is based on the broad policy line." What is important is that this party will not be established to serve anyone. There is nothing behind this other than what he has said. "Those political parties that cling to individuals all fail. But in the case of this party, regardless of what changes occur in terms of people, the party will survive." Those who are interested in the details concerning the formation of this party and Ubonsak's ideals can read the interview that he gave.

### **Behind Ubonsak, The Young Man From Thawung**

But in order to add depth to this article, we have some other information to report.

Ubonsak has been involved in agricultural work for many years. He said that he has worked with farmers since 1976. He is from a farm family in Lopburi Province and has harvested much rice. His hands are rough from shoveling mud to build field dikes. That was before he studied law. And he said that he often returns to help the farmers. But some news agencies have reported that Ubonsak is closer to agricultural financiers than to the farmers and that he has been involved in local politics for a long time. Ubonsak said that he once served as the deputy secretary general of the New Force Party and that he had stood as a candidate for MP four times. He said that had had come close to winning all four times. The last time, he ran as a member of the Ratsadon Party. He ran in the same zone as Gen Thianchai Sirisamphan. He failed in his bid to become an MP but was appointed senator.

Regarding his appointment to the Senate, Ubonsak said that he had known nothing about that beforehand. He once joked with friends about becoming the last senator because his name begins with one of the last letters of the alphabet. And his "joke" became a reality.

But another news source stated that he contacted and coordinated things with people from various factions in an attempt to have himself appointed senator. This is a long story.

The news source said that during the period that Ubonsak was engaged in agricultural activities, particularly in Lopburi, he became involved in selling rice. He met an officer, Col Charoensak Thiangtham, who is the son-in-law of a textile factory owner. And through Col Charoensak he met Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut. Today,

this colonel is engaged in political activities on behalf of the RTA CINC, that is, selling rice to the workers at this large textile factory in order to help the farmers. This should benefit the farmers.

And so when Gen Chawalit's political agents were looking for someone to represent the farmers in the Senate, it was only natural that they thought of Ubonsak. But in order to be sure, someone was sent to talk to the chief advisor to the prime minister, Chan Manutham. This was done because they wanted to have someone who would side with them. In the end, said the news source, this side agreed (this can be called a secret agreement) on condition that he support Gen Prem after being appointed to the Senate. He must not equivocate or waver later on. After they understood each other fully, both sides agreed.

Recently, some members of Gen Chawalit's political faction raised questions about the behavior of Ubonsak. They felt that his name might have to be eliminated from the list. But "Prem men" talked with them and so Ubonsak is still a senator.

Some may wonder, didn't Ubonsak receive support from Gen Thianchai, the leader of the Ratsadon Party, in view of the fact that they once had a superior-subordinate relationship? Another news source confirmed that Gen Thianchai was not very happy with Ubonsak. "It's because Ubonsak was important before he joined the Ratsadon Party," said the news source, emphasizing the word "important."

However, a news source who has monitored the actions of Ubonsak said that regardless of how Ubonsak became a senator, with respect to his ties to the "military" and "Prem," his ties to the military are probably stronger because he has known these officers for a long time.

Concerning the rice mills of Kittiwuttho, Ubonsak told SU ANAKHOT that he played a role in "selling this idea" to the "bosses." And it is now well known that this project has been a success. It is being carried on hand in hand with the army's project to help the farmers.

Thus, now that there are reports about the establishment of a Farmer-Labor Party, or Agricultural-Industrial Party, it is thought that Ubonsak is doing this with some political objective in mind and with political conditions of Gen Chawalit. In particular, there is much talk about forming a political party to bolster the position and role of Gen Chawalit after he retires from the military next year. And the policy line that Ubonsak has advocated is in line with that of Gen Chawalit.

"I have never read his Order 66. But from what I have observed, he seems to have great sympathy for the poor. My knowledge about him is the same as other people's."

Later on, Ubonsak admitted that the RTA CINC has been invited to various farmer meetings and that he has met the RTA CINC. But... "I have not made any deals with him. I have just tried to sell my ideas to him."

As for whether he will ask Gen Chawalit to serve as the leader of the party that he founded, Ubonsak said that no one will be asked to serve as party leader. The party leader will be chosen at a general meeting. So far, no date has been set for this meeting.

### Plan To Support or Destroy Chawalit?

It is difficult to determine whether Ubonsak is doing this with the good intentions of a young man from Tha Wung in Lopburi Province. On one hand, it seems that he has taken great pains to pave the way for Gen Chawalit to engage in politics in the future. But there are others who have looked at this in depth and who do not feel that 1+1 always equals 2. "The idea that Ubonsak is doing this solely for Chawalit is too simplistic."

There is evidence that there is more to this than meets the eye. A news source, citing evidence, said that it's possible that those behind the establishment of this political party (and who are using Ubonsak as the front man in this) are hoping to use this party to show that Gen Chawalit leans to the "left." This party is supposed to lean toward the "laborers and farmers," which will just serve to emphasize Gen Chawalit's weaknesses concerning the "Soviet Union" and the "presidium."

If this is the case, the people behind this do not have good intentions toward Gen Chawalit. But the news source did not dare say who was behind this. All he said was that it is a group that does not want to see Gen Chawalit have a shot at becoming leader.

But regardless of what others have said, Ubonsak told SU ANAKHOT firmly that "I am not afraid. I know what I am doing. I am not playing politics. Rather, I am engaged in political work. My dream is to establish a party that will represent the more than 40 million farmers and laborers in the country. I have never cared about gaining a position. It is up to those at the party meeting to choose the leaders. I am not afraid of anything. I am not afraid of rumors. As for the stories about Prem and myself, I do not know him and he does not know me. I'm sure that he would not recognize me if he saw me."

On a scorching day at parliament, Ubonsak Bualuang-ngam, who has denied working for Prem or Gen Chawalit and who says that he is working on behalf of the farmers and laborers, left the offices of SU ANAKHOT to go work at turning his dream into reality in the fierce heat of August.

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### Finance Minister on Loan Plans

42070284a Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai  
12 Aug 87 pp 1, 20

[Unattributed report: "Suthi Claims That in a Few More Years There Will Be No Need To Borrow from Abroad"]

[Text] After the cabinet meeting held on 11 August, Mr Suthi Singsane, the minister of finance, talked with reporters about Thailand's loan situation. He said that the government's policy is to limit the ceiling on loans to \$1 billion a year. Loans have to be limited in order to keep the country's debt within manageable limits.

As for borrowing money from Japan, regardless of how much we borrow, we must determine how beneficial the projects will be. We shouldn't borrow the money just because it is available to us.

The minister of finance said that Thailand's foreign reserves are now at their highest level ever, that is, \$4 billion. Thus, the amount of money borrowed abroad has declined. Besides this, we have a balance of payments surplus, and savings have increased. In short, our financial situation has improved greatly, and we are approaching the time when we will no longer have to borrow money from abroad.

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### Central Bank To Tighten Up on Commercial Bank Appointments

42070284b Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 14 Aug 87 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Conclusion Is That When Things Go Bad, Main Office Is the Culprit; Bank of Thailand Will Tighten Up on Commercial Bank Appointments of Administrators at Main Offices"]

[Text] The Bank of Thailand [BoT] will no longer require the commercial banks to obtain approval before appointing branch administrators. But it will implement stricter measures concerning the appointment of administrators at the main offices.

A report from the BoT informed NAEO NA that the BoT will review the criteria used in appointing commercial bank branch managers and chief accountants so that this task can be carried out by the managing director of the commercial bank without having to obtain the approval of the BoT.

But the BoT will tighten up on the appointment of section chiefs or section managers at the main offices. Before a person can be appointed to an important position at the main office of a commercial bank, his or her appointment must first be approved by the BoT.



The reason why the BoT has reviewed the criteria for approving the appointment of branch managers and chief accountants is that the losses experienced by commercial banks have not been the fault of people at the bank branches. Most of the problems that have arisen have been at the main offices. People at the main offices have extended credit without taking proper precautions. In extending credit, most of the commercial bank branches are supervised closely by the main office. The audits conducted by the BoT at branch offices have turned up only small losses as compared with the losses resulting from loans made by the main office.

The present policy of the BoT is to audit the main offices of the commercial banks more frequently instead of auditing just the branch offices. An effort will be made to audit each of the main offices once a year.

11943

**Farmer Debt Up Sharply; Corruption Said Partly To Blame**

42070283a Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai  
21 Aug 87 pp 1, 14

[Unattributed report: "Thai Farmers Are Heavily in Debt, Support Promulgation of Law To Forgive Debts of Those Who Were Cheated by Government Officials"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 20 August at the Department of Agricultural Extension, following a meeting of the Farmers' Group of Thailand, which was attended by Mr Anan Khalodom, the deputy director-general of the Department of Agricultural Extension, and Mr Khanin Bunsuwan, the director of the Marketing Organization for Farmers, Mr Ubonsak Bualuangngam, the chairman of the Central Committee of the Farmers' Group of Thailand, said that according to 1986 figures, the most recent data available, farmers nationwide owed a total of 14 billion baht. Their debt is rising constantly by at least 20 percent a year per family. At the same time, their income is declining 20 percent a year.

