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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

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EAST ASIA  
SOUTHEAST ASIA

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PARLIAMENTARIANS LOBBY AGAINST U.S. PROTECTIONISM

North Richmond THE LAND in English 21 May 87 p 3

[Article by Don Jones]

[Text]

AN Australian joint-parliamentary delegation has arrived in the US determined to maintain access for Australian lamb, sugar and beef.

Entry into the US is threatened by a growing protectionist mood as the US moves to correct an overseas trade imbalance.

The Australian delegation is making a parliamentarian to parliamentarian approach. They aim to ensure US Congressmen voting on a trade bill in the next few months don't forget their Australian friends in moves directed against Japan, Taiwan and Korea.

As well the delegation is maintaining pressure on the US to reduce export subsidies which have effectively lowered world grain prices, costing Australian farmers more than \$700 million in 1986-87.

At meetings with US Congressmen, the giant American Farm Bureau and the media, the delegation made it clear that

Australia cannot afford any further US export cutbacks.

Delegation leader, Barry Cunningham (ALP, Vic) said Australia imported twice as much from the US as the US bought from Australia.

Mr Cunningham said Australian farmers had been hostile at US moves to restrict Australian imports.

Deputy National Party Leader, Ralph Hunt, said Australia had opened the

doors to the US allowing five US banks to set up.

Yet some Congressmen from US farming areas appeared determined to slam the door on Australia.

Mr Cunningham was disappointed that US sheepmeat producers this week walked away from a scheduled meeting with the Australian Meat and Livestock Corporation chairman, Dick Austen, and general manager, Peter Frawley.

/9274

CSO: 4200/642

SURVEY REPORTS STRAINS IN TRADE RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 30 Apr 87 p 9

[Report by John Stevens: "Survey Sees Strains in US-Australia Alliance"]

[Text] LONDON, Wednesday: Australia was finding the United States a more difficult alliance partner than before, the International Institute for Strategic Studies' annual survey finds.

The institute's *Strategic Survey*, 1986-7 reports strains between the partners, despite the strengthening of relations caused by New Zealand's defection from ANZUS over its policy on nuclear warships.

"The problem was not nuclear policy, but the competition created for Australia's wheat and sugar in export markets by subsidised American exports of the same commodities," the report says.

It also says the alliance is not threatened but the issue raises a warning flag for the future.

Australian complaints had no effect on US trade policy and the suggestion that Australia might threaten the leases on US-Australian facilities in retaliation was not taken seriously by either side.

The survey says the Dobb Report on defence planning, accepted by the Australian Cabinet, rationalised something that had been taking place over the previous decade -- a change of thinking away from a strategy of defending the country as far from its shores as possible

towards a strategy of denial on the land, sea and air around it.

"The key element lies in the assumption that Australia is, or ought to be, basically a consumer and not a producer of security.

The survey notes the Dobb Report view that "there is no requirement for Australia to become involved in US contingency planning for global war".

It describes official guidance given to Dobb that Australia would receive at least 10 years' warning of a substantial military threat as "a convenient thesis, if historically improbable".

It says Dobb placed his emphasis on the mobility of land forces and on sea and air forces capable of denying an adversary control of the sea and air gap between Australia and nearby foreign territory.

"Although aware of the problems posed by shipping choke points, Dobb concluded, somewhat contradictorily, that most military activities involving the disruption of Australian trade could be handled by evasive routing."

The survey says the report distanced itself from some of the more controversial points of the Reagan Administration in the same way that Canberra had refused to co-operate in Star Wars.

/13104

CSO: 4200/645

HAWKE WARNS U.S., JAPAN ON TRADE WAR FALLOUT

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 30 Apr 87 p 5

[Article by Economics Writer Robert Hadler]

[Text]

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has warned the United States and Japan not to take Australia's friendship for granted if their growing trade war harms the nation's export position.

Speaking in Parliament yesterday, Mr Hawke said the Government would continue to underline Australia's worries about the trade row to both countries.

He did not say what the Government planned to do if the US and Japan resolved their differences at Australia's expense, but did not think it necessary to meet them at this stage.

Mr Hawke's warning follows his letter to Opposition leaders about the forthcoming parliamentary delegation to the US, which is seeking an agreement to bar foreign policy and defence issues from the trade debate.

"The US should not assume upon the depths of the friendship and commitment that exists between the US and Australia that we will just cop sweetly any action they (the Americans) take in pursuit of their perceived interests and feelings with Japan," Mr Hawke said.

The Government recognised the "very significant" implica-

tions of the dispute for Australia. Senior ministers had taken every opportunity to tackle the US and Japan on the issue.

Mr Hawke said: "The growing corruption of international trade which both countries are responsible for, with the Europeans, is causing our farmers very major problems.

"We are aware of that and we are making the appropriate representations (to the US and Japan)."

The trade row could harm Australia if it were resolved at its expense or if "sweetheart deals" were struck that barred Australia from seeking legitimate trade opportunities.

"I will give a firm undertaking that we will continue to put the legitimate concerns of Australia to both (countries)," Mr Hawke said.

"When they go to the Venice summit (of leading industrial countries) in June, they will be in no doubt at all as to their responsibilities, one to the other and the interests of Australia."

The Federal Government has agreed to send a second joint parliamentary delegation to the US and Canada late next month in a last-minute bid to head off US legislation that will severely damage Australia's agricultural trade.

The Federal Minister for

Trade, Mr Dawkins, said although he was confident the parliamentarians would be able to emphasise Australia's trade concerns and policy reform proposals, the US Congress was in an introspective and belligerent mood.

He rejected suggestions, however, that a lack of ministerial leadership would diminish the delegation's chances.

The statement of objectives outlining the delegation's responsibilities includes:

**PRESSING** Australia's agricultural trade concerns and policy reform proposals with the US Congress and appropriate farm groups.

**ADDRESSING** aspects of existing and prospective US trade legislation.

**INFLUENCING** as far as possible congressional and farmers' attitudes in respect of the US trade legislation before Congress.

**GIVING** information on Australian farm programs and the costs to this nation's farmers of US subsidy practices.

**REFRAINING** from public debate, individually or collectively, on Australian foreign policy and defence arrangements involving the US.

Opposition party nominees are expected to include the Deputy Leader of the National Party, Mr Ralph Hunt, and the Liberal spokesman on defence, Mr Wal Fife.

LIVE SHEEP CONTRACT WITH ALGERIA SIGNED

North Richmond THE LAND in English 7 May 87 p 3

[Article by Louise Mills]

[Text]

AUSTRALIA has opened a new live sheep market in Algeria with a \$45 million contract to supply 700,000 sheep between February and October this year.

The sale represents a major breakthrough because previously Algeria has bought the bulk of its meat imports from Europe and New Zealand.

Contract specifications are for heavier lambs and hoggets.

The Algerian Government has built extra cold storage facilities to handle the Australian deal.

The major supplier of the new market, Australian Rural Exporters, and the Australian Meat and Livestock Corporation will jointly fund a consultancy team to help the Algerian Government.

The team consisting of AUS-MEAT slaughtering and processing specialist, Kerry Edwards, and cold store engineer, Eric Williams, will provide information

on slaughtering, processing and freezing.

AMLC livestock services manager, Chris Hughes, said the trade was part of a major policy change by the Algerian Government designed to utilise existing facilities and to create employment.

"We hope to get a back-to-back contract giving the live sheep trade a major boost," he said.

"When supplies from Western Australia dry up then exporters will be sourcing sheep out of eastern Australia.

"With the Australian flock increasing we have to look for and maintain as many markets as possible to underpin the industry."

Mr Hughes said the live sheep trade gave wool producers a market for their older wethers allowing them to buy in younger sheep.

About 250,000 to 280,000 sheep have already been sent and the fourth shipment is now on the water.

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CSO: 4200/642

SHEEP INDUSTRY FEARS LIBYA TRADE REPRISAL

North Richmond THE LAND in English 21 May 87 p 3

[Text]

SHEEP industry leaders fear the live-sheep trade could suffer the backlash of the Federal Government's sudden decision this week to cut diplomatic ties with Libya.

They have been nervously watching the deterioration in relations between Australia and Libya in recent months -- a process which seems to have been brought to a head by last week's military coup in Fiji.

So far this year Australian exporters have shipped more than 358,000 sheep to Libya (valued at about \$9 million), but further orders

may be in jeopardy if Libya chooses to retaliate by cutting trade with Australia.

The Australian Meat and Livestock Corporation (AMLC) is concerned another live-sheep exporter, such as New Zealand, could pick up the trade if Libya imposes trade sanctions on Australia.

The possible closure of the Libyan market for Australian live sheep was raised last month after the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said he was concerned about Libyan activities in the Pacific.

AMLC Livestock Services Divi-

sion manager, Chris Hughes, said yesterday if Australia lost its live-sheep trade with Libya, the ramifications would be far reaching.

"Australian sheep numbers are increasing because of the wool market's buoyancy, and we have significant competition from New Zealand capable of cutting into our trade," he said.

Libya wasn't a regular customer of Australian live sheep for a lot of the 1980s. But it returned to Australia last year after the Chernobyl nuclear mishap.

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CSO: 4200/642

SYDNEY PAPER ON STABILITY OF MALAYSIA, INDONESIA, ELECTIONS

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 28 Apr 87 p 16

[Editorial: "Two South-East Asian Transitions"]

[Text] BOTH Malaysia and Indonesia, two nominally Islamic States, have just passed through major political transitions. In Malaysia, the internal struggle for the leadership of UMNO (the United Malays National Organisation) — which began when the Deputy Prime Minister, Musa Hitam, resigned early last year — reached its climax last Friday. By a narrow margin, the Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir, retained the UMNO presidency. He defeated a challenge from Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, Minister for Trade and Industry, and he dislodged Musa Hitam, his partner before 1986 and until now his main rival, as UMNO deputy leader. Within months of having won a major national political victory in the 1986 general elections, therefore, Dr Mahathir finds his authority somewhat compromised by the steady growth of a hostile faction in his own party. The Razaleigh-Musa faction, if it can be so described, now claims to represent almost half of the nearly 1,500 most important UMNO activists. Some reports also suggest that a parallel though less severe split exists in Cabinet. Obviously, these critics of Dr Mahathir's recent

performance — especially as an economic manager in hard times — will be expecting some kind of change in prime ministerial style, if not personnel or policy concessions. So far, Dr Mahathir seems to be saying that the winner shall take all. The continued dominance of Malaysian politics by UMNO is no more in doubt than is the dominance of Golkar, the far less internally democratic party which has just predictably won Indonesia's general election. What is at stake is the stability and integrity of UMNO, its authority at home and abroad as a governing party. Dr Mahathir now faces another three years as leader (and another UMNO ballot before the next general elections in 1991), and he has apparently vanquished his arch-rival, Musa Hitam. When asked his intentions, Dr Mahathir has always wished for only two terms as leader. If this remains his view — and unlike Indonesia's President Soeharto, he is not likely to prevaricate — he will inevitably become involved in the succession struggle. Fortunately for Malaysia and the region, UMNO has many talented claimants, and their struggles will be very public.

Although at times corrupt, and perhaps increasingly so, Malaysia remains a vivid democracy, as the 1986 election and last week's UMNO contest proved. By contrast, politics in Indonesia is tightly controlled. Insofar as it is a democracy, Indonesia is a democracy strongly guided by a military-Golkar oligarchy. And the current Indonesian election does nothing to clarify the question of who will eventually succeed President Soeharto. That decision, everybody knows, will be made in secret by a small group of power-brokers. While both the Malaysian and Indonesian regimes still face local Islamist challenges from below, the relative conservatism and legitimacy of these two Muslim states in South-East Asia is a fact of international and regional political life which deserves closer attention. Indonesia, in fact, is the world's most populous Islamic nation; in its various dialects, the Malay language is spoken by more Muslims on a daily basis than is Arabic in the Middle East. At a time when political Islam is too often identified with extreme anxieties and political instability, the stability of these two Asian regimes is a timely reminder of the cultural subtlety and diversity of modern Islamic political systems.

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CSO: 4200/645

RURAL WEEKLY CALLS FOR HAWKE ELECTION DEFEAT

North Richmond THE LAND in English 28 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "The Election: Against All Odds"]

[Text]

THE early federal election that Prime Minister Hawke has previously steadfastly rejected has eventuated - - surprisingly early. Australians will be going to the polls on July 11 to elect a Government to lead the nation into the last decade of this century.

It is a short odds bet that Messrs Hawke and Keating will be at the helm for another three years - - unless what has purported over recent months to be the Opposition hurriedly gets its individual and collective acts together. That has emerged as a gargantuan task for John Howard and Ian Sinclair, the two men who in six weeks' time will be heroes or has-beens.

No-one who has any genuine desire for Australia to return to former greatness, who believes we again can become economically vibrant, and who wants encouragement to grow can doubt the need for the Opposition to come through against all odds and send packing the contemporary Labor experiment. Masquerading under varying guises, attuned only to political popularity with policies which often work against the national interest, the Hawke Government has succeeded in instilling into the community anti-wealth and anti-business paranoia of the most debilitating kind. It has throttled investment, stifled development and purged incentive that has, literally, brought the country to its knees.

It is almost incomprehensible that a country of 15 million people owing the world \$105 billion, with inflation of four times and interest rates of double the average of other comparable countries, could be contemplating returning to power a government which has actively, knowingly and deliberately contributed to the shambles in which we find ourselves. That is the real legacy of the the

Hawke Government - - a legacy of virtual bankruptcy hidden by rhetoric and paranoia that has plunged Australia into an economic abyss.

It's sad, but true that big government, which admittedly began to flourish in the Fraser years, has become indelibly entrenched into our system. It will take a brave government indeed to peg back public sector intrusion into many areas where it should have no part or interest, and to over-ride bureaucratic pressure for punitive taxation policies which have struck at the heart of businesses everywhere. Mr Howard at least seems to possess such courage.

On the surface the Opposition seems to have little chance of making the necessary political inroads to gain office. The Liberal and National Parties presently appear to the public as a disorganised, disunified alternative; their leaders have been bedevilled by bickering; their policies until now almost unknown.

It may take a miracle for them to snatch victory, but it is not beyond reality. For most Australians no result other than defeat of the Hawke Government can be contemplated. The nettle must now be grabbed, the Coalition differences forgotten, the commitment absolute, the policies clear and decisive.

Last weekend's Northern Tablelands by-election has at least demonstrated that the ALP machine can be broken. Political pragmatism by the NSW Liberal and National Parties there showed that teamwork, unity, co-operation and a lot of hard work can produce the goods. The same must be achieved federally if Australia is to realise its full national potential, and its people are able to grow unhindered.

# RURAL SECTOR BURDENED, CHALLENGED BY NATIONAL CONDITIONS

North Richmond THE LAND in English 14 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "The Future for Farming"]

[Text]

EVENTS in Canberra this week have underlined the heavy task and responsibilities facing every rank-and-file farmer during the next few years.

In two different forums the major challenge now confronting the rural sector was clearly spelled out — farmers must continue to place themselves at the forefront of efforts to repair the serious damage done to our country over the past 15 years by lackadaisical, weak and opportunistic political and economic leadership.

The export rural sector — particularly grain — is now paying the price for Australia's dismal failure over a number of years to grasp the need for major changes to our financial and industrial structures to keep us solvent and competitive on world markets.

Our leaders — from just about every walk of life — haven't adjusted to major shifts in the world economy and trade. As a result we have landed in a mess which cannot be waved away by rhetoric and half-hearted political measures.

Farmers are among the few people in our community with any real understanding of the seriousness of our predicament or the medicine we need to swallow to get out of the hole — perhaps that's because their back-sides are closer to the fire than most others in our community.

So it's not surprising farmers have tended to lead the opposition when governments, both federal and state, have shied away from taking the tough political decisions needed to steer our floundering economy back on course.

But yesterday's hearings of the Royal Commission into Grain Storage, Handling and Transport revealed — perhaps a little uncomfortably for some farm leaders — that not all the wheat industry's present economic

ills can be laid at the feet of our Canberra political masters, both past and present.

Judging by the thrust of the Grains Council of Australia's submission to the Royal Commission, wheat leaders now appear to almost unanimously favor sweeping deregulation of grain transport, handling and storage to rid the industry of costly inefficiencies which are being funded by growers.

Those same expensive inefficiencies — which have accumulated over many years largely because of weak management and short-sighted union greed — have been clearly visible for many years but largely ignored until the recent crunch on the world grain market.

Meanwhile, National Farmers Federation president, Ian McLachlan, pin-pointed another national disgrace — the waterfront — in his annual report to the federation's full council meeting in Canberra this week.

The productivity of our wharves — the lifeblood of our export trade — has been abysmal, as Mr McLachlan so rightfully pointed out. But like most other major problems in this country, not much has been done to remove this "blight" from our midst.

Mr McLachlan said the NFF had targetted the waterfront for special attention as part of the federation's overall plan to reform our industrial and economic systems.

But Ian McLachlan and other farm leaders will achieve very little without the solid backing of rank-and-file producers and other people employed in the rural sector. If the going gets tough — and that seems highly likely — everybody in the industry will have to be ready to give the NFF the "muscle" to make governments and other sectors of the community listen to what farmers are saying.

ANTISTRIKE CHALLENGE POSES NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Sydney THE BULLETIN in English 5 May 87 pp 22, 23

[Article by Paul Bongiorno: "Union Strike Law Battle Plan Threatens Hawke"]

[Text]

QUEENSLAND'S punch-drunk trade unions are preparing a plan of action which would virtually end any chance the Hawke Labor government has of re-election. The plan is desperate and it is born of anger and frustration with the federal Labor government's failure to confront the Bjelke-Petersen government.

The trigger for the plan is tough anti-union legislation rushed through the last session of the Queensland parliament and a foreshadowed assault on the very basis of award labor. The Queensland government introduced the Industrial (Commercial Practices) Act in 1984. It became operative in January 1985 and was amended in March of the same year after the power dispute which saw much of the State plunged into blackouts as the Electrical unions slugged it out with the South East Queensland Electricity Board (SEQEB) over the use of contract labor.

The Act was amended without notice on April 7 this year. Its provisions were extended to cover "export industries." Industrial Relations Minister Vince Lester gave the coal industry as the reason for the amendment, claiming industrial disputes were harming Australia's export reputation. The coal unions claim this was a manufactured reason. Trades and Labor Council general secretary Ray Dempsey says the amendments were forced on Lester by Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen to boost his flagging Canberra push. Certainly, the next morning on ABC radio, Lester

appeared to be unaware of the detail of his own Act. He denied, wrongly, that he had also amended the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act.

The union plan is a protracted strike in a major export industry that would cost billions of dollars in lost export earnings and which Bjelke-Petersen would do everything in his power to exacerbate in the run up to federal polling day. Dempsey says it may last longer than six months. He cautiously speculates that the coal miners could be provoked if the provisions of the Act were ever used against them. The caution is deliberate because under Queensland's draconian industrial laws just talking about strike action could be taken as "inciting" and attract hefty fines.

Major Queensland unions and particularly the Electrical Trades Union — Dempsey's own — are bitter over the way the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Hawke government left them in the lurch when Bjelke-Petersen crushed the SEQEB strike in 1985. Union leaders are demanding that both Canberra and the ACTU should step in. They believe the Premier has given them the ammunition they need to force Hawke and his reluctant Attorney-General, Lionel Bowen, to use all the resources of the commonwealth to mount a High Court challenge. They say Bjelke-Petersen has been using the financial resources of the State government to tie them up in costly Supreme Court actions. The four big unions involved in the mining industry

are holding report-back meetings with the rank and file. This process will be finished next week. Industrial Relations Minister Ralph Willis shot off a hurriedly compiled message to a mass rally in Brisbane last Thursday night. His telex didn't arrive at the Trades and Labor Council building before office staff went home but it acknowledged that if the Queensland legislation was fully implemented it would abolish the right to strike. Willis joined Queensland church leaders in condemning such action as incompatible with human rights in a democratic society. He promised that "the Hawke government is determined to ensure that such blatant political opportunism does not succeed". The next day Willis's office wasn't prepared to spell out just how the government would deliver.

Australian Council of Trade Unions president Simon Crean told a 5000-strong Brisbane meeting that the peak organisation would support any union taking industrial action to see the legislation defeated but he urged the vehicle of constitutional challenge. He warned any industrial action could enable Bjelke-Petersen to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. This does place the Queensland Trades and Labor Council in something of a dilemma. Its own legal advisers say a dispute may have to

be used as the trigger for a High Court challenge: a view apparently shared by former Attorney-General, Energy Minister, Gareth Evans.

Crean also raises the possibility of federal laws taking precedence in dispute resolution. There is constitutional backing for such a move and it seems concrete proposals along the lines of the Hancock Committee's inquiry into industrial relations would placate Queensland union leaders. Trades and Labor Council boss Dempsey is acutely aware that, unless a real alternative battle plan is put into place, the Trades and Labor Council and the ACTU risk losing what credibility and influence they have over the more militant and powerful unions. To this end, many bitter lessons have been learned from the SEQEB fiasco. Dempsey says the battleground would have to be a significant industry with members prepared for a lengthy dispute.

The irony is that the gun is pointed not at the head of Premier Bjelke-Petersen but at Prime Minister Hawke. □

/9274

CSO: 4200/642

# ALP SOCIALIST LEFT BID STRENGTHENED BY HALFPENNY DECISION

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 16-17 May 87 p 6

[Article by David Wilson]

[Text]

THE ALP's Socialist Left faction will strengthen its control of the Victorian branch at the State ALP conference next month, taking the presidency and the majority of positions on the ALP's administrative committee.

The Socialist Left is likely to replace the present Victorian ALP president, Mr Gerry Hand, with Mr Graham Bird, the State president of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union and a long-term member of the radical faction.

The Left will also win the positions of junior vice-president, hold one of the two delegates positions to the ALP national conference and gain 15 positions on the all-important administrative committee — the party's governing body between conferences.

The likely presidency win by Mr Bird follows the decision of the State secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union, Mr John Halfpenny, not to run for the position.

Earlier this month, after increasing speculation that he would stand for the presidency, Mr Halfpenny said he "had never expressed any real interest in the position".

There are conflicting views within the Socialist Left about why Mr Halfpenny decided not to run. But it is understood that the Victorian Premier, Mr Cain, was concerned that the former communist would hold the presidency for the two-year period, which would cover a federal and State election.

Mr Bird is seen as a compromise candidate for the Left, which is deeply divided between its moderate new-guard and radical old-guard wings.

Mr Bird's union is one of the key unions in the new guard but he is regarded as "acceptable" by many senior members of the old guard.

The pro-Hawke Labor Unity faction — the Victorian ALP moderates — meet on Monday night to select a candidate to run for the position. Regardless of who is eventually chosen, the dominance of the Left on the conference floor will ensure victory for the faction.

Labor Unity sources claimed last night that Mr Bill Lander-you, a senior ALP Member of the Legislative Council and former minister in the State Government, could be a surprise candidate for the presidency. The result of next month's elections has far-reaching

implications for both the federal and State ALP.

The elections will be held at the State conference on June 27-28 and are all for two-year terms, meaning that the elected office bearers will hold their positions at the federal election and the 1989 State election.

The almost certain wins for the Left will mean that the faction will have gained an absolute majority on most of the Victorian Labor Party's elected committees.

The strength of the Left in Victoria is certain to play a prominent role in the federal Liberals' Victorian campaign during the run-up to the federal poll and the State Liberals' election campaign in 1989. It will also put the bizarre electoral alliance between the Socialist Left and the tiny, but powerful, Independents faction under stress.

This alliance which was formed in the late 1970s has been responsible for the continuing decline in power of the Labor Unity moderates.

# HALFPENNY SPLITS METAL UNIONS, URGES INDUSTRIAL ACTION

Melbourne THE AGE in English 19 May 87 p 5

[Article by Brendan Donohoe]

[Text]

Rolling strikes will hit metal industry employers around the country unless they agree to a four per cent pay rise and three per cent superannuation benefit.

Up to 400,000 metal industry workers will begin attending stop-work meetings today to endorse joint union recommendations and threats of industrial action.

But yesterday a split over industrial tactics emerged between the Victorian branch of the the biggest union in the industry, the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union, and the industry's umbrella body for eight unions, the Metal Trades Federation of Unions.

In Victoria, the AMWU will recommend that employers be given a deadline of 28 May to pay the four per cent rise, or face rolling 24-hour strikes and bans on a job-by-job basis from 29 May. In contrast, the national recommendation from the Metal Trades Federation takes a softer approach and expresses confidence about winning the pay rise by late August.

The federation's recommendation calls on the stopwork meetings to authorise the industry's unions to call national strikes if there is no further progress in talks with employers. No deadline is given.

The national director of the Metal Trades Industry Association, Mr Bert Evans, warned that rebel industrial action in Victoria would destroy prospects for a national wage settlement.

Mr Evans said the AMWU's Victorian secretary, Mr John Halfpenny, was at odds with the union movement's national negotiating team and wanted to return to the dispute levels of the 1960s when the "industry was ripped apart".

The two claims are worth on average about \$16 in pay and about \$12 in superannuation for workers in the metal, engineering and manufacturing sectors.

In Victoria, stoppages will be held today in provincial centres and tomorrow in Melbourne suburbs and Geelong. Meetings in other states will continue until next week.

MARK DAVIS reports that the meetings will also set in train a round of wage claims at hundreds of individual factories across the country to complement the national claim for a four per cent pay rise in return for productivity offsets on the second tier of the two-tier wage-fixing system.

Shop-floor union officials are expected to begin lodging the enterprise-level claims this week, seeking agreements at individual plants for second-tier wage rises

based on efficiency improvements in areas such as demarcation barriers, training and retraining, staffing levels and management-worker consultation.

The eight metal unions will also use the activity at the shop-floor level to "mop up" plants which have not already conceded the unions' long-standing three per cent superannuation claim by lodging superannuation claims along with the second-tier wage claims.

Speaking before an ACTU executive meeting yesterday, Mr Halfpenny said that where employers agreed to the claims negotiations would proceed on improvements in union and management work practices, productivity, training and consultation.

The national recommendation says that negotiations on workplace efficiency agreements should go ahead and conclude by 21 July while talks continue with employers at a national level. Mr Halfpenny said that if there was no progress on the wage claim further stopwork meetings would be called in mid-June to consider national strikes.

Employers who agree to the four per cent pay rise will be pressured to support insertion of the rise in the Metal Industry Award.

/9274

CSO: 4200/642

# VICTORIA'S ECONOMIC STRATEGY PUTS PRESSURE ON CANBERRA

## Push for Export Growth

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 30 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Matthew Ricketson]

[Text]

COMPANIES that show real increases in export sales will be exempted from paying payroll tax, the Cain Labor Government announced yesterday at the unveiling of its updated economic strategy.

The 283-page document includes several important initiatives to encourage an annual real growth in exports of 10 per cent over the next five years and for setting up joint ventures with the business community to improve the relevance and focus of education for the increasingly complex modern job market.

The first economic strategy looked ahead at the next decade and was released in April 1984.

Entitled *Victoria: The Next Decade*, the document released yesterday is the second stage of the strategy, assessing the performance and changes in the Victorian economy since 1984 and announcing important initiatives to help implement the Government's revised strategy.

No other State Government has announced such a comprehensive economic policy.

The most important new programs in the strategy are:

**THE** payroll tax Act will be amended to exempt companies that have real increases in ex-

port sales from paying the tax. Expected to be produced at the start of next year, the exemption will cost the Victorian Government an estimated \$14 million in revenue, about 1 per cent of its total annual revenue from payroll tax.

**A TRADING** Corporation, modelled on the one in Japan, will be set up to help Victorian companies, especially manufacturers, to break into overseas markets. The corporation will be owned mainly by the private sector, but the Government will have up to 20 per cent equity.

**THE GOVERNMENT** will lend money at concessional rates to export companies in an attempt to help exporters plan and market their products overseas.

**AFTER** a review of the Government's support scheme, the criterion has been changed to include only companies that can demonstrate clear prospects of growth, particularly in export markets. Additional funding of \$4.8 million will be provided next financial year for this program.

