



JPRS Report

East Asia

Southeast Asia

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

REPRODUCED BY
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

19980626 082

East Asia Southeast Asia

JPRS-SEA-88-044

CONTENTS

8 NOVEMBER 1988

INDONESIA

LNG Exports to Japan To Increase [ABTARA NEWS BULLETIN 1, 6 OCT]	1
Official Cites Possible Increased Corn, Rice Imports [ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN 1, 6 OCT]	1

LAOS

Reports Continue on Effect of Economic Reforms	2
Business Lacks Funds, Uncontrolled Thai Border Trade [PASASON 13 Sep]	2
Export/Import Firm Warehouses Clogged [PASASON 12 Sep]	2
Official Comments on Foreign Investment [PASASON 3 Sep]	2
Xieng Khouang Trade May Get Worse [PASASON 2 Sep]	3
Trade Official Assesses Economic Performance [PASASON 26 Jul]	3
'Talk' Columnists Praise Chatchai, Score Sitthi Savetsila	4
Radio Station, Chatchai Policy in Conflict [PASASON 7 Sep]	4
Sitthi Blamed for Ties Impasse [VIENTIANE MAI 13 Sep]	5
Slowness in Policy Change [VIENTIANE MAI 12 Sep]	5
Trade Prospects Viewed, Chatchai Praised [VIENTIANE MAI 6 Sep]	5

MALAYSIA

MCA Urged To Do More for Ethnic Chinese Schools [NANYANG SIANG PAU 10 Sep]	7
Blaming MCA for Johor Baru By-Election Defeat Deemed Unfair [NANYANG SIANG PAU 12 Sep]	7
GERAKAN Official Discusses Possible Two-Party System [SIN CHEW JIT POH 14 Sep]	7
DAP To Assess Implementation of New Economic Policy [NANYANG SIANG PAU 13 Sep]	8
Paper Comments on Attempted Conciliation Between Old, New UMNO [NANYANG SIANG PAU 12 Sep]	8
Paper Views Possibility of National Front Becoming Single Party [NANYANG SIANG PAU 10 Sep]	9

PHILIPPINES

Cordillera Congressmen Urge Repeal of Autonomy Order [THE MANILA CHRONICLE 10 Oct]	11
Defense Official Broadens 'Reservist' Definition in Cagwu Role [THE MANILA CHRONICLE 10 Oct]	11
PC Arms Inventoried Following Illicit Sales [PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER 10 Oct]	12
Police Reporter Cites Zambales Governor's 'Goons' in Killings [PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER 10 Oct]	12
Public Survey Shows Increased Fear of NPA Capabilities [PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER 10 Oct]	12

VIETNAM

POLITICAL

Reviewing Work Done by 3rd Session of National Assembly [DAI DOAN KET 2, 9 Jul]	14
---	----

ECONOMIC

VINACAFE To Export 1988 Coffee [QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 8 Aug]	17
Joint Venture Enterprise Created, Named OTAS [QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 25 Jul]	17
Problems Reflect Irrational Situation at Saigon Harbor [GIAO THONG VAN TAI 30 Jun]	18
Export Goods From An Giang Province [QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 5 Jul]	19
Export Handicraft Products Sector Suspends Operations [QUAN DOI NAHN DAN 4 Jul]	19

SOCIAL

District in Tien Giang Resolves Half of Land Dispute Cases [NONG NGHIEP VIET NAM 28 Jul]	19
Village Cadres Defy Land Decisions While Complaints Abound [NONG NGHIEP VIET NAM 28 Jul]	20
Peasants Voice Complaints to Council of Ministers Office [SAIGON GIAI PHONG 17 Aug]	22

LNG Exports to Japan To Increase

42000017b Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN
in English 1, 6 Oct 88 p A7

[Article: "Additional LNG Exports to Japan Signed"]

[Text] Jakarta, Oct. 6 (ANTARA)—Indonesia beginning from December this year would ship an additional 800,000 metric tons of liquefied natural gas (LNG) to Japan in a timespan of 9.5 years.

The additional export contract was signed here Wednesday by Director of the stated-owned oil company Pertamina Faisal Abda'oe and President of the Toho Gas Co. Ltd. Ogawa in the presence of Mines and Energy Minister Ginandjar Kartasasmita.

Under the contract, Toho Gas will purchase the LNG from Indonesia with shipments to start in December this year.