Mr Ubonsak said that there are two types of farm debt. One is debt that arises from situations in which the farmers did not know what they were getting into. The other is debt that arises from normal business operations. The creditors include various financial institutions such as the commercial banks, the Marketing Organization for Farmers, the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives, and the Public Warehouse Organization. If the country allows the farmers to keep going further and further into debt, the farmers won't be able to survive. Thus, the Farm Groups will recommend that the government promulgate an act to forgive the debt of those farmers who went into debt without knowing what they were getting into. At present, data is still being collected in an effort to distinguish clearly between the two types of debt. A Debt Discharge Committee will be

established to compete against the government's Debt Acceleration Committee. It is expected that this act will be submitted to the government by the end of this year.

The chairman of the Central Committee of the Farmers' Group of Thailand said that there are several reasons why farmers have gone into debt without realizing what they were getting into. Many farmers who participated in the Farm Aid Program, which was carried on from 1966 to 1975, went into debt, and they still owe money today. There is the Revolving Capital Debt Acceleration Committee, whose task is to monitor the debts based on the Farm Aid Program. The chairman of this committee is the director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr Ubonsak said that the government provided 25 percent of the funds for the program to deliver sprayers and water pumps to the farmers. The farmers participating in the program formed groups and signed contracts, with the head of each group taking responsibility for the debt, which was interest free. Some years, the farmers were allowed to purchase implements at half price. But the problem is that many farmers thought that they were being given these things free of charge and so they signed for the goods. That was many years ago, and the farmers still haven't discharged all their debts. Some have died, and their children know nothing about these debts. In some places, such as in Ayuthaya, district officers have filed charges against farmers. There is also the problem of corruption among government officials, including district and provincial agricultural officers. Some of these officials receive debt payments from the farmers but do not send the money to the treasury.

Mr Ubonsak said that another reason why farmers have gone into debt without realizing what they were doing is that at one time, there was a policy of having the Marketing Organization for Farmers deliver fertilizer and seed to help farmers suffering from drought. But the farmers were charged for this, with the Marketing Organization for Farmers being the creditor. Also, during the period when Mr Chok Sisiththikam, the present deputy under secretary of agriculture and cooperatives, was the director of the Marketing Organization for Farmers, he loaned money to the Farmers Group to purchase corn from the farmers at a price stipulated by the Marketing Organization for Farmers, that is, 3.10 baht per kg, and deliver it to silos in Bangkok Metropolitan. Later on, the Marketing Organization for Farmers claimed that there were no export quotas for corn and so it paid the Farmers Group a lower price for the rice. As a result, the Farmers Group is still in debt today.

Mr Ubonsak said that the government poured in 5 billion baht to help the trusts, and it has granted pardons to prisoners. And so it should also do something to help the farmers.

Mr Anan said that farmers still owe the Department of Agricultural Extension approximately 106 million baht for items received as part of the Farm Help Program,

which ran from 1966 to 1975. The debt is down from a peak of 260 million baht. As Mr Ubonsak said, there are problems in monitoring the debts. There is corruption among government officials. Some district and provincial agricultural officials do not turn over the money collected to the treasury. Instead, they keep the money for themselves. They give the farmers receipts on scraps of paper. Officials of the Department of Agricultural Extension have obtained evidence about this from monitoring the debt situation. Many officials have been dismissed from government service for engaging in such corrupt practices. Others are now under investigation.

Mr Khanin said that as for the money owed the Marketing Organization for Farmers, the farmers are to be pitied, because the real creditor is not the Marketing Organization but the Farmers Welfare Fund. The Marketing Organization for Farmers will serve as coordinator in the future. As for forgiving the debts of the farmers, that is a matter of government policy. Personally, he supports this proposal.

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#### **Possible Army Influence in Economic Crimes Noted**

42070283c Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai  
23 Aug 87 pp 1, 16

[Unattributed report: "Indications That 'Soldiers' Have Influence over Economic Criminals"]

[Excerpts] On the morning of 22 August at the Dusit Thani Hotel, the Law Association of Thammasat University held a seminar on the topic "Economic Crime and the Survival of the Nation." Those attending the seminar included Police Col Sorasi Suthison, the deputy commander of the Suppression Division and the deputy director of the Economic Crime Control Center; Assistant Professor Wiraphong Bunnophat, an instructor in the Faculty of Law at Chulalongkorn University; Mr Kulaphon Phonlawan, the assistant secretary of the Prosecution Committee, Department of Public Prosecutions; and Mr Sutthichai Chitwanit, the assistant manager of the Securities Market of Thailand.

In his capacity as the president of the Law Association, Thammasat University, Police Lt Gen Sawaeng Thirasawat, the assistant director-general of the Police Department, opened the seminar by saying that the number of economic crimes has increased greatly. The people who commit such crimes are well-educated people who enjoy high positions in society. They are referred to as "white-collar criminals. Such crimes affect the country's economic situation.

Assistant Professor Wiraphong said that there have been laws on economic crimes since the time of King Rama V. Such criminals enjoy social status. And those who commit such crimes must be in a position to enjoy substantial rewards immediately without encountering serious

initial opposition from the people. Those who engage in such crimes are people who have great influence and who have pushed themselves into administrative positions at the national level.

Among those who have committed economic crimes are bankers. In particular, during the period when the economy was in a recession, these bankers dared to commit crimes.

Mr Kulaphon Phonlawan said that economic crimes are very complex cases. Among those who have committed such crimes are bankers and administrators of trade centers. At the same time, the capabilities of our officials are limited. "Thailand likes to promulgate new laws without looking at what laws already exist. Those who commit economic crimes can be prosecuted based on the existing criminal laws. If too many laws are promulgated, people can't keep up with them. A person can commit a crime without being aware of it."

Mr Kulaphon said that the Office of the Judicial Council has not checked to see if the new laws are suitable. "I will give you an example. The 1979 Consumer Protection Act gives prosecutors the power to file complaints without having to conduct an investigation or go through the police. Now, there are problems, because it isn't known who is to conduct investigations or make arrests. There is so much confusion that this act can't be used."

Police Col Sorasi Suthison said that the number of economic crimes is increasing. Most of these crimes involve fraud, the forging of documents, the forging of bills of exchange, fraudulent sea insurance claims, and bank fraud. In particular, bank fraud involves people on both the inside and the outside. Today, the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Thailand are the countries where the largest number of economic crimes are committed.

The deputy director of the Economic Crimes Control Center said that police officials have prepared background files on people suspected of engaging in economic crimes. "Those who commit such crimes are people with great influence. This includes people with political influence and influential military and police officials, particularly military officials. We are afraid of the police, too. One example happened several years ago. The police were going to inspect a plant that produced galvanized iron. But the then head of the Revolutionary Council issued an order forbidding the police from inspecting the plant. To this day, the police can't inspect that plant. When we encounter such influence, there is nothing we can do."

11943

**Army Secret Fund Passes, Justice Budget Cut**

42070283b Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai  
21 Aug 87 pp 1, 2, 16

[Unattributed report: "Secret Defense-Army Budget Passes Easily"]

[Excerpts] On 20 August at the Parliament, Mr Surachai Sirinuphong and Mr Chiramit Chiamcharoen-udomdi, spokesmen for the Special Subcommittee To Deliberate the Draft 1988 Expenditure Budget, announced that the subcommittee had finished considering the budget of the Ministry of Defense. It cut a total of 58 million baht. The secret government fund was set at 472 million baht divided as follows: Office of the Under Secretary of Defense, 5 million baht; Supreme Command Headquarters, 75 million baht; army, 297 million baht; navy, 86 million baht, and air force, 8 million baht. The army's secret fund was set at the same level as last year. And based on its expenditures, this was thought to be the right amount and so its secret fund was not cut.

The spokesmen for the special subcommittee said that today, the subcommittee considered the budget of the Ministry of Finance. One interesting matter is that the budget for the share payment of the Thailand Tantalum Industry Company was set at 43 million baht. In 1987, the Ministry of Finance paid two installments of 87.5 and 17.5 million baht for a total of 105 million baht. But this year, the company has not asked for share payment funds and so the amount has been reduced 26 million baht.

As for the Excise Department, the subcommittee was impressed by the changes made in the contracts and in the retail price of Mekong whiskey in the provinces. In some places, the price is 90 baht a bottle. The director-general of the Excise Department has promised to monitor this.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not have any budget problems. But it does have policy problems, particularly concerning economic zones between Thailand and neighboring countries. This stems from the fishing problems. During the period that Gen Kriangsak Chamanan was prime minister, memorandums were exchanged between the prime ministers of Malaysia and Thailand stating that the peoples of both countries had the right to exploit the living resources in the joint development area. But problems have arisen because Malaysia has refused to abide by this. Malaysia has

arrested Thai fishermen who were fishing in this area. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has said that this problem can be solved. Representatives from Thailand will soon go to negotiate this matter with Malaysia.

The subcommittee reduced the budget of the Ministry of Commerce, which had been set at 705 million baht, by 8 million baht. Those at the meeting stressed that the Department of Internal Trade must ready rice stocks for distribution to the people at low prices. It is feared that this year's drought will prevent people from being able to purchase rice at low prices. Besides this, the Department of Commercial Registration has been urged to compile figures on the financial positions of corporations and limited companies so that people can find out what the financial position of these companies is like and not be tricked into buying shares. As for the Insurance Office, the subcommittee asked that a study be conducted on providing insurance for low-ranking government officials similar to the life insurance provided by the army. The Ministry of Commerce has been urged to consider establishing a joint fund in order to help people involved in accidents in which the person responsible fled. Money from this fund could be used to help pay their initial medical expenses.