## Competitive

**BOWING** to demands from the business community, the Government will allocate an additional \$15 million each year to fund additional higher education places.

The Victorian Education

Foundation plan will be set up jointly with the private sector aiming to increase the number of courses and places for students in disciplines that are relevant to the modern job market.

The Victorian economy is in the middle of a "fundamental transformation".

"An era of sustained internationally competitive growth has begun. Economic growth over the next decade should be driven by growth in real exports, based on Victoria's competitive strength, and an increasing ability to compete against imports," the strategy says.

At a media conference yesterday the Victorian Premier, Mr Cain, said the economic strategy would be "Victoria leading Australia into the next decade".

The first economic strategy sought to tackle the sluggish Victorian economy with its declining manufacturing base. It aimed to improve the investment environment and to identify and then maximise Victoria's comparative economic advantages.

Yesterday, Mr Cain said the private sector had responded to his Government's "kick-start" of the economy in its first term of office and now it was appropriate to "take a lower fiscal profile".

This follows the lead of the Federal Government, as falling commodity prices have

substantially reduced the national income and have severely affected the balance of payment.

The initiatives outlined in the economic strategy yesterday will cost \$40 million, but will not be met by increased recurrent spending or through new borrowings from the private sector. Instead the money will come from surplus cash in the Victorian Development Fund in the treasury.

The Treasurer, Mr Jolly, said yesterday that the success of the Government's first economic strategy was evidenced by the fact that for the past four years Victoria had had

the lowest unemployment level in Australia.

Since March 1984, 31.8 per cent of new jobs in Australia had been created in Victoria.

In the next five years the Victorian Government aims to meet several economic targets, including:

AN overall real growth in total exports of at least 10 per cent.

AN increase in the money spent on research and development from 1.3 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 1984-85 to 2.5 per cent of GDP by the early 1990s.

PRIVATE business invest-

ment is expected to grow by at least 5 per cent each year in real terms by 1991-92.

A real growth in Victorian GDP of 4 per cent.

The Government said these targets might be "unduly optimistic", but they were founded on changes already happening in the economy on emerging development and on the response to the Government's economic strategy.

The Opposition spokesman on Treasury matters, Mr Stockdale, yesterday condemned the document, saying it provided no "meaningful help for the Victorian business community".

#### Projected annual growth \*

| Industry .....                                       | Projected<br>% growth |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Food, beverages and tobacco .....                    | 5.2                   |
| Textiles .....                                       | 6.0                   |
| Clothing and footwear .....                          | 11.8                  |
| Wood, wood products and furniture .....              | 12.1                  |
| Paper, paper products, printing and publishing ..... | 18.6                  |
| Chemical, petroleum and petroleum products .....     | 17.4                  |
| Non-metallic mineral products .....                  | 18.5                  |
| Basic metal products .....                           | 20.0                  |
| Fabricated metal products .....                      | 12.5                  |
| Transport equipment .....                            | 21.9                  |
| Other machinery and equipment .....                  | 13.1                  |
| Miscellaneous manufacturing .....                    | 11.7                  |
| Total average annual growth rate .....               | 12.6                  |

\* The Victorian Government's projection of average annual growth of manufactured exports from 1986-87 to 1991-92

#### Initiatives Reinforce Tax Review Calls

Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English 30 Apr 87 p 4

[Article by Lim Say Boon]

[Text]

THE Victorian Government's export-oriented industry assistance initiatives — especially its payroll tax exemption for export companies — will increase pressure on the Federal Government to review its own tax treatment of export-derived income.

Although normally coy about putting the Federal Government on the spot, the director-general of the Victo-

rian Department of Management and Budget, Dr Peter Sheehan, said yesterday that Canberra should start reviewing its own position on export income "if it is serious about this whole export thing".

Dr Sheehan's warning reinforces calls from other groups, including the Australian Manufacturing Council, for the Federal Government to review the present tax system

to determine whether it deters exporting.

The Cain Government's interest in getting its federal Labor counterpart to review the whole range of incentives, including taxes, for exporters is obvious.

Although the resources at its disposal are limited, the Cain Government has committed itself to a long-term economic strategy that is almost en-

tirely at the mercy of the still very weak export-oriented manufacturing sector.

It is an ambitious — even risky — strategy, dependent on the emergence of the so-called J-curve. The Victorian Government is banking on a rate of export growth averaging 12.6 per cent a year well into the 1990s.

Dr Sheehan said the Victorian Government's analysis indicated that the J-curve had started to emerge.

This is despite a warning issued only last week by the State Bank of Victoria that the turnaround in Australia's balance of payments had little to do with J-curve effects.

The bank's economists warned that export growth to date had been due mainly to larger volumes of primary commodities exports rather than manufactured products.

Yet, the Victorian Government is punting on strong consistent growth (see table, above) in a wide range of manufactured exports.

In some areas, the Victorian

Government's optimism appears justified on the basis of available information.

For example, its 20 per cent average annual growth rate for basic metal products includes expected metal exports from the huge \$1150 million Portland aluminium smelter project.

In the transport equipment area, Ford Australia's plans to export a specialty sports car and Holden's expectations of greater engine exports to the United States, Europe and even South Korea will boost Victoria's performance.

In the area of non-metallic mineral products, the Victorian Government is banking on strong growth in the ceramic and plaster products industries.

Scientific instruments, telecommunications equipment, information technology and even compact disk exports will boost the performance of the the so-called "other machinery and equipment" sector.

In a number of areas, Victo-

rians will just have to take Dr Sheehan's word that his projections are based on "knowledge" of projects on the drawing board and investments that are likely to take place in the coming years.

For example, in the textile, clothing and footwear areas — even though the growth in exports will be coming off a relatively low base — the sort of projected growth would be very much dependent on the success of the Federal Government's industry restructuring plans and the impact of the depreciation of the dollar.

The policy is also risky for another reason. It is dependent on the Federal Government's ability to keep the value of the dollar down against the key international currencies, despite the huge inflow of offshore funds seeking high interest returns and refuge from the falling US dollar.

The unfortunate truth is that State governments can do little other than tinker at the margin.

/13104

CS0: 4200/645

NFF TO PRESSURE MARGINAL SEATS IN JULY ELECTION

North Richmond THE LAND in English 28 May 87 p 3

[Text]

AUSTRALIANS will go to the polls on Saturday, July 11 — and the National Farmers Federation is ready to put the “blowtorch” to all candidates in marginal seats.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, late yesterday afternoon announced a double dissolution of Federal Parliament after days of speculation in the media about an early election.

Deputy director of the National Farmers Federation, Rick Farley, said last night the NFF had its election strategy ready for launching well in advance of yesterday's announcement. The NFF believed the Government should have gone its full term but farmers were ready to have a major impact on the election result, he said.

Mr Farley predicted the main issues would be high interest rates, the abuse of union power, big government spending and taxation.

The election will also provide the National Party with its greatest challenge. The Queensland Premier, Sir

Joh Bjelke-Petersen, and the party's present federal leader, Ian Sinclair, are expected to fight a tough battle for control of their party.

NFF president, Ian McLachlan, said farm organisations and their branches would hit the “campaign trail” next week.

Speaking in Sydney after officially opening the annual conference of the NSW Dairy Farmers Association, Mr McLachlan said the NFF would not be telling people which party to vote for. It would canvass the views of candidates on issues important to primary producers, and publicise the results.

“People can make their own judgment who to vote for,” he said.

Mr McLachlan said that in the past voters had not been easily able to obtain this type of information.

He earlier told the conference that the only way Australian primary industries could ensure their future would be through self help.

/9274

CSO: 4200/642

NFF OPPOSITION TO NEW LABOR LEGISLATION 'APPLAUDED'

North Richmond THE LAND in English 21 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "NFF Steps In"]

[Text]

THE National Farmers Federation should be applauded for its decision to fight new federal industrial relations legislation — even if the battle finishes up in the High Court.

This new legislation — introduced into Federal Parliament last week and likely to be speeded through the Senate with indecent haste because of help from the Australian Democrats — smacks of an attempt by the Federal Government to protect its mates in the union movement.

The NFF says the new legislation poses a serious threat to the right of employers to take common law action against unionists if they believe they have been the victims of illegal industrial action and tactics.

A number of unions, notably the Australasian Meat Industries Employees Union, have been left battered by recent court action under Sections 45D and E of the Trade Practices Act which outlaws the use of secondary boycotts by unions.

The key features of the legislation are an Australian Industrial Relations Commission to replace the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and an Australian Labour Court to replace the Industrial Division of the Federal Court — a move opposed by employers because it can't be shown that unions will obey its orders and injunctions.

It's to be hoped the NFF will delay the bill long enough for the whole community to understand its full implications.

/9274

CSO: 4200/642

## BOT SYSTEM OFFERED FOR CERTAIN PROJECTS

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 26 May 87 pp A8, A9

[Text]

Jakarta, May 26 (ANTARA) - The Indonesian government, owing to its current difficult financial problem, has offered the construction of energy, telecommunications and communications projects to foreign investors under a BOT (build, operate and transfer) system.

"The offer has got a positive response from the US, Japan and West Europe", State Minister for Research and Technology Prof. Dr. B. J. Habibie told ANTARA here Tuesday.

Habibie, the BOT system introducer to Indonesia, said from West Europe great interest was shown particularly by West Germany, France and Italy.

He explained projects offered in the energy sector cover not only a nuclear power plant, as widely reported lately, but coal-fuelled and hydro-power plants as well.

The BOT system offers opportunities to foreign investors to build a project and operate it within a certain agreed period--until the builder recovers its capital--and transfer it to the Indonesian government afterwards.

The period for operating the project is decided on a basis of mutual interest, Habibie said.

Citing an example, for a nuclear power plant which is known to have a life time of 30-40 years, the operating period is 15 years and for a coal-fuelled power plant with a life time of 20-30 years, the operating time is 10 years.

The capital owner is entitled to sell the electricity to the state-owned electricity company, PLN, which will later re-sell it to the consumers.

Those already showing their great interest in investing their capital under the BOT system include Kraft Werk Union of West Germany, Mitsubishi Heavy Industry of Japan, Westing House of the US, ICL of Canada, Ansaldo (Italy) and Framatome of France.

They are all giant companies known for their long standing involvement in big energy projects worldwide.

For Indonesia what Habibie is offering is a breakthrough and simultaneously a further deregulatory step, because the development of vital infrastructures such as energy, telecommunications and communications projects has been thus far a monopoly of the government.

## BRIEFS

JOINT VENTURE WITH JAPAN--Tokyo, 22 May (ANTARA)--The Hatachi Zosen Corporation here has announced that it has set up a joint-venture company with PT Petro Kimia Gresik for the production of construction machineries and equipment in Indonesia. When the new limited liability company was formally established was not indicated but it will construct its manufacturing plant in West Java. The Hitachi Zosen is a gigantic shipyard and machinery manufacturing company while PT Petro Kimia Gresik is a state-owned chemical production venture in East Java. The Hitachi Zosen-Petro Kimia Gresik joint firm is named PT Petrindo Hitachi Zosen. The Indonesian partner will control 85.5 percent of its equity capital. The Hitachi Zosen management in Osaka announced the new company's production facility will be completed very soon and after completion will immediately start to produce, at a capacity of 585 tons in the first year. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 22 May 87 pp A2, A3] /9274

NORWEGIAN AID FOR INTERISLAND SHIPPING--Jakarta, 22 May (ANTARA)--Indonesia has received about US\$2.5 million in project assistance from Norway for developing interisland fleets. The director general of the Indonesian directorate general of sea transportation with the ministry of communications, J.E. Habibie, and Norwegian Ambassador to Indonesia Knut Berger signed a contract to that effect here Thursday. Ambassador Knut Berger told ANTARA that the assistance was not linked with business although he admitted that his country was interested in stepping up trade with Indonesia. The project assistance includes the installation of TSAR system of ship maintenance and computer training for developing the Indonesian Classification Bureau using the master plan for regulations on underwater works. The first project with a Norwegian assistance of 70 million kroner which was agreed upon in 1976 had been completed in 1983. Director General J.E. Habibie on behalf of the Indonesian government expressed appreciation for the assistance that covers maintenance system which he described as very important for interisland fleet development. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 22 May 87 p A4] /9274

OIL PRODUCTION CONTRACT SIGNED--A production sharing contract between the Indonesian state-owned oil company Pertamina and Conoco Warim Ltd. was signed here Tuesday, Minister of Mines & Energy Soebroto said when he witnessed the signing of the contract agreement the producing sharing contract with Conoco was the fourth Pertamina has signed this year and three more similar contracts are expected to be signed till the end of this year. Last year Pertamina

signed only four production sharing contracts with foreign oil contractors, and next year the company will negotiate oil exploration/exploitation in seven blocks, Soebroto said further, adding that the negotiations were expected to turn out new production sharing contracts. [Text] [Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 27 May 87 p 4] /9274

KRAKATAU, KOBE STEEL COOPERATION--The state-run steel industrial company Krakatau Steel is engaged in cooperation with Kobe Steel of Japan. The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) of the bilateral cooperation agreement, which was signed not long ago, mentions among other things that the two sides will start a joint survey in June, this year, President Director of PT. Krakatau Steel T. Ariwibowo said here recently. The two companies will examine the aspects of the domestic marketing of steel products, while the study of the marketing of products abroad will be entrusted to Kobe Steel, which knows better the situation of the world market. They will also study the existing hardware in Indonesia and the capacity of the hardware, especially its technology and skill, and existing regulations. The results of the study will be used to prepare a feasibility study for the realization of the plan to produce machines and equipment for the steel industry as well as the manufacturing industry. [Text] [Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 27 May 87 p 11] /9274

CSO: 4200/632

COTABATO CHURCH ORIENTED PAPER URGES AQUINO 'STRONG HAND'

Cotabato City THE MINDANAO CROSS in English 25 Apr 87 p 4

[Editorial]

Despite the stabilizing effects of the 1986 Constitution and the normalizing prospects of the national and local elections, national security is being threatened from three directions: (1) the communist insurgency, (2) the resurgent Moro People rebellion, and (3) the mutiny-racked Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The dissension within the Armed Forces must be an encouragement to both the communist insurgents and the Moro fighters. Morale in the military must not be so high as desirable. How effectively the Armed Forces can defend the nation should full-scale fightings erupt in both the communist and the Moro fronts is open to question despite the assurance from military brass that the AFP is ready.

However these threats are perceived, interpreted and rationalized, they are an open challenge to the President of the Philippines. To each of them, President Corazon C. Aquino has appealed in person or through emissaries, official and personal. She has listened to their demands and offered concessions. But all these acts of condescension of the President appeared to have only hardened the communist insurgents, the Moro fighters and the mutinous elements in the military.

Evidently, they have perceived President Corazon C. Aquino as

soft-handed. That her tough policy speeches did not come from a resolute will which can move an iron hand but just from the pen of her speech writers. Behind the strong language they must see the heart and mind of a woman.

For, when not delivering tough policy speeches, President Corazon C. Aquino is quoted by the press as appealing for unity, for patriotism, for reconciliation. Or she is pictured in prayer. Leaders of the insurgency, rebellion and mutiny are men who look at appeals and prayers as signs of weakness.

In spite of the 1986 Constitution and the national and local elections, the security crisis will continue as long as the leaders of the insurgency, the rebellion and the mutinous elements in the military are perceiving President Corazon C. Aquino as a soft-handed and soft-hearted leader, her popularity notwithstanding. In all history, in times of grave crisis, it is the leader who can wield a strong hand with resolute will and hard heart that can ultimately save the people.

President Corazon C. Aquino needs stronger hands to unite this country in this time of security crisis. The hands must be hers! Does she have the hands! If she does, does she have the will and the heart to wield them? If she does, she better wield them now before it is too late.

# PRESIDENTIAL RIGHTS COMMITTEE FACES 'SEA OF CONTRADICTIONS'

Davao City MINDANAO TIMES in English 21-28 May 87 pp 1, 6

[Text]

The year-old Presidential Committee on Human Rights is presently sailing through a "sea of contradictions." How it weathers the passage will give a measure of the government's commitment to the institutionalization of respects for human rights in the country.

Creation of the PCHR on March 16, 1986, through Executive Order No. 8 signed by President Aquino, gave material form to her administration's avowal of restoring, protecting and enhancing human rights.

Establishment of the Committee was in response to a standing public clamor for the Aquino government to look into and redress the many cases of human rights violation committed against the people by the deposed Marcos dictatorship.

Among the most serious violations detailed were arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, massacre, extrajudicial killings or "salvaging," hamletting, food blockades and forced evacuation.

The sea of contradictions that PCHR now confronts include the raging controversy over sprouting of vigilante groups and other paramilitary organizations with tacit government approval; lukewarm if not hostile attitude of law enforcers, including the military, towards the Committee, and urgent recommendations of PCHR to the President remaining unacted upon.

What kind of voyage it is turning out is demonstrated by resignation turned in by some of those appointed to steer the seven-man body over recent government actuations concerning human rights. The leading example, is the gunning down of 19 peasant demonstrators by the police in front of Malacanang last Jan. 22.

An added illustration is a PCHR recommendation for abolition of the Integrated Home Defense Forces (ICHDF) and "other paramilitary units which have been responsible for many of the grossest violations of human rights such as the massacre

of unarmed peasant communities."

The military is resisting dismantling of the ICHDFs on ground that they are vital in the counter-insurgency campaign. It also claims that abuses of ICHDFs are actually few and that such forces are now under tighter supervision aside from the members being educated on respect for human rights.

PCHR's recommendation for disbanding of the ICHDFs and similar groups has generated support from various citizens organizations alarmed over growth of such paramilitary and police units.

President Aquino is on record as having ordered both the military and the local governments department to study the matter and make their own recommendations. In the meantime, more paramilitary groups are being organized in the countryside with apparent encouragement of the defense and local governments departments.

Holding office at the University of Life complex in Pasig, Metro Manila, the Committee reports that during its

first year of operation, it received a total of 708 complaints aside from forwarding to the President a batch of recommendations designed to flesh out the government's commitment to respect and protection of human rights.

Of the cases of human rights violations filed with it, PCHR enumerates 225 as having been committed during 1986 and the remaining 483 prior to last year. It adds that 203 cases occurred after the February Revolution and that 60 of them were salvaging, 27, torture and 17, disappearances.

The Committee breaks down the 708 cases into 277, salvaging; 90, missing or disappearances; 83, torture; 66, harassment; 47, burning or arson; 34, political prisoner; 34 massacre; 20, arbitrary arrest and detention; 12, hamletting; nine, forced evacuation; eight, strafing; seven, indiscriminate firing of guns; six, rape; five, frustrated murder; four, serious physical

injury; four, looting, and two, bombing.

Most numerous human rights violation cases reported to PCHR occurred in the Southern Tagalog region, 93 cases; Cagayan Valley, 82; Southern Mindanao, 75; Northern Mindanao, also 75; Bicol, 64; Central Visayas, 58; Western Visayas, 42, and Western Mindanao, 38.

In its annual report, the Committee also underscores that one of its recommendations was favorably acted upon by President Aquino through issuance of Executive Order No. 27 on July 4, 1986.

The presidential fiat directed all government departments and agencies concerned to evolve a system of formal and informal education to ingrain on all Filipinos respect for human rights and abhorrence for their violators.

Through such a directive, members of the military and police forces are also being provided with instructions on knowledge and respect for human rights. The Civil

Service Commission now includes in the qualifying examinations for government service basic knowledge on human rights. The education department has included the teaching of human rights in the curriculum.

The Committee further reports that a number of repressive and oppressive decrees issued by the deposed dictatorship have been repealed by President Aquino on its recommendation.

It adds that as of Jan. 23, 1987, the Philippines became a signatory to the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by virtue of President Aquino's ratification of the covenant on Feb. 28, 1986. PCHR notes that deposed President Marcos refused to make such a ratification.

As a signatory to the covenant, PCHR states that "the Philippine government has opened itself to international introspection and discussion of its human rights records."

/13104

CSO: 4200/646

WE FORUM ALLEGES GOVERNMENT RELUCTANCE TO 'CONFIRM' CIA ROLE

Quezon City WE FORUM in English 28 May 87 p 4

[Editorial: "CIA Links"]

[Text]

Foreign Affairs Undersecretary Jose Ingles told reporters yesterday the government, through the DFA, wants to look into allegations by former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark of CIA (US Central Intelligence Agency) operations in the country, especially in the counter-insurgency campaign.

That is all well and good, but what is important is whether or not responsible government officials would really be interested to find that out on their own without risking the ire of the CIA's local top men here. For if government were worried about the negative publicity effects of Mr. Clark's revelations, then it should not make a show of trying to unravel the CIA network here.

For a start, any one in government interested to confirm the extent of CIA influence in counter-insurgency can check out the background of the anti-communist vigilante groups that have all of a sudden mushroomed nationwide. Mr. Clark, anyway, cited this as one of the more telling indicators of the CIA handiwork, because of its parallels in other countries where the

American spies operate actively.

The interested government prober will find out, for sure, that except perhaps for a few which grew out of lunatic cults, many of these vigilante groups were not formed "spontaneously" as is being made to appear, or as legitimate "people power" organizations formed to preserve democracy. There is a sure hand, or a network of hands, guiding their formation, their indoctrination, and providing their funding, and many of the ordinary townsfolk listed in their roster will tell you they did not enlist voluntarily.

Perhaps the truly sincere prober can also look into the background of the guiding lights in government of these vigilante groups, for it is a known fact some of them were reputed to be CIA operatives or agents here before.

Already, some sectors have dismissed PAHRA, the organization that invited Mr. Clark, as a left-leaning civil liberties union, in an apparent effort to say that Clark's findings were biased. But anyone not afraid of the truth can and should find out that, indeed, it's all another circus for the CIA.

/13104

CSO: 4200/646

SANCHEZ INTERVIEWED ON ELECTION OUTCOME, CREDIBILITY

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 22-28 May 87 p 9

[Interview with Augusta Sanchez, Laban candidate for Senate and former Labor Minister, by Marie Anne Malabanan, time and place not given: "Playing The Name Game"]

[Text] **W**HILE the likes of Jovy Salonga, Orly Mercado, Butz Aquino, Rene Saguisag, and yes, even Joseph Estrada (despite his "I won't take my seat" pronouncements) are already resting things out in relief and are awaiting the COMELEC's official proclamation, Laban candidate Bobbit Sanchez is still in the thick of a battle. With the COMELEC, as of press time, unwavering in its decision not to recount the votes, Bobbit Sanchez appears to be in for a long and arduous fight.

The confusion which Sanchez finds himself in at the moment is not unexpected. Despite the assurances of some COMELEC commissioners before the elections that no disarray would arise as all possible sources of confusion had been thoroughly checked and countered, Bobbit Sanchez knew that something wrong would come up.

His knowledge was further strengthened when his namesake, disqualified candidate Gil Sanchez, appeared on television on the Friday before election day to disclaim reports that he was disqualified.

Events following the elections itself only served to confirm Sanchez's fears. Pegging the number of his lost votes at more than one million, the former labor minister avers that the number of votes which are not credited to him is enough to land him in the top 20. But, as it is, the official COMELEC tabulation (covering 40 per cent of poll precincts) shows Sanchez occupying the 28th slot. At the close of NAMFREL's unofficial count Sanchez placed a precarious 23 — with only 71 per cent of precincts accounted for. Having only a few hundred thousand votes more than Mamintal Tamano who is number 24, Sanchez still is

in danger of sliding out of the magic circle once the remaining 28 per cent is tabulated.

Was it a simple case of carelessness? Or is he the object of some malicious maneuvering by people who want him out of the Senate?

In an interview, Bobbit Sanchez bared not only his perceptions of the chaos he is in, but also his thoughts on other issues in the elections.

**Mr. & Ms.: Do you think you are a victim of malicious maneuvering by people who want you out?**

**BOBBIT SANCHEZ:** It's very possible. Can you imagine that in more than 40 precincts in Pangasinan I got no vote at all. Zero! In Cavite, while all the other Laban and most of the GAD candidates had more than 100,000 votes each recorded in the provincial canvass results, Bobby Tanada allegedly got 22,333 and I, 40,070. When the Comelec summoned the Cavite registrar, guess how many votes were turned in for Bobby and me: 222,333 for Bobby and 167,000 for me. And it was clearly intentional because no two counts were the same. In other words, *kami ni Bobby and tinitira*. (Bobby and I are the targets.) It's the same in Iloilo. In one precinct I got zero but when I made a check, it turned out I actually got 140 votes. And the same goes from Ilocos Norte to Tawi-tawi. So it is very impossible that someone is trying to keep me out of the Senate.

**M & M:** Do you think some high government officials are in the know?

**BS:** I don't think so. As far as I'm concerned, the blame rests entirely on the COMELEC. But there are must be somebody out to axe Bobby and me.

**M & M:** Did the COMELEC give you certain conditions for them to grant your petition for a recount?

**BS:** They just said pinpoint the specific precincts. So I told them I would file a bill of particulars and state all the precincts all over the country. See, I feel I should not be the one to go through all the trouble. It was the COMELEC which committed the mistake, it is the COMELEC which must correct it.

**M & M:** What do you think are the chances of your petition?

**BS:** I feel that the COMELEC will consider a recount only when I have already lost in the elections.

**M & M:** In case you win in the senatorial race, will you still pursue your case?

**BS:** Yes, I will. I want to get to the bottom of it all.

**M & M:** What if the Comelec refuses to grant your petition?

**BS:** I will elevate my case to the Supreme Court.

**M & M:** Do you think that the reason for all this confusion you are into is the same reason for the poor showing of the PnB in the polls?

BS: First of all, a lot of people in those areas where the PnB or ANP had a strong following were harassed. A lot of them were not able to vote. Second, there is the red scare, which is the same issue being used against me.

**M & M:** Do you think the PnB's endorsement of your candidacy had a negative effect on you?

BS: No. See, all candidates will try to court all voters. The PnB and their supporters are just like any of us — Filipinos and voters. But now come when, for example, a Cory candidate is supported by KBL or GAD or a KBL/GAD candidate is supported by a Coryista, nobody complains? Nobody makes an issue out of it? The PnB should also be entitled to such privileges.

**M & M:** Can you comment on the TOSCA.

BS: TOSCA had only 10 names. So there were 14 others more. I don't think it was much. Even Iglesia ni Kristo came out with its own list. It did not concern me a lot because INK never supported me even before. But I won in the previous elections anyway. I don't think it was much either.

**M & M:** Do you personally believe that a clean sweep of the Laban of the Senate seats will be beneficial to the country?

BS: I believe the people want a smooth-running operation of government. And this can only be

achieved by winning all the seats in the Senate. Within the coalition itself there is already an Opposition hence, fiscalization is not absent.

First of all we belong to at least five different Opposition parties espousing different principles. There is the PDP-Laban, Unido, LP-Salonga wing, NUCD, Bandila, Bayan and there are even some independent candidates like Paterno and Angara. And we are all independent minded. Reason why I'm not convinced by Enrile's claim that we need an Opposition for democracy to survive. Of course it also depends on your concept of Opposition because there are two kinds. The first is what we used to have before, meaning two political parties with no ideological differences, no difference in program, opposing each other in a bid to grab power. The second kind is what I call the true Opposition. Here we talk of ideological differences. Within our coalition, we have this type of Opposition. To me, neither the KBL nor GAD offers this true Opposition. Theoretically, it is the PnB or ANP which offers this real Opposition.

**M & M:** How do you see the future Senate?

BS: Notwithstanding the fact that there are many conservatives in the Senate, there are enough progressives that can sway the conservatives. **M M**

## OLONGAPO BAR GIRL BOXERS UNIONIZE UNDER KMU

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 31 May 87 p 25

[Article by Cristine Diaz Nagot]

[Excerpts]

A NOISY group of American servicemen were pulling and kissing the women of the Whisky River Bar just in front of her.

But Yolly Cruz, 24, threw an irate look at them, picked up the megaphone, and said, "We are on strike in defence of our remaining dignity. We have had enough of being called little brown sex machines. Stop treating us like unfeeling robots."