Official Cites Possible Increased Corn, Rice Imports

42000017a Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN
in English 1, 6 Oct 88 p A4

[Article: "Soy Bean Imports Probably To Increase to 600,000 Tons"]

[Text] Ambon, October 1 (ANTARA)—The increasing demand for soy beans, and the failure to extend the area of soy bean plantations so far would most probably force the government to increase the import volume of soy

beans to 600,000 tons in the next few years. The director general of regional development of the ministry of home affairs, Ir. Piek Mulyadi, has said. In the last few years Indonesia imported an average of 350,000 tons of soy beans per year and most probably it has to import 600,000 tons of this commodity next year, due to the lack of newly created soy bean plantations. In his keynote address before participants from the provinces of Maluku, NTT, Irian Jaya and East Timor at the Bappeda (regional capital investment coordinating board) regional consultation meeting here on Wednesday, Piek Mulyadi said, that not only soy beans will be imported, but most probably also rice if the area for rice cultivation continues to diminish from year to year.

According to the latest data, during 1987, 38,000 HA of rice fields had been converted for the cultivation of other plantation crops, while only 29,000 HA of new rice fields had been opened.

This means that during 1987 alone a decrease of 9,000 HA of productive rice fields had taken place. If this situation continues to prevail, he said, it would be impossible for Indonesia to maintain its position of selfsufficiency in rice.

To overcome this setback, rice production should be increased through more advanced rice-planting techniques to enable an increase in rice production per hectare.

"If we fail to do so, Indonesia's old habit of importing rice will recur", Piek Mulyadi said.

Reports Continue on Effect of Economic Reforms

Business Lacks Funds, Uncontrolled Thai Border Trade

42060009 Vientiane PASASON in Lao
13 Sep 88 pp 2, 4

[Article by Niti Sayaseng: "Fish Sauce Problems"]

[Text] As soon as he saw us, Mr Khamphan Chandala excitedly exclaimed it was good that we were here, and that there were many things he wanted to tell us. This year we have a problem because in the first 6 months our income has decreased by 30 percent. Fish sauce and soy sauce sales were only at 60 percent. The sales figures have gotten worse compared with those for the first 6 months of last year. The fishing project at the Nam Ngum Reservoir got into trouble because we did not buy the fish they brought to us, and as a result the fish had to rot because there was not enough time for them to find a market. They were forced to sell at 50 or 30 kip per kg. Even so, no one bought their fish, and they had to be thrown away. He feels that in this rainy season they will try to get rid of their hundred tons of fish [at a very low price], even though the factory has tried to upgrade the quality of the fish sauce which can now keep for a year instead of 3 months as before. The service section used to try to set up retail sales branches, and also to put the merchandise into a truck with a [loudspeaker] to make sales.

Many businessmen and the factory found that the reason for the decreased sales was a result first of all of the opening of the markets along the Thai border without studying what kinds of goods should be allowed to enter Laos. Goods such as chicken feet, peanuts, cucumbers, fish sauce, soy sauce, oranges, tomato juice and fermented fish have poured freely into Laos. Secondly, anyone who makes an order is given extensive rights. Anyone can place orders for goods to come in, and anyone can contact foreign companies. Thirdly, the Lao-Thai border trade is too big to control by taxes. Thus, the trade has become illegal and free. Therefore, many unnecessary foreign goods are supplanting traditional goods and are invading the newly revived Lao economy.

In terms of quality, a Thai expert who has travelled to the Lao factory and who used to take Lao fish sauce for analysis said that the Lao fish sauce is fresh and more nutritious because there is a lot of fish. One cup of Lao fish sauce can be made into three cups in Thailand. However, we need to improve the use of chemicals to make it clear, and to help it to smell and taste better to the tongue. Our production system is still backward. As for sanitation, if the health department has any objection our factory would have it inspect the product.

The factory has applied for a loan from the bank of Laos but it did not get any response. It therefore tried to borrow \$250,000 from the International Bank, and it is now waiting for a response.

Attacking the problem by modernizing the factory would be good, especially in terms of competition in the markets and also for technical training of the workers and upgrading the quality of the goods. However, this is not the main problem. The problem now is to focus on marketing and distribution. The policies of the party and government clearly state that trade must get to the grassroots. This means that all types of industrial products must be made accessible to the people who are the consumers. In order for this to happen the producers must closely cooperate with the trading, and the trading must be closely involved with the markets in our country's rural areas. This would encourage the rural areas to produce goods for exchange with industrial goods, especially fish and soy sauce, which are still in short supply in the rural areas of our country.