The subcommittee reduced the budget of the Ministry of Justice, which had been set at 704 million baht, by 90,000 baht. The funds cut had been earmarked for the purchase of computer equipment. As for the construction of new civil and criminal courts, which will cost a total of 400 million baht, 50 million baht has been allotted for this this year. Besides this, the Ministry of Justice has been asked to provide more court services. In particular, the northeast does not have a juvenile court. Thus, the ministry should submit a motion to build a juvenile court in Khon Kaen Province at a cost of 120 million baht. However, it is expected that only 5 million baht will be allotted for this this year.

The spokesmen for the subcommittee said that in summary, the budget has been trimmed by 1,465,617,835 baht. The budgets of five other units have not yet been considered. Those five are the Office of the Prime Minister, the central fund, the independent bureaus, the state enterprises, and the revolving fund. Together, the budgets of these entities total 29,808 [million] baht, or approximately 12 percent of the total budget. It is expected that the deliberations will be completed on schedule.

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## POLITICAL

### Hanoi People's Committee Notice on Residence Registration

42090536b Hanoi HANOI MOI in Vietnamese  
14 May 87 pp 1, 4

[Hanoi Municipal People's Committee Notice: "People Requested To Contribute Opinions Regarding the Draft 'Regulations Regarding the Registration of Official Residence in Hanoi for People Coming to Hanoi From the Provinces and Municipalities'"]

[Text] The office of the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee issues the following notice:

"So that the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee can have a basis on which to make a correct decision regarding population registration of people who go to Hanoi from the provinces and municipalities, the office of the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee is authorized to make public the draft "Regulations Regarding the Registration of Official Residence in Hanoi for People Coming to Hanoi from the Provinces and Municipalities" so that cadres and people can contribute opinions.

"The cadres and the people are strongly encouraged to respond.

"Opinions must be sent to the Office of the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee of the Editorial Board of the newspaper HANOI MOI between now and the end of 1987."

Draft Regulations Regarding the Registration of Official Residence in Hanoi for People Coming to Hanoi From the Provinces and Municipalities:

On the basis of the law organizing people's councils and people's committees at all levels, and on the basis of Decision No 167/CP, dated 18 September 1976, of the Council of Ministers and Directive No 272/CT of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and in order to closely manage the capital's population increase, while at the same time meeting the requirements of production, work, and life, and the aspirations and sentiments of the cadres, workers, civil servants, and people, the Hanoi Municipal People's Committee makes the following stipulations regarding population registration for cadres, workers, civil servants, members of the armed forces, and people who come to Hanoi from the provinces and municipalities:

I. With regard to cadres, workers, and civil servants who are transferred to Hanoi.

In order to closely manage population in the capital, provide jobs for the city's workers, and at the same time meet the production and work requirements of the organs and enterprises, and fulfill the aspirations and

sentiments of the cadres, workers, and people, every year the organs and enterprises needing to add workers must first of all hire workers who are permanent residents of Hanoi. If there are insufficient workers to meet the requirements of the sectors and trades, the ministries and general departments must reach agreement with the Municipal People's Committee regarding the number of people to be transferred to Hanoi, and only transfer to Hanoi the following people:

1. Students who have graduated from colleges in Vietnam and abroad and have been accepted by the ministries, the general departments, or the Municipal People's Committee.

2. Students who graduate from mid-level technical schools and technical workers schools, and people who participate in cooperative labor programs and who, before attending school or participating in cooperative labor programs had permanent residence in Hanoi, and have been accepted by the ministries, general departments, or the Municipal People's Committee.

3. Students who graduate from mid-level technical schools and technical worker schools, and people who participate in cooperative labor programs who, even though they did not have permanent residence in Hanoi before attending school, but who now have a wife or husband who is a permanent resident of Hanoi, or who are employed in sectors and trades Hanoi does not have, and have been accepted by the ministries, general departments, or the Municipal People's Committee.

4. Cadres, workers, civil servants, and reassigned troops who had official residence in Hanoi, and were sent to study or work outside Hanoi and have been transferred to Hanoi by the ministries, general departments, or the People's Committee.

5. Technical workers at the 5/7 (or equivalent) level or above, or cadres with base salaries of 310 dong or more and have been transferred to Hanoi by the ministries, general departments, and people's committees so that they can be employed in their trades.

On the basis of the numbers agreed to by the people's committee and the ministries and general departments, and on the basis of these regulations, when the ministries and general departments decide to transfer people to Hanoi the Hanoi municipal public security police will do the population registration paperwork.

When local organs and enterprises accept cadres, workers, and civil servants who live in other provinces and municipalities (including reassigned armed forces members), the Municipal People's Committee must give its approval and the Hanoi public security police must do the population registration paperwork.

II. With regard to the people:

In order to conform to the aspirations and sentiment of the people, and in order to reduce the difficulties in the lives of the cadres, workers, and civil servants, the Hanoi municipal public security police are authorized to register for residence in the municipality the following people:

1. People who are past working age or are disabled (including cadres, workers, and civil servants who retire in accordance with the social security system) and have no means of support in their home area or elsewhere, or whose wife, husband, or child is an official resident of Hanoi.
  2. People who were formerly official residents of Hanoi and then joined the army or went to work in other provinces and municipalities, and who have retired, become disabled, been demobilized or discharged, resigned because of family difficulties, have a wife or husband who is an official resident of Hanoi, or whose parents are official residents of Hanoi in the event that they do not have a wife or husband.
  3. People originally from Hanoi who went to earn their livelihoods in other provinces and municipalities and are now bringing their families back to Hanoi, who have been confirmed by village people's committee as being able to support themselves in Hanoi.
  4. Women engaged in agricultural production in other provinces or municipalities who have returned to their husband's home area in Hanoi so that they can work in agricultural production with the husband's family.
- Women who were not engaged in agricultural production in the other provinces and municipalities and who have just gotten married and whose husband is an official resident of Hanoi.
5. Children under 13 years of age who do not yet have stable employment and accompany their mother, who is in the category authorized to register for official residence in accordance with these regulations, or whose father has official residence in Hanoi, in the event that the mother is deceased or the parents are divorced, or whose father has been ordered by the court to make support payments, or who has a brother, sister, aunt, or uncle who has official residence in Hanoi, in the event that the father and mother are deceased and the child does not have relatives elsewhere.
  6. Vietnamese abroad who have recently returned to Vietnam and have been assigned to Hanoi by the Overseas Vietnamese Department of the Party Central Committee.
  7. Students of the industrial general schools managed by the Ministry of Interior and who, before attending the school, had official residence in Hanoi and have been authorized by the school to return to their family.

8. People who formerly had official residence in Hanoi but were sent to a prison or reeducation camp, have served their sentence, and have been granted papers by the reeducation camp in accordance with an order by the Ministry of Interior or the Municipal People's committee allowing them to return to wives, husbands, or parents with official residence in Hanoi.

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#### **Youth, Veteran Unemployment Problems Discussed**

42090005 Hanoi *QUAN DOI NHAN DAN* in Vietnamese 31 Jul 87 p 2

[Interview with Vu Mao, first secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee, by a QUAN DOI NHAN DAN correspondent: "Advancing Toward Fifth National Youth Union Congress; Jobs for Youths"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is QUAN DOI NHAN DAN introduction]

[Excerpt] One of the urgent matters that our party and state must give concern to at the present time is that of providing jobs for the youths: especially those who have completed their military obligation in the regular army and are returning home. This is also one of the subjects that the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has set forth for examination during the Fifth National Union Congress. A QUAN DOI NHAN DAN correspondent met with Vu Mao, First Secretary of the Youth Union Central Committee, to exchange opinions. Following are the primary subjects covered:

Question: In our opinion, currently there are presently not enough jobs for the youths. Would you let us know what the primary reason is for this situation. To what extent has party and state concern progressed in resolving this matter? Have the youths been ready and eager to work in accordance with the assignments and arrangements of administrative organizations? How has youth union participation been handled?

Answer: The number of laborers in general and youths reaching working age in particular presently without work in our country is fairly large, especially in the cities, towns and heavily populated areas. Figuring 1987, the number of unemployed individuals amounts to about 1.6 million. Additionally, up to 1 million youths each year reach labor age and need jobs. Of the 600,000 unemployed in cities and towns, youths account for 70 percent. In Hanoi, there are about 80,000, in Ho Chi Minh City 170,000, and in Haiphong nearly 50,000 people without work.

There are many reasons leading to this situation: the economy of our country is advancing from small-scale, backward and poorly developed production; the rate of population increase is high; serious consequences from the war remain, etc. However, the basic reason is that

bureaucratism and state subsidization have been maintained for too long, on one hand causing our economy to become inactive and unable to reproduce, and on the other hand creating a psychology of dependence, passively waiting, or seeking every means to enter the rolls of the state. It must be additionally stated that a difference exists between laborers inside and outside those rolls; many systems and policies concerning laborers in the economic elements are still unsatisfactory, and still do not stimulate laborers to enthusiastically produce and develop sector trades to produce many products for society. New economic areas have not received uniform investment, and many problems in daily living and production conditions that have not received the proper level of concern are becoming obstacles to population redistribution and employment. Concerning unemployment for laborers, the Resolution of the Sixth Party Congress stated: "Ensuring jobs for laborers, especially in the cities and for youths, is the foremost socioeconomic mission of the next few years." Recently, a number of active policies aimed at stimulating and expanding production and creating additional jobs were promulgated. Nevertheless, the difficulties in providing jobs for laborers are still extremely great and there is little possibility for immediately solving this problem.