On one side of Yolly were about a dozen young women holding placards with the ostensible timidity of neophyte activists. Behind them was a sign with bold letters: "Bar Girl Boxing Inside," flanked by a couple of broken windows telling of some stormy struggles

Hardly anyone could tell that these "activists," garbed in plain T-shirts and slacks, were just a few months back "objects of delight," the newest entertainment in the rest and recreation industry of Olongapo, the favourite watering hole of the US Seventh Fleet this side of the globe.

## Faced

Yolly and company were once female boxers. They were bar girls at one of the popular chain establishments here — the Casa Boom-Boom, Casa Blanca and Casa Del Mar, in the barrio (village) of Barretto just outside the city proper. The female boxers have snatched the limelight from the city's red

light district of Magsaysay Plaza with its sex shows. That is, until Yolly and the other boxers went down the ring and fought in a different form.

Every night, for three rounds lasting three minutes each, Yolly faced a fellow bar girl and had to hit her, "even if she happens to be a friend." Winning the game meant an additional 120 pesos (US\$6) to her paltry 33 pesos (US\$1.80) daily salary. Falling flat meant not getting a share from the total earnings of the bar from the mostly American male audience who each paid a US\$1.50 entrance fee.

According to Yolly, the owner ordered all 200 women employees of the Casas, including those who were not bar girls, to attend compulsory Saturday boxing training sessions. There was a 40 peso (US\$2) fine for absence, and an incentive of 20 pesos (US\$1) for attendance.

But last year, Yolly started having constant dizzy spells and chest pains. It was difficult for her to join the boxing bouts. Other bar girls were also complaining of music numbness, constant nausea, stomach aches and chest pains — not to say of the black eyes received from boxing.

Yolly requested the bar owner for at least a month's leave but was allegedly refused and told to "continue or resign." The company doctor dismissed their complaints as normal for any boxers. "No pain, no

gain," he allegedly told the female boxers. Yolly was to learn later that she has developed cysts in both breasts.

Another boxer, Erlinda, had a traumatic experience. According to Yolly, Erlinda sought permission not to box one evening because of menstruation. She was turned down. Not long after her bout started, Erlinda fainted, with blood flowing down her legs. She was hospitalised for over two weeks, but the bar owner allegedly refused to shoulder the bill.

Instances like this at the Casa establishments, including forced boxing, resulted in the organisation of the Casa Employees Union (CEU) in August 1986. It is a registered union affiliated with the militant and nationwide labour organisation, the May One Movement. A union for bar girls was a first in Olongapo's R & R industry.

The management allegedly made moves to block CEU from gaining more members. Conversing in groups were restricted. Union members were fined for every small break with bar rules.

## Ban

Last January 1, the CEU staged a walkout which lasted two weeks. The last day was marred with a violent confrontation between management and strikers. Hired goons allegedly threw down the striking girls into the middle of the street and mauled them. In retaliation, the women stoned and smashed the windows of the Casa Blanca Bar until the police intervened.

In time, the Association of Women Religious in Zambales petitioned the city council to ban female boxing and lewd floor shows "for they are certainly dehumanising and are a downright affront to our sense of dignity not only as God's people but as Filipinos."

On January 14, the city council declared female boxing and wrestling as "immoral and illegal" and banned them. Non-compliance with the ban meant a 1,000 peso

(US\$50) fine or six months imprisonment or both. A bar's business licence could be confiscated. It was the first time that a ban was imposed on the range of entertainment in this city of 500 nightclubs and 16,000 prostitutes.

With the ordinance, the strikers were allowed to return to work. Yolly was fired. And the owner filed a court injunction to suspend the ban until the outcome of local hearings. Female boxing continued.

Bar girls, Yolly says, were forced to sign a waiver claiming that boxing is voluntary. Three more members of the union were fired for charges of alleged theft. Then last March 17, the bar girls struck anew. On April 13, a striker was gunned down by men in military uniforms right at the picketline.

The affair has turned ugly. When this correspondent visited the picketline, it was in a somber mood. A few candles were lighted against a sack backdrop with a handwritten obituary. Remorse and fatigue marked the women's faces. Yolly says they rarely slept since goons tried to burn their makeshift tents on the third day of the strike.

A moving picket was staged by GABRIELA, a militant nationwide organisation of women. Female boxing said GABRIELA vice-chairperson Adul de Leon, is a manifestation of society's view of women as "sex objects for men's pleasure. (It) is sex and violence equated together to mean that they are both pleasurable, more so when exhibited by women."

The strikers and their visitors were momentarily interrupted when a group of about 20 Americans, accompanied by burly Filipinos, boisterously entered the bar.

"After a few hours, the floor dancing will begin," says Yolly. "Then the boxing." With a look of resignation, she asks, "Do you think we will win?"

Says Yolly: "It is already clear to me. As in boxing, whoever is weaker, loses the bout." — *Depth-news Women's*

AQUINO ADMINISTRATION SAID ORCHESTRATING GAD BREAKUP

Quezon City WE FORUM in English 28 May 87 p 4

[Commentary in "Publisher's Notes" by J.G. Burgos, Jr.: "On The Brink of Breaking Up"]

[Text]

A silent plot to divide the Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD) has apparently succeeded and President Aquino's political advisers should take a bow.

From all indications, the Opposition is now on the brink of breaking up and expect more Joseph Estradas to curtsy before Tita Cory in Malacanang for whatever reason(s).

No matter how "Erap" denies news accounts of his Monday meeting with Mrs. Aquino, the wedge has been driven between himself and GAD stalwarts.

The Opposition's compromising situation, of course, can be viewed as a triumph of the administration's diplomacy and political savvy but will the rift within GAD's ranks contribute any to the enhancement of democracy?

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Already, the ruling coalition has telegraphed its move to draw more oppositionists to the "yellow" camp and GAD stalwart Juan Ponce Enrile can only stand helplessly by.

If we believe speculative stories being dished out by the newspapers, at least three other GAD senatorial candidates are about to throw in the towel and genuflect before the altar of power that is Malacanang.

Prominently mentioned as probable "defectors" are former senators Blas Ople, Alejandro Almendras and Lorenzo Teves. All three ran under the GAD in the May 11 senatorial elections.

How vulnerable these three are remains to be seen. But if we look at the past, Ople and Almendras are ripe for the picking. Ople,

for one, accepted Cory's invitation to serve in last year's Constitutional Commission. Almendras, for another, was about to change his political coat before the congressional elections after a series of "consultations" with the President's trusted political aides but somehow, things didn't work out as they should. It is said that Almendras is already softening up to the enticements of Lakas ng Bansa emissaries.

Teves won't be a difficult nut to crack considering that he was the first GAD candidate to concede defeat.

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The current political developments in the ranks of the Opposition remind us of the early days of martial law when the dictator consolidated power by wiping out dissent via the most expedient way: Divide and rule. So, what else is new?

## GENERAL SANTOS ANTICOMMUNISTS ADOPT NPA TACTICS

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 3 Jun 87 pp 12, 13, 41

[Article by Rey Cartojano: "The 'Alsa Masa Solution' in Bula"]

[Text]

A year ago, none of the 90,000 inhabitants of barangay Bula would even dare entertain the idea that their small fishing village could cradle an armed anti-communist citizens' group in the near future.

"If it were not for the February Revolution, everybody here would already be rebel sympathizers by now," says 23-year-old Alex who, because of the rising cost of tuition fees and of Cory's galunggong, had abandoned his studies to become a fisherman.

Bula is a clump of houses strung along a coastal stretch of Sarangani Bay in the southeastern part of General Santos City. The people fish in groups, mainly to protect each other from a band of marauding pirates called "Ambak Pare."

But this was not the only problem that was to confront the village. In the early '80s, the entry of foreign fishing vessels into the coastal waters of South Cotabato had considerably reduced the catch of the village folk. This made the population very restive, and the New People's Army was quick to exploit the situation for organizational work.

Increased NPA activity in their village was tolerated by the Bula folk and was even at times welcomed. By late 1985, the rebels had established firm control over the entire barangay. Open support was given to the revolutionary cause, and the rebels roamed the area freely. Occasional zoning operations by the local military command was largely ineffective and futile. The rebels even held meetings in the village.

But Bula's honeymoon with the NPA was short-lived. On November 14, 1985, the military chalked up one of its few victories when it swooped down on a plenum of NPA cadres under the CPP's Far South Revolutionary Committee. Four rebels were killed and nine captured.

The success of the operation stunned the village. Prior to that, no one seriously believed that the local military detachment could conduct such a precise and thorough operation.

However, before the military could even finish gloating over this victory, the rebels were again walking the dirt paths of the village. Force alone, it seemed, could not solve the insurgency problem in Bula, and the military decided to recast its strategy.

In mid-1986, news of the formation and "effectiveness" of the Alsa Masa in Davao reached military officials in Bula. Consequently, an anti-communist group was formed in the barangay with an initial membership of seven residents. Ironically adopting the NPA's potent combination of both political and military tactics, the Bula vigilantes were divided into the "armed" wing and the "political" wing. The idea was that before the "armed" wing entered a hostile area, the "political" wing would first conduct a "persuasion drive" to provide the group with enough support from the civilian populace.

Conrado Bermudez, a major in the Philippine Army's 1/12 Brigade stationed at Buayan, General Santos, vows to "refine and perfect the Alsa Masa and Nakasaka experiments." For him, the ultimate goal is to win the population over to the government side. "This way, the rebels will be deprived of their mass base. What is important here is the population, not the territory."

Military hardliners in South Cotabato have expressed doubts about this "hard and soft" policy, but local officials, from Bula's barangay captain to the city mayor, are more than willing to try it out. Compared with armed confrontation, the new approach, they believe, is "a subtle and more sophisticated handling of the insurgency problem."

Encouraged thus by both the military and the civilian bureaucracy, droves of right-wing vigilantes from Davao's Agdao district swarmed to barangay Bula. Now, giving aid and comfort to the NPA is considered very un-

healthy, if not fatal; the village has become Alsa Masa territory.

Major Bermudez and Roberto Tedoy, Bula's barangay captain, regularly conduct an operation to ferret out suspected rebels or rebel sympathizers. A "magic box" is placed in a clearing where people can drop the names of persons they suspect to be members or supporters of the NPA.

"I'll do everything to protect them if they lay down their arms," says Tedoy of the insurgents. "After all, they are Filipinos." He warns, however, that "if they kill even just one Alsa Masa member, we will go after the heads of five of their contacts here." To his listeners, there is no mistaking that he means to do what he says, literally.

That is yet to happen. Meanwhile, the propaganda battle for the hearts and minds of the people goes on. To counter the still sympathetic attitude of the village folk for the insurgents, a "pulong-pulong" featuring anti-communist lectures and speeches is held regularly.

For the village folk, however, nothing much has changed. While the military and local officials are rejoicing at having "cleansed" Bula of the Red plague, there is still not enough food on the table. Going after suspected insurgents has not filled the empty stomachs of the barangay residents. Ka Andro, a CPP cadre, is certain that the insurgency is far from over because the government's Alsa Masa solution does not institute basic changes in society.

"Just wait and see after the elections," he says ominously. "The revolution will explode right in Cory's face." ■■■

## CAPTURED NDF OFFICIAL ON MOVEMENT, MILITARY

Quezon City WE FORUM in English 28 May 87 p 5

[Text]

Lingayen, Pangasinan (PNF) -- "I joined the NDF (National Democratic Front) because both the Marcos and the Aquino government have failed to address the roots of the economic ills and social injustices in our country."

Thus said Ramon Manuel, 36, alias Ka (comrade) Elmo when relatives, friends, and mediapersons visited him last week at the Lingayen provincial Philippine Constabulary headquarters (where he is still detained) in Pangasinan province (some 300 kms. north of Manila).

Captured a day before the May 11 congressional and senatorial elections in the village of Gais-guipe in Dasol, a town in this province's western border, Manuel was earlier reported to have voluntarily surrendered and to have sought amnesty from local military authorities. He denied the report, saying he was captured by a mobile field force of the RSAC (Regional Special Action Company), a regional elite combat

force.

"I thought it was my end when the car I was in was stopped by RSAC troops," he recalls. "I only relaxed when I noticed my captors had radioed higher military commands about my capture. I knew I wouldn't be salvaged (summarily executed), but detained."

Showing torture marks on his ribs, the frail-looking Manuel said he was mauled by the RSAC field force. But he said his guards at his detention cell and the military officials in Lingayen were "kind to me."

"My guards and the officers here respect me," he said. "They're also interested in exchanging ideas with me, so I share with them what the NDF is all about, its programs, goals, etc."

Manuel said many members of the local military he talked with agreed that structures of injustice still persist despite the ouster of former President Ferdinand Marcos.

Manuel said many of the members of the military he talked to "were also disgusted with the results of the elections because many of them voted for the candidates of GAD (Grand Alliance for Democracy)," a newly form-

ed traditional opposition party which participated in the May 11 elections. GAD includes former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile among its senatorial bets.

An expert in cooperative-building, he said local military authorities are trying to convince him to apply for amnesty so he could engage in livelihood projects.

A 1972 graduate of economics from a Manila university, Manuel said he was first involved in the underground Left in 1980 through the **Kabataang Makabayan** (Nationalist Youth), a nationwide clandestine youth organization.

He said he joined the NDF, coalition of all underground Left organizations, in 1985. He figured in the failed NDF-Aquino government ceasefire talks a few months ago as a spokesperson for the Pangasinan NDF chapter.

Military intelligence reports said Manuel was the district consultative council head of four west Pangasinan towns at the time of his arrest.

Manuel said he personally believes a dialogue between NDF forces and the Aquino government is possible provided basic issues such as genuine land reform, national sovereignty and social justice will be addressed.

MNLF SPOKESMAN ON NEGOTIATIONS, NDF, OTHER GROUPS

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 3 Jun 87 pp 3-5

[Interview with Abdurasad Asani, MNLF international representative, by Benjamin Pimentel, Jr., in Misrata, Libya; no date provided]

[Text]

**A**bdurasad Asani is a lively person to interview. Recalling the days of the First Quarter Storm, he relates the events during the violent student demonstration of January 26, 1970, in vivid detail, occasionally acting out how he eluded the riot policemen who were chasing him. He and his children were in Tripoli when American fighter planes bombarded the Libyan capital and he describes how rocket bombs barely missed the roof of his house, hitting, instead, the French Embassy a few meters away.

Asani was a student in Manila during the student nationalist upsurge. The Jabidah massacre — in

which Muslim military trainees were killed for their refusal to launch a clandestine commando operation for the recovery of Sabah — convinced him of the need for a movement to fight for the rights of the Moro people. He then joined the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and is now one of its international representatives.

In an exclusive interview in Misrata, Libya, Asani discussed the current negotiations between the MNLF and the Philippine government, their organization's attitude toward the National Democratic Front and the state of the Moro struggle for self-determination.

Can you tell us how the peace negotiations between the MNLF and the Philippine government are going?

It looks like the negotiations are not making any progress at all. The Philippine government seems to be buying time. First, they say that the Moro question should be resolved based on the newly-ratified Constitution. Now, they ask us to wait for the new legislature. I am not saying

that this is the official government position. In fact, these are my own observations and not the official position of the MNLF, although many of my colleagues feel the same way. It might be that the Philippine government wants us to wait for a new legislature in order for the President to declare that only the Congress can enact organic laws that will give autonomy to the Moro people. In other words,

It looks like the President would like to pass on the burden of deciding the matter to the new Congress which is supposed to be composed of the representatives of the people. You see, the MNLF has demanded that the President disregard the Constitution and issue an executive order creating an autonomous region.

In your opinion, how will the negotiations turn out, given this situation?

I am not very hopeful that a result that is satisfactory to both parties will be arrived at.

The MNLF has claimed that the Philippine government is actually preparing for war.

Yes, that is true. We have received reports that the Philippine government has deployed forces in areas they had not been before.

After the meeting between Nur Misuari and President Aquino, there seemed to be a lot of optimism on the part of the MNLF that the Mindanao problem could be solved peacefully. An important factor that was cited was the sincerity of the new President. How has this view changed given the direction of the current peace talks?

Nobody can measure the sincerity of the President. She might have been sincere when she said, "Let us solve this problem." But as to how it can be solved and the kind of autonomy the government is willing to grant, these may not be the same as our idea of a just and peaceful solution. The MNLF is asking for 23 provinces. They are willing to give only five or six which is way below our demand.

It is claimed that there are only five or six provinces where the Muslims are a majority. The

government has proposed the holding of a referendum to settle the issue of how many provinces should be included in the autonomous region. What is your position on this?

I am against a referendum. I think the Chairman [Nur Misuari] has also expressed this position on the question of a referendum. When our people were annexed by the Philippine government, they were not asked if they agreed to being annexed. No referendum was held.

If the peace talks break down, what alternatives are left for the MNLF?

Well, I am afraid that, even though we don't want war, we may have to go back to armed struggle.

Do you think the MNLF is ready to engage the Armed Forces of the Philippines in another war?

I think the question of readiness has already been answered. If we had thought that we were not ready, we should not have launched our revolution in the first place. During the early days of our struggle, we had no experience in waging war, we were not sure of the support that we could get and how long the struggle would last. But the people supported us and we survived and even gathered more strength and influence.

What is your position on the National Democratic Front which is also active in Mindanao and is engaged in armed struggle against the Philippine government?

Well, I can only state my own position. I think my position and views are already known to some important members of the NDF. We say that the whole of Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Palawan make up the Moro

homeland. That land is ours and it is inviolable. We do not know what the NDF's program and objectives in Mindanao are. But we know they have been organizing in Mindanao. We want to prevent any untoward incidents or any misunderstandings. But we are clear in our position insofar as territory is concerned.

In the Libya Conference, the NDF representative, Luis Jalandoni, said that the NDF recognizes the right of the Moro people to self-determination, including the right to secession. I think this is the first time that the NDF has come out with such a position. What do you think of this?

Let me correct you on this. It was not the first that the NDF has come out with such a stand. It was also their position in the Permanent People's Tribunal in 1981. Ganoon din ang sinabi nila, that they recognize the right of our people to self-determination and secession as long as the Moro people are fighting against national oppression. We take this as a very significant point in the Moro struggle if the NDF will hold on to its commitment. If the NDF comes to power in the Philippines, then it will not be difficult to remind them of their commitment.

The NDF has also stated that it invites the Moro nation to join the Filipino nation to form a bigger nation. Would you accept such an invitation to struggle and unity?

The issue of colonialism cannot be resolved by whatever form of government is in power in the colonizing country. If it is a reactionary government, then we have no other option but to fight it. If it is progressive, then there is greater hope for us to become independent since we assume that the government in

power recognizes and upholds our struggle for self-determination. But even if it is a progressive movement, the issue of colonialism will not be erased.

Would you accept the invitation by the NDF?

If a dialogue is established, then forms of cooperation may emerge.

Have there been armed confrontations between the Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) and the New People's Army (NPA)?

We have heard of some untoward incidents in Davao. I just hope the NPA forces would somehow be more discreet in their operations.

If the peace talks break down, would you agree to work with the NDF in your struggle?

Perhaps on a case-to-case basis.

Such as military operations?

It depends on the situation and the target of the operations.

How about political alliances?

There is no need for a formal agreement on this.

What is the MNLF position on the other Moro armed groups particularly the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)? The MILF under Salamat Hashim refused to participate in the peace negotiations.

I prefer not to discuss the differences with the MILF. We have always hoped that we can become united again as one Moro movement. The last thing we want to do is aggravate our differences. It is better for us to minimize this and think positively of how we can advance our struggle. Our final victory depends on how united we are.

A new development in Mindanao is the rise of government-supported anti-Communist and anti-Moro vigilante groups like the Alsa Masa and the Christian Liberation Army. What is your position on these groups?

We believe it is not right for the government to form such groups. We hope that those who have been misled into joining such groups will realize that they are obstructing the advance of the revolution. They will eventually realize that they are only being used as obstacles to the revolution. They are being used as instruments of violence.

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WEEKLY SEES CONTINUING ROLE FOR 'NEW POLITICS'

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 3 Jun 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Requiem for New Politics?"]

[Text]

As this is written, unofficial "quick counts" indicate an overwhelming win for the Cory candidates. Traditional politicians tainted by past or continuing association with the Marcosist aberration have mostly lost — but so have advocates of the new politics, though they were the first and most consistent fighters in the antifascist resistance.

Does this mean, then, that the new politics is through — or that its electoral experiment has failed?

Many voters sympathetic to the new politics never had any doubt that their candidates hadn't the ghost of a chance. Ballot power, after all, grows out of the barrels of gold that a candidate already possesses or is able to muster from plutocratic investors. New politics, unfortunately, is the politics of poverty.

Still, participation in what militants call the electoral struggle was an experiment, and an experiment usually goes through a trial-and-error phase. One unsuccessful experiment does not necessarily disprove a hypothesis; it took centuries of experimentation before the Daedalus dream was turned into a reality by the Wright brothers.

The new politics' loss at the polls can therefore be read in many ways.

It could mean that the electorate is not yet ready for a cause-oriented politics, but it could also mean that cause-oriented politics should not be so grim and boring, and should not look down upon jingles and fiestas. (As Emma Goldman used to say, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution.")

It could mean that elections are a waste of time and an exercise in futility for advocates of radical change, but it could also mean that new politicians need more experience in this new arena of contention. (Perhaps they can try an electoral adaptation of the guerrilla principle of "encircling the cities from the countryside," concentrating first on small local victories rather than immediately going for ambitious national constituencies.)

It could mean that the time has come to abandon all parliamentary illusions, but it could also mean that, in between elections, the new politics must keep going back to

its roots -- back to the parliament of the streets, back to pressure politics. (A number of the victors, after all, have cause-oriented backgrounds, and peer pressure from the extra-parliamentary opposition could help them overcome their pragmatic cautiousness or their vacillation.)

Whatever one's reading of the situation, one will have to point out that it is too early to count out the new politics. Sing no sad songs for it. It may be down, but it isn't out. It's still a heavyweight; it's still a contender. And streetfighting is where it has always excelled. [M]

/9274

CSO: 4200/644

DIOKNO'S DAUGHTER CHAIRS ANTIVIGILANTE ORGANIZATION

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 3 Jun 87 pp 14-16

[Article by Ma. Nerissa Balce: "The Violent Menace"]

[Text]

**L**ucia Madayan, 35, a resident of barangay Guadalupe in Cebu and a member of the local chapter of the United Farmers Organization (UFO), was abducted last April 13. Her mutilated body was discovered two weeks later. Members of the fact-finding mission sponsored by the Visayan Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (VAHRA) went to the site where the victim was reportedly dumped and saw chopped and rotten parts of a female body scattered inside a pit. A Tadtad member who witnessed the slaying said that Madayan was raped by her killers before being mutilated.

Loreto Ubod, 33, married, with five children, and the vice-chairman of UFO was shot in the back last Good Friday, April 17, in Upper Lanipao, Cebu, while fleeing from Tadtad members who attacked him in his hut. His head was chopped off after he was killed.

Such incidents of violence by fanatical anti-communist vigilante groups are being duplicated in other parts of the country today.

According to the Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Ad-

vocates (PAHRA), there are now more than 50 vigilante groups in the country. Arnel de Guzman, PAHRA public information officer, points out that these are the groups that have been "identified and documented." Still unaccounted for are "those whose atrocities have not yet been discovered."

The more prominent vigilante groups are the Sagrado Corazon Senor (popularly known as Tadtad) in Davao, the Caballerong Itim in Cagayan, the Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association in Kalinga-Apayao, the Koronadal Movement for Unit and Tranquility (KOMUT) in South Cotabato, the El Tigre in Negros, the Filipiniana in Leyte, the KILCOM in Bicol, the Yellow Union in Masbate and Laguna, and the most notorious of them all, the Alsa Masa of Davao.

One vigilante group has been endorsed by the government through Local Governments Secretary Jaime Ferrer — the Nagkahiusang Katawhan Alang sa Kalinaw or the Nakasaka of Davao del Sur. Nakasaka militants carry guns even as the government and the military claim that they are armed only with

bolos and such native weapons. A recent photograph published on the front pages of several Manila dailies showed bolo-wielding Tadtad cultists affiliated with the Nakasaka displaying their grisly trophy — the head of a slain "NPA guerrilla."

In February and March of this year, the PAHRA and the Presidential Commission on Human Rights (PCHR) sent fact-finding missions to look into reports of Alsa Masa atrocities in Davao. The PAHRA observed that the military's "intense propaganda" in the media had "succeeded in whipping up anti-communist hysteria. . . to set the stage for its counter-insurgency operations and to dull reactions against human rights violations it continues to commit." The PCHR, for its part, said that the growth of the Alsa Masa could be attributed to "military support, local government support and media publicity" of the atrocities and executions carried out, the military itself has claimed, by the NPA in Davao. Human rights violations involving the Nakasaka and brought to the attention of the PCHR ranged from salvaging to illegal detention.

The proliferation of vigilante groups poses a serious threat to democracy. As the PCHR has noted, the lack of safeguards against abuses has resulted in violations of basic provisions of the 1986 Constitution, particularly the Bill of Rights. The PCHR findings also stress that the vigilantes violate "international covenants which the government has obligated itself to uphold" such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Concern over the increase of vigilante groups and the need to counter them have given rise to a

movement composed of various cause-oriented groups and human rights organizations. Last April 29, the founding congress of the National Movement to Disband Vigilantes (NMDV) was held. Prominent human rights advocates nominated in absentia as officers of the NMDV included filmmaker Lino Brocka and UP professors Ed Garcia and Maris Diokno.

**N**ominated as chairperson of the NMDV, Maris Diokno has yet to meet with her fellow officers to map out strategy and tactics. "But we already have a project in progress, a signature campaign," she says. "We'll collect two million signatures to endorse the disbandment of these vigilante groups."

Accordingly, three "signature centers" handled by NMDV-affiliated groups have been set up. These are in Liwasang Bonifacio, handled by the Medical Action Group (MAG); at EDSA Crossing, supervised by the Young Christian Workers (YWC); and in the Isetann Department Store in Cubao, under the Scientists, Technologists, Engineers for Progress (STEP).

Diokno decries the fact that "government guidelines" for vigilante groups such as the prohibition of firearms, voluntary membership and the confinement of vigilante operations to specified neighborhoods have been consistently violated.

Says Diokno: "Vigilantes are supposed to be armed only with bolos, not with guns — a contradiction in terms. If the conditions the government has set are being blatantly violated anyway, it all amounts to a farce, a nonsensical exercise."

Diokno does not believe that the formation of vigilante groups expresses "the people's right

of self-defense." "All these — forced recruitment, 'extortions for democracy' — make a mockery of the right of self-defense." She disagrees with reports that vigilante operations have brought peace and order to certain strife-torn communities.

"In the first place, the peace that these vigilantes claim to have restored is the peace of the graveyard," she declares. "That is not the kind of peace we fought for, the peace our people want. We want a real, active peace for the living, not for the dead!"

She compares the "peace and order" during martial law to the situation in vigilante-controlled areas. "I remember very well the first few years of martial law. There was supposed to be peace and order and many of the upper and middle classes fell for that line of the Marcos propagandists. But it was a peace based on fear and intimidation. Marcos was able to get away with it for a few years but not for long."

"We don't want that kind of peace again. E, kung may vigilante dito at ang tingin na nga sa akin ay komunista, ba't pa ako magsasalita? Ba't pa ako kikilos? Bawat salita ko, bawat kilos ko sasabihin nila, 'Ay, komunista 'yan!' E, di mabuti pa kaya tumahimik na lang ako at maghanapbuhay. [So, if there is a vigilante here who sees me as a communist, can I speak [freely] all the time? Can I act [freely] all the time? They will say from my every word and act, "There goes a communist!" So, wouldn't it be better if I keep quiet and go about making a living.]

And then, under those circumstances, there will

be peace, or what passes for peace. That's what some people understand by peace. But that is not democracy, that is not genuine freedom."