Export/Import Firm Warehouses Clogged

42060009 Vientiane PASASON in Lao 12 Sep 88 p 1

[Article: "Lao Export/Import Company Seeks Way To Solve Clogged Warehouses"]

[Text] The situation has eased for fifty percent of the goods worth 1.4 million kip that had clogged the Lao Export/Import Company. The warehouses were clogged because the trade had previously operated under administrative subsidy management without having close contact with the grassroots. As a result, the merchandise that had been ordered was not what the people needed. This means it was done according to the old ideology.

After the company changed to socialist business accountability, the company committed changed its system of operation to be in line with and suitable for the actual work based on the new ideology. They then gradually upgraded the efficiency of the company's trade. For example, they organized mobile trade units to directly deal with various production grassroots, organized sales agents for some goods in the form of a [one price shop], and exchanged or manufactured certain goods into new products based on the needs of customers.

The chief of the circulation section emphasized that we would look for better ways to distribute the remaining 50 percent of the goods in the warehouses.

It is important to hold an appropriate level of merchandise in the warehouses, and each business unit should pay attention to this. If more merchandise is kept than is necessary there will be hoarding and waste. On the other hand, having a normal amount of merchandise in stock will help the company to respond to the needs of its customers.

Official Comments on Foreign Investment

42060009 Vientiane PASASON in Lao 3 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Businessmen in many countries have expressed interest following the promulgation of the law on foreign investment by the LPDR government. Some made

known their wish to invest here by letter. Some travelled here to make direct contacts. The Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations along with other sections have worked with these businessmen, especially by welcoming them and guiding them on how to apply for investment permits, and making them aware of tax regulations, payments, the types of investments, etc.

While detailed regulations for prospective investors are not yet available, some foreign businessmen have approached us from countries such as Japan, the United States, France, Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Australia, Sweden, etc. Their primary interests are investment in agriculture-forestry, tourism, export goods, tin mining and others that are consistent with the policies of our party. Comrade Inhom Phinit, who is responsible for the office of foreign investment, told us that some investors began their investment by signing an agreement to set up a [joint partnership] with Laos for producing export goods, clothing and manufacturing. Some have signed agreements to bring tourists into Laos. All these businessmen are from private companies that have the trust of many countries. Comrade Inhom added that anyone who has relations with other countries and who wishes to invest in Laos should please contact the committee responsible for this matter on the second floor of the Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations during office hours. Therefore, the priorities of the work section involved are to accelerate the drafting of the detailed regulations for foreign investment so there will not be a long wait for foreign investors or a drag on development in our country.

Xieng Khouang Trade May Get Worse

42060009 Vientiane PASASON in Lao 2 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Leut Saisana: "Thoughts From Xieng Khouang"]

[Excerpts] When I was working in Xieng Khouang Province I saw many things both good and bad. Many people know about the good things. But I think there are a few things that we should reexamine. The story went that in the Phon Savan market there were just about all kinds of goods, both agricultural and industrial. But I could not find any bookstore or stores that sell Lao cultural products. Instead, I saw many foreign novels, and also Thai magazines on store displays.

I brought this matter up with many people, from propaganda cadres to people in the trade profession, and they all said that they did not really like to read Thai books because they were not easy to read. However, there was nothing else to read and they were not expensive, so they bought them to look at. They actually preferred to read Lao books, but they didn't know where to buy them.

I can understand how this problem could occur when there are three flights a week from Vientiane to Xieng Khouang, and also buses that run on a continuous basis between the two provinces. How can the Thai magazines

get here to Xieng Khouang? I would like to pin my hopes on the work sections concerned, such as the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Transport and Posts and Construction, to come up with measures to solve this problem or just to let it go as it is now. Another thing is that the people do not like to buy goods in the provincial store. Many people have given me differing views on this. Some blamed the poor service on the part of the sellers, saying they can get better service in private stores. Some said that the prices there were higher than in privately run stores, etc. When I asked why the state goods were more expensive than those in private stores, some told me that there were too many sections involved in the state trade network and they could not follow prices fast enough. If they have to change any price they must first get signatures at 5 or 6 places before they can sell the stuff. On the other hand, [in the private store] there is only one person who makes the decisions. If they see that it will not hurt to sell at a lower price they go ahead and do it in order to obtain cash for something else. The only way to solve this is to give the state stores the right to become a trade business.