Beginning the new period, a majority of the youths still maintain their revolutionary assault traditions and are prepared to undertake every heavy load and to go anywhere to enrich the nation. However, a portion of the youths are reluctant to travel far from the city, and fear difficulty and hardship, and a number shirk their labor obligations and engage in illegal trading and other illicit activities. To introduce these youths to production labor participation, it is necessary to uniformly implement administrative, legal and educational methods while simultaneously setting forth consistent systems and policies.

During the recent past, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union has actively coordinated with echelons and sectors to provide jobs for youths with effective and realistic forms such as: assault youth units, communist youth projects, trade instruction centers, youth enterprises, youth production and service teams, etc. The assault youth formations, operating during the new period in accordance with the principle of economic accounting, have assisted in resolving the socioeconomic mission and educating the new man. To the present time, more than 20 provincial and municipal youth unions have organized assault youth forces to provide work for more than 50,000 people, symbolized by Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi, Ha Son Binh, Nghe Tinh, Minh Hai, etc.

The union's forms above for providing work can only answer a small portion of present requirements. Of importance is the need for positive efforts to give all society an accurate perception of the urgency of providing jobs for youths, in order to make this a legitimate expenditure in the socioeconomic development plan of each echelon and sector from the central to the local level.

**Question:** There is an opinion that youths in the army are individuals trained and challenged through combat and work. After completing their military service in the army and returning home, some have created social negativisms because of unemployment. How does the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union evaluate and participate in resolving this problem?

**Answer:** The opinion above has foundation. In fact, the unemployment situation is the underlying cause of many social negative occurrences. Adding discontent to that, negative actions can easily be created.

Here the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union believes that the relationship between obligation and right have not yet been satisfactorily resolved. The priority employment of those who have completed their obligations in the regular army for the fatherland is reasonable and logical. The youth union has carried out a number of tasks to assist in providing jobs for discharged soldiers. First of all has been actively suggesting to sectors and production units to accept them for training, labor and work. The union has been active in proposing and selecting a number for trade instruction and cooperative labor in foreign countries. The union has also chosen a number for the work units of the union such as security assault youth units, market management assault youth units, etc., youth enterprises, youth production and service teams, etc. Recently, the Youth Union Central Committee coordinated with the Ministry of Defense in proposing a number of policies on selecting those who have completed their military service in the regular army for cooperative labor. The initial results are that the expenditures of the Ministry of Defense for selecting individuals to engage in cooperative labor this year have been increased.

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## MILITARY

### Deputy Chief of General Staff Discusses Military Training

42090562a Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN  
in Vietnamese May 87 pp 11-17, 25

[Article by Major General Nguyen The Bon, Deputy Chief of Staff of the General Staff: "Renovating the Curriculum of Detachment Training in Keeping with Combat Mission"]

[Text] The quality of training for soldiers and detachments is a decisive factor in the combat strength of the detachment. The combat strength of detachments is a component element in the combat strength of corps [binh doan] and groups [tap doan]. For that reason, renovating detachment training has great practical significance in the task of raising the combat strength and combat readiness of our Army.

Through realistic combat experience on battlefields in the recent past, this article treats a number of subjects that require attention.

### 1. Training in Keeping with Demand for Victory Over the Specific Tactical Opponent on Each Battlefield

Military victory over the enemy requires correct understanding of the enemy. It is necessary to "know the enemy and know oneself." The reality is that on each of the different battlefields, the combat opponent of our Army and of our volunteer units (in Kampuchea and Laos) is also different.

Severely defeated in the February 1979 war against Vietnam, the Beijing hegemonists, in conspiracy with the American imperialists and lackeys, crossed over to wage a many-sided war of destruction and implement long-term plans aimed at weakening, subjugating, and invading the three countries of Indochina.

In order to implement those insidious plans, on the northern border of our country, they continued offensive actions encroaching on territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Particularly in the Vi Xuyen area of Ha Tuyen Province, on a narrow frontage (about 16 kilometers), the enemy frequently rotated corps and armies of many military regions to carry out incursions. Mainly in this area, the enemy also used many new types of weapons and equipment, such as the AK-type light machine gun, the CKC carbine with a grenade-launching capability, the improved B41, the 100-mm mortar, new artillery reconnaissance equipment, and electronic warfare equipment. The main combat operation of Chinese troops is, after an incursive offensive, to organize defenses with interlocked positions in direct contact (in some places, we and the enemy have been only 100 meters from each other) with a network of fortifications, tunnels, and strong trenches. From there they organize incursive offensives aimed at further widening the occupied area via the use of infantry with support from artillery and mortars with a very high density of fire; on some days, such as 7 January 1987, the enemy used over 60,000 rounds. As for forces, although the enemy generally uses division, corps, and army echelons, in an incursive offensive they only use smaller sub-units, and sometimes larger units, to carry out continuous attacks against a single objective with a very high density of artillery fire support. In addition to these operations, the enemy also conducts commando raids, reconnaissance, and artillery attacks along the entire stretch of the northern border in order to create a state of constant tension.

Experience has shown that, in order to carry out incursive actions, the scope of force commitment by the enemy is very great (corps, army), but when they employ specific forces they only use echelons from platoon to regiment with a very high density of artillery and mortar

fire. Of course, we must always be prepared to defeat the enemy in case they wage a large scale invasion with participation of all branches and arms, such as armor, air force, and navy.

In Kampuchea, after attacking and destroying the bases of the reactionaries along the Thailand border during the dry season of 1984 to 1985, the Vietnamese volunteer troops of Vietnam along with the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army established the Kampuchea/Thailand border defense line. However, relying on Thai territory, the remnant forces of Pol Pot consolidated, reinforced themselves, and built reactionary forces on the regimental and divisional scale. The Pol Pot troops, and at times even the Thai Army, used artillery, air forces, and tanks with infantry troops to conduct offensives against our defensive strongpoints and those of our friends along the border. Coupled with those actions, in the hinterland, they continued to consolidate and expand bases, build covert bases and penetration bases, harass rear areas, organize small raids and ambushes, but there were also times that they used forces of 300-400 men which they called regiments, with the aim of causing violence, confusion, and collapse on the grassroots level. Enemy offensive combat operations, raids, ambushes, or defenses are thus conducted no higher than at sub-unit levels, with the majority small, dispersed actions of a guerrilla nature. Of course, because he has been defeated continuously, the enemy will not keep to this type of action.

In Laos, the opponents of the Vietnamese volunteer units and Lao units is the Thai Army and reactionary Lao forces (such as those of Vang Pao). Thai troops once occupied three Lao villages, but were driven off again. Presently they have been and are bringing Lao reactionary forces into Laos to establish bases, destroy revolutionary bases, and cause difficulty for the development of the Lao revolution.

Thus, on each of the different battlefields the fighting plans and objectives, the operating procedures and methods, and the level of force utilization of the enemy are also completely different—nevertheless, they are closely related to each other. This is a new combat opponent. We must study the plans, capabilities, and operating procedures (combat methods) of the enemy in order to appropriately develop and use ways of fighting (methods of warfare) of our own, and on that basis appropriately determine and renovate the contents of training for our detachments (of course, this matter is closely related to operational art and strategy).

### 2. Renovating the Contents of Basic Technical Training of Detachments

Basic technical actions of the individual, such as firing a rifle, firing artillery, throwing a grenade, firing from a vehicle, infantry and mechanized movements on various types of terrain, building fortifications, detecting and removing enemy mines and laying our mines, searching,

patrolling, guarding, etc., are the foundation for building the fighting ability of the soldier and forming the tactics of the detachment. If he is to destroy the enemy and protect himself, the soldier must be trained in techniques of combat appropriate to the mission on each battlefield.

As we know, each battlefield has its own features regarding the enemy (forces, plans, means, and operations), terrain, mission, and our way of fighting. The make-up of basic technical training for the individual and the detachment must therefore respond to the needs of construction and combat of units responsible for fighting on each specific battlefield. The basic thing is to lay out the approved curriculum, clear in basic technical training and technical training according to the combat mission on each battlefield.

To correctly determine the above training, we must begin with the mission, equipment, method of operation, and the combat objectives of our troops on each battlefield and the terrain features of that place. From there we must study and correctly determine the substance of basic technical training and the substance of technical training according to the combat mission. Practical experience has shown that the substance of basic technical training of our troops on this battlefield may be the substance of basic technical training on another battlefield and vice versa. Clearly, the basic techniques of firing a rifle and firing artillery is different for our units in forested highlands from the basic techniques of weapon firing for units on battlefields in coastal or delta areas. The techniques of constructing defensive fortifications and maneuvering on forested mountain terrain is different from the techniques for constructing fortifications and maneuvering on terrain with many rivers, streams, and swamps. It is therefore inappropriate to use a single, uniform content of basic technical training for troops. Our curriculum for weapons training, for instance, does not presently respond to the requirements of combat operations (attack, defense, etc.) on all the different types of terrain. For the make-up of basic techniques for firing a rifle in the attack and the defense, etc., have common aspects, but also have many different aspects, training must be adjusted and supplemented according to the objective requirements of the combat mission. A new curriculum must therefore be established for weapons training. On that basis, new curricula must be set up for training in grenade throwing, building defensive fortifications and obstacles, finding, removing, and detonating enemy mines, firing weapons and artillery from vehicles, etc. Is this not an urgent and pressing task for us?