Diokno believes that vigilante groups, like the dreaded Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) of Marcos, will inevitably turn into "destructive Frankenstein monsters" unless they are controlled or, better yet, outlawed and disbanded. "By definition, vigilantes disregard due process. They prosecute and persecute on mere suspicion." She goes on to explain that it is a common practice of vigilantes to paint "X" on the houses of suspected NPA members or sympathizers and later strafe or burn them down.

She sees a "frightening parallel" between what is happening in our country and the experience of Central American countries. "The strategy of Low Intensity Conflict in El Salvador, for example, is to 'civilianize' counter-insurgency and militarize the grassroots. Right now, we are in the process of establishing a democratic institution, an elected legislature. So we are about to civilianize the anti-insurgency campaign. What is alarming is the militarization of the grassroots, of the masses. And I am convinced that what is happening in our country, this toleration or even encouragement of vigilante groups, has a lot to do with what the US wants to happen here. I don't think the US liked the government-NDF ceasefire at all. Can you imagine. . . it was the first time the NDF was free to mingle with the people, have access to media and all. Ayaw 'yan ng US, 'di ba?"

[The U.S. is opposed to this, isn't it?"]

In any event, Diokno is confident that the NMDV will be successful and "bring an end to the vigilante menace." "Ours is a peaceful movement. We believe we can effect change, real, peaceful change. All the government has to do is take a stand against these vigilante groups and implement the law strictly and consistently. The government has only to exercise its political will and the people will support it all the way. People want justice. They will always want justice."

Maris Diokno, like her late father, the magnificent nationalist Jose W. Diokno, is of the conviction that a military solu-

tion such as vigilantism is not the answer to the insurgency problem. "Vigilante groups do not address the problems that have spawned insurgency. The problems are basic and they have been with us for a long, long time. Landlessness, hunger, unemployment, inequitable distribution of wealth and income — these are age-old problems and vigilante groups do not and cannot deal with these problems. All these vigilantes can bring about is a greater escalation of violence."

"We should go back to the old framework: food and freedom, jobs and justice. Allowing vigilante groups to exist and operate will only lead to more violence, more death and destruction." [M]

/13104

CSO: 4200/646

BIGORNIA ON ELECTION CREDIBILITY, PKP HITS USSR AID TO KMU

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 31 May 87 pp 6, 12

[Commentary by Jesus Bigornia: "Ask Return of Party Inspectors"]

[Text] **L**IKE "chauvinist pigs" warning mini-skirted "chicks" on parade in the 1950s to watch their slips, today's political observer may, without fear of contradiction, cry out to Manila's newspapers: "Beware your biases are showing!" For, if not totally "sold" on President Aquino, most of the local dailies are prejudiced beyond measure against former defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Not only are news reports on his past and present achievements watered down, headlines make him out a villain or, at worst, a mendicant begging absolution from an angry Malacñang.

\* \* \*

For example, how can resumption of interrupted elections in Sulu be viewed, as a morning daily proclaims in a screaming headline, as the factor determining the fate of Enrile. The one-time defense chief and lately opposition senatorial standard-bearer is not on the dock accused of anything. On the contrary, he is the accuser; the administration stands accused by Enrile and other Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD) candidates of rigging the senatorial election. Indeed, the credibility of the admini-

nistration sinks or floats depending on whether the election in the Southern Philippines was not only orderly and peaceful, but also clean and honest.

\* \* \*

"Hi, Judge! Long time no see, whatsamatta?"

"Well, you know how life is... It really has been some time."

"Say, I read somewhere that you resigned from the judiciary to run for Congress, that true?"

"I thought I should follow in the footsteps of my late father. You remember he was a three-termer."

"So what are you doing here picking up groceries instead of guarding the ballot boxes..."

"No ballot boxes require my guarding. I was outbought from the start. I thought I had a chance despite the dollars of my rivals. Imagine my shock to find out that the teachers who now serve on election boards can now be bought — if the price is right."

Oh, well, the times are hard and teachers and members of their families can eat neither prestige nor honor. Furthermore, those who could not be bribed succumbed to threats of separation from the service reportedly made by municipal officers-in-charge who in turn were told by Local Government Secretary Jaime Ferrer to make the administration candidates win — or

else. Another election presided by teachers and attended with frauds and their usefulness as mentors of the youth will disappear in political mud as their reputations have sunk. A return to the system of party inspectors may, indeed, be necessary to save the teachers and the educational system from disaster.

\* \* \*

The Department of Foreign Affairs doubts the authenticity of a letter quoted profusely in this space recently revealing the meddling hand of the Soviet Union in Philippine domestic affairs. Ms. Aida Lava Dizon, to whom the letter on the stationery of the embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) by First Secretary Zaouri S. Tsikolia was addressed, likewise claims she received no such letter. Without prejudice to reproducing the Tsikolia letter elsewhere in this newspaper, this column herewith reproduces certain segments to assure the Vice President and foreign secretary, Mr. Salvador Laurel, that this column has a copy of the letter.

\* \* \*

Apparently, the Partido Komunista sa Pilipinas (PKP) had protested against certain remarks attributed to "Comrade" Davidov of the World Federation of Trade Unions on the reasons for assisting with moral and material support to the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU). Tsikolia wrote: "Our dealings so far with the KMU persuade us that they are an effective force for change in the Philippines and are worthy recipients of increased support from the Soviet Government and other peace-loving and anti-imperialist nations."

\* \* \*

No longer is GAD's the lone

voice crying "Fraud!" in the Philippines' political wilderness. A high ranking officer of the Philippine Constabulary (PC), Brig. Gen. Eugenio Ocampo, commander of PC-INP Region III, indicts the Commission on Elections (Comelec) for negligence of its duties and ineffective performance that paved the way for the commission of "enormous election irregularities" in Central Luzon; the administration's conceded bailiwick.

\* \* \*

"Enormous election irregularities were committed after the actual voting," General Ocampo said in a report on "Observations on Electoral Irregularities" sent to Camp Crame. Among such official lapses were (1) deliberate tardy delivery of tally sheets to polling centers giving rise to suspicion that tally reports were already accomplished elsewhere even before the counting of the votes (2) exclusion of watchers which enabled Comelec officers and volunteers of the National Citizens Movement for Free (NCF) Elections (NCF) to count the votes behind closed doors; (3) recourse to the intervention of PC provincial commanders in cases brought in by civilian witnesses because Comelec officials had gone into hiding.

\* \* \*

General Ocampo's indictment of the Comelec reflects on the integrity of its chairman, Ramon Felipe Jr. There can be no excuse for late delivery of election forms to any one of the provinces of Central Luzon, all of which could be reached by automobile in four hours. Mr. Felipe has a lot to answer to the people. The wishy-washy performance of the Comelec made the legislative elections a mockery.

/13104

CSO: 4200/646

STUDENTS THREATEN 'WAR' AGAINST AQUINO, EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Quezon City WE FORUM in English 28 May 87 p 2

[Text] Over 100 student leaders from 85 Mindanao schools have declared "war" on the Aquino administration and the education department for their alleged failure to change the "repressive, colonial, and commercialized" orientation of the country's educational system.

Ending a four-day meeting in Kidapawan, North Cotabato, the third Mindanao Conference of the League of Filipino Students also disclosed plans to mount a Mindanao-wide strike in July that will include various forms of protests — boycotts, mass walk-outs, barricades, street marches, among others.

The Conference said that last school year, the suppression of the basic democratic rights of students was "without

let-up," compared to the Marcos years.

Their documentation work disclosed that since February, 1986, at least 169 students were arbitrarily and illegally arrested by government forces for political reasons and another 105 students were summarily suspended or expelled by repressive school administrations also for political reasons.

At the same time, two students were killed and 33 others suffered from serious physical injuries allegedly inflicted by government and/or school security forces, and other forms of both physical and administrative political harassments.

The Conference also decried the deepening control and perversion by foreign, primarily US transnational interests, of the educational system.

/13104

CSO: 4200/646

MILITARY, RURAL RECONSTRUCTION FOOD AID TO NEGROS REPORTED

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 31 May 87 p 8

[Text]

The Department of National Defense (DND) said yesterday the military and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) have forged an agreement to see to it that the P19-million food aid program for the Negros provinces goes to deserving indigents.

The agreement was reached during a dialogue in Camp Aguinaldo between Defense Secretary Rafael M. Ileto and Horacio "Boy" Morales of the PRRM who resolved controversies arising from the distribution of the aid.

The food aid program was supposed to start last October to end last March, but this was stopped in the wake of reports that the food aid was being diverted to the rebels in the two Negros provinces.

However, the aid was extended for another five months or until August this year.

Morales, a Partido ng Bayan (PnB) senatorial candidate, told Ileto that on two occasions, the military in Negros provinces seized some food shipments on suspicions that they were going to the rebels.

The food aid program was donated by the West German government as part of its efforts to help in the "Save Negros Campaign."

The military said it had proofs that mongo, rice, and cooking oil reached the rebel camps as reported by Silvina Ruales, an alleged propaganda leader in the rebel movement.

Ileto said the military recognizes the need to bring food to needy residents, but questioned the distribution scheme.

He said there were instances when the rebels instead received the goods.

Morales, on the other hand, said under its distribution system, the PRRM selects the sugar workers to help since it has many members and has a good organization which can implement the food aid program effectively.

Morales requested the military to specify the defects in the distribution system so that necessary changes can be made.

The military said that instead of channeling the food through the sugar workers, the local governments should be used.

# DEVELOPMENT BANK REGAINING FINANCIAL VIABILITY

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 31 May 87 p 25

[Text]

Six months after its rehabilitation program was put in place, the Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP) is showing that it can be a viable financial institution again with leaner resources but without the heavy drag of its huge non-performing accounts.

Consolidated plans of its various operating groups showed that the bank is capable of exceeding the financial targets contained in the rehabilitation plan, indicating that the rebuilding period could be shorter than expected.

First quarter results also showed that figures for capital adequacy, liquidity, loan loss reserves and earning performance ratios were all within the program targets. During the period, total operating income of the DBP reached P348 million, 22 percent higher than the target. Net income after tax amounted to P105 million.

The bank also has

now been able to resume lending, albeit on a limited scale. The DBP is now lending for housing, agriculture and small and medium-scale industries. The next lending program will cover schools and hospitals.

For the whole year, the DBP projects a net income of P463.9 million based on the consolidation of the group budgets as against the P282.94 million income targetted in the rebuilding program.

It said that the difference between the projection in the budget and the rebuilding program target was due to the higher gross income of the groups, particularly branch banking whose gross will exceed the program projections by 12.56 percent.

Total resources of the DBP for 1987 are targetted to be P9.46 billion, as against the P8.468 billion established in the rebuilding program and P9.65 billion as of the end of 1986.

The DBP operating groups pointed to the need to secure the bank's liquidity positions as a condition for rebuilding, and their commitments to adhere to assets reduction as an appropriate strategy during the rebuilding period.

Thus, the targetted deposits with and due from banks for 1987 amount to ₱925 million, as compared with the ₱196 million targetted in the rebuilding program from the same period.

In turn, this is matched in the liabilities side of the bank with an excess of ₱108 million in time and savings deposits expected to be generated in 1987 over that of the rebuilding program.

New strategies adopted by the DBP for its business plans in 1987 were along asset reduction schemes of account write-downs, particularly on the remaining non-performing accounts; monetiza-

tion of investments; collection of existing loan portfolio through the establishment of account management systems; and internally-generated fund-sourcing.

In accordance with the three-year program for running down DBP's NPAs to zero, at least 25 percent of these NPAs are expected to be disposed of within the year. Meanwhile, 20 percent of NPAs of the Asset Privatization Trust (APT) will have been sold, rehabilitated, fully settled or paid, or made current at the end of this year.

Further asset reduction will consist of the following: writedown of the remaining NPAs by a valuation reserve of ₱3.08 billion; decrease in the portfolio level of performing accounts by ₱398 million; and monetization of equity and investment in private firms valued at ₱10 million and ₱24 million, respectively.

/13104

CSO: 4200/646

OFFICIALS REPORT PLANS TO PROVIDE 1 MILLION JOBS PER YEAR

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 31 May 87 p 8

[Text]

Solution of the unemployment problem of the country is the main remedy to help in the economic recovery of the Philippines, officials of the National Manpower and Youth Council (NMYC) said here.

Statistics show that there are at present six million unemployed Filipinos and of this number, 3.4 million are out-of-school youth in the rural areas.

The National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) has plans to provide jobs for one million Filipinos every year and the NMYC is the lead agency in manpower research and planning, skills upgrading, and livelihood skills training for out-of-school youth trainees, they said.

Lorenzo A. Buhain Jr., NMYC director-general, said that the agency has launched placement assistance centers for skilled trainee-graduates.

Buhain also disclosed that NMYC has opened training for women in non-traditional occupations like electrical, electronics, and wood industry jobs, and auto transport trades. (ISC)

BRIEFS

PRO-MUJAHIDIN ARTICLE IN WE FORUM--Editorial Report] WE FORUM, a magazine that frequently publishes leftist and CCP points of view, runs an article on the Afghan resistance to USSR forces that paints the insurgents in a favorable light. Citing 15,000 Soviet deaths, the article, by INTERCO PRESS, says the "Afghan resistance has not surrendered, but has even carried the war to Soviet territory." Calling them "freedom fighters," the article quotes only Mujahidin sources on USSR losses and activities, including forced evacuations by the USSR of Afghan villagers. [Quezon City WE FORUM in English 29 May 87 p 5] /9274

CSO: 4200/644

THAILAND

OFFICIALS' TRIP PROMPTS REVIEWS OF PRC, TAIWAN ISSUE

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 31 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Taiwan Gave a Banquet for Phisan; Sitthi Has Asked that the Cabinet Resolution Be Revised"]

[Text] Taiwan's deputy foreign affairs minister held a banquet for Phisan and his party. Sitthi has proposed revising the cabinet resolution. China is pressuring Thailand. This might make people to think that there are two Chinas. Phisan said that he did not go as a representative of the government.

SIAM RAT published a news report about the visit to Taiwan by Mr Phisan Mulasatsathon, the under secretary of interior, and several other senior officials from the Ministry of Interior. This was contrary to Thailand's policy and could affect relations between Thailand and China. Thailand's policy is that there is only one China, that is, the People's Republic of China.

SIAM RAT has received additional information stating that Mr Phisan Mulasatsathon and Mr Chalong Kalayanmit, the deputy under secretary of interior, who at that time was the director-general of the Department of Local Administration, and several other senior officials from the Ministry of Interior went to Taiwan at the beginning of September 1986. On 15 September 1986, Mr Khieng Moo Chi, Taiwan's deputy foreign affairs minister for political affairs, gave a party to welcome Mr Phisan's group.

The news report stated that after the visit to Taiwan by Mr Phisan and his party, Air chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the minister of foreign affairs, wrote a letter in which he suggested that the cabinet's resolution on contacting Taiwan be reviewed. This letter was sent to the secretary general of the cabinet on 30 December 1986.

Air Chief Marshal Sitthi's letter referred to the letter issued by the Secretariat of the Cabinet on 9 October 1986, which reported the cabinet resolution of 7 October 1986. Approval was given for the ministries, bureaus, departments, and state enterprises to act in accord with the proposal by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had proposed that the cabinet's resolution on visits to Taiwan by Thai government officials and state enterprise officials be revised. It was proposed that Thai government officials and state

enterprise officials be allowed to visit Taiwan under the following conditions:

1. This is a visit while enroute elsewhere.
2. The visit is made for economic reasons. However, such visits to Taiwan can be made only under the following conditions:
  - 2.1. The ministry that intends to send officials or officials of subordinate state enterprises to Taiwan must first discuss the appropriateness of this with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to ensure that no political meaning is attached to the visit, which could affect diplomatic relations between Thailand and the PRC. This must be done everytime before permission is granted.
  - 2.2. Those government officials and state enterprise officials traveling to Taiwan must travel on an ordinary passport instead of an official government passport.
  - 2.3. Those who visit Taiwan should not be senior government officials who hold important government positions.
  - 2.4. They must not reveal themselves as state officials during their stay in Taiwan.

Air Chief Marshal Sitthi said that Thailand is now in a period of economic, trade, and investment expansion. It is essential that we have broad international contacts, and that includes Taiwan. The fact that we will expand economic contacts with Taiwan does not indicate any change in the government's attitude or policy toward the PRC as stated in the joint Thai-Chinese Communique of 1975. In view of this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has proposed that the cabinet resolution be revised as follows:

1. The cabinet resolution, specifically section 2.3, states that those who visit Taiwan "shouldnot be senior government officials who hold important government positions." This should be revised to read: "Officials who need to travel to Taiwan on economic business should be allowed to go there."
2. Section 2.4 of the cabinet resolution states that those who visit Taiwan "must not reveal themselves as state officials during their stay in Taiwan." The following should be added to this: "They must not do anything to indicate recognition of two Chinas or the government and symbol of Taiwan. They must not do anything contrary to the 1975 joint communique on developing diplomatic relations between Thailand and the PRC."
3. Contacts with Taiwan must not have any political significance thatcould affect Thai-Chinese relations, and they must be in line with the government's policy on the PRC as stated in the 1975 joint Thai-Chinese Communique. That is, the government recognizes the government of the PRC as the only legitimate government of China. It is recognized that there is only one China and that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China.

Air Chief Marshal Sitthi's letter also stated that the Chinese ambassador to Thailand has observed that on several occasions, Thai cabinet ministers and other senior officials have participated in various ceremonies of Taiwan organized by the Far East Trade Office in Thailand. In particular, officials participated in the ceremony held on 10 October, which is considered to be Taiwan's National Day.

"Participation by Thai officials in such ceremonies could be misconstrued to mean that the government recognizes Taiwan. This might mislead people into thinking that there are two Chinas, which is not in accord with the intentions expressed in the joint communique," said Air Chief Marshal Sitthi.

A news source in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told SIAM RAT that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not received any letter or protest from the PRC about this. However, additional data may be examined if it becomes necessary.

The news source said that according to the regulations of the Office of the Prime Minister, before government officials can go abroad on an official trip, they must first discuss the matter with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As for the case in question, if this is true and people have gone there in their capacity as government officials, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not contacted or informed of this beforehand.

The news source mentioned the cabinet's 1975 order, which is the year in which Thailand officially established relations with the PRC. The cabinet's resolution states that government officials should not travel to Taiwan in an official capacity or accept an official invitation to go there. Later on, this was revised to give greater flexibility. Nevertheless, the ministry concerned must discuss this with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs first.

Mr Phisan Mulasatsathon, the under secretary of interior, talked to reporters about the fact that some members of the opposition think that it was wrong for him and Mr Chalong Kalayanmit, the director-general of the Department of Local Administration, to visit Taiwan. He said that he went with the Volleyball Association. He said that you can call that an official visit if you want, but the fact is, he did not go as a representative of the government.

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CSO: 4207/205

THAILAND

GENERAL SUNTHON COMMENTS ON ARMY POLITICAL ROLE

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 1 Apr 87 pp 1, 14, 16

[Excerpt] On the afternoon of 31 March at the army auditorium, Gen Sunthon Khongsomphong, the assistant RTA CINC, talked with reporters about the results of the public opinion poll conducted by the Institute of Social Research, Chulalongkon University. The poll showed that 49 percent of the respondents are opposed to the military getting involved in politics. Gen Sunthon said that normally, the military does not want to get involved in politics. Because whenever it does, it is immediately criticized by politicians. The RTA CINC would prefer soldiers to stay out of politics.

A reporter asked if the RTA CINC has ordered soldiers to stay out of politics. Gen Sunthon replied that senior officers have discussed this. "We have discussed this from various angles. We feel that remaining aloof and letting them do all the talking is better. The RTA CINC has told us not to get into arguments with them. The country needs peace and order. If we say anything, it's like talking in a cave. That is, the sound reverberates. It's better if we don't say anything."

The reporter asked if this means that soldiers will no longer talk about political matters. Gen Sunthon said that if there is any need to talk about politics, it will be the RTA CINC who does the talking. If others say anything, they might "get off the track" and that would not be good.

The reporter said that he feels that people in general are now very interested in military affairs. The assistant RTA CINC said that he would let the RTA CINC be the one to talk about that. He said he is a soldier and must obey the orders of his superiors. That way, there won't be any confusion.

The reporter said that the poll showed that Gen Prem's popularity has declined greatly. He asked what can be done to increase his popularity. Gen Sunthon replied: "I don't know who their respondents were. Perhaps they sampled just a few groups. But regardless of who is prime minister, we consider that person to be our superior. Soldiers must obey the orders of their superiors, from the prime minister and minister of defense to the supreme commander and RTA CINC. But whoever becomes prime minister should conduct himself properly."

The reporter asked whether the military will accept it if someone else replaces Gen Prem as prime minister. The assistant RTA CINC said that it doesn't have to be Gen Prem. Mr A or Mr B can become prime minister. The military must support whoever holds the position. But he should be someone who is respected. It shouldn't be someone who will "pounce on" the military as soon as he becomes prime minister. The reporter asked: "Who would dare do that?" Gen Sunthon said that "that has happened in the past."

The reporter asked how long it will be before the military is willing to accept a prime minister who is not a soldier. Gen Sunthon said that there have been prime ministers who were not soldiers. Thanin Kraiwichian was a good man. It's not that the military won't accept a prime minister who is not from the military. But so far, a suitable person has not been found. The people who understand soldiers the best are fellow soldiers.

The reporter said that the people want an elected prime minister. He asked if there will be better understanding between politicians and soldiers. Gen Sunthon said that if politicians and soldiers work together to solve the country's problems instead of thinking about their own individual interests, soldiers will accept whoever is elected.

The reporter asked, in the opinion of the military, what type of person is suited to serving as prime minister? Gen Sunthon said that he must be an honest person who is capable of coordinating the interests of the various factions. The reporter said that the fact that Gen Prem has been prime minister for five terms shows that he has the qualities admired by the military. Gen Sunthon said that Gen Prem has the ability to compromise with all factions. Regardless of what people say about him, he always remains calm. He said that in his view, this is the type of person that the country needs as prime minister. Even though Gen Prem is a former soldier, he is not biased toward the military. He is sympathetic to all sides. When he meets members of the opposition parties, he greets them and talks with them even though they have criticized him sharply in parliament. In short, he is a gentleman.

The reporter said that in this case, Gen Prem could serve a sixth term. Gen Sunthon said that "if he becomes prime minister again, we will support him. But even if he is not prime minister, we will still respect him as our former superior." Similarly, whenever he meets Achan Thanin or Achan Khukrit, he greets them respectfully as senior people who have worked for the country. He said that the "military has never looked down on anyone. The RTA CINC discussed this this morning at a meeting of units directly subordinate to the army. He said that the military must preserve its customs and traditions. Soldiers must respect those who are senior to them and remember the debts owed to these senior people."

The reporter said that the opening session of parliament is approaching. He asked if senators have held a meeting. Gen Sunthon said that they have not held a meeting yet. The first meeting had to be postponed because of important official business.

Admiral Supha Khotsemi, the supreme commander, spoke about the poll showing that 49 percent of the people are opposed to the military getting involved in politics. He said that he doesn't know how accurate these statistics are. Because those who conducted the poll sampled only certain groups. If the sample was biased, the results will be skewed, too. He said that he has never gotten involved in politics. "My present workload is almost more that I can handle. It's politics that has interfered with me."

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CSO: 4207/205

THAILAND

PARAMILITARY COMMANDERS CHATCHALOEM, WANCHAI PROFILED

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 13 Apr 87 p 5

[DAILY NEWS Square column by Nanthana]

[Text] Maj Gen Chatchaloem Lekwanitchathamwithak, the Commander of the Thahan Phran Irregulars

I would like to introduce the commander of the Thahan Phran Irregulars. He is a former cavalry officer. He began his career in 1955.

Maj Gen Chatchaloem Lekwanitchathamwithak was born on 25 October 1932 in Ratburi Province. He is the youngest child of Phraya Lekwanitchathamwithak. He began his education at Saint Gabriel School, where he completed lower secondary school. He then attended school in England, where he earned a degree in mechanical engineering.

He joined the cavalry in 1955 and was assigned to the 4th Cavalry Battalion, 2d Cavalry Regiment. Following that, he served as an instructor at the Armor School. He then served with the 5th (Independent) Tank Company in Saraburi Province. After serving as the commander of this tank company, he attended the Army Command and General Staff College as a member of Class 44. After graduating from the Army Command and General Staff College, he served with the Cavalry Division and was appointed divisional operations chief on 15 January 1969. After that, he was transferred to the Directorate of Operations and Army Operations Center. He was made a divisional chief in the Directorate of Operations on 1 November 1977. He established a thahan phran irregular unit in accord with Army Order 949/24 of September 1981 on the use of the Thahan Phran Irregulars.

Besides this, he was a member of the National Assembly in 1973. He was awarded the Isriyaphon Prathamaphon Mongkut Thai Medal on 5 December 1983.

He is a talented and resolute man. As a result, the activities of the Thahan Phran Irregulars have made good progress in accord with the intentions of the army.

He is married to Phloenphit Patmasing Na Ayuthaya. They have three children.

Maj Gen Wanchai Amphunan, the Commander of the Pakthongchai Thahan Phran Irregulars Camp

Joined with the present RTA CINC in establishing the thahan phran irregulars. Has always fought side by side with his men. Has fought hard during wartime and helped develop several Santinimit villages during peacetime.

Today, I would like to introduce a thahan phran irregular who has taken part in guerrilla operations. He is a thahan phran irregular leader who has fought to protect Thailand and who has earned a reputation as an able fighter in all forms of combat. Maj Gen Wanchai Amphunan, the commander of the Pakthongchai Thahan Phran Irregulars Camp, was born on 1 April 1938 in Suan Chitlada Subdistrict, Bangkok. He is the son of Lt Col Chop and Mrs Sawat Amphunan. He completed lower secondary school at the Wat Benchamabophit School. He then attended the Military Preparatory School as a member of Class 16 and Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy as a member of Class 9. Fellow classmates included Maj Gen Mongkhon Amphonphisit, an aide to the minister of defense, Maj Gen Kasem Naphasawat, and [navy] Captain Prathan Phakdi. After graduating from the academy, he took flight training at the Khok Krathiam base in Lopburi Province. He then served as a pilot attached to the 3d Division, Suranari Camp. He served with the forward 2d Army Region in Sakon Nakhon Province for 2 years. He then served as a transport pilot with the Army Transportation Department. In 1973 he was awarded a scholarship to take the 1-year battalion-commanders course in the United States. He also took a 4-month civil affairs course. After returning to Thailand, he attended the Army Command and General Staff College as a member of Class 49. After graduating, he was promoted to major and assigned to Intelligence Unit 506, Directorate of Operations. In 1977 the army established the Thahan Phran Irregulars, and he was appointed head of the thahan phran irregulars in Prasat District, Surin Province. In 1980 the army established a thahan phran irregular unit at Pakthongchai. He was promoted to colonel and made deputy commander of Unit 513. In 1982 he was promoted to special colonel and made commander of the Pakthongchai Camp. He was promoted to major general in October 1986.

He is one of the men who, together with Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the present RTA CINC, helped establish the Thahan Phran Irregulars. The Pakthongchai Camp is a center for training the special warfare units of the Thahan Phran Irregulars. They use a variety of combat methods, such as guerrilla tactics. This center also trains local thahan phran irregular instructors for the various army regions. Besides this, it is a special combat unit that has fought bravely throughout the country many times, particularly along the border in the lower northeast. It has fought many battles against both internal and foreign enemies.

He is a talented and resolute person who keeps firm control over his men. He has produced many soldiers. He has always fought side by side with his men without any consideration for his own safety. His only concern has been to

defend the country. He is the one who built the thahan phran irregular monument in front of the Pakthongchai Camp in order to keep the ashes of those soldiers killed in battle. Besides this, he established Santinimit teams to carry on psyops activities in areas infiltrated by communist terrorists in order to win the masses to the government's side.

This is another officer who has a very bright future.