I actually saw in the Xieng Khouang state store merchandise for sale that was not fit for the market and things that the people did not need. So why should the people buy them? The store even sells chopsticks and Roman candles. While there is agricultural equipment, it is not the type that meets the local needs. The prices are not clear as there are no price tags. So the price depends on whatever the seller charges. While many people have said that they can bargain on the price, I do not know how true this is. However, I would like to ask the Xieng Khouang provincial trade section to consider these minor problems. This is the only section that knows this matter well and that is capable of solving its own problems before they get worse.

Trade Official Assesses Economic Performance

42060009 Vientiane PASASON in Lao 26 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] In an interview recently granted to our reporters, Mr Inhom Phinit, chief of the Office of Work Accomplishment and Assessment in the Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations, said that according to Plenums 5 and 6, Session 4 of the laws and orders of the Council of Ministers that have been carried out in the first 6 months, there have been several outstanding developments. Based on the new ideology, the Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations along with the Trade Industry section in Vientiane Capital have begun implementing an extensive policy on economic relations and foreign trade, as well as Plenums 9 to 19/LPDR of the Council of Ministers. There was an increase in domestic production that made it possible for the domestic and foreign sources to meet the needs of society. The outstanding result which is an achievement includes the trend of stable and normal prices as well as currency exchange rates in the market. This is because of the efficiency of the trade network and also because of the main business units in the center, Vientiane Capital,

and in the grassroots that have worked together in economic cooperation on a broad scale. The efforts to carry out the orders of the Council of Ministers in turning to the grassroots have gradually become actualized and of more concern than before. Having all economic sections join in freely and legally is a fundamental strength. We can thus claim that the circulation throughout the province has increased the availability and types of goods more than before, and that the market has been greatly expanded throughout society when all economic sections work together. Generally speaking, purchases have increased even in areas where the government still faces problems regarding goods and currency relations. The central and local trade have experience and actual models involving production from the family economic grassroots on up, and they set up sources of goods to meet the domestic need and for export. While this work is slow, it has made steady progress.

All told, we can say that the plans and policies are correct. When they are used correctly with resourcefulness and creativity they have brought about clear results for production and business, and they have improved the three benefits and the standard of living.

However, we still have many shortcomings and unfinished work that remains to be improved, such as work relations for export and import controls, free and legal circulation connections within the country, taxes and obligations, spending principals, and putting money into production in the grassroots.

Subjective problems are the primary reasons for the shortcomings. For example, cadres have not yet absorbed the plenums and regulations established by the Council of Ministers. Organizations have not done well in improving the complete cooperation between the local work sections. Also, the cadres have not yet met the needs of the new economic management mechanism at a revolutionary and scientific level.

Based on our experience we have come up with a plan for the second half of the year, which is to improve the organizing and assigning of cadres and the reorganization of business production, particularly in setting up economic units at district levels in order to promote direct trade with the grassroots. The plan for the last 6 months of 1988 will be used in strengthening the pace for 1989-1990 and through the year 2000; it will include providing short- and long-term training for cadres, continuing the policy of turning to the grassroots, encouraging the production of goods from the grassroots up, the carrying out of bilateral obligations and economic cooperation, and provide a firm hold on domestic and foreign capital sources along with their effective use in short- and long-term [projects].

'Talk' Columnists Praise Chatchai, Score Sithi Savetsila

Radio Station, Chatchai Policy in Conflict
42060006 Vientiane PASASON in Lao 7 Sep 88 p 3

["Talk" by Mo Khen: "Who Does the Voice of Free Asia Radio Serve?"]

[Text] There are now hundreds of radio stations of the government and its branches, including the Radio Broadcasting Station of Thailand in the Department of Public Affairs of the Office of Prime Minister, which is the voice of the government.

Another station called "the Voice of Free Asia [VOFA]" is run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Thailand. It is hardly known inside the country. Its main role is to be a voice for political officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and to represent superpower nations against socialist nations, especially Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.

In order to carry out these two roles, the VOFA has been gradually improving its efficiency by working in cooperation with foreign superpowers in financial and technical terms. Lately it has been broadcasting on the same wavelength as the Voice of America, and has been using the same 500 kilowatt transmitter that is located in Thailand.

Ever since the establishment of the LPDR, there have always been political officials who, as leaders in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, represent foreign superpowers. The VOFA has always sought to dismantle the fraternal friendship between our two countries, and between the Lao and Thai peoples. What is even worse is the call for mobilization of the Lao people to rise up and dismantle their new regime. For example, there is a program called "Friday Talk" that emphasizes slander against Lao leaders in a mean way. No other foreign ministry in the world would do something like this. Such acts are against international practice and against the diplomatic and political role of the foreign ministry. This is interference in the domestic affairs of an independent nation which Thailand legally accepts and respects and with which Thailand has diplomatic relations.