Of course, basic technical training of all our forces must be based on and implement the training program and contents set forth by the ministry. Those contents are the basis for guiding the common training of all military. Yet, the commander and the command agency on each battlefield must clearly understand the objectives, requirements, and contents of training instructions of the ministry and at the same time must relate them to the

special features of the immediate and long-term construction and combat missions of their units in order to set up training contents closely tied to the ministry's substance of training and the combat mission of their units. The contents of basic technical training for individuals and detachments could be set up in a new way by each battlefield (military region) setting up and determining those contents, which would be approved the ministry. For aside from such common basic technical training subjects as basic range fire and chemical and nuclear defense techniques, each battlefield has many of its own basic techniques that derive from special features of the combat mission and terrain features of each specific battlefield. Therefore, when individuals and detachments are trained in common basic techniques, some techniques must be trained according to separate contents and requirements, and they can very possibly become the basic contents and requirements. For instance, combat units on the northern border must have their own basic technical training substance, different from the substance of basic technical training given to combat units in the Bien Ho area of Kampuchea. Techniques of mountain climbing, penetrating jungles, and determining position and direction must become basic technical subject matter for units with a mission on a battlefield in the mountains. Techniques of firing on the sea and on rivers, swimming, and rowing boats must be taught in depth to units operating on river and ocean battlefields. What must be given diligent attention is that it is only on the basis of establishing basic technical contents that technical contents can be established that are appropriate to the combat mission and specific terrain. Mainly for that reason, the ministry will publish new curricula for basic technical subjects. First, it will publish a new curriculum for weapons training this year as a basis for uniformity among all troops.

Yet that training requirement is first of all a requirement for each battlefield, not an abstract training requirement. This means that the requirement must correctly reflect the special features of the combat mission of the units on each battlefield. For that reason, there are subjects of basic technical training for individuals and detachments that must be improved, and there are even subjects that unquestionably must be done in a new way. Those are objective requirements and practical reality being developed on the battlefield. For example, according to stipulated lessons, the training tasks of firing a rifle and throwing a grenade are basic tasks. But for units with a combat mission in mountainous terrain with many caverns, attention must be given to training cadres and soldiers more in how to use topography and terrain, leaning the weapon against rock barriers and mounds for accurate fire; how to fire down from above and fire up from below within the effective range of each type of weapon under conditions of a large obtuse angle (negative and positive), which greatly influences whether the target is hit; and how to throw, drop, and pitch grenades on target. It is also a basic task to use topography and terrain to dig combat fortifications, but emphasis must be given to training soldiers in how to improve caverns



into combat fortifications with observation and firing ports and foxholes. When training on the subjects of patrolling, guarding, and remote searching for the enemy or how to deploy obstacles and minefields, the training must definitely have content and order that vary with the combat mission of the units on different battlefields.

The practical realities of combat further demand that soldiers be trained in how to organize life in the forested highlands, how to manage in fortifications and caves, and how to maintain their health under various conditions of terrain, weather, and climate and hydrology. On the other hand, they must know how to improve individual equipment to make it appropriate to the technical equipment, combat operations, and life of each soldier.

To raise the quality and fighting strength of the detachment, an important requirement to establish is to develop each soldier to have a steady and dependable combat capability, to act with flexibility and inventiveness, and to accomplish the mission well under every different complex set of circumstances. That is the capability to fight independently well, destroy many of the enemy, and protect himself; to also fight well together in detachment formation; to overcome every test in combat, and knowing how to creatively and correctly resolve unforeseen developments not covered in the training curriculum. This is a very lofty requirement. The combat capability of the fighting man is formed from many factors. One of the basic factors is the basic technical level and expertise of the soldier. To accomplish this, in addition to correctly determining the contents of basic training in techniques and tactics closely tied to the requirements of the mission, good training methods are also needed. Those are training methods which liberate the soldier from rigid technical models and passive, mechanical actions, not reflecting the practical realities of the battlefield. The soldier must be trained to understand and comprehend the nature of the technical contents of the training, avoiding the phenomenon of only training in single actions or only knowing how to hit targets. For, no matter what technique soldiers are trained in, whether flying aircraft, piloting ships, driving tanks, firing artillery, or throwing grenades, they must first of all be trained to grasp the nature of the matter; they must be equipped with the most basic knowledge. That is the basis for cadres and soldiers to expand knowledge and creative thinking and to utilize the contents of what they studied in a correct and skillful way in each situation.

Therefore, the problem of renovating the contents of basic technical training for detachments is an objective requirement of a regulatory nature included in the training of all soldiers for the immediate and long-term future, even in modern, large-scale warfare.

### 3. Training Detachments To Be Able To Use Fighting Methods (Tactical Forms) with Inventiveness, Flexibility

The premise for corps and armies to fight well is for detachments to fight well. Troops must therefore be trained and detachments developed with adequate strength and with high quality and capability to correctly use all fighting methods (tactical forms) in order to defeat every enemy. First of all, starting with the operational plans of the specific enemy on each battlefield, the army must be trained in the way to fight in keeping with the immediate and long-term combat mission requirements. That is to follow the inherited viewpoint, the practical viewpoint, and the developed viewpoint in training and combat. The general requirement is for each detachment to be trained to use many ways of fighting well under differing complex conditions. For that very reason, the ministry will soon issue and organize training on combat regulations for the detachment to serve as unified basis for all troops. In these regulations are many new points of view and contents which must be studied in a serious manner. Based on this, manuals, curricula, and lesson plans must be written and exercises conducted, and those manuals and curricula must also be regularly supplemented with new contents appropriate to the development of training and combat.

On the basis of training detachments well to use the two basic tactical forms of offense and defense, detachments must be trained well to use many specific offensive and defensive tactics with the aim of defeating the combat actions of the enemy on each battlefield. On this battlefield, detachments must have intensive specialized training in how to attack under circumstances of direct contact, attack an enemy defending in the mountains and in caves, and attack an enemy that has occupied ground higher than theirs. They must be good at attacking when they have prepared fires as well as with secret ways of closing with the enemy and suddenly attacking him. On another battlefield, detachments must be trained to surround, close on, and attack the enemy in his "sanctuaries" and "penetration bases" well, attack the enemy's "lines of communication" and "infiltration routes." Detachments must be trained in defensive tactics without relying on the organization and in conducting defense when not in direct contact and positional defense. Detachments must be trained to conduct many varied forms of defense—defense in direct contact, defense in mountains and caves, defense in positions lower than the enemy, and defense from alternate positions very close to the enemy. If we only determine the contents of tactical training for detachments simultaneous for all troops, training contents will be very general and not in touch with reality and of course not will not answer the objective requirements of each battlefield.

It is important that detachment training in coordinated fighting be very extensive, topical, and graduated. Based on the operating procedures of the enemy and special terrain features on the battlefield; training must be selected and provided in practical tactics in support of the type of fighting that has been selected. On the

northern borders, emphasis is placed on training detachments in the missions of reconnaissance, taking prisoners, and selecting terrain in order to create advantageous deployments in mountainous areas with many caverns and on attacking and defending in dangerous mountainous terrain. On the Kampuchean battlefield, training emphasis must be on offensive and defensive tactics in terrain of high forested mountains with intermittent rocks, lowland jungles, swamps, and rivers. On the other hand intense emphasis must be placed on training detachments on how to conduct raids and ambushes and how to fight in sudden, unexpected engagements with the enemy.

Practical experience has clearly shown that by correct determination of the contents of tactical training closely tied to the hostile opponent and terrain and closely tied to combat requirements, units have developed fighting methods that have high combat effectiveness, kill many of the enemy, and hold positions. For example, Group H.13 on the Vi Xuyen battlefield held a firm, valiant, creative, and coordinated defense for 3 days from 5 to 7 January 1987, repelled many enemy attacks, killed more than 1,000 of the enemy, and held their positions. From that experience, units on all battlefields can select and establish their own way of fighting with a high degree of combat effectiveness in order to build the tradition of each detachment and corps.

It must also be emphasized that technical and tactical training in keeping with the needs of the combat mission absolutely not be of an improvisational, makeshift nature, but be very much in keeping with basic principles of training and with modern warfare of combined arms and services. For the process of technical and tactical training tied to the combat mission of the detachment still reflects the need for comprehensive basic training in techniques and tactics and in physical fitness. There must therefore be close coordination between the contents of training tied to the combat mission of the detachment and the training contents and program established centrally by the ministry. That is a firm basis for training cadres and soldiers in a firm combat capability and developing a sense of inventiveness in combat.

Developments on the battlefield are very complex, with the enemy constantly searching for new plans to deal with us. This requires us to be constantly inventive and use ways of fighting that are appropriate and flexible enough to defeat every opposing action of the enemy. In addition to using appropriate ways of fighting, we must also pay attention to supplementing, perfecting, and developing those combat methods in response to the developing requirements of each battlefield. This is a very lofty requirement, demanding that commanders and command elements conduct serious study to derive valuable lessons for supplementing and developing methods of fighting and supplementing and developing the contents of tactical training for detachments right on the battlefield.