11943

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## THAILAND

### CHIEF OF PREM BODYGUARD DETAIL PROFILED

Bangkok HI-CLASS in Thai Mar 87 pp 43, 102-105

[Men of Today column by Chiraphon Charoendet: "Maj Bunsup Khotcharat, the Head of the Security Unit Assigned to the Prime Minister"]

[Text] When President Reagan was shot, pictures of this event were shown around the world. People everywhere were shocked. Their first question was, "How could this have happened and where were his bodyguards?"

Guarding senior leaders such as Gen Prem Tinsulanon is a very heavy responsibility. Those who are responsible for safeguarding the prime minister should have very special qualities. The people have gotten used to seeing ablebodied men accompanying Gen Prem everywhere he goes. And the swarthy face of an officer dressed in civilian clothes is one of those who is seen frequently. His serious and intent look is a sign that he is carrying out his important duty and that he is on the alert. He has been the head of the security unit attached to the prime minister ever since 1981.

Maj Bunsup Khotcharat was a Military Cadet, Class 13, and a member of CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy] Class 24. He said that the nature of his work prevents him from saying very much about his responsibilities.

"My parents were fruit gardeners in Chachoengsai Province. I attended school there. I never thought that I would be a soldier who works close to senior people. I was urged to enter the military academy by my relatives, who thought that it was much better to be a government official than a merchant."

His relatives never thought that his career as a soldier would take him to Ban Sisao, where is "boss" is not just a "government official" but the prime minister.

"Actually, my uncle wanted me to be a policeman so that I wouldn't have to go fight the communist terrorists. I had decided to become a policeman as my uncle wanted. But I guess I was fated to become a soldier."

His fellow classmates remember Cadet Bunsup as a witty fellow who got along well with everyone. He participated in a variety of events. Clearly, he was a fighter:

"I joined the Thai Loetrut boxing club. We learned self-defense techniques. One instructor whose skills I admired greatly was Lt Col Narongdet Nanthaphothidet, who died 2 years ago."

It's the nature of soldiers to choose "fighting" over "administration." Even though officers must serve the nation as the "brains" of the military, before becoming field-grade officers, every graduate of CRMA must live as a "fighter." They have all received such training and used their training.

His personal acquaintances are one of his assets. After graduating from the academy, he chose to serve under that "tiger's knight" at the Nawamin Tharachini Camp, or 21st Infantry, in Chonburi Province. Being a "Queen's Tiger" gave him a chance to serve as a bodyguard to both the king and queen and other members of the royal family. As a result of accompanying the royal family to various parts of the country, he came to know the many problems facing the Thai people. This made a deep impression on him. He never thought that he would someday be near the "leaders" and become immersed in the problem of poverty of the Thai people instead of thinking about advancing as an administrative officer like other officers.

"As a result of my 7 years of training at the military academy, I am a rather orderly person. After I was promoted to lieutenant or captain, I realized that we can't always choose our positions and posts. Every line and branch in the military is equally important."

Maj Bunsup first met Gen Prem Tinsulanon at the end of 1976 when officers from the 21st Infantry were rotated and sent to serve as special reinforcements and bodyguards to the king and queen. At the end of 1979, when Gen Prem was the assistant RTA CINC, Gen Prem had occasion to visit the palace. That is when they became acquainted. But they did not get to know each other well until 1980.

"That was when he was appointed RTA CINC. I had a chance to see him more often. He knew all of us. The prime minister is good at remembering people. Officers were occasionally sent to meet him and so I had a chance to see him more often. At the end of 1980, he had to accompany the Princess Mother on a trip to Switzerland and China. Probably because no one else was available, he choose Phairot Phanitsamai, Chuphong Matthawaphan, and me to accompany him."

At that time, he had just returned from a tour of duty along the border and so his preparations for the trip were rather hurried. After returning from abroad, he continued to make frequent trips between Chonburi and Bangkok. Then the young turks staged the 1-3 April 1981 coup but failed to seize power.

"I had a chance to get involved in that and that changed my life. His small group and I left his house on the night of 31 March and went to Chitlada Palace. Another officer, who was a friend of mine, left with us. After the coup started, the prime minister went to Korat."

After that crisis passed, there was a shakeup of the prime minister's security unit. The personnel sent to guard the prime minister were from the 21st Regiment, Chonburi. He was the head of this security unit. At that time, he was a captain.

"I was trusted by the regimental commander. Actually, I don't know why I was selected. I was no different than anyone else. It's just that I am an orderly person who pays attention to the small details. As for resourcefulness and other capabilities, I think it is a matter of experience. It takes time to develop such qualities."

Guarding the prime minister is almost a 24-hour-a-day job. But Thailand's leader has not been in many dangerous situations or been threatened. Perhaps it's like Maj Bunsup said:

"The Thai people do not bear grudges. They are quick-tempered but forget quickly. Unless it involves a family grudge, the matter usually blows over. During the time that I have served as his bodyguard, there has never been any violence, except for the incident in Lopburi. I will remember that all my life. That was not a joke."

That incident took place in 1982. The news of the attempt on the life of Gen Prem greatly frightened other VIPs.

"I was riding in a van just behind the car in which the prime minister was riding. He was riding with the commander of the Artillery Center. No one had any inkling that this would happen. All of a sudden, a shell passed in front of the van in which I was riding and hit a tree. It exploded less than 50 meters from the road. Another officer and I wondered what the black smoke and sound were. It seemed unlikely that this was something set off by the villagers in welcome. I had once fired an RPG, and my friend had once been hit by an RPG shell. We did not think that it was an ordinary explosive. That happened at some distance from the prime minister's destination. And no one would have been silly enough to fire a skyrocket in such an area. No one said any more about this. It wasn't until we reached Korat that we learned that someone had fired a rocket at us."

That event convinced him that security work was not a minor matter or a game. He realized that they had to be more careful and vigilant. As the head of the security unit, he was the person responsible for the "life" of the country's leader. He realized that the security books written by foreigners, whether Americans, Englishmen, Israelis, or Germans, could not be used in Thailand without making changes. He was aware of the ways in which Thai are "different":

"Thai are gentle and open. We like to compromise. Thus, we always have to modify the methods. One of our principles as soldiers is that we must adjust the combat method to the time and place."

Even though he must constantly be ready to carry out security tasks, the fact that he has a chance to live near Gen Prem and study this leader's "way of thinking" makes him very happy. "Thinking like a leader" has become a habit of his.

"One of my personal problems as one of the prime minister's bodyguards is the matter of time. I have very little time to do the things that I would like to do. I am referring to doing things for others. But those who never think about doing anything for others probably have a lot of time. Just getting up in the morning and taking a breath is probably enough."

Too little time to do what?

On the afternoon that HI-CLASS met him at his home in Phitsanulok in order to take his picture, he was wearing his regular uniform with its "elephant head" insignia, which indicates that he has attended the Army Command and General Staff College. This made him look more gentle than usual. When he is with the other members of the security unit on a trip with the prime minister, this 34-year-old officer with the swarthy face looks quiet unfriendly, he barks short commands, and he displays an air of self-confidence. But during his chat with HI-CLASS that day, the atmosphere was quite informal.

He thought for a long time before answering the above question in a very careful manner:

"To do what.... What I said did not refer to something that happened after I started working near the prime minister. I had talked with friends about this before. My friends said that such thoughts were too lofty. They said it was impossible. Only leaders could do such things. But I said that if we don't instill and nurture such ideas, if we should ever have a chance to play a part, we won't be able to think in time or do the right thing."

What he thinks about is, "What can be done to improve the standard of living of the other 75 percent of the the Thai people, provide them with adequate medical care, and provide greater protection of life and property."

"I would like to see this. I would like to play a part in this. You don't have to be prime minister to play a role. The prime minister can't solve these problems by himself. We have to rely on many things. I am very concerned about this. I will grow older and eventually die."

Thus, Maj Bunsup is concerned about how little "time" he has left after carrying out his duties and playing sports, which he does for the exercise.

"I play a variety of sports, because I want to stay in shape. Besides thinking about my work, I also think about maintaining my physical health. Because if we become sick, we can't struggle against life's problems."

Each of those close to Prem has a different "image" and so some people wonder why his subordinates haven't followed his example. But we can no longer adhere to the idea that "if you want to know what someone is like, look at his boss."

"The prime minister is a good person. He is intent on working for the people and the country. He works very hard. Regardless of what people think of him and regardless of what the newspapers say about him, my view of him has never changed. I know that he works very hard and so why wouldn't I work for him? I am just a very minor figure."

Several times, he has almost "lost control" because the crowds have made it difficult for him to carry out his job. But each time, he has always managed to maintain control. As for the calmness and strictness of his security team, it's necessary to understand their "attitude" toward the mass media and people in general, who want to get closer to the prime minister than the security unit would like. One time, a young man got out of his seat at the National Stadium and threw a punch at Gen Prem as Gen Prem left his VIP seat. Maj Bunsup was very embarrassed by that.

"I was attending the Army Command and General Staff College at that time. I felt terrible about what had happened. An investigation was conducted. I knew that we had shortcomings. My subordinates were unhappy, too. I went and apologized to him and submitted my resignation. But he refused to accept it. All he said was that we should be more careful in the future."

Now, his face is beginning to show signs of worry again. He has many tasks that he can't discuss. Many times, his work affects his personal life. As a result, he has little interest in the things that interest most people. For example, because the "boss" is unmarried, those who serve as his bodyguards have chosen to remain single, too.

"Why do you ask whether I am married? I am not interested in that. As for my daily life, I am concerned about doing the best job that I can. His personal life is his business. He has never interfered in anyone's personal affairs. His subordinates all have the right to go where they want and have fun. He is not naive. He understands life. He understands that a person's personal life is his business. Work is work, and personal affairs are personal affairs."

But we still wanted to know more about his personal life and so we asked him about love, his dreams, and the challenges that he faces in his life.

"As for the first question about my taste in women, I would rather not answer that. We all have our own preferences. There is nothing wrong with that. But I don't think that disclosing this would be beneficial in view of the fact that this depends on various factors. For example, if we like someone but that person already has a husband and children or that person does not like us, there is nothing that can be done.

"As for your other question, every soldier hopes to advance in his career, play a major role, and have many subordinates. But it's impossible that our dreams will all be fulfilled at the same time. If we want to get ahead, we have to carry out the orders of our superiors as best we can. If we think less about ourselves, we will have a chance to think more about the people."

And so by noon that day, we got to "know" him much better. We learned that beneath that stern exterior is a gentle person of great enthusiasm. His smile and laugh showed that he is "human." He is a "man of today" who is content with what he has. He is concerned about justice and understands "power."

"Being a good 'boss' and being a good 'subordinate' are equally difficult. But the target is the same. That is, we must do a good job."

This is his standpoint.

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CSO: 4207/208

THAILAND

THIRD ARMY CIVIL AFFAIRS CHIEF PROFILED

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 18 Apr 87 p 9

[Saturday Profile column by Nanthana: "Profile of the 41-Year-Old Special Colonel Who Was Appointed 3d Army Civil Affairs Chief"]

[Text] The army appointed Special Col Intharat Yotbangtoei head of the Civil Affairs Section, 3d Army Region, on 17 October 1985.

Special Col Intharat was born on 18 November 1945 and so he is not yet 42 years old. He was born on Chang Moi Road in Muang District, Chiang Mai Province, and so his nickname is "Moi." His parents are Mr San and Mrs Chanthiang Yotbangtoei. He completed lower secondary school at the Mong Fort Withayalai School in Chiang Mai Province in 1960. He graduated from the military preparatory school in 1963 and from the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy [CRMA] in 1968. He took the field-grade officers course at the Infantry School, Infantry Center, as a member of Class 27. He graduated from the Army Command and General Staff College in 1979 as a member of Class 57.

After receiving his commission, he served as the leader of a light-weapons platoon with the 1st Infantry Battalion, 7th Regimental Combat Team, Chiang Mai Province. In 1971 he was appointed commander of a light-weapons company with the 1st Infantry Battalion, 7th Regimental Combat Team, Chiang Mai Province. In 1974 he served as an operations and training officer with the 1st Infantry Battalion, 7th Regimental Combat Team. He was appointed assistant chief of the Civil Affairs Section, 3d Army Region, in 1979. He was appointed chief of the 3d Army Civil Affairs Section on 17 October 1985 in accord with Army Order 939/1985.

Special Col Intharat fought in the war in South Vietnam during the period 1968-1969 as a member of the 2d Relief, 2d Group. He carried on secret activities to stop the communist offensive, and he served as the head of a death squad. He saw much action in Laos during the period 1972-1975. He also participated in communist terrorist suppression operations in the north. He scored such good results that he won the confidence of his superiors.

As for the outstanding achievements that he has scored during the time that he has been the chief of the 3d Army Region Civil Affairs Section, he is dedicated to his work and has a lofty sense of responsibility. He is trusted

by his superiors in the army region and the army. He is involved in improving living conditions in the north based on the ideal "righteous land-golden land," building self-defense villages along the Thai-Lao and Thai-Burmese borders to defend the border, preventing people from trespassing and felling trees, taking action in accord with the program to get the hill tribes to stop growing opium poppies, implementing the lunch program for underfed children at the schools in the north, and establishing veterans welfare settlements in order to form a defense line in the west in the 3d Army Region's area of responsibility.

Observations abroad: Senior people in the army entrusted him with the task of observing activities abroad in order to improve projects here. For example, he made trips to Taiwan, South Korea, and Switzerland.

Family life: He is married to Butsaba Yotbangtoei. They do not have any children. The traits that he admires are honesty and fairness. In dealing with subordinates, he adheres to the teachings of the Buddha. He is sincere and resolute and looks ahead. He is concerned about the country's future. As a result, he has a bright future and is ahead of others in his class.

11943

CSO: 4207/205

## IMPORTANCE OF GOING TO, WORKING WITH BASIC LEVEL STRESSED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 10 Apr 87 p 3

[Party Building column by Vuong Tuu: "About Leading Cadres Going Down to the Basic Level"]

[Text] Strengthening the relations between the party and the masses, including contacts by the leading cadres with party members and the masses at the basic level, is being raised as an urgent matter for every party committee echelon to carry out.

In the past years, because many cadres at all levels and in all sectors strived to carry it out, they succeeded in discovering many troubles and obstacles and helping the central administration and other levels to resolve many problems arising from the realities, a solution of which the masses had been demanding.

However, many echelons and leading cadres failed to keenly recognize the role of the basic level, very seldom went to the latter, or went there without any specific purposes or a good method.

The Sixth Party Congress vigorously raised the question of renovating the leadership behavior. Many localities have recently suggested a system of leading cadres going to the basic level to get in touch with party members and the masses. The realities demand that all echelons see the need to do this and do the job in a serious, permanent, and realistic manner, without considering it just a formality.

We have learned from experience the following facts:

First, it just happens that not everybody has a full awareness of the fact that all contradictions and changes in general take place at the basic level.

Some cadres, particularly the leading cadres who have been in a locality or sector for a rather long time, have a subjective attitude to the effect that because they know everything very well, they do not need to go to the basic level. And even if they go to the basic level, because they are subjective, they will not learn anything new.

The basic level is like a mirror that truly reflects the effectiveness of party leadership and shows whether the positions and policies adopted by the higher echelons are correct or not. It then raises many theoretical and practical questions that must be studied and answered.

Second, it is necessary to determine goals and purposes. In the past, many cadres went to the basic level in a passive manner and failed to define their intentions. They went there because they had been invited to come. Ordinarily they would hear only fine things. Going there to take part in final and preliminary reviews, to start projects, to cut ribbons in dedicating ceremonies, to accept medals, to award banners, and to open congresses would usually mean attending costly welcoming and congratulating affairs.

Going to the basic level should be for the purpose of making serious studies and taking a good look at specialized matters. These are matters that are within the programs of action of all party committee echelons and sectors. Each trip should lead to conclusions and motions, and resolve a certain problem. We have learned from experience that if before deciding about a policy all party committee members would go down to the basic level to get in touch with party members, the masses, and those people who were very much concerned about a problem and to bring up the problem for them to discuss, it would help to sharpen the mind of the party committee echelons and heighten the accuracy of their decision.

Third, the objects of the contact are very important, too. Cadres at the central level going to the provincial level and the latter going to the district level is not enough. Going to the basic level but making contact only with the local leadership still is not enough. It is necessary to listen to cadres of different offices and committees, party members, and the masses of farmers, workers, and civil servants. After listening to them it is necessary to visit workshops, departments, offices, ricefields, projects, and to look at products, where people eat and live, and cultural works and what involves research. It is necessary to act totally on one's own initiative and to avoid preparations and prearrangement so as to be able to listen to all voices of the masses and to different objects.

Fourth, there are many methods and ways to get in touch with the basic level and the masses. Listen to the leadership first and the masses afterwards, and vice versa. But ordinarily listening to the lower levels up is better. Combining listening and seeing can be with or without advance announcement. Listening is the principal part; talking is encouraging the masses to express themselves more clearly, but making conclusions has to wait. Resolve any problems within your authority on the spot if you can, but do not make empty promises.

Time needs to be proportionate to the extent of the problem to be studied. If a major problem is involved and you are in a hurry--arriving in the morning and leaving in the afternoon, you will not get any good results. There was a key leading cadre at a local level who drove a car and used gasoline at the average monthly rate of 450 kilograms, which allowed him to travel from 2,000 to 2,500 kilometers. Another cadre had the habit of covering three or four

districts in a day. And wherever he went, he talked but seldom listened. This behavior has by now become so out-of-date.

Every month the higher echelons should go to marketplaces, alleys, lowland and highland villages, bus terminals, and theaters because it is there that so many problems in our daily life must be seen and heard.

Going to the basic level should not bring along inconveniences for the people. There were many examples of cooperative members working in the field and, upon seeing a car stopping at the committee headquarters, having to say, "Again, another meal to be served!" Determined to overcome this phenomenon, the Ha Son Binh Provincial CPV Committee has adopted the policy that requires cadres to bring along rice to pay for any meal served to them.

Fifth, perhaps we should add that the working masses and party members at the basic level often raise very difficult questions for leading cadres to resolve. In this case, only the capable leading cadres can comfortably, calmly, and naturally maintain contact and a dialogue with them as people who are truly involved with them.

Going to the basic level and getting in touch with the masses requires cadres to learn to move forward and to avoid being subjective and having inferiority complex. One retired high-ranking cadre has concluded as follows: "Only now I am learning to be a simple citizen." That conclusion resulted from a visit with a family he knows and his traveling the distance of 50 kilometers in a commercial truck, instead of a bus which he was unable to afford. He said the lesson would have been more valuable had he still remained in his position at the time of the trip.

By adopting the new behavior requiring regular contact and dialogue with the masses and party members at the basic level, leaders will have greater revolutionary enthusiasm, be more alert, and use their mind better when they propose policies.

5598

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## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CANDIDATES COME INTO CONTACT WITH VOTERS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 11 Apr 87 p 1

[Article: "National Assembly Candidates Come Into Contact With Voters; Culture and Information Sector Works for Elections"]

[Text] Since the beginning of April the people who have been introduced as candidates for election to the Eighth National Assembly have been going to electoral units to get in touch with and to listen to the opinions and aspirations of voters and to tell them about their postelectoral programs.

In Long An, voters of Vinh Hung, Duc Hue, and Can Giuoc Districts asked that National Assembly deputies truly consider the people as the root, ensure all the rights and obligations of citizens, maintain regular contact with voters, listen to the people's opinions and aspirations, properly resolve the complaints and charges set forth in their petitions, and gradually contribute to overcoming difficulties in the material and spiritual life of people, particularly in rural, inland, and former resistance areas.

During the contacts, voters in Hai Hung Province welcomed the selection and introduction to voters of candidates for election to the National Assembly this time and reported on the state of production and life in their locality for the Eighth National Assembly to consider and to seek appropriate solution for. Many voters presented resolutions dealing with a number of problems having to do with the policies about the families of wounded soldiers and dead heroes and requested severe and just punishment against violators of the law, including any leading cadres, and equal treatment of everybody before the law.

Voters in Lang Son Province expressed their opinions about the task of maintaining political security at the border and presented resolutions requesting the administrations at all levels to create favorable conditions for the people to step up the production of grain, foods, and agricultural products for export and the sectors in charge to supply sufficient quantities of agricultural materials, particularly fertilizers and insecticide.

Many voters in Bac Thai Province presented resolutions asking the party and state to resolve problems in connection with production development, particularly the policies about farmers, forestry workers, and handicraftsmen;

to improve the cultural life of minority people in the highlands; and to impose severe and just punishment on violators of the law.

More than 3,000 representatives of the voters of Thu Dau Mot City, Tan Uyen and Ben Cat Districts (in Song Be Province), Phuc Hoa Rubber Corporation, and Dau Tieng Union of Rubber Enterprises frankly expressed their feelings and aspirations to the National Assembly candidates and presented resolutions asking the state to be more concerned about the living conditions of workers and civil servants, to make appropriate investment in agricultural production, to supply medicines, to build public health stations, hospitals, and schools, to repair roads, and so on.

The voters in Quang Hoa District and Cao Bang City (in Cao Bang Province) suggested that the state sign two-way contracts suitable for the production conditions of minority people in the highlands and assist the people in overcoming difficulties in the production of grain, foods, and consumer goods. The candidates in Lai Chau Province running for election to the National Assembly went to production installations and military units to meet voters and to listen to their opinions.

At the locations in Hoang Lien Son Province designated for posting of lists of candidates, the culture and information sector has made public long lists of candidates for election to the National Assembly, which also include their photographs and summarized biographies for voters to get acquainted and to exchange ideas with them. The mobile movie units of the province have been showing slides to introduce these candidates to the people, including residents of the highland border areas.

The mobile information units and local cultural house groups of An Giang Province have been going to housing clusters and hamlets to present artistic shows combined with electoral propaganda. In the areas where many canals and ditches make the movement of people more difficult, information units have been using small motorized boats to go to individual families and to offer them electoral materials. The culture and information sector of the province has drafted a program of artistic performances on election day.

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## EDITORIAL URGES MAINTAINING CONTACTS, DIALOGUES WITH PEOPLE

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 11 Apr 87 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Building and Properly Carrying out A Pattern of Contacts and Dialogues With the Masses"]

[Text] Maintaining contacts and dialogues with the masses, listening to their opinions, and resolving the matters in their resolutions is an important part of renovating the work behavior of all echelons, sectors, and individual cadres.

Many party committee echelons have paid attention to sending cadres to the basic level to get in touch with the people. The Executive Committee of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization has set up many public relations offices; the party committees and people's committees in many precincts of the municipality have weekly schedules of meetings with the people, accept the ideas they have contributed, and resolve the matters mentioned in their resolutions. The Hoang Lien Son Provincial CPV Committee organized many rounds of dialogues between provincial and district party committee echelons and cadres and the majority of people among various target groups. The Vinh Phu Provincial VCP Committee has set up a system of regular contacts by cadres with the masses at the basic level. The Moc Chau District (in Son La Province) VCP Committee has decided to send party committee members on the 7th day of every month to villages and local installations to report to the people on the results obtained from their work in the previous month, to inform them of the work plans for the following month, and to ask the masses to express their opinions about the district's work policies.

On the occasion of the 57th anniversary of the establishment of the party, contacts with the masses were organized by party committee echelons who tried to resolve matters mentioned in their resolutions. Preparations for the elections of the Eighth National Assembly and of people's councils at district, village, and other levels were also organized for candidates to get in touch with voters, and so on.

The localities that properly organized the contacts with the people have all realized the usefulness of such activities and have been able to promote the masses' ownership right and to build strong relationships between the party and the masses. The masses have overwhelmingly offered realistic ideas and

positive measures to party committee echelons and sectors in order to resolve difficulties and to move forward the activities of their localities and units. Through these contacts, cadres at all levels have acquired a profound understanding of the real situation so as to make correct decisions. In many localities, thanks to contacts with the people, party committee echelons were able to detect wrong policies and activities and to recommend timely measures to correct the situation, which have received a good welcome from the masses.

In spite of these positive actions, many party committee echelons and administrations at different levels have not yet paid proper attention to the matter, nor set up any offices and assigned cadres the responsibility for receiving the people on a daily or periodical basis, and some organs have even tried to turn the people away when they wanted to see their officials. The CPV Central Committee Secretariat has issued a directive on improving the quality of party members and strengthening the fighting power and leadership capacity of the party, in which it emphasized the need for cadres to get in touch with the masses and to resolve the matters mentioned in their resolutions, but many echelons have been carrying it out in a superficial manner and only as a matter of form.

Maintaining contacts and dialogues with the masses, which reflects our party's policy of considering the people as the roots, is an important part of renovating the leadership behavior of party committee echelons and sectors. Through contacts with the masses and with cadres and party members at the basic level, they keep in close touch with life and realities, overcome the bureaucratic way of doing work, and get to know the feelings and aspirations of the large majority of people. By maintaining contacts and dialogues and discussing with the masses, they receive assistance from the latter in the form of correct measures and good initiatives offered for them to resolve any difficulties and troubles their localities and units may have. This also is a good opportunity for cadres to directly bring to the masses propaganda and explanations on the positions and policies of the party, state, and their sectors and to create unanimity between the party and the people and between superior and subordinate echelons; in addition, it is a realistic measure to provide training for cadres and party members.

In order to achieve good contacts and dialogues, it is necessary to really respect the masses' ownership right and to overcome the tendency to feel reluctant to meet with the masses, for fear of wasting time or being unable to resolve the matters they have mentioned in their resolutions. Realities have proved that in the localities that have organized good contacts, the masses show a good sense of responsibility and a high degree of constructive awareness when they raise the real problems having to do with their daily life and with the respect for democratic rights and social justice and point to the irrational aspects of our positions and policies and to the wrongdoings of some echelons, sectors, cadres, and party members. The masses earnestly hope that party committee echelons, sectors, cadres, and party members would correct their behavior, improve the quality of leadership, and move forward all activities of our localities and units. If some people lack constructiveness in expressing their opinions, the presiding cadres at a meeting need to calmly listen to them and then to analyze things to make them

understand or later organize discussions with the masses in order to clarify the right and the wrong.

Every contact and dialogue must have a positive and realistic substance, with its aim being clearly set, to avoid being a mere formality and a superficial exercise. All echelons must have schedules of periodical contacts with the masses, with various objects, with the scope of contacts being determined by their purposes and needs. Supplying information from the lower levels up is an important direction for communication in regard to the process of making decisions by the leadership echelons. Prior to making a decision, every echelon and sector must assign cadres to get in touch with the people to be affected by the decision and to collect and seek their opinions. During contacts, the presiding officials must display the democratic process and attentively listen to the masses' opinions. As to the questions that are raised, if they think they can answer and resolve them, they must do so right there. As to the matters which they do not have the authority to deal with or are not in a position to resolve, they must say so to the masses while avoiding to make empty promises, which will destroy the masses' confidence, and later report them to their organ or superiors.

In order to make contacts and dialogues bring about realistic results, all echelons and sectors must make careful preparations before assigning cadres to do the job. Presiding cadres at contact meetings must have a good knowledge of policies, particularly the ones that have to do with the purpose of the contact, really listen to the masses' opinions, and know how to encourage people to express themselves and to put together all ideas for the masses to discuss. Prior to attending a contact and dialogue, cadres must think in advance of the questions the masses will raise and at the same time clarify the needs for soliciting the people's ideas.

Building and properly carrying out a pattern of contacts and dialogues with cadres, party members, and the masses at the basic level will help all echelons and sectors to overcome the state of lacking democracy and being unrealistic and to improve the quality and effectiveness of leadership.

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## STEPS TO IMPROVE YOUTH WORK IN ARMY SUGGESTED

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Mar 87 pp 1-8, 15

[Article by Lieutenant General Dang Vu Hiep: "Let the Youths in the Army Reach the Level of the Task of Defending and Building the Fatherland"]

[Text] In the political and social life of a country, youths always hold an important strategic position. In our people's long and hard but victorious and proud struggle under the leadership of the party, generation after generation of youths in general, and the youths in the army in particular have clearly proved their historic role and have brilliantly fulfilled the tasks that the party and people assigned to them.