According to Maj General Chatchai Phunhawan when he was assigned to set up a government and to address the policies of the Thai Government on 25 August 1988, the VOFA should be improved so that it would truly represent the new government and the Thai people, and escalate the improvement of the fraternal friendship between Laos and Thailand for the purpose of stability, peace and cooperation in this region and in the world.

Sitthi Blamed for Ties Impasse

42060006 *Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao*
13 Sep 88 pp 2, 4

["Talk" by S. Simouksavan: "People Who Once Loved Each Other"]

[Text] In the words of a memorable song of the peoples of Laos and Thailand, "we Lao and Thai people should not do anything that will upset us who once loved each other...we are neighbors and we should help each other...." It is hard for people to maintain their own identity like the Lao and the Thai. It is difficult to identify who is Lao and who is Thai. It is sad when the people of these two nations have a sour relationship because of some powerful people in Thailand who want to block this friendship and keep it blocked for a long time. This is demonstrated by the indifferent position of the Thai side when it comes to solving problems today. Therefore, the question was raised when a Lao cultural troop was touring Thailand as to when the Thai Government would invite a Lao delegation for talks in Bangkok to resolve the unsettled Lao-Thai border conflict.

We are disappointed by the statement of Air Chief Marshal [ACM] Sitthi Sawetsila, the current foreign minister of Thailand, who in a recent broadcast on the VOFA said that there is no schedule for Lao-Thai talks because it is only a minor issue. We do not understand when the political policies announced by the Thai Government in parliament after the present cabinet was formed will be implemented. The issue of foreign affairs, particularly as regards Thailand's neighbors, is not yet an important issue for the Thai Foreign Ministry. This is shown by the indifference of the Thai Foreign Ministry regarding a proposal sent as a memorandum by the LPDR Foreign Ministry to the Thai ambassador. If the Thai side wishes to normalize Lao-Thai relations it should respond to the proposal by the Lao Government to find ways to resolve the border dispute between Boten District in Laos and Chattakam District in Thailand. The Lao people were as joyful as the Thai people when they heard the announcement by Major General Chatchai Chunhawan, prime minister of Thailand, in which he said "...change the three Indochinese nations from a battlefield into a field of trade and cooperation." This would not only be a good policy for the Lao and Thai peoples, but would also provide security from interference by imperialists and international reactionary powers who would like to once more create tensions in this region.

Slowness in Policy Change

42060006 *Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao*
12 Sep 88 pp 2,4

["Talk" by S. Simouksavan: "Stubbornness by the Same Person"]

[Excerpts] When a person has great ambition and pride, his innate character will always demonstrate a strong common sense. The same goes for AMC Sitthi Sawetsila,

the Thai foreign minister who has held this position in both the fifth Prem administration and in the present government. He is an important person in the Thai political arena, so important that his protest about boxing was news. There is no one who was not aware of his real behavior during the fifth Prem administration; behavior which revealed the kind of person he was. At that time we thought he personified the old and weak administration. The prime minister paid no attention to his role. We thought that this resulted in his towing the line when it came to the government of Major General Chatchai, the government during the period of the development of Thailand. The announcement of the present cabinet to parliament first emphasizes its domestic and foreign policies, particularly the desire of the administration to convert the battlefield of the three Indochinese nations into a field of trade and cooperation. This certainly suits the wishes of the people in this region. However, the stubbornness of this same person still in the same position is indicative of his previous unchanged character.

We clearly see that ACM Sitthi Sawetsila's foreign policies have been blocking Lao-Thai talks. It could be said that this is the plan of a foreign country which desires to damage Lao-Thai relations so they can come into this region again. We, and all the progressive nations in the world, are well aware that Thailand has become a staging ground for weapons and war equipment to be used against the three Indochinese nations.

The Lao-Thai border dispute has continued to drag on in the fifth Prem administration because of the mistakes of ACM Sitthi Sawetsila's foreign policies. The reason the military stopped shooting and killing each other was because of ACM Sitthi himself, who slandered the Thai military as having interfered with the political duty of the Thai Foreign Ministry.

Everyone knows ACM Sitthi and the kind of person that he is, and no matter what administration he is in he will look out for his own benefit before that of the nation and its people. We have