Another important matter to be treated is determining the contents of training in tactics of coordinated warfare tactics for detachments and coordination between arms and services in different types of combat. Actual combat experience has revealed many shortcomings with coordinated warfare. Furthermore, the basic direction of development in the art of warfare for our troops is daily advancement in modern combined arms warfare. It may be that for the immediate future, battles on the general battlefield will be combined infantry/artillery warfare, but we must look into the future and train detachments to conduct combined warfare well, closely integrating infantry, artillery, armor, air support, and naval fire. However, the problem is to clearly determine the contents of training for combined warfare readiness, in keeping with the mission of the detachments on each battlefield.

In order to promptly perfect and supplement the contents of tactical training appropriate to the requirements of construction and combat of detachments, combat experience must be urgently and diligently reviewed, and that combat experience must be introduced to training. Deriving lessons from experience is a constant on-going process and an important task of command agencies and scientific research agencies. Reviews must be conducted fast and in a timely manner, but only if research is thorough and serious can experience with widespread value be generalized and promptly correct old inappropriate training material. It must be clearly indicated which experiences are local and which are general, even experiences that can be utilized only in a specific time frame. Furthermore, we must shun such ideological flaws as haste, personal convenience, and failure to subject to scientific research combat experiences that have been introduced to training.

Presently, combat experience on the northern border of our country and on the Kampuchean battlefield are precious, practical, and vivid lessons. Those lessons not only respond to the requirements of the combat mission and training mission of detachments today, but are also a practical and theoretical basis for developing the modern military science and art of Vietnam in the current people's war to defend the fatherland.

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**Military Police Called Ineffective, Apathetic**  
42090002 Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG  
in Vietnamese 5 Aug 87 p 2

[Article by Hong Son: "Forces Controlling Military Personnel Outside Garrison Areas Must Increase Activities and Effectiveness"]

[Text] Our city has many army units stationed in it and is a location frequented by a great many military personnel. Each day, up to a thousand are present at the Saigon railroad station and at the interprovincial bus stops. Most of them are from distant units and are only in the

city for a few days to prepare for departure on assignment or leave. For this very reason, concern must be given to the maintenance of troop discipline outside the garrison areas.

Nguyen Van Nhon, chief of the control team at the Ben Thanh Market checkpoint, informed us that 7 out of 10 military personnel passing through that area fail to maintain proper military behavior. During a period of 1 hour, of about 60 soldiers passing through the Hang Xanh Intersection, 10 are wearing shower shoes, 7 are wearing no hats and 20 have no military rank or insignia. Worthy of concern is that not a few military personnel, most of them new soldiers, violate discipline to a serious degree. On 17 June 1987, two soldiers from Hospital 1-5 were riding bicycles through Quach Thi Trang Square when a number of youths robbed them of their bicycles. These two soldiers returned with nine others to apprehend five youths without knowing clearly whether they had taken the bicycles or not. The youths were taken back to a location near the unit and beaten. One required emergency aid and two were seriously injured. In many cases, military personnel violating social order and security regulations have also quarrelled with and threatened the protection forces. Thanh Thuan, Mai Van Duc, Nguyen Van Thuan and Tran Xuan Vuong, drunk and driving the wrong way on a one-way street, after receiving a the police.

At the end of June, the driver of a jeep with the license number QH3027, traveling from the Cat Lai intersection toward Saigon bridge, lost control of his speeding vehicle and struck and killed a pedestrian. The drivers of many vehicles and machines under military control violate traffic safety regulations such as overloading their vehicles, speeding and driving carelessly; and the vehicles do not meet technical standards (with exhaust pipes placed at the pedestrian level, no license plates and unsafe brakes). Every time they are stopped by a traffic policeman, the drivers start to quarrel with the pretext that the police have no right(?) to inspect a military vehicle.

What is the reason causing many military personnel to violate discipline? It may be stated that first of all, army units are not providing a proper and continuous level of education, especially to new soldiers.

Outside the garrison areas, the number of soldiers violating discipline and military behavior steadily increases but no force for effectively controlling and blocking them exists. Actually, the city has a military control force with a clearly stipulated function of "maintaining military discipline and urging military personnel to comply with state law and social order and security regulations when outside their garrison areas." However, this force is not only not fulfilling its mission but is extremely apathetic. Why? Because most of the military control force is composed of new and inexperienced soldiers who spend a busy 3 years to become able military control personnel but are then preparing for discharge. The military control force presently only operates checkpoints at Hoa

Hung Station and Ben Thanh Market, not enough to properly maintain military discipline in a large and heavily populated city. Even within this restricted area, the military control forces are unable to fulfill their function. Many people reflect that they only maintain an in-place "checkpoint," resolving something only when it is reported to them, and not positively stopping military personnel appearing to be violating discipline. Even when encountering military personnel with improper behavior and violating discipline, the military control forces only provide a cursory disposition. Due to apathy, the military control forces usually only perform their mission when orders are received from higher echelons on the cases of military personnel committing serious disciplinary infractions.

Primarily due to the lack of a dynamic, active and effectively operating force for the control of military personnel outside their garrison areas, a number of soldiers have a poor sense of disciplinary organization and some posing as troops have committed actions contrary to the fine nature of the army.

Therefore, army units and the Municipal Military Control Force must firmly coordinate with the purpose of strengthening education and maintaining the army discipline of the military personnel.

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#### **Maintenance of Weapons, Equipment Considered Key to Readiness**

*Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese  
8 Jul 87 pp 1,4*

[Text] Good maintenance and storage of weapons and technical equipment is a very important factor in ensuring the combat readiness of troops. Furthermore, good care and lasting, safe, and conservative use of Army equipment has great socioeconomic significance. At a time when our country is experiencing economic difficulty, the need for maintaining and storing various types of technical combat support equipment to extend their use is an urgent one.

Adhering to instructions for good maintenance and lasting, safe, and conservative use, many units have placed emphasis on maintaining and storing weapons and technical equipment, have overcome many problems to build garages for vehicles and artillery according to regulations, and have followed daily, weekly, and monthly schedules for long-term storage of weapons and equipment. In many places, correct procedures have been followed for inspections by commanders and specialized agencies, so requirements have been satisfied for each weapon and piece of equipment in the unit to be kept always in a high combat readiness condition, and damage and loss due to lack of responsibility were limited. Nevertheless, it is very difficult at the present time to accomplish good maintenance of the weapons and technical equipment in our Army. Due to a shortage

of building materials, buildings constructed by units fail to meet technical requirements for protecting vehicles and artillery pieces. Some buildings still have roofing of oiled paper or thatching of grass and leaves, which easily catch fire. At the same time, there is a great shortage of such maintenance materials as oil, grease, paint, and lubricants, and basic requirements designated for each type of weapon and equipment are not met. In addition to objective difficulties, unit commanders lack a heightened sense of responsibility, so weapons and equipment continue to get rusty, and optical and electronic equipment, stored without adherence to technical requirements, get damp and mildewy, so that they rapidly lose precision and are damaged before the end of their designated period of utility. Particularly important, storm, flood, and fire control measures are not yet diligently taken, so instances of loss of weapons and equipment occur every year.

In order to raise the quality of maintenance and storage of weapons and equipment and technical equipment under present conditions, command cadres at all echelons must heighten their sense of responsibility and adhere strictly to procedures for storing and cleaning weapons and equipment according to regulations. Responsibilities must be clearly designated; subordinate echelons must not rely on superior echelons, but higher echelons must also not give "blank checks" to lower ones. Cadres and soldiers must be thoroughly trained in correct and complete recognition of their role in the task of maintaining and storing weapons and equipment assigned to the unit for management and use. The principle must be strictly adhered to that each cadre and soldier take responsibility for maintaining and storing each weapon and each specific component of technical equipment and that each weapon and item of equipment of the unit has someone responsible for its maintenance and storage. For each type of weapon and equipment stored and hidden away in unit warehouses, technical requirements must be met for ensuring that the storage location can be kept dry and that there are positive measures for preventing flood and fire. If this job is to be accomplished well, the individual responsibility of each cadre and soldier in the unit must be made clear, while the commander at the same time conducts regular inspections to uncover any instances of work that does not meet requirements and take remedial action promptly. The task of maintaining and storing weapons and technical equipment is a regular one, but in each period the commander must provide guidance to the unit to concentrate on the most important matters for minimizing trouble caused by nature. Now that the typhoon season has come, typhoon and flood control measures must be given foremost priority; only this will limit damage and losses to weapons and equipment from storms and floods.

While assigning specific responsibilities to each cadre and soldier for maintaining and storing weapons and technical equipment and strictly punishing military personnel who allow weapons and technical equipment to

be damaged through irresponsibility, the important requirement is to adequately ensure the availability of materials needed for storing and cleaning weapons. To properly fulfill this requirement and resolve shortages of maintenance materials such as are now being experienced, professional agencies and commanders at upper echelons should consider the task of ensuring that there are maintenance materials as important as ensuring the supply of weapons and equipment and technical equipment to training and combat units. The supply of sufficient maintenance materials has important significance in creating positive changes in the task of maintaining and storing the weapons and technical equipment of our Army.