At present, youths account for more than 70 percent of members of our army. In basic units (regiments and lower units), almost all cadres and combatants are young people. Youths are the assault force in all unit activities: training, combat readiness, productive labor, international obligation, and so on. As we evaluate the overall results obtained by them within the framework of the country's general situation and the armed forces' activities, we find the basic strengths of our army youths and at the same time their weaknesses and shortcomings, which are limiting their great potential capabilities. The question having to do with the leadership aspect that is being raised is what to do and how to make army youths reach the level of the task of defending and building the socialist Vietnamese fatherland as suggested at the Sixth Party Congress.

On the basis of a recognition of the youth force's role in the construction and defense of the fatherland and the fulfillment of the army's political tasks, in the last 5 years the youth work in the army has shown an obvious change and has obtained definite results in developing the role of youths and contributing to scoring great victories in the fight to defend the fatherland and to fulfill our international obligation.

This change has been expressed in many aspects: A change was made in the awareness, views, and responsibility for the youth-proselytizing work among party committees and leading cadres at all levels and among those who were directly doing this work; a relatively basic step was made toward perfecting the organs in charge of leadership over youth work and building the ranks of youth union cadres in basic units; the youth-proselytizing work was carried

out in a more scientific manner, with the forms of activities being more suitable for the characteristics of youth.

This change was the direct reason for the progress that has been made in the youth-proselytizing work in the army. On the basis of this change, starting with the already-gained experiences, and in light of the Sixth Party Congress resolution and the resolution of the Political Bureau (Fifth term) on "Strengthening party leadership over youth work," we can suggest the following requirement: Let us make a strong, total, uniform, and steady change in the youth-proselytizing work in all army units in the next 5 years and actively contribute to creating an obvious change in improving the overall quality and discipline in the army, which serves as a strong basis for successfully fulfilling all the tasks assigned by the party and state.

In order to attain this goal we must carry out in a broad manner many activities in both the army and society. First of all, let us mention what must be done in the army.

1. To continue heightening the awareness, views, and responsibility of party committee echelons and commanding cadres at all levels toward youth work.

Proselytizing youths actually is giving elementary and advanced training to a group of people having a profound understanding of the nation and class and being ready to shoulder the assault role at present and to move toward inheriting the work being done by the party and people. This great undertaking requires that we have strict leadership by party committees and thoughtful guidance by commanders at all levels. This is a principle and also the result of experience obtained from the actual youth-proselytizing work performed in the army in the past years.

Awareness, views, and responsibility must be expressed in actual work aimed at further developing the youth union's function and creating a youth movement for revolutionary action, such as firmly employing cadres and party members of suitable age having enthusiasm, qualities, capabilities, and good behavior to do youth work in basic units; selecting qualified people to join party committees; carrying out in an orderly manner all established procedures for assuming leadership over youth work; and creating favorable material conditions and giving enough time for the young people's activities, and letting the youth union be in charge of any work in these units by which it can promote the youths' creativity and through which it can educate and train youths and improve their revolutionary qualities and ability to act. We must strengthen the direct leadership of political directors of all levels over youth work--leadership that must be exercised in a direct manner, without going through any organs. The fact that youth work committees and youth affairs assistants now are subordinate to political directors, instead of being a part of the organizing organ as in the past, bespeaks this requirement. Party committees and commanders must guide the activities of political organs and sectors subordinate to staff, logistical, and technical organs toward taking part in proselytizing, educating, and training youths, and actively coordinate on their own initiative the activities of youth union organizations in the army and in the localities where the units concerned are stationed.

An extremely important matter that party committee echelons and commanders must be concerned about is to continuously renovate leadership behavior and educational forms and methods to make them more suitable for youths as the object of their activities.

In addition to continuing the fight against, and for absolute abolition of, the misapprehension of youth work as just the measures to organize and encourage youths to fulfill the tasks of their units, we must firmly overcome bureaucratic and administrative behavior in leadership over youth activities, which quite commonly prevails in many basic army units. Nothing is more harmful than simply giving orders from superior levels for subordinates to do the work, particularly the proselytizing work aimed at the masses. We must guide the youth union toward managing itself and taking care of its own work in order to develop its initiative and creativity. The fact that quite a few youth union organizations still operate in a passive manner is the aftermath of bureaucratic and administrative behavior, and of such a rigid and narrow-minded leadership. Uncle Ho had pointed out: "Leading cadres must fight bureaucracy, and the generalized way of assuming leadership.... They must get deeply involved in everyday life, know well the psychology of young people, and help them to resolve problems in a realistic manner."(1) (Ho Chi Minh: "About Youth Education," Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 290) The political report of the CPV Central Committee at the 6th Party Congress also pointed out: "Party committee echelons must maintain tight leadership over mass organizations, but they must also respect their organizational independence and encourage taking initiative and being creative in fulfilling their revolutionary tasks."

About the way to educate youths, a rather large number of cadres in basic units usually think only of promoting people to the next higher political classes. Although political lessons play a big role, in addition to this form of education they must achieve education and training of youths-combatants through military activities and in all aspects of army life. They must use many other forms suitable for the interest and capable of arousing the feelings and impressions of youths, such as freely making speeches; discussing ideological matters; commenting on literary figures; meeting veteran revolutionaries, heroes, and outstanding emulators; cadres of higher ranks get in touch and exchange views with cadres of lower ranks and combatants in basic units on political days; cultural, artistic, and sport activities, and so on. Uncle Ho had pointed out: "In recreation there is education, too. There must be cultural entertainment and physical education of collective and mass character."(2) (Ibid., p 131)

The ways of living, working, and keeping in touch with youths also are the matters that leaders must be concerned about so as to attain the effects of education, for "commanders at the same time are educators of youths." The psychological characteristics, nature, and background of the youth today demand that leaders live with profuse feelings and equality; treat the young in a sensible, honest, and understanding manner; be lenient and generous, in the face of their lack of experience and naivety; and avoid petty and small-minded control and harsh attitude. Let us criticize the young frankly but without prejudice; persuade them while displaying concern, instead of rudeness

and brutal treatment; and help and support them, rather than destroy and stay away from them.

These requirements in the way to treat the young also reflect the overall qualities, capabilities, and behavior of youth leaders.

Party committee echelons must also assume leadership over properly satisfying the following requirement suggested in Resolution 26 of the Political Bureau: "Every cadre and party member has the responsibility for setting good examples for youths to follow, keeping close contact with them, listening to their opinions and discussions, and resolving the problems they encounter in their daily life. Young party members must take part in youth union activities, properly fulfill their tasks as youth union members, and be progressive ones."

2. To continue perfecting the ranks of cadres and party members in charge of youth work, both quantitatively and qualitatively, first in basic units.

The cadres and party members in charge of youth work in basic units are the group next in line and the source of replacement for the cadres in charge of party work. Therefore, we must consider building up their ranks, a matter we must not underestimate. Because of the nature of their work and the age requirement to suit the different echelons, this group must be renewed on a permanent basis, and the training, elementary and advanced, of succeeding cadres must be carried out within definite plans. At the present time, in many units this matter does not receive full and proper awareness. Sometimes the selection of cadres to be assigned the youth work does not come from careful consideration, as it has been the case with some cadres doing other professional work being not up to the standards and requirements of their tasks. Some localities have deliberately abandoned the system of youth union secretaries being given specific assignments, which the CPV Central Committee Secretariat has adopted. Quite a few leading cadres and unit commanders do not have the right attitude of respect for youth union secretaries, the representatives of mass organizations, and have not yet observed all procedures and regulations, nor paid attention to creating favorable conditions for them to work effectively. These are the obvious signs of a lack of understanding of the party views on youth work. In these localities, the urgent and immediate thing that leading cadres and commanders must do is to renovate the concept about youth work and about cadres doing this work.

Youths have the characteristic of strongly admiring, loving, and obeying those who command great prestige. In every development of the situation and their task, they have specific requirements that they expect their leaders, organizers, and trainers to satisfy. Party organizations must select those party members and cadres who have good qualities, capabilities, and work behavior and can respond well to youths' needs to be assigned the task of serving as youth union cadres. It is necessary to provide them with advanced training in all aspects, particularly in the way to work and to keep in close touch with youths, but first of all they must receive advanced training in awareness and responsibility, in overcoming any wrong ideas about the assigned tasks, hence a lack of enthusiasm and creativity while carrying on their work. Many youth union cadres often worry about the leadership echelons and commanders failing to renovate their thinking in regard to youth work, but

they seldom consider the fact that they themselves still keep inappropriate work concepts and methods. Party committee echelons, commanders, and political organs must attach importance to helping those cadres in charge of youth work to have correct awareness and motivation, to improve their background and ability to do youth work, and to develop the quality of being active and creative toward the tasks they have been assigned to carry out.

3. To heighten scientific standards and effectiveness of youth-proselytizing work.

Today the objective conditions that vigorously affect the formation of youths' personalities have undergone profound changes, such as the development of socialist democracy, the explosion of information and strengthening of communications, the mobility of social life, the cultural and educational background being constantly heightened, and the greater opportunities for youths to choose their occupation. As a result, the psychology of the young generation today, compared to the generations living during the wars of resistance against France and the United States, also has shown changes. In order to educate people we must first understand them thoroughly. Because of the failure to fully grasp and thoroughly understand these changes, in regard to considering and resolving youth work problems there still exist among some leading and commanding cadres two tendencies:

-- To compare the young generations in a mechanical manner, to see only shortcomings and weaknesses among the young people today, to blame them for such weaknesses, and thus to worry excessively and to become pessimistic.

-- To look at the young people in an excessively optimistic and simplistic manner; to believe that "the great majority of youths is good"; to think that it is natural for youths to misbehave, and have shortcomings, and weaknesses, but things will be what they will be ("the moon will be full on the 15th day of a lunar month") and that there is nothing to be concerned and to worry about.

Both tendencies are wrong, of course. We must make these cadres adhere to the party's views on and basic evaluation of the state of our youths today and use them as guidelines for evaluating youths. At the same time, they must also judge our youths under the actual conditions of the circumstances, environment, and political task of their units and of each person. Only then can the evaluation of our youths go in the right direction, be both detailed and positive, and avoid being either a misstatement or a too generalized statement.

This is a job that cannot be simple. We must continue studying and seeking an in-depth understanding of the sociopsychological characteristics of our objects, the common (in connection with age groups) and specific aspects (in connection with occupations, nationalities, native places, and so on). We cannot be satisfied with the results of just a few surveys but must patiently work and accumulate information for a number of years before we can arrive at accurate conclusions.

But we cannot wait until we have all of the results of our study; instead we must continually draw on experience and gradually get to know all aspects of our objects' characteristics so as to keep raising the effectiveness of the youth-proselytizing work.

If evaluating and understanding our youths requires that we have the right concept and a good knowledge, directing the youth union's activities in such a way as to attract large number of youths also requires that we have good background and capabilities.

We must try to have the youth union extend its activities into all units' activities. It must take part in making main-course political education become fruitful, and making military training, combat alert exercises, and productive labor show their educational effects. It must adopt many other forms of activities to provide youths with supplemental education. All these activities must be carried out within the framework of unified schemes devised by party committee echelons, or common programs drawn by commanders, rather than in a scattered and spontaneous manner. It must achieve realistic results and avoid showing off and formalistic tendencies. It must use basic units as operational terrain and promote changes in them.

4. To build strong basic youth union organizations and to create a broad movement for revolutionary action among army youths.

Only by properly carrying out the above-mentioned activities can we create a youth movement for revolutionary action and build a strong youth union. This also is the objective of youth work.

Strong youth union organizations must have the ability to manage themselves, to know how to maintain all work procedures and patterns under any circumstances, to carry out ideological work in appropriate forms, to maintain youth union discipline at all times, to stress the sense of organization and discipline among youths, to know how to examine and analyze developments in units and where troops are stationed to correctly distinguish between right and wrong, good and bad, and to actively participate on their own initiative in all unit activities in the capacity of assault force.

This also is a manifestation of the independence and initiative of the youth union. This independence naturally cannot separate the youth union from the leadership of basic party organizations and the guidance and direction of commanding and political cadres; furthermore, the more it knows how to gain the leadership of party organizations and the guidance of commanders, the more favorable conditions will be for the youth union to further develop its independence and initiative.

As we build basic youth union organizations, we must adhere to building youth union chapters being the key job and the most important matter being correctly placing secretaries (basic youth unions, joint chapters, and chapters), and actively and persistently train secretaries. We must strive to consolidate the system of making youth union secretaries the officers in charge in basic units, a system that has been proved by realities a suitable one for the present situation. We admit that this system in the beginning cannot help

showing definite weaknesses, and in some localities even fail to bring about any obvious results. But on the other hand, we must also recognize the fact that it is a rational system, one that has vitality and will develop well in the future. Consequently, let us persistently go in this direction, constantly draw on experience, build it into a routine system, and ceaselessly perfect it.

Strong basic youth union organizations serve as a steady support for party committee echelons and commanders in stepping up the mass movement for revolutionary action, or in other words in launching a socialist emulation movement aimed at successfully fulfilling unit tasks.

Emulation is a good measure for educating youths and letting them educate themselves. Only in realistic activities can they test their own capabilities and correctly evaluate themselves. In order to attain this goal there must be correct leadership by party committee echelons over the emulating efforts. We must, through emulation, teach qualities and morality, improve the acting capacity of youths, and develop their role as the assault force.

5. To consolidate the relations between party members and cadres and the masses and youths-combatants, to take care of the material and spiritual life of troops, to create as a result a favorable environment for the formation and development of soldier's personality among our youths/combatants.

To educate in the collective and by the collective is a principle and a progressive idea in modern education. We understand that the conditions of life greatly affect the formation of human personality and that of all the objective conditions of life, the social relations are the conditions that exert the most profound effects and are most decisive. Therefore, to create rich and fine social relations is the scientific basis for the formation of fine human qualities.

In order to do this job, first of all there must be advanced training plans for the formation and ceaseless perfection of political, ideological, and moral qualities, as well as the managing capacity and education commanding cadres in basic levels (from platoon leaders on up). Commanders' pure spiritual life, exemplary morality, and respect and love for troops exert great effects on military personnel. Today's combatants/youths are people who have reached a rather good level of development in terms of personality and education. They show independence in their judgment and do not accept arbitrary decisions and simple imposition of orders. Therefore, we must provide cadres with advanced training to equip them with total knowledge and pedagogical capacity and guide them toward applying this knowledge to the realities of educating and training troops to become very skillful and pedagogically capable.

In the last few years there actually were many cases in which cadres who were detachment commanders, because of poor knowledge and little understanding of the psychology of combatants, did not have the educational background necessary to help them to distinguish between right and wrong, nor enough arguments to persuade them. Their relations often involved only giving orders and obeying, and sometimes acts of ruthlessness and acts revealing poor

cultural background were committed against combatants. This state of things not only reduced the effects of education on these relations but also led to adverse consequences.

In order to make the conditions of life exert educational effects on all military personnel, we must also take care of organizing good material and spiritual life for our troops. We must make sure that what combatants are entitled to get are brought to them directly; the distribution of the fruits of productive labor must be fair and open, with efforts being made to ensure that their cultural and spiritual needs are fulfilled. Only then can we stabilize life in our units. We must realize that in the difficult general situation today, this is a job of great significance. It not only generates inspiration, enthusiasm, and a sense of being close to one's unit but also exerts profound effects in terms of teaching qualities and morality and consolidating unity and discipline. It helps to limit and then overcome the negative aspects that have appeared in our units, and to consolidate the rear area and to make the families having their children in the army feel reassured.

In order to raise the quality and effectiveness of education and proselytizing among army youths there must be close coordination of work among other sectors and organizations in the system of proletarian dictatorship.

We all know that the rear area always is the source of strength of our army. The rear area provides the front not only with manpower and materials but also with determination and morale. What is good in the rear area always is a source of encouragement and strong motivation for combatants on the front. On the other hand, the negative social phenomena, particularly bribery, corruption, spontaneous implementation of the army's rear-area policies, and so on, all adversely affect the state of thinking and frame of mind of army youths. Thus the socioeconomic stability that the Sixth Party Congress has set as an objective to be attained in the coming years will greatly help to strengthen the political and spiritual potential of the people's armed forces.

As an important factor in the formation of the new socialist man, general schools play an important role in the education of youths in general, and the youths in the army in particular. Here the full implementation of the Political Bureau resolution in connection with educational reforms; the profound understanding of the objective of education being the formation of good citizens, good combatants, good workers, and good cadres, as Uncle Ho had taught us; and the strengthening of teaching the national-defense awareness and the right attitude toward military obligation will have very important educational effects as they lay the foundation for youths prior to their joining the army. To join the army must be based on teaching about revolutionary and army traditions, the national pride, the glorious party, and obligation and responsibility for defense of the fatherland.

We must develop the strength of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union in these schools in connection with providing general and middle school students-youths with military vocational training. In this matter, the effects of families, parents, and other social organizations also are very great.

Therefore, to tighten the relations between the army and schools, society, the youth union, and revolutionary mass organizations, and between army units and families of cadres and combatants, to promote coordination in the education of youths/combatants must be a regular activity in the party work-political work in the army.

To properly implement the army's rear-area policies has an extremely great significance. In addition to helping to reduce difficulties in the daily life of families of wounded soldiers and dead heroes, and families of soldiers in active service lacking manpower, and to get jobs for those who have fulfilled their military obligation and now return home, we must strictly ensure a fair enforcement of the military-obligation law and get different sectors together to properly resolve the cases of deserting and quitting the army.

The political report of the CPV Central Committee at the Sixth Party Congress asserts that the party and people as a whole and every cadre and party member "must be fully aware that the youths themselves are the group of people that has the historic mission of building socialism. Let us boldly assign them responsibilities and through social activities provide them with elementary and advanced training." Adhering to these views and thoughts, thoroughly understanding the renovating spirit of the congress, all party committee echelons, commanders, political organs, cadres, and party members must renovate their concept about youth work, renovate their thinking and the way to evaluate youths, and renovate the way to do youth work. Thus youth work in the army will become more and more solid on a scientific base, the method of doing youth work more and more perfect, and the results of youth work greater and greater so as to make army youths move forward and reach the level of the task of defending and building the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

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## BACKLOG OF CARGO AT SAIGON HARBOR TERMED SERIOUS PROBLEM

Hanoi GIAO THONG VAN TAI in Vietnamese 16 Apr 87 p 5

[Article by Tran Thi To Nga: "What Can Be Done To End the Backlog of Goods at the Port of Sai Gon, Which Causes Great Waste?"]

[Text] At the end of the first quarter of this year the port of Sai Gon suddenly became more bustling and there was much good news: "The port of Sai Gon has unloaded 159 ships and handled 490,000 tons of cargo called for by the first quarter plan 14 days before the deadline. Comrade Nguyen Thanh Lam, a member of municipal party member and director of the port of Sai Gon, has just been selected to run as a candidate for the 8th National Assembly, etc." But that good news did not receive as much attention as a pressing problem: the backlog of cargo, which was causing serious waste at the port of Sai Gon.

## An Alarm Regarding Backlogged Cargo

Anyone who visits some of the warehouses and storage yards of the port of Sai Gon could easily see the enormous piles of imported wood, the jumble of steel, fertilizer, and pesticides, and hundreds of tons exposed, unpackaged cement, long forgotten by their owners, piled up in the port's warehouses and storage yards. Sometimes the backlogged goods fill the warehouses and flow out onto the ground. Even goods which must be "protected from sun and rain, such as general merchandise, chemicals, fertilizer, etc., must be stored out-of-doors when the warehouses fill up. The situation of backlogged goods laying all about is not new but has existed for many years. After five inventories were taken to relieve congestion (between 1981 and 1985), in August 1986 the port of Sai Gon had to sound the alarm and the inspection section of the Municipal People's Council investigated the situation of the backlog of cargo at the port. According to its report, at that time there were 3,745 tons of goods belonging to 40 customers and 30 instances of goods belonging to no one remaining in the warehouses for too long. By the end of November 1986 there were still 2,750 tons of cargo that had been placed in warehouses prior to 1985. In the warehouses and storage yards of the Khanh Hoi alone there were more than 1,000 tons of cargo of all kinds that had been in storage since 1980.

At the beginning of February 1987 the port of Sai Gon once again sounded the alarm about the excessive backlog of cargo in the warehouses and storage yards. During the first week of February alone there were 70,000 tons of cargo backlogged in the warehouses and storage yards and 39 ships tied up at buoys. The units with the most cargo backlogged in the port's warehouses and storage yards were Agricultural Materials Corporation 3, the Fertilizer Corporation of the South, the Coal Corporation of the South, TECHNOIMPORT, and the Ho Chi Minh City Materials Receiving Corporation.

#### Serious Waste

It is sad that at a time when the construction sites are experiencing serious shortages of raw materials and materials, which affects the construction rate, and at a time when the factories lack materials and workers have no work to do but must be laid off at 70 percent of their salaries, at the port of Sai Gon there are hundreds of tons of asphalt which have been forgotten by their owners and allowed to melt in the sun in the storage yards, hundreds of tons of imported cement which have hardened into rock, and tons of cloth and MSG which were forgotten and had been exposed to the elements night and day for a long time before they were discovered, etc. During the years covered by the inventories taken to relieve the backlog of cargo (1981-1985), of the 2,264 tons of cargo removed, 504 tons had been completely ruined. That is not to mention hundreds of instances of other kinds of losses, such as a crane losing a wheel and several dozen barrels of MSG (each with a capacity of 25 kilograms) being empty when opened.

Backlogged cargo takes up all of the space in warehouses and storage yards and prevents the port from having warehouse space for receiving imports or concentrating exports.

Ships entering the port must wait for workers to free warehouse space before being unloaded, and must wait for the consignees to pick up their cargo at many different places. That situation has caused many ships to have to wait at anchor for months before taking on sufficient cargo. According to contracts with foreign ships, if a ship must remain at port beyond the stipulated time our country must pay a penalty in foreign currency. The average penalty in the case of a Soviet ship is 3,500 rubles per ship per day, and in the case of ships of capitalist countries it is 2,500 dollars per ship per day. During the past several years, how much foreign exchange has our state had to pay for such penalties? Even more serious, because of the backlogged cargo the storage yards and warehouses cannot be cleared, there is no space for stevedores to operate, and not only is labor productivity low but the port's development has been held back, which has greatly affected the production-commercial activities of Ho Chi Minh City and of the region. Comrade Nguyen Thanh Lam, the port's director, said that "At present the port has a shortage of about 1,000 meters of piers and during the past 11 years the port has not been well maintained because of shortages of materials and capital, but the port of Saigon has still made efforts to receive and ship cargo, and has attained the level of more than 2 million tons of cargo a year. If there was not a backlog of cargo and if the warehouses and storage yards were not full, the port's capability to receive and ship cargo could be increased by 50 percent or even more."

## Why Do Some Consignees Not Take Their Cargo?

It may be said that nearly 100 percent of the cargo backlogged at the port of Sai Gon was imported. To obtain those imports we had to export large amounts of valuable agricultural, forestry, and maritime products to earn foreign exchange. After foreign exchange is obtained it is then necessary to do much troublesome paperwork before being authorized to buy goods and have them sent to the port. Furthermore, according to stipulations of the Council of Ministers, during the coming period the maximum period cargo can remain in the port's warehouses and storage yards is 30 days, so why do consignees not remove their cargo within that time?

The objective reasons are that the consignees do not have storage space and lack facilities for transporting the goods, or else the consignee is an intermediate organ responsible for importing goods to distribute to the localities and units. Those localities and units are not yet able to pick up their goods, so they must store them in the port's warehouses and storage yards. Other reasons are the arbitrary, sluggish working methods, export-import papers that do not correctly state specifications, and failure to include the goods on the customs declaration. Therefore, when goods arrive at the port the consignee does not have sufficient legal paperwork to pick up the goods. There is also the bureaucratic work style of the functional organs and the ordering organs, which created the situation of a cargo backlog. Furthermore, recently, although fees have been adjusted they are still subsidizing in nature and collected according to the average. In accordance with the regulation limiting the time goods can be left in the port's warehouses to 30 days, the fee is 0.9 dong per ton per day for goods left in the warehouse 30 days or less. Between 31 and 50 days the fee increases by 0.1 dong per ton per day. After 50 the fee is calculated at the average rate of 2.7 dong per ton per day. That has caused the consignees, who were already slow, to be even slower to withdraw their goods from the port. For that reason the fee for goods left in warehouses is "dirt cheap" in comparison the fee for goods left in storage yards. Furthermore, if goods left in warehouses are damaged or lost the port's protection forces are responsible and the port must pay compensation, so why not leave goods in the port's warehouses and storage yards?

In past years, many times the port's board of directors has sent official notices to the consignees, reminding them to remove their goods shipments still in the warehouses. But those requirements were not fully met. Many consignees even pretend not to remember anything about their shipments. During many conferences the port's director has recommended that the port's fees for storage in its warehouses and storage yards be higher than those on the outside. If consignees are slow to pick up their goods the fine imposed must be scaled progressively and not included in production costs, in order to affect the sense of responsibility of the people in charge of the consignee organs. That recommendation not only has not been accepted, but recently the fine for goods left in warehouses and storage yards was reduced by 10 percent! Is that one of the main reasons, why there is a backlog of goods?

## Positive Measures

The situation regarding backlogged goods is so serious that when he was still secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization comrade Vo Van Kiet many times had to go to the port personally to resolve problems. In 1982 the Council of Ministers authorized the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City to resolve the problem of backlogged materials and goods at the port of Sai Gon. But by the end of 1985 that task was suspended by a state economic arbitrator and the port of Sai Gon was sued by the consignees and had to compensate them for the goods that were removed.

There seemed to be "no way out" of the situation but recently, in a meeting convened by the port's director and to which were invited representatives of the municipal public security service, the public security policy of the port of Sai Gon, the port protection department, the police department, the fire prevention and fighting office, etc., set forth many positive measures to resolve the situation of backlogged cargo at the port: the port of Sai Gon could assume responsibility for transporting the cargo to the consignee organ, increase fees and recommend that consignees who leave their goods at the port beyond the deadline be fined monetarily, etc. Everyone there posed the question of why consignees abandon hundreds of tons of goods, materials, and equipment, that were imported by using foreign exchange, and allow them to become damaged or lost, but are not punished? Having posed that question, the head of the public security police of the port of Sai Gon recommended that from now on the port should keep legal records and take to court consignees whose failure to pick up goods at the port's warehouses and storage yards results in damage, loss, and the waste of socialist property. During a meeting on 13 March 1987 to discuss measures to clear the port, which was attended by representatives of organs relevant to the port, including the State Economic Arbitrator, many long-standing problems were resolved. For example, unclaimed cargo in warehouses would be turned over to the Customs General Department for disposition. Goods not included on the consignee's declaration, and for which there is insufficient legal paperwork, will be turned over to the specialized foreign trade general corporation of which the consignee is a part for disposition. Disputes between consignee organs and the port of Sai Gon will be settled by the economic arbitrator in accordance with the provisions of the economic contracts. During that meeting the relevant organs at the port recommended that the state promptly amend the export-import regulations and procedures and reduce the customs paperwork. The State Economic Arbitrator recommended that the Council of Ministers increase the warehousing fee and heavily fine consignees who leave their goods in warehouses for more than 30 days.

The matter of determining responsibility and recommending the punishment of consignees who deliberately leave goods in warehouses and storage yards of the port of Sai Gon by heavily fining them or taking them to court is a new development which is widely supported by public opinion and is regarded as an effective means of essentially resolving the situation of cargo being left in warehouses and storage yards for excessive periods. The principal measures are eliminating the outmoded mechanisms and rapidly instituting and perfecting rational mechanisms regarding the management of cargo and production-commercial activities at the port. Only thereby can we achieve high effectiveness in relieving congestion at the port.