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## ECONOMIC

### Renovation of Thinking in Foreign Relations

42090565 Hanoi TRIET HOC in Vietnamese

Jun 87 pp 66-78

[Article by Hoang Nguyen]

[Text] To renovate is the spirit that has emerged from the Sixth Party Congress and "a necessary requirement having a vital importance" (Political Report). To renovate the thinking, to renovate the style, to renovate cadres, to renovate things in all fields, with the field of foreign affairs being no exception. This article raises some ideas about renovating the thinking in foreign relations.

Why do we have to renovate the thinking in foreign relations? First of all because the object of our foreign-relations work is the international situation and the situation of countries, nations, and international organizations including the situation of the socialist community in general, and the situation in socialist countries in particular, which all have undergone profound changes.

#### I. New Awareness of International Relations

##### A. Changes in the international situation in general.

1. We used to emphasize "the combined growth of the three revolutionary rapids, the forces that are determining the main contents, main direction, and main characteristics of the history of development of mankind and speeding up the transition of the world from capitalism to socialism" (Political Report at the Sixth Party Congress). But in the 1960's, and then in the 70's and 80's, the very important progress of the scientific and technological revolution, with the birth of lots and lots of new products, new production sectors, new industries, and so on, required that many countries strongly modify their economic structure and changed the economic appearance and position of many countries, as well as the economic relations in the world. If we considered the

three rapids as representative of the production relationships too, the scientific and technological revolution would exert its effects on another factor, an extremely important one, in production, which is the productive forces. If the latter changed, they would naturally exert their effects on the production relationships, on the three rapids, but these effects are quite complicated and hard to understand. Generally speaking, in the last quarter of a century, it was the developed capitalist countries where the scientific and technological revolution was taking place in the most lively manner and providing capitalism with a new breath of life during its crisis. But the efforts to take advantage of the benefits that this revolution was bringing about were not the same among the developed capitalist countries: Japan was the most clever country and had a lot of hope that it would surpass the United States in the economic field by the end of this century. A number of third-world countries which have set their mind on capitalism, such as Brazil and then a number of East Asian countries called the "new industrialized countries" (NIC), including—we should especially mention—South Korea, also knew how to use scientific and technological progress. In reality there appeared the ability to shorten very much the period of industrialization of the developing countries, which probably required only a few decades, instead of from half a century to a century as it had taken England, France, and other Western European countries in the last century, to go through it. The industrialization of socialist Bulgaria, and recently Cuba, illustrates this point. It is a matter that deserves our serious thinking.

2. Another aftermath of the changes in the last few decades is the fact that, in the face of a quick depletion of raw materials in the continents, people have been thinking about using science and technology to look for new sources of natural resources in the universe, and in a nearer future on ocean floors. We thus understand the importance of the Asian-Pacific region, which many researchers agree will play a leading role in the 21st century. The nodules on the vast ocean floors contain nickel, copper, cobalt, and manganese and can be harvested for use in many centuries to come. Our country lies in the Asian-Pacific region; furthermore, it is located in the most active part of the region—Southeast Asia.

3. The development of science and technology has included that of the war-serving science and technology, with the horrible arms race being launched by the United States and forcing the Soviet Union to join. We thus see the importance of the struggle for world peace, which has been defended for the last 4 decades. Today we all know that the number of U.S. and Soviet nuclear warheads combined would be enough to destroy mankind dozens of times and that if a world war broke out, there would be no winner and loser but rather the destruction of the entire world. There has appeared the possibility of reaching an agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons, and the 28 February 1987 proposal of the Soviet Union about destroying the intermediate-range missiles in Europe, separated from other matters, is very realistic,

just like in 1972 when the Soviet efforts led to the signing of the SALT I and ABM treaties. There is a chance for a new detente to appear throughout the world, as an aim of the diplomatic efforts of the Soviet Union and socialist countries, while we do not have any illusion about the United States failing to do everything to continue the arms race, to bring it into space with the extremely costly SDI program, and to force the Soviet Union to follow suit. The movement to defend world peace will continue to develop and make more and more countries and people join it. As for us, we must pay great attention to this general trend toward detente and really take part in pushing to attain it.

4. The struggle for peace, just like the struggle aimed at resolving a series of common major problems for many countries, and even for all countries, such as population, environmental protection, depletion and erosion of natural resources, and the need to work jointly to resolve these problems give rise to a series of new contradictions, which now are added to the two kinds of existing contradictions—the ones between the two systems and the ones within the capitalist system. The 27th Congress of the CPSU has mentioned this third kind of contradiction. With these third contradictions there appears the possibility, in the political sense, of forming an unprecedentedly large gathering of forces to resist a small minority—which naturally is part of the imperialist world and goes against the needs and aspirations of the great majority of mankind. We should understand this in order to have greater confidence in the victory of the struggle, in which we will certainly stand side by side with the socialist countries and the majority of people of good conscience.

Those are some new questions, some new things—not all of the new things—which we have been aware of and have observed from the changes in the world situation in the last few decades under the effects of two factors, the scientific and technological revolution and the growth of the three rapids, the latter themselves being affected by the former.

#### B. Changes in the situation of socialist countries.

As we said earlier, the fact that the scientific and technological revolution has strongly flourished in the developed capitalist countries temporarily is not beneficial for socialism. But it is socialism that can provide the answers to the social problems which the scientific and technological revolution has created and, as a result, allows to continue, with this revolution itself being further stepped up. For instance, the more science and technology is developed, the larger the risk of having more unemployed people in capitalist countries will be, and this can be avoided in socialist countries.

The world history after the October Revolution can be divided into three periods. In the period of 1917-1945, since there was only 1 socialist country, the Soviet Union, socialism was on the defensive and had to protect

this then single socialist country and to make it grow, with the victory over fascism proving that this task had been fulfilled in a brilliant manner; in the period of 1945-1970, socialism had become a world system, the 3 revolutionary rapids had taken shape and had been growing stronger, and in the early 70's the world was witnessing 2 great facts—the victory scored in the national liberation movement through Vietnam winning the American war of aggression and the Arab countries effectively using the oil weapon, and the second fact being that the Soviet Union had attained a sound equality with the United States in terms of strategic weapons; and in the period running from 1970 (often called the "post-Vietnam period") to perhaps the end of this century, this is the period of time when the Soviet Union and the socialist system, after having attained military equality with the imperialist side, must catch up with and then surpass the imperialist clique in the economic field—this then brings about the answer to the question, "who is winning and who is losing," on a worldwide scale.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU marked a turning point for the Soviet Union to reassess its progress and to ensure fulfilling the historic tasks between now and the year 2000. They have realized that the economic recession and the failure to properly take advantage of scientific and technological progresses cannot be blamed on the nature of the socialist system but have been due to subjective reasons, of which an important part was a lot of wrong understandings of socialism and hence a social organization full of mistakes and shortcomings. Consequently, society as a whole must be "restructured" in all fields so as to use the full potential of socialism, including the potential application of scientific and technological achievements aimed at stepping up social development. This reform, as Gorbachev has said, is a revolutionary one. It puts an end to the stagnancy of the last few decades and brings us back to Lenin's correct views on a series of political, economic, and social questions. The 27th Congress of the CPSU was the peak of the reforming trend that had vaguely taken place in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European socialist countries like Hungary and the German Democratic Republic in the mid-60's but was not put on the agenda in the Soviet Union until Andropov became general secretary and now with Gorbachev and the 27th Congress has become the official line of the Soviet Union.

We should emphasize that in the Soviet Union this is a total reform and not just an economic one. The change has started with the personnel aspect in the highest leading organs, and with the recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the question of cadres there will be a series of changes in the machinery and the social atmosphere in the direction of democratization and respect for fairness. The Soviet Union pays great attention to the human factor, for only when people feel they have democracy and equality will they feel encouraged to carry out the proposed economic programs.

If the domestic condition is encouragement and enthusiasm on the part of all the people, the international condition is a steady peaceful environment. The 27th Congress has analyzed the world situation and has found that it would be totally possible to achieve it. Standing firm on the socialist international stand, the Soviet Union strives to consolidate the socialist camp on the basis of the principles of real respect for equality, sovereignty, and independence of socialist countries, but at the same time steps up economic cooperation and "integration" in the community of the SEV bloc countries and from there expands the cooperative relations with other countries, including the developed capitalist countries.

Particularly, the Soviet Union highly regards the role of the PRC, which it still considers a socialist country in spite of the serious Maoist ideological and political deviations and mistakes and the fact that hegemony still reigns in the Chinese leadership circles. To win China over as much as possible to the socialist countries and to prevent a Sino-American collusion is a strategic direction of Soviet diplomacy.

## II. New Thinking in Foreign Relations

The changes in the situation of the world and socialist countries have been the starting point for a renovation of our thinking in foreign relations. In my opinion there are two kinds of questions that deserve our consideration: the questions having to do with creating a peaceful and stable environment and the questions of ensuring successful socialist construction in our country.

### A. The questions of creating a peaceful and stable environment.

A peaceful and stable environment is necessary for us and for other socialist countries, as we pointed out earlier. For us it is particularly necessary because while we were conducting the fight against America and later were in a half-war-half-peace situation after 1975, our neighboring countries, including China and the ASEAN countries, were relatively free to take advantage of scientific and technological achievements, made considerable progress, and have all surpassed us (the per capita incomes of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia are lowest compared to those of any neighboring countries). In the last 11 years, we had to put an important part of our manpower and resources into national defense and always had to deal with China's new aggressive capacity. But because China's threat that "it would give us a 'second lesson'" had very little chance to be carried out, it chose a form of "multifaceted war of destruction" to hope to exhaust us. Naturally it failed to attain this goal, but we were also prevented from concentrating all of our efforts on building our country and, with the progress of the scientific and technological revolution, would be even more backward compared to our neighboring countries.