## CONVOY TRANSPORTS GRAIN FROM SOUTH TO HANOI

Hanoi GIAO THONG VAN TAI in Vietnamese 23 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Thuy Hau: "Transporting Grain to Hanoi"]

[Text] Contributing to overcoming difficulties regarding grain, on the occasion of the recent National Assembly and people's council elections at all levels, Ho Chi Minh City sent a large convoy of trucks carrying hundreds of tons of grain thousands of kilometers so that it could be delivered to the people of Hanoi.

To obtain that gift rice, in addition to the "everything for the beloved city" spirit of the people of Ho Chi Minh City, it is necessary to mention the enthusiastic labor spirit and sense of responsibility of the convoy's drivers, assistant drivers, and leaders.

Although the vehicles and their drivers were assembled from 18 precincts and districts in the city to form a convoy, the leaders and personnel of the convoy manifested consciousness of organization and discipline, did their work thoroughly, and ensured the safety of the cargo. Although many of the drivers were making their first trip to Hanoi, when they arrived they took the initiative in locating the consignee so that they could deliver the cargo, no matter what time of day.

The people of Hanoi greeted the convoy with a spirit of north-south brotherhood. The trucks which had taken grain to Hanoi were maintained and repaired by the Hanoi Cargo Transportation Corporation so that they could return safely.

While they were in Hanoi they visited the tomb of Uncle Ho and the place where he lived and worked. They toured the city and visited the Thang Long and Chuong Duong bridges. The leadership cadres of the Municipal Party Committee and the Municipal People's Committee held an intimate meeting with the convoy's personnel.

Those practical deeds have contributed to strengthening the warm, close sentiment between the people of Hanoi and those of Ho Chi Minh City.

Within a period of only 1 month, between 15 March and 15 April 1987, the Hanoi Cargo Transportation Corporation transported from Thanh Hoa to Hanoi 3,931 tons of grain, 40 percent of the total volume of grain transported by the municipal and central transportation units. To achieve those accomplishments, from the very beginning of the transportation campaign the corporation took the initiative in mobilizing nearly all trucks with enclosed beds, and even some trucks with good canvas tops, to transport the grain. On the average, every day 70 trucks transported cargo.

With that concentrated and clear-cut method of mobilizing grain, the corporation was able to fulfill the requirements of the consignees and overcome the situation of the consignees implementing their plans slowly and closing their stores early. The Hanoi Cargo Transportation Corporation are mobilizing hundreds of trucks to transport 2,000 additional tons of grain from the provinces to Hanoi.

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## FACTORS ADVERSELY AFFECTING PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 15 Mar, 1 Apr, 1 May 87

[Article by Thai Duy: "When Will Production Ascend the Throne?"]

[15 Mar 87 pp 1, 7]

[Text] The root is production. Everyone says that but when will production truly become the root? Visiting basic state-operated, collective, family and individual production units, I heard management cadres as well as most of the laborers ask this vital question and present evidence to show that this long-standing anxiety of theirs was legitimate.

Decision 34 of Ho Chi Minh City, in effect since 9 January 1986 and encouraging families and individual units to participate in the production of all goods essential for society and export, has drawn thousands of families and individuals to invest capital in coordination with technical, professional and management ability to open many production facilities; and they have during the past year contributed many products, including a number of export goods. The cities of Hanoi, Haiphong and Da Nang are also actively following this course, as affirmed by the resolution of the Sixth Congress, namely in liberating the extremely abundant and varied production strength that has for many years failed to break out among the people. A number of individual production and family economy incentive systems recently promulgated in Hanoi on 22 February 1987 have been unanimously received and acclaimed by the people of the capital with everyone hoping that these heartfelt systems will soon enter daily life.

In this article, we will first of all reflect a few features on the situation and operating procedures of a number of individual and family production units with both the favorable aspects and difficulties being encountered by those investing money, manpower and grey matter in the construction of these basic production units.

#### I. Difficulties Stifle Intelligence

At the beginning of March 1985, the Central Agricultural Department held a conference in Da Nang to review the achievement of policies related to agriculture, fishing and forestry, and to exchange experience on a number of

models presently achieving high economic effectiveness. The marine products sector still leads in exports and the foreign exchange earned has assisted a number of other sectors to purchase materials and machinery for production development. Midway in the conference, I visited the office of the Central Vietnam Export Marine Products Corporation to learn more about capabilities of catching and raising marine products along the nearly 1,000 kilometers of central coastline. Director Nguyen Chuoc talked about marine products now preferred by the foreign market. Besides shrimp, squid, fish, swallow nests, sea cucumbers, abalone and butterfly clams, he spoke enthusiastically about kelp which is only present in tropical sea areas (in contrast to shrimp which every nation has). A ton of sea algae can be harvested from each hectare of sea along the coast and preliminary estimates are that the central provinces have a coastal sea area of 30,000 hectares for a harvest of 30,000 tons. A few nations wish only to purchase dried sea algae in a raw material form and not as finished product. From sea algae is produced agar, a valuable product for making highly nutritious food and for use in many other things. There is only foreign agar in our country and the market price is extremely expensive, about 15,000 dong per kg. If sea algae is raised for both the export of dried sea algae and the manufacture of agar, this export product would produce a level of foreign exchange no less than that of shrimp.

Sea algae and seaweed through processing also supply products extremely essential for the industrial, agricultural, food, medical and art goods sectors.

Listening attentively, I asked Chuoc when these products would appear and he said that dried kelp had already been exported and that expectations were fairly bright.

In November 1986, reading the newspaper SAIGON GIAI PHONG and the magazine TIN KHOA HOC KY THUAT [Scientific and Technical News] of Hanoi, I learned further that a location had successfully produced alginate paste from kelp, an individually operated unit bearing the name Bien Dong in Tan Binh Ward of Ho Chi Minh City (registered for quality on 18 June 1986 and for business and a trademark on 16 July 1986).

On a trip to Ho Chi Minh City during the year, I visited the Bien Dong unit. Mrs Thu Huong and several relatives jointly owned and operated the facility. She studied oceanography in Nha Trang, extremely close to the seaweed and sea algae, and during a period in Japan also had some contact with the sector specializing in the production of alginate paste. She cherished anticipations of producing alginate paste and agar because neither the grey matter nor the raw materials were lacking, including technology in raising sea algae. The only thing lacking was a policy for ensuring that the inventors and creators would have true control of the production facility and would enjoy benefits befitting their contributions in effort and labor.

On 9 January 1986, the Ho Chi Minh City Municipal People's Committee issued Decision 34. With something to lean on, she and her relatives immediately began testing and invested a fairly large amount of capital, 1 million dong. Seaweed had to be transported from the Nha Trang coastal area to Ho Chi Minh City, and machinery had to be self-manufactured and installed. Many changes

and replacements were made to achieve gradual stabilization and during the first part of October 1986, a number of production facilities recognized the new product as a possible replacement for alginate paste which still had to be imported from Japan although the quality was only one-eighth to one-tenth of that of the Japanese product. The Bien Dong unit has not stopped at alginate paste but is presently test producing an additional new product from sea algae of extremely high export value: agar. Mrs Huong took me to see the packages of agar test produced by the Bien Dong unit; the quality was fairly good and surely when primary production begins, the quality will rise. Ho Chi Minh City has Duyen Hai District on the coast where conditions are extremely favorable for the raising of sea algae. Mrs Thu Huong and her brothers and sisters have sufficient skills for raising sea algae and very much hope for assistance from the municipal government and Duyen Hai District to create a stable source of raw materials.

The newspapers in Saigon and even in Hanoi all flattered the Bien Dong unit but when I visited the unit on 24 December of last year, it was faced with the danger of imminent collapse. Mrs Thu Huong and her brother Dong on the board of directors of the Bien Dong unit showed me a letter from the Tan Binh Ward Bank to the Ho Chi Minh City Bank on 22 January 1987 that read as follows:

"Of all the production facilities operating in accordance with Decision 34, the Bien Dong unit produces the most unique product of the ward, capable of replacing imported goods that are an extreme necessity at the present time. Consequently, this unit is considered as if producing export goods. It is suggested that you give wholehearted concern and assistance to this unit in withdrawing cash like those that are producing export goods. The unit's assets are extremely limited and if no withdrawals can be made, the unit will have no reproduction capability."

When I finished reading the letter, Dong said, "An infinite amount of money was poured into the shop you just saw with even the family property sold to invest in the product. Now that there is a product, the money is stuck in the bank. We need money to continue operations but there is nothing more in the house to sell. We visit the bank to request a withdrawal, of money that belongs to us, but there is much difficulty in doing so and after several times, one ceases to care. We have had to borrow from government thrift bonds, also a state agency, but not more than the amount of money we still have stuck in the bank. However, we still had to fill out all the papers, here on how much property that can be used as compensation if the debt is not paid, here a cash loan guarantee with the payment made in cash, here a paper for the payment of 8 percent interest, etc."

I could easily understand his predicament, not only as an individual on the books of an individually operated unit but with no money in hand although goods are being produced, "a route with not enough bridges." Only a few days previously, I visited a facility producing surgical thread on Nguyen Thien Thuat Street (in the 3d Precinct of Ho Chi Minh City). Our hospitals have had to use imported thread for closing surgical incisions at a cost of 2 dollars per small skein. Professor Tran Van Sang, Deputy Director of the College of Medicine, after studying with his wife in Hungary, returned to conduct extremely diligent research in the use of silk as a replacement for imported

surgical thread. The couple poured effort and money into biological and engineering research and conducted tests month after month, all outside their regular working hours. Lacking capital, they sold a motorcycle brought back from Hungary to continue the research project and assembled a roving frame at home for twisting thread. Simultaneous experiments and mechanical repairs were conducted, at times using rabbits to study the cellular reaction of domestically manufactured and imported surgical thread. The surgical thread of Professor Tran Van Sang has been inspected with the extremely strict standards of the Antiseptic Testing Institute, a quality measuring agency and then a number of doctors who used the thread in operations. The professor's thread was highly rated at the Giang Vo Exhibition and the product was awarded a prize.

The professor also worked with a cash shortage. He was paid only by "check" when delivering goods and could only draw 5 percent of his money in the bank which was then reduced to only 1 percent. He was forced to borrow money at 10 percent interest. He pointed at the ward cadre accompanying me and said, "Here is someone from the cooperative federation as a witness. My goods are paid for by check and I cannot borrow money so how is production possible?"

After the Lunar New Year holiday and returning to Haiphong, I encountered cases similar to those in Ho Chi Minh City. Wherever an individual producer plunged into research and creation of a new product, it was easy to encounter a situation of selling everything, like a "thirst" for gambling. After plunging into production, everyone is infatuated, hoping both for additional sources of income and to contribute a portion to enrich the nation. After several months of aggressive effort, a worker was successful in producing zippers. This product must usually be imported and is needed by every family, especially in the city where everyone uses zippers in place of buttons on their shirts and trousers. The worker even sold his TV for money to continue mechanical improvements. I visited and saw that his production facility was unexpectedly simple. A small 10-meter square building had sets of machines assembled and installed by him. Another similar building was not yet roofed, his bed was temporarily covered by pieces of tin, and scattered about were anvils, hammers, charcoal ovens, bellows, etc. The pleasing thing is that the zippers have been formed, have been tested in use, and are fairly appealing with teeth made of plastic. I asked him if he could make zippers out of metal. He replied, "Making them of plastic is difficult. If it can be done with plastic, it can be done with metal."

"How durable are they?" I inquired.

"We have tested and found them no less durable than the zippers presently being sold on the market. The final results will be announced soon by a state inspection agency."

It is still rare to meet someone like him daring to sell everything to invest in a social product needed for daily use, and not many succeed. Shaking his hand, I expressed the wish that he could soon enter mass production of zippers to quickly recover his capital and to buy another TV since the soccer season was approaching. I wished him fair sailing and not the condition of a number of other golden hands who have been forced to seek another locality to work a

little longer to display their skills. He said that he was still anxious. The city leaders had been extremely supportive but when he registered for production and business, could it have been possible to avoid the large amounts of trouble that individual production facilities are forced to endure?

In Ho Chi Minh City, in Hanoi, in Haiphong, etc., I heard everywhere of the troublesome procedures presently restricting and ill-treating not only the individually operated but also the collective production units. Is it true and why do so many afflictions still exist?

[1 Apr 87 p 15]

[Text] 2. Succeeding Without Trying, Trying Without Succeeding

The Nghia Tinh Cooperative Team in Van Chuong Subward of Dong Da is also correctly called a retirement team. Eleven of the 13 members of the team (three of them wounded veterans) are retirees. It is a retired team but there is nothing light about its work which is fairly complex. The team was formed at the end of 1982 and specializes in casting spare parts and machine components from iron for several state-operated enterprises. The products are of many sizes and the molds must be changed often, demanding high skill. A product with even a small pockmark on the surface or lacking in accuracy is returned by the customer. The team has few members and for young strength has only two youths engaged in studying the trade but the professional and technical standards are excellent with three retired shop supervisors participating in production like true workers.

Directly tending the cast iron smelter, and extremely determined about production quality, is Dinh Van Ung, 74 years old and a former cast iron furnace operator for the Dong Thap Machine Works. Nguyen Van Dien, 71 years old, a former shop supervisor of the 1-5 Machine Works (Ministry of Communications and Transportation) is now responsible for the molds and refining of the team.

When I met 62 year old team chief Nguyen The Thuan, I immediately asked him whether his team had encountered a shortage of raw materials and supplies like a few others I had just visited. He said, "Because the primary raw material of my team is cast iron, we rely on sources of scrap iron of all sorts from cast iron machine components that are no longer usable weighing dozens of kilograms to a few kilograms of scrap iron from scrap collectors, including pieces of galvanized sheet iron and corrugated metal the size of your hand. Coal purchased on the outside, live coal and already burned coal are all used."

Listening to the operating procedures, I noted that his team was a satellite of several state enterprises but that they did not supply raw materials and supplies to the team. He said, "Several enterprises continuing to receive the finished product want my team to shoulder the responsibility for everything although the team is truly a satellite of theirs. The machines they sell to various localities all have cast iron parts and components produced by my team. The entire plan of some enterprises acknowledges our contributions." I asked, "You are all elderly and in shouldering everything in such a manner,

will you be able to continue to fulfill your contracts signed with several state enterprises?"

He replied, "Certainly we can fulfill them. We all have sufficient strength and are only primarily concerned that the state enterprises and agencies are unwilling to alleviate some of the extremely unreasonable and inappropriate shackles affecting us."

Seeing that he was hesitant to continue, I asked, "Can you tell me about these unreasonable shackles?"

He replied, "The contracts are for 6 months and stipulate all product prices. As I said, for raw materials and supplies, we use scrap material which is purchased a little at a time from collectors with the prices steadily rising. With the prices for cast iron, coal, etc. rising, naturally the price of the finished products must rise accordingly for us to make a living but the plants receiving our goods still want to complete the contract before discussing price adjustments. In the contract agreed upon, the customer comes to our team to pick up goods but when goods are not needed immediately, they are not hurried in picking them up. My team has little capital, the money lies in the products, and when they are slow in picking up the goods, we must rent a vehicle for delivering goods to the plant in order to receive payment. For the vehicle rental fee, the plants pay us 3 hao per kg but when the price rose to 1.2 dong per kg, they still paid us only 3 hao as before."

"I know that our state is extremely short of cash but for cooperative teams such as ours, the bank should not hold our cash too long. The deputy team chief or bank could explain more clearly."

The deputy team chief was Le Doan Ho, 68 years old, a veteran wounded during the period of resistance against the French, and a former worker in Machine Department 401. He showed me a bank card issued him, carefully wrapped in cellophane, on which there was clearly recorded 3 days: 24-11-3. Each month, cash withdrawals from the bank could only be made on those 3 days.

He said, "While operating, some days on which cash is required to buy raw materials and supplies do not fall precisely on the day the bank has stipulated for withdrawing cash and money must be borrowed at 10 percent interest, 15 percent on the days when the Lunar New Year holiday is approaching. Even the welfare fund is the same; withdrawals needed for awards, funerals and weddings, visits, etc. are also difficult. One of the team members had to withdraw money from the welfare fund for a funeral but the bank refused because so much approval was required. The burial could not wait and he had to borrow the money."

The cooperative glass team of Doan Khac Thieu, a retired lieutenant colonel and secretary of a party chapter in Van Chuong Subward, was the same in only hoping for the bank to be a little bit lenient in taxes so production could continue to develop. There are now still a number of individual production teams and facilities ingeniously evading taxes and misappropriating the supplies and raw materials of the state by every devilishly clever stratagem to cause losses in the state budget. However, for the production units that

are operating properly, policies of the state must be strictly implemented. For example, upper echelons have stipulated that production units working primarily for state enterprises and agencies are not required to pay commodity taxes. This policy should be applied promptly.

The cooperative team above specializes in production of two types of cups for the restaurants and four hotels in Hanoi: a half-liter earthenware mug for drinking beer and a quarter-liter cup, and glass vials for Bac Thai Hospital. It also produces goldfish bowls and flower vases. The amount of goods produced seldom satisfies agency requirements. On the day I visited the cooperative team, the cups had been placed in baskets for transfer to the Nguyen Bieu Restaurant and Phu Gia Hotel. The raw materials and supplies: bits of broken glass, coal, straw, etc., are all the worry and concern of the team. The team has four elderly and highly skilled workers with more than 50 years in the trade who simultaneously blow glass, tend the furnace and bank the pot. Cang is 76 years old, Phat is 75, and Soan is 69. Cang can still blow 250 earthenware cups or 400 quarter-liter cups a day. The team was established in 1977 at the suggestion of Nguyen Duc Thuan, former Chairman of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions to Cang, Phat and Soan, all friends of his in the same profession and fellow members of his in the Glass Workers' Friendship Association during the period when he was a glass worker operating secretly in the Van Chuong area of Thinh Hao.

Thieu hoped that the state would issue part of the raw materials and supplies to the production unit because the goods produced are nearly all in support of agencies. In pursuing raw materials and supplies, the unit encounters a great deal of trouble; only a small amount of scrap material is procured in each location and there are insufficient invoices and documentary proof. Some raw materials and supplies without these documents are occasionally questioned and reprimanded.

I talked to the team members. The issue of many regulations by Hanoi aimed at alleviating difficulties for basic units has been praised by everyone and surely these elderly team members were the most pleased. They all concur with the regulations but express simultaneous pleasure and concern while following their application. Thuan and Thieu are a bit afraid about the word "temporary" (in temporary regulation) because in a temporary situation, there is fear that changes could occur. Such dynamic anxieties are still present in some localities but the consolidated agencies at the central level (banking, taxes, prices, labor, market management, etc.) have made no changes; if the head will go through, the tail will follow. A retired cadre responsible for a team making plastic products told me, "Those involved like us are like birds called 'once burned, twice shy.' We have often been briefly happy so hope this time that every regulation is extremely consistent with our hopes of promptly beginning implementation. Whatever degree of implementation is achieved, production will surely reach."

The individual and family production area is an extremely rich source of consumer and export goods and the many products praised at expositions and fairs prove the strength of this area although it is still discriminated against, creating all kinds of agitation. There are still quantities of capital, grey matter and skill waiting to join in a new system that does not

stifle production, and knows how to use and appreciate those producing things to nurture society. Changing the perception on this problem is not simple.

For many years, the individual and family production area has been considered a "tail of capitalism," a "sprout of private operation," and "antisocialist," and discrimination expressed in policies and methods dealing with craftsmen and basic individual and family units has been familiar.

Primarily due to the consideration that excessive tendency toward negativism is the nature of the small producer, a halfway situation has persisted in which the fear of losing position is greater than that of the people not having enough food or goods, one dares not develop sectors and trades in the basic individual and family production units, and an unorthodox and superficial perception exists that occasionally leads to brutal actions. The lowly status of many individual and family production units is of two or three ropes around one neck, subject at any time to inspection and investigation, and always subject to a fine because there are still too many regulations and laws that are outmoded but still in effect. A number of production units are still striving to resignedly endure in order to pursue their livelihood.

Those laboring in individual and family production units, and cooperative and production teams are all directly participating in goods production, pouring out their sweat in true day and night work while enduring both gains and losses. More than 50 percent of the consumer and export goods of the entire country wait for the small industry and handicraft forces but within the production teams to this time, there is no trade union organization, and they degrade themselves with the syndrome that their status is the "tail" of the system.

Creating a true change in methods of human evaluation that is first of all aimed at work effectiveness, efficiency and quality with no differentiation as to whether it is inside or outside the system is an extremely urgent demand for restoring the deserved position of legitimate and loyal laborers. To avoid colliding with deviations, some locations at times have been too lax, allowing individual and family production units to make a dishonest living, and to monopolize the market. Many provinces and cities have appealed to cadres to cut down on meetings for trips to the basic units to maintain close contact with villages and subwards and to assist basic units in strictly and properly implementing the regulations and temporary regulations aimed at liberating production forces along the course set forth by the resolution of the Sixth Congress.

Tan Binh Ward (of Ho Chi Minh City) concentrated a large small-industry and handicraft force to produce many renowned consumer and export goods with a total output value greater than all other wards and districts in the country. In Subward 1 alone, the total output value was nearly 1 billion dong (a number of provinces and cities have not yet achieved a total output value of 1 billion dong).

I accompanied a ward cadre on a visit to a number of cooperatives and cooperative teams in the handicraft trade sector. Reaching several subwards where emigrant Catholics made up more than 90 percent of the population, he

enlightened me, "Sir, I have an opinion that I would like to boldly confide to you. Every location has cadres and party members living among the people. A number of families are influential or take steps to have all their children work in the circulation and distribution sectors, and the service sector with no need for much perspiration while still making money. I notice that only a few children of party members and cadres study a trade to become craftsmen. In a number of cadre families with big houses and wide doors, the children are all on organization staffs, require no handicraft skills at all, and dress and live luxuriously. The emigrant Catholic families enter trades and sectors with extreme peace of mind, from father to son, use their labor strength in search of a living, understand themselves and their duty, and requesting entry to a state staff organization is extremely difficult on their part with every family having a member who was previously in the puppet army or government. Many families for the past several years, including fathers, children, husbands and wives, have engaged in trade sectors to supply the state with a significant volume of commodities. A number of small industry and handicraft cooperatives and cooperative teams, the majority of them emigrant Catholics, have received awards, and are engaged in self-transformation with the products they are producing daily. Their standing in society, regarding cooperative teams and cooperatives, still suffers great prejudice and they are often "bullied," their incomes are constantly trimmed and deducted, and to "bully" them, their blood debt to the revolution is recalled. Making arrangements to step into the 12th year of liberation for the south, don't continue to remind these laboring families of their "blood debt." I remind you that even the mission of protecting the fatherland has been strictly implemented by many emigrant Catholic families. Subward 8 of this ward, with more than 90 percent emigrant Catholics, is a model of achievement in meeting military obligations."

I visited Subward 8 where there was a cooperative with families specializing in weaving export goods from rushes, producing bamboo shades for export, ready-made clothing, spare parts for looms, motorcycle inner tubes, etc. Subward Chairman Thang Phong, originally from the central part of the country and a party member active in the heart of Sai Gon during the period of temporary occupation, told me about the struggle process of the subward.

[1 May 87 p 7]

#### 4. Talismans of Farmers and Handicraftsmen

In the early morning, hearing vaguely and occasionally on the radio the phrase, "goods made from self-acquired raw materials at an agreeable price decided upon by the buyer and the seller without interference from the commodity price committee" and rejoicing happily that the producer is still slightly in control, one is still anxious whether what was heard was erroneous until noon when a Hanoi paper is found to see it printed in dark letters, and from a distance, standing behind several people to see each word clearly on the bulletin board that such is the truth.

The Ngoc Lan soap production facility and consolidated chemical enterprise of Phu Nhuan Ward in Ho Chi Minh City have received bales of goods consisting of raw materials for soap production from foreign countries in the form of gifts

from relatives. Customs and tax agencies have created every favorable condition for these production units to swiftly accept the goods, to give them priority in first receipt, and to reduce the tax level. A leather processing and production unit of the ward is also preparing to accept a machine system for support of the processing industry. Good news travels far, a number of families sent letters to their relatives in foreign countries informing them that customs and tax agencies were strictly implementing the new state policy on sending goods and money with the purpose of eliminating all aggravation.

Removing control checkpoints and encouraging economic elements to participate in production and business, the Ho Chi Minh City market has become more lively, the prices of grain, food and many products have stood still or declined, and state-operated trade no longer monopolize and force improvement in methods of making a living.

Every customer and every housewife, no matter what the system, has two requirements when going to market:

--Cheaper goods, a dong here and a dong there.

--More delicious and fresher or more durable and beautiful!

Moreover, there is another requirement temporarily called supplementary: to receive respect and be spoken to politely and to have the goods neatly wrapped and tied. In none of these requirements have the state stores surpassed private operators, especially in vegetables, fruits, fish, etc. which are not fresher or more delicious than those sold by the private merchant; and with various types of motorcycles for easier movement and passage, the private operator carries fresh fish to mountainous regions long supplied only dried fish by state-operated trade.

Even in the supply of raw materials and material supplies to small industry and handicraft units there is competition. For example, for a long time, state trade has purchased copra (coconut pulp) at the source for 100 dong a kilogram, sold it to production units at 120 dong per kilogram, and the production units had to travel to the state store for the purchase. Recently, private operators have delivered copra to production units for sale at a price of 100 dong per kilogram. Naturally, every production unit wants to buy raw materials cheaper and for the seller to deliver them all the way to the shop.

Never has there been a phase stimulating state trade organizations to actively shift to true business as at the present moment in a number of Ho Chi Minh City markets (reducing staff, eliminating intermediate levels, acquiring a sense of maintaining better quality goods, lessening an attitude of arrogance and indifference toward the customer, etc.). It is pleasing that no one wants to apply administrative methods and the newspaper SAIGON GIAI PHONG has suggested that state-operated trade organizations use skilled business management operations to maintain a supervisory role, not reverting back to a monopolistic system which is both harmful to state trade itself and miserable for the consumers who still have to buy old vegetables and stale fish. Many new factors are appearing, including adverse things that occur when commercial forces take short and long routes to truly enter the game with undoubtedly a

number of bad elements engaging in speculative hoarding and market monopoly, evading taxes, producing and distributing counterfeit goods, etc.

A party school instructor told me that the question I had used as a title for my article, "When Will Production Ascend the Throne?" had been answered by Resolution 2 with initial results through a number of policies presently being implemented which he was extremely careful to call pleasant signals. Traveling to a number of locations to teach and making contact with the students, nearly all of them cadres, in various local areas, he had also heard a similar question, "When will production truly be the root?" which was usually answered by the very people who asked the question because they were party members now tossing about at the primary level. Nearly all told of an extremely unreasonable current serious situation: the majority of laborers directly engaged in producing goods to nurture society, including those engaged in intellectual labor, are currently in a situation of arduously seeking two meals a day. If any society truly wishes production to be the root, it must first of all ensure that laborers have at least a minimum standard of living. During the past several years, we have piled on the back of the laborers many excessive contributions, obligatory taxes have become contributions to the province, district and village, and every level has been able to levy this or that fee forcing the farmer or craftsman to pay in cash or paddy (nearly everyone in agricultural cooperatives cooperates in trade sectors and in some villages, up to a thousand young and old people engage in handicraft trades). Unreasonable to a strange degree is that a majority of the farmers, who are lucky if they have enough paddy to eat, cannot pay the "fees" (water conservancy charges, crop protection, tractors, etc.) in cash and are forced to pay in paddy; there are even places where the farmers go to pharmacies to buy medicine also...in paddy. These contributions may be called extreme and fees are high with the farmers investing their property still unable to pay off the countless charges. The procurement cost of agricultural products and food is often lower than production and prime costs.

During the middle of last year, 1986, the magazine THONG TIN-LY LUAN [INFORMATION THEORY] of the Marx-Lenin Institute published an investigative article on the price of paddy. Investigations were conducted in agricultural cooperatives in the district of Tu Liem in rural Hanoi where many agencies of the central government are located. The investigator meticulously calculated every type of expense (various kinds of fertilizer, man-days for transplanting, plowing and weeding, seed, various kinds of "fees," etc.), with cooperative members, laborers and party members contributing far-ranging opinions to reach a price of 3.5 dong per kilogram of paddy. The state procurement price was 2.5 dong per kilogram. There is nothing difficult in understanding why farmers abandon their fields, including those of fertile land.