A question that the hegemony-advocating clique and imperialists rely on to create instability in Southeast Asia and to isolate us in the world is Cambodia. To resolve the Cambodian question will contribute to creating a peaceful and stable environment in the region. A solution of the Cambodian question must satisfy two conditions: to ensure favorable conditions for the Cambodian revolution to move forward and for maintaining and continuing to promote combat solidarity among the three Indochinese countries, and at the same time to be a solution acceptable by all parties concerned.

We totally agree with Gorbachev's views expressed in the Vladivostok speech in July 1986, in which he said that the relations between Vietnam and China would to a very important extent affect peace and stability in Southeast Asia. We have long ago recognized the fact that the Cambodian question is one between China and Vietnam, not between ASEAN and Vietnam. Our party and government have repeatedly stated that we are ready to talk with China anywhere and at any level in order to resolve all problems between the two countries. But so far there has been no response from China. The general trend in the world today is to move toward detente, including detente between China and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and we believe it will also be true for Southeast Asia and for Sino-Vietnamese relations. But the general trend does not mean that there is no resistance in specific cases and at specific times. For the time being, hegemony still reigns in Beijing; Indochina and Southeast Asia are of special importance for China; China will consequently go along with the general trend only when there are forces that compel it to do so. This driving force is its own awareness of Vietnam's strength in Indochina.

The strong posture which we need to create consists of two facets: the domestic situation and the situation of international relations. Within our country we must have more vigorous changes aimed at carrying out the guidelines set in the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress.

The strong posture in our international relations contains two major aspects that we must further develop: to consolidate the alliance among Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and to create closer and tighter relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union (as well as other socialist countries). In the case of Laos and Cambodia, our cadres go there to help these friendly countries in the spirit of total equality among nations and respect for friends. We will try to expend energy in assisting our friends, which at the same time also need assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The close relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union are of special importance. Economic "integration" must truly be achieved between our country and the countries in the SEV bloc because of a common undertaking and with socialist internationalism free of any nationalistic deviations.

B. The questions of ensuring successful socialist construction in our country.

As we mentioned earlier, in the last decades some countries, with the scientific and technological revolution going on, have succeeded in greatly shortening the industrialization process. But we must make it clear that all of these countries have achieved "integration" with one of the two economic systems in the world and have totally relied on either one while moving forward and becoming industrialized countries: South Korea has linked itself with supranational companies and has become a capitalist industrialized country having the character of one being outside of and dependent on the capitalist centers; Bulgaria has linked itself with the SEV bloc and has become a socialist industrialized country occupying a position of total equality with other socialist countries. As we want to move quickly on the road to industrialization after the first leg of the journey, there must be a very clear choice. As we mentioned earlier, there must be close association with the Soviet Union and the SEV bloc in a very strong spirit of contributing to the common cause and with a pure socialist internationalist mind. It will be an illusion to think that we can simultaneously go in many directions—to cooperate with the Soviet Union and to gain the scientific and technological knowledge of the United States or Japan. The illusion of "playing a double game" has been very detrimental for countries like Yugoslavia. We absolutely do not want to close our door to the Western world, and particularly the pro-Western neighboring countries and ASEAN members, but we must give high priority to all aspects of our relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Only on this basis can we achieve equal and mutually beneficial cooperative relations with capitalist or imperialist countries and take advantage of their industries, and even their experiences in organizing their affairs and in economic matters, to enrich ourselves.

Speaking of experiences, we must learn primarily and first from the experiences of the Soviet Union and socialist countries. For instance, a great experience of the Soviet Union, as we mentioned earlier, is to carry out the reforming effort in a total manner, with emphasis not only on the economic aspects (economic structure, economic management, and so on) but also on sociopolitical questions, the human factor, and restoration of the masses' confidence in the party through changes in the party and state machinery and through achieving socialist democratization and social fairness. This fully conforms to the analysis made by the Sixth Party Congress: One of the reasons for the past shortcomings has to do with ideology, organization, and cadres. The great Soviet experience is to attach proper importance to the human factor. The Sixth Congress has also emphasized that point.

Those are some major questions being raised in connection with our foreign affairs. They require a renovation of our thinking, starting with a reassessment of the state



of international relations and the factors that affect it. Through what we said above we find an intertwining relationship between domestic and foreign affairs. That is true, for they are only two different aspects of the same ideological system.

5598

**Soviet Cooperation in Development of Fuel, Power Network Source**

46200001 Tselinograd FREUNDSCHAFT in German  
11 Jun 87 p 3

[Unattributed article: "A Good Tradition"]

[Text] Hanoi—An agreement on socialist competition has been concluded among the collectives of the Vangsan coal mine, the Maoke construction and assembly plant, the Uongbi thermal power plant and the Soviet experts working at all of these sites. International labor competition is an old tradition at the sites of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation. This year, the competition is being held in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The agreement is a reflection of the innovator's spirit of the two fraternal parties which have turned their attention to the need for a fundamental renewal of types and methods of cooperation in accordance with the new tasks of socialist development. The document calls for intensified integration of the production facilities of the preceding and succeeding industries and requires each of them to raise its output.

The Soviet experts have taken on additional obligations to develop sophisticated technologies, to optimize coal mining plans and to maintain and repair equipment at the Uongbi thermal power plant. For its part, the Vietnamese side plans to increase the effectiveness of technology utilization, to improve manpower efficiency and to raise product output while lowering costs. The miners's goal is to fulfill their annual coal mining plan by 7 November and the energy workers, their cooperation partners, have made a commitment to produce 50 million kilowatt hours of electric power over and above the plan, i.e. 11 percent more than last year.

9478

**SOCIAL**

**Criminal Leniency Motives Doubted**

42090004 Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 1 Aug 87 pp 1, 4

[Saturday Forum] column by Hoang Vu: "How Should the 'Patient Be Treated and Saved'?"

[Text] Recently, a number of serious negative occurrences, including violations of the law, have appeared in the press. Public opinion throughout the country has waited to see whether these matters would be clarified and how they would be handled. A number have been handled slowly and incompletely.

During this time, a number of individuals—only an extremely few—have suddenly presented an explanatory opinion of a theoretical hue: that it is necessary to "treat and save the patient." What are they implying?

It must be stated immediately that "treating and saving the patient" is a precept for handling those with disciplinary infractions. Its theme is that discipline must be strict and that infractions of discipline must be disciplined—with no exceptions—but without mistreating or abandoning with disgust those being disciplined, even those in prison, with the prison as a location for education and reform so they can return to the progressive route when they leave prison. In my opinion however, these are not the implications of the individuals above in presenting the matter of "treating and saving the patient," but that they are primarily directed toward the perpetrators of several recent disorderly incidents with only a need for treating them and saving their bodies. Meaning that they should be released, reminded and reprimanded with only cursory internal disciplinary action. To state it flatly, do whatever must be done but allow them to retain the seat in which they are presently sitting.

What is the ideological motive of those presenting such a "treat and save the patient" opinion?

Could it be they are filled with kindness, humanity, tolerance and compassion for the criminal?

I am not a skeptic but I don't believe their ideological motive is so fine. I believe their "treat and save the patient" opinion originates from their own private interests: either they are in cahoots with or have some ties with the offenders and would benefit from light prosecution of the perpetrators of disorderly negativisms, or conversely, heavy and severe prosecution would be detrimental to them. In other words, this is a matter of "pulling on a vine and affecting the whole forest." Therefore, they seek means to "magnanimously" cover up for the offenders. If we hypothesize that they are impartial, pure and concerned with the common interests of the people in presenting their "treat and save the patient" opinion regarding offenders, in the specific disorderly and illegal incidents at the present time, it is necessary to objectively and clearly understand the "treat and save the patient" precept. The method of treatment must be clearly indicated. This is an exclusive and privileged treatment, taking advantage of authority, system and policy to conduct illegal actions, to oppress the people, etc. The illness is not invisible or untouchable but is expressed by specific illegal actions. Treatment here is not punching at the air but is directed at a specific individual. It is necessary to handle the illness—and the person afflicted with that illness—in a severe manner; firing when necessary, purging from the party when necessary, and prosecuting before the law when necessary. And naturally, the crimes and methods of prosecution must be openly promulgated. The objective of strict disposition is to "save" social discipline and



order, and to prevent them from slipping in order to ensure social equality. Treatment must be provided to immediately save offenders, permitting them to progress and to set an example for those about to be afflicted. They must be saved from falling into the circle of crime. It should not be thought that exposure of negative occurrences and strict prosecution will further complicate the situation. Only the opposite understanding is correct.

If truly originating from a proper ideological motive—for the interests of the people—"treating and saving the patient" must be understood in that manner. If the understanding is correct, the actions must be correct

with open clarification of legal actions and serious disciplinary infractions (not only internally). Serious crimes deserve similar disposition. Additionally, the more long term the party member is, the higher the level the cadre is, or the higher the degree of understanding the individual has in committing a disciplinary infraction or illegal action, the more serious must be the punishment.

"Treating and saving the patient" is an urgent matter which I think we must promptly achieve without hesitation, leniency or delay.

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