Returning to the recently promulgated Resolution 2, the party school instructor said he was most interested in the two sections dealing with policies on farmers and handicraftsmen: from stabilizing tax and contract levels until 1990 by strictly forbidding sectors and echelons to arbitrarily assign cooperatives, production collectives and farmers additional "product payment obligations" or to assign additional contributions harmful to the people; and requiring that exchange relations between economic organizations

of the state and the farmers follow a principle of fair purchase and fair sale equality; and that the purchase prices of paddy and other agricultural products compensate for social expenses and provide a profit. Regarding basic small industry and handicraft production units (collective, family, individual and private capitalist), the resolution clearly stipulates: the producer is free to distribute products in excess of contract levels in accordance with state commodity circulation policy; and establishment of contract prices must follow the principle of mutual agreement, ensuring that producers receive an adequate income and profit, eliminating compulsive and authoritarian habits and other negative occurrences, allowing producers of export goods the right to use foreign exchange, supplementing unified tax policies, not permitting local areas to levy taxes and surtaxes in excess of state regulations, and in addition, eliminating stipulations of a discriminatory nature. For example, as of now, handicraftsmen may send their children to child care centers and kindergartens. Every word in these two sections of the resolution is as valuable as gold, and by strictly implementing these two policies, specifically tens of millions of laborers in the rural and urban areas will from now on feel peace of mind in production, will no longer worry about being "skinned from head to foot," or as stated by many handicraftsmen in the city, will no longer worry about being "scraped" and "pecked" with no shortage of grain, food and other commodities in the years to come as at the present time. He suggested that my paper separately print each policy as a supplement so farmers and handicraftsmen could paste them up at home. Each policy section in the resolution, about 300 words long, can be posted on the wall like a precious possession so that anyone coming to their home for an obligatory contribution contrary to the resolution will see the policy in black and white on the wall and will be unable to intimidate them. He said he was presenting this suggest because once when he returned home, several families had cut out the sections dealing with farmer policy and pasted them on the house supports, calling them a talisman and extremely sorry that they were printed in such small letters.

I feel that this is correct and reasonable if we think about the past several years in which there were resolutions agreeable to the people but that were not implemented from beginning to end. For example, very recently, Decision 76, institutionalizing Resolution 300 (draft) of the Political Bureau, was not precisely in keeping with the spirit and theme of the resolution. Many specific policies and regulations continued to constrict and shackle basic production and business units because the key cadres of functional and consolidated sectors assisting the central government in supervising the economy and renovating thinking are still slow and clearly not keeping pace with life at the basic level. The article above reminds us that we must strictly implement the reiteration of the General Secretary of our party at the recent Second Plenum (Session 6):

"The process of struggle in issuing a resolution is a difficult job. The struggle to implement a resolution and to introduce it to life is increasingly more difficult. Here is the relationship to organization of achievement supervision. First and most decisive is that each member of the party Central Committee must think, speak and work in accordance with the resolution, with unity from top to bottom and from within the party to out among the masses. That is our strength."

It is for this very reason that this resolution must be widely disseminated to everyone in the spirit of the "people knowing, the people discussing, the people doing and the people inspecting," in order for everyone to become imbued, to actively implement, to promptly discover any actions or statements inconsistent with the spirit and theme of the resolution, or desires to intrigue against and repel the resolution for a return to those policies that are called "new" but involve conservatism and state subsidization.

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## FUTURE COURSE OF TEXTILE SECTOR DISCUSSED

Hanoi TAP SAN CONG NGHIEP NHE in Vietnamese No 224, Feb 87 pp 2-4

[Article by Bui Van Long, General Director of the Federation of Textile Enterprises: "The Course of the Textile Sector 1990-2000"]

[Text] I. The Position of the Textile Sector--Some Features the Sector's Situation During Recent Years

Vietnam's textile sector plays a very important role in the national economy in general and in the light industry sector particularly. The development of the textile sector is intended to continually fulfill society's clothing needs and provide jobs for many workers. In comparison to a number of other economic sectors, the textile sector is capable of achieving a quick return of capital and of accumulating large sums for the state. At the same time, there are many capabilities for creating many products for export and increasing the export index.

Having experienced many periods of development, the textile sector has a large number of mills with a capacity of more than 890,000 yarn spindles and nearly 31,000 looms of all kinds. If the supplies of raw material, fuel, and the other necessities are stable, with that equipment the textile sector is capable of producing nearly 90,000 tons of yarn and more than 500 million meters of cloth a year. But in production and commerce the textile sector has encountered many difficulties and as times (such as during the 1979-1981 period) has experienced serious set-backs. In recent years, although much progress has been made, some of the people's clothing needs have been met, and new policies have been introduced, there are still many limitations. The sector's equipment is still backward in comparison to the textile sectors of many countries of the world. Only some of our mills have modern equipment. The equipment of many of them is too old and there is too little automated equipment that is operated in accordance with technical requirements. Although our workers' vocational skills and the technical levels of our cadres can keep abreast of some of the developing nations, but because we do not yet have conditions for developing them, our labor productivity is still low and product quality has not yet met the export requirements, and often do not meet domestic requirements. The sector's output is low in comparison to the mills' total design capacity.

The problem of raw materials has not yet been resolved actively and certainly. We do not have sufficient foreign exchange to import raw materials from abroad and we cannot yet produce many high-quality products to export to obtain foreign exchange with which to import raw materials. Furthermore, because adequate attention has not been paid with regard to the price policy, land, capital, and the other conditions for the areas growing cotton and raising silkworms, we have not been able to encourage the increasing of domestic raw materials production. In many places the organization and arrangement of production are not yet rational, so effectiveness is still low.

## II. The Course of Advance of the 1990-2000 Period

In order to overcome those limitations, the course of development of the textile sector for the period between 1990 and 2000 will be as follows:

1. The textile sector must develop strongly, meet the economic-social goals, and meet the clothing needs of the people and the export needs.

A strategy for developing the sector must be drafted on the basis of forecasts of the population structure, of the clothing needs of each area, and on the needs of the world market. With regard to the domestic needs, during the next few years the sector must endeavor to attain the norm of an average of about 8 meters per person per year. By the year 2000 it must attain the norm of between 12 and 16 meters per year (not counting mosquito netting, wash cloths, or socks).

Although those levels are still low in comparison to the world levels their attainment in our country demands the resolution of many problems, among which the problems of equipment and raw materials are urgent.

During the next few years we must take steps to rapidly develop the growing of cotton, jute, flax, and hemp, to raise silkworms, and then advance to the development of visco polyester, poliamid, acrylic, etc., along the lines of the textile sector investing capital and other facilities to the raw materials crop sector, under the guidance of the state, in order to ensure the all-round development of the national economy. The sector must provide more than 40 percent of its raw materials by 1990. That is a rather difficult goal to attain. If it is not attained the textile sector cannot exceed the figure of 450 million meters of cloth of all kinds by 1990.

2. The measures of promoting the production of export goods and expanding cooperation and alliances with foreign countries, including the fraternal socialist countries and the other nations of good will in the world, are in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit. By means of exporting, the sector must import raw materials with which to develop production. Without exporting there can be no foreign exchange for importing. The sector has affirmed that the obligation of each enterprise is to strengthen their sense of responsibility toward the mission of producing export goods. The regulations regarding the production of export goods must be extremely tight and it is necessary to avoid arbitrariness and disorderly working methods, which affect economic contracts with foreign countries. With regard to local

factories and enterprises which do a good job of fulfilling their obligation to export textile goods, the sector has a policy of providing suitable incentives and concentrating conditions to help the basic units develop production. On the other hand, production must be suspended in areas where raw materials cannot be supplied.

3. Concentrating technical investment, applying technical advances to production, and boldly investing in the renovation of equipment in order to have high-quality products for export. During the 1987-1990 period the sector will make in-depth investment and exploit existing capabilities along the lines of widely applying improvements to increase the effectiveness and productivity of equipment, especially looms, expanding the gauge of the looms, and replacing ordinary shuttle looms with compressed air looms and knitting looms (efforts will be made to increase the number of such machines to between 5 and 7 percent of the total number of machines in the textile sector by 1990).

The sector will research the manufacture of cloth during machines and begin to produce the various kinds of components and parts it is capable of manufacturing, while making all-out efforts to import those it cannot yet manufacture, such as electronic equipment, difficult-to-make parts, etc. It will continue to produce silk cocoon unwinding machines (the model designed and produced by the Textile Industry Institute, which is very suitable for local silk cocoon unwinding installations).

During the following period (1990-2000), the sector will make horizontal investments and import additional modern equipment. It will construct a number of additional cotton spinning mills and mills which use shuttle looms, knitting machines and wash-cloth weaving mills with state-of-the-art equipment.

Furthermore, the sector will pay attention to investing in the development of manufacturing machinery so that it can produce an important part of the parts needed for its yarn-spinning, weaving, and dyeing machines to serve the restoration and manufacture of machines in accordance with a program to make technical advances.

With regard to products, it will continually improve the quality of traditional goods which are popular on the market, and introduce many new products. It will research the production of wool tissue cloth. With a large number of high-quality products and a rich variety of styles, the sector will be able to fulfill its export plan and meet consumer tastes in our country.

4. Continued renovation of the management and planning mechanisms and to reorganize production.

During the 1987-1990 period the sector will concentrate on local textile production. The sector will work with the sectors in carrying out a rational division of labor based on the capabilities and level of production and in setting up rational product structures. It will resolutely refrain from assigning missions to production installations which produce poor-quality goods, waste large amounts of raw materials, materials, and energy, and do not

operate effectively. On the other hand, it will concentrate its resources on the installations which produce well, fulfill their economic contracts, and work with high effectiveness, especially in the export production sector.

By reorganizing production and carrying out a division of responsibility between sector management and territorial management, the sector will create conditions for the basic level to produce stably, and will especially pay attention to prices and the policies toward workers in both the central and local textile sectors.

It will continue to rearrange organization, increase the effectiveness of the management apparatus, from the Enterprise Federation organ down to the enterprises, reduce the intermediate levels, and enable the production orders to be sent to each basic unit quickly, accurately, and with high effectiveness.

5. In order to truly bring into play the right of enterprises in and spheres to autonomy in production and commerce, in the spirit of draft Resolution 306 of the Political Bureau and Decision 76 of the Council of Ministers, the sector will carry out complete decentralization and step up its supervision of the product delivery system and product quality, while also creating conditions for ensuring the autonomy of enterprises. It will build a truly democratic, truly centralized enterprise management mechanism, in accordance with the Central Committee resolution.

Especially, in the task of caring for and stabilizing the lives of workers, the textile sector has carried out many positive plans to bolster the working strength of cadres, workers, and civil servants. In addition to categorizing and rationally organizing labor, and improving the quality of the labor force in order to attain high effectiveness in production. The sector has been concerned with drafting and using labor expense norms and salary expense norms per unit of production, by means of which to pay for labor according to the requirement of calorie supplementation, and with tying in the quantity and quality of production with the effectiveness of work. A sector with a labor force that is 75 to 85 percent female, one in which the work is in shifts and the workers are continually in contact with noise, dust, heat, and unhealthful conditions, the workers' health must receive adequate attention. The enterprise federation has employed the current regulations and policies, according to the conditions of each period of time, to maintain the workers' living conditions. At the same time, the sector has recommended that the state promulgate regulations and policies which manifest concern for the workers of the textile sector.

The policy of organizing shift labor rationally (including both three-shift and four-shift system), the rational use of trade the improvement of labor quality, and adequate concern for the lives of cadres and workers are practical measures for ensuring the collective mastership right of the workers.

By correctly determining the position and responsibility of the textile sector in the national economy, making appropriate investments of raw materials, materials, equipment, and labor and with a dynamic and creative new management mechanism, the textile sector is certain to bring about increasingly stronger transformations and meet the needs for clothing and export goods according to the economic strategy that has been set forth for the 1990-2000 period.

## INFORMATION ON VIETNAMESE PERSONALITIES

[The following information on Vietnamese personalities has been extracted from Vietnamese-language sources published in Hanoi, unless otherwise indicated. Asterisked job title indicates that this is the first known press reference to this individual functioning in this capacity.]

Nguyễn Ngọc Anh [NGUYEENX NGOCJ ANH]

\*Editor-in-chief of the mechanical engineering journal TAP CHI CO KHI; his name appeared on the masthead of the publication. (TAP CHI CO KHI N° 1 87 inside front cover)

Đặng Danh Ánh [DAWNGJ ZANH ANHS], MS

Deputy Director of the Vocational Science Research Institute; he wrote an article on workers' training and education. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 12 Mar 87 p 3)

Phạm Phú Bổng [PHAMF PHUS BAWNGF], Colonel

Military journalist; his name was mentioned in an article on people who spoke at the Vietnam Socialist Party club. (TO QUOC Dec 86 p 17)

Lê Đức Bình [LEE DUWCS BINHF]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; \*Secretary of the CPV Committee, Hai Hung Province; his speech on small industries and handicraft workers appeared in the cited source. (TIEU CONG NGHIEP THU CONG NGHIEP 13 Mar 87 p 1)

Nguyễn Quang Bửu [NGUYEENX QUANG BUWU], \*Colonel

\*Director of the Ordnance Technical Officers School; he was mentioned in an article on the orientation and duties of ordnance officers. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 2 Mar 87 p 2)

Lê Đức Cánh [LEE DUWCS CAWNG]

\*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Nicaragua; on 23 Mar 87 he presented his credentials to President Ortega of Nicaragua. (NHAN DAN 26 Mar 87 p 4)

Nguyễn Mạnh Cầm [NGUYEENX MANHJ CAAMF]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; \*SRV Ambassador to the USSR; on 28 Apr 87 he attended the 6th anniversary of the Viet-Soviet Friendship Association in Moscow. (NHAN DAN 30 Apr 87 p 4)

Tạ Quang Chiển [TAJ QUANG CHIEENS]

Director of the Physical Education and Sports General Department; recently he attended a sports meet in Hanoi. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 30 Mar 87 p 4)

Nguyễn Đình Côn [NGUYEENX DINHF COON], Colonel, deceased

Former Director of the Policy Office, 3rd MR; member of the CPV; born in 1916 in Yen Hung Village, Y Yen District, Ha Nam Ninh Province, he was retired at the time of his death on 22 Mar 87. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 25 Mar 87 p 4)

Nguyễn Văn Dân [NGUYEENX VAWN ZAA NF]

\*Vice Minister of Health; he attended a meeting celebrating the formation of a chapter of the Vietnam-Sweden Friendship Association. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 13 Feb 87 p 4)

Nguyễn Ngọc Diệp [NGUYEENX NGOCJ ZIEEPJ], \*Major General

Of the Military Medical Institute; he wrote an article on education in military schools. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 12 Mar 87 p 2)

Nguyễn Văn Do [NGUYEENX VAWN ZO]

\*Deputy Director of the Vietnam Tobacco Research Institute; he wrote an article on cooperation between scientists and those at the production level. (LAO DONG 5 Mar 87 p 3)

Nguyễn Đình Doãn [NGUYEENX DINHF ZOANX]

Vice Minister of Communications and Transportation; his article on building a model transportation network appeared in the cited source. (GIAO THONG VAN TAI 23 Apr 87 pp 1, 2)

Lê Duy [LEE ZUY]

\*Chief of the Propaganda and Training Department of the CPV Central Committee; his name was mentioned in an article on the speeches given at the Vietnam Socialist Party's club. (TO QUOC Dec 87 p 17)

Lê Văn Dy<sup>2</sup> [LEE VAWN ZYX]

Director of the Chemicals General Department; he wrote an article in the cited source about long-term development in his sector. (CONG NGHIEP HOA CHAT N° 1 86 inside front cover)

Trần Hữu Đàng [TRAANF HUWUX DANG], \*Colonel

He was mentioned in a letter of complaint about Unit 19265 destroying citizens' property. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 6 Apr 87 p 2)

Bê Việt Đàng [BEES VIEETJ DAWNGR], Professor

\*Director of the Ethnology Institute, Social Science Commission; he attended a conference on moviegoers in the northern border and mountainous areas. (NGHIEN CUU VAN HOA NGHE THUAT Sep-Oct 86 p 75)

Nguyễn Diệt [NGUYEENX DIEETJ], Colonel, deceased

Member of the CPV since 1937; former cadre in the Political General Department; born in 1915 in Vinh Thanh Village, Huong Phu District, Binh Tri Thien Province, he was retired at the time of his death on 12 Mar 87. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 21 Mar 87 p 4)

Đào Vọng Đức [DAOF VONGJ DUWCS]

Editor-in-chief of the physics journal TAP CHI VAT LY; his name appeared on the masthead of the publication. (TAP CHI VAT LY N°3 86 inside front cover)

Lữ Giang [LUW GIANG], Lieutenant General

Commander, Capital Military Region; recently his name was on the list of candidates for Hanoi's electoral unit 6 published in the cited source. (NHAN DAN 2 Apr 87 p 4)

Nguyễn Ngọc Hải [NGUYEENX NGOCJ HAIR]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; \*Minister of Power; recently he accompanied Secretary General Nguyen Van Linh on a visit to Hoa Binh power plant. (NHAN DAN 5 May 87 p 1)

Phạm Thọ Hàn [PHAMJ THOJ HANF], Colonel

Of B.33 Gp, 3rd MR; he wrote an article on training new recruits. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 4 Mar 87 p 2)

Nguyễn Trọng Hiên [NGUYEENX TRONGJ HIEENR]

\*Deputy Secretary of the CPV Committee, Hai Hung Province; Chairman of the People's Committee, Hai Hung Province; recently he attended a meeting held by the Communist Youth Union of his province. (NHAN DAN 17 Apr 87 p 3)

Trần Xuân Hoài [TRAANF XUAAN HOAIF]

Associate Editor of the physics journal TAP CHI VAT LY; his name appeared on the masthead of the publication. (TAP CHI AT LY N°3 86 inside front cover)

Cao Xuân Hưởng [CAO XUAAN HUWOWNGR]

Associate Editor of the architecture journal KIEN TRUC; his name appeared on the masthead of the publication. (KIEN TRUC N°3 86 p 63)

Nguyễn Trọng Khoát [NGUYEENX TRONGJ KHOAT], Colonel

Director of the Technical Communications School; his article on training communication technicians appeared in the cited source. (NHAN DAN 23 Mar 87 p 2)

Đinh Nho Liêm [DINH NHO LIEEM]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; \*1st Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; on 14 Apr 87 he attended a reception given by the DPRK Ambassador to Vietnam. (HANOI MOI 15 Apr 87 p 1)

Ngô Xuân Lộc [NGOO XUAAN LOOCJ]

Alternate member of the CPV Central Committee; General Director of the Song Da construction company; recently he welcomed Secretary General Nguyen Van Linh who was visiting Hoa Binh power plant construction site. (NHAN DAN 5 May 87 p 1)

Nguyễn Trục Luyện [NGUYEENX TRUWCJ LUYEENJ]

Editor-in-chief of the architecture journal KIEN TRUC; his name appeared on the masthead of the publication. (KIEN TRUC N°3 86 p 63)

Nguyễn Văn Luồng [NGUYEENX VAWN LUWOWNG]

Chairman of the People's Committee, Binh Tri Thien Province; on 6 Apr 87 he laid a wreath at the Reburial Service for King Duy Tan in Hue. (NHAN DAN 7 Apr 87 p 1)

Trần Mạnh [TRAANF MANHJ]

Director of the Civil Aviation General Department; on 6 Apr 87 he attended a conference on civil aviation in Phnom-Penh. (NHAN DAN 9 Apr 87 p 4)

Cao Đình Nghị [CAO DINHG NGHIJ]

\*Deputy Director of the Cinematography Department; he attended a conference on moviegoers in the northern border and mountainous areas. (NGHIEN CUU VAN HOA NGHE THUAT Sep-Oct 86 p 75)

Bùi Đình Nguyên [BUIF DINHF NGUYEEN], Colonel

He wrote a letter to the newspaper concerning a transportation problem. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 12 Mar 87 p 2)

Phan Duy Nguyên [PHAN ZUY NGUYEEN], Colonel, deceased

Former Deputy Commander, Political, of a Division, 2nd MR; member of the CPV; born in 1928 in Hoa Thanh Village, Yen Thanh District, Nghe Tinh Province, he died on 4 Mar 87 after an illness. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 2 Apr 87 p 4)

Y Ngông [Y NGOONG]

Secretary of the CPV Party Committee, Dac Lac Province; his name was mentioned in an article on coffee growing in his province. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 24 Mar 87 p 3)

Nguyễn Thiện Nhân [NGUYEENX THIEENJ NHAAN]

\*Head of the political department of TAP CHI CONG SAN journal; his name was mentioned in an article on the people who spoke at the Vietnam Socialist Party's club. (TO QUOC Dec 87 p 17)

Nguyễn Dỵ Niên [NGUYEENX ZY NIEEN]

\*Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; on 29 Apr 87 he attended a reception given by the Japanese Ambassador in Hanoi. (NHAN DAN 30 Apr 87 p 4)

Hoàng Phong [HOANGF PHONG], aka Đỗ Văn Giao [DOOX VAWN GIAO], Colonel, deceased

Deputy Director of the Rear Services Department; member of the CPV; born in 1928 in Tan Dan Village, Chau Giang District, Hai Hung Province, he died on 20 Apr 87 after an illness. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 21 Apr 87 p 4)

Trần Hồng Quân [TRAANF HOONGF QUAAN]

\*Minister of Higher and Vocational Education; on 29 Apr 87 he attended a reception given by the Japanese Ambassador in Hanoi. (NHAN DAN 30 Apr 87 p 4)

Vũ Nguyên Quyền [VUX NGUYEEN QUYEEENF]

\*Deputy Director of the Hanoi Agricultural College N°1; he wrote an article on officers' training. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 13 Mar 87 p 2)

Nguyễn Ngọc San [NGUYEENX NGOCJ SAN], \*Colonel

He wrote a letter to the newspaper concerning a transportation problem. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 12 Mar 87 p 2)

Lê Văn Sang [LEE VAWN SANG]

Vice Minister of Building; recently he accompanied General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh to visit Hoa Binh power plant. (NHAN DAN 5 May 87 p 1)

Nguyễn Đình Sở [NGUYEENX DINHF SOWR]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; Secretary of the CPV Committee, Ha Son Binh Province; recently he accompanied General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh on a visit to Hoa Binh power plant. (NHAN DAN 5 May 87 p 1).

Phạm Hồng Sơn [PHAMJ HOONGF SOWN], Lieutenant General, Professor

He wrote an article on the strategic role of rivers and seas in the history of Vietnam's wars. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 15 Mar 87 p 2)

Bùi Văn Sửu [BUIF VAWN SUWOWNGS]

Director of the Transportation Department, Ministry of Communications and Transportation; he was interviewed in the cited source about food transportation from the south to the north. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 24 Mar 87 p 3)

Lê Tài [LEE TAIF]

Alternate member of the CPV Central Committee; \*Chairman of the Industry Department of the CPV Central Committee; on 17 Mar 87 he welcomed a Soviet delegation visiting Vietnam. (NHAN DAN 18 Mar 87 p 1)

Huỳnh Công Tâm [HUYNHF COONG TAAM]

\*SRV Ambassador to the Republic of Malta; on 19 Mar 87 he presented his credentials to the acting President of Malta. (NHAN DAN 26 Mar 87 p 4)

Lê Tâm [LEE TAAM]

Editor-in-chief of the science journal TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC; his name appeared on the masthead of the publication. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Feb 87 inside back cover)

Nguyễn Duy Thái [NGUYEENX ZUY THAIS], Major General

Deputy Director of the Technical General Department; on 23 Mar 87 he accompanied Secretary General Nguyen Van Linh touring factory Z125. (Hanoi HANOI MOI 24 Mar 87 p 1)

Trịnh Ngọc Thái [TRINHJ NGOCJ THAIS]

Deputy Director of the Foreign Relations Department of the Central Committee; Secretary General of the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity and Friendship With Other People, on 29 Apr 87 he attended a conference held by the Committee. (NHAN DAN 30 Apr 87 p 4)

Phan Quang Tiệp [PHAN QUANG TIEEPJ], Major General

\*Commander of the 12th Corps; his article on his group appeared in the cited source. (NHAN DAN 20 Apr 87 p 3)

Lê Duy Thái [LEE ZUY THAIS], Major General

\*Deputy Director of the Technical General Department; recently he accompanied General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh on a visit of Z.125 Factory.  
(QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 24 Mar 87 p 4)

Đặng Văn Thân [DAWNGJ VAWN THAAN]

Director of the Posts and Telecommunications General Department; he wrote in the cited source on technical progress in the communications sector.  
(QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 5 Apr 87 p 2)

Trần Minh Thê [THRAANF MINH THEEJ], \*Colonel

\*Deputy Chief of staff, 7th MR; he was interviewed about self-defense tasks. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 10 Apr 87 p 2)

Phan Phong Thủ [PHAN PHONG THUW], \*Colonel

\*Director of the Militia and Self-Defense Forces Office, 7th MR; he was interviewed about self-defense tasks. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 10 Apr 87 p 2)

Lê Toàn [LEE TOANF], (Colonel

He wrote an article on the history of the Special Operations Branch.  
(QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 19 Mar 87 p 2)

Nguyễn Cảnh Toàn [NGUYEENX CANHR TOANF]

Editor-in-chief of the mathematics journal TOAN HOC VA TUOI TRE; his name appeared on the masthead of the journal. (TOAN HOC VA TUOI TRE N°6 [Dec] 86 p 1)

Nguyễn Văn Trà [NGUYEENX VAWN TRAF], \*Colonel

Commander of the Nam Lien Signal Group; recently he headed a committee organizing a technical conference. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 14 Apr 87 p 2)

Phạm Văn Trình [PHAMJ VAWN TRINHF]

President of the Hanoi Architecture College; he wrote an article about 25 years of accomplishments at his college. (KIEN TRUC N°3 86 p 1)

Đặng Tô Tuấn [DAWNGJ TOOS TUAANS]

\*Vice President of the Hanoi Architecture College; he was interviewed on courses of study at his college. (KIEN TRUC N°3 86 p 2)

Vũ Đình Tuy [VUX DINHF TUY], Colonel, deceased

Cadre of the VPA Inspector General's Office; member of the CPV; born in 1923 in Thanh Giang Village, Ninh Thanh District, Hai Hung Province, he died after an illness on 24 Mar 87. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 26 Mar 87 p 4)

Nguyễn Tuyền [NGUYEENX TUYEENS], Colonel, deceased

Member of the CPV; Deputy Chief of Cabinet of the Central Military Party Committee; Deputy Chief of Cabinet in the Ministry of National Defense; born on 10 Sep 25 in Huong Mai Village, Huong Tra District, Binh Tri Thien Province, he died on 30 Mar 87 at the 108th Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 31 Mar 87 p 4)

Phạm Quý Tú [PHAMJ QUYS TUW], Professor

Director of the Hanoi Teacher's College N°1; he wrote an article about the training of reserve officers. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 20 Mar 87 p 2)

Ngô Đạt Tú [NGOO DATJ TUWS]

Deputy Editor of the mathematics journal TOAN HOC VA TUOI TRE; his name appeared on the masthead of the journal. (TOAN HOC VA TUOI TRE N°6 [Dec] 86 p 1)

Nguyễn Thị Thân [NGUYEENX THIJ THAAN]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; \*Member of the Economic, Planning and Budget Committee at the National Assembly; on 25 Apr 87 she attended a meeting between the Vietnamese Chairman of the National Assembly and the Deputy Chairman of the Albanian National Assembly. (NHAN DAN 26 Apr 87 p 4)

Võ Khắc Vẽ [VOX KHAWCS VEX], \*Colonel

He wrote an article in the cited source on training new soldiers. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 6 Apr 87 p 2)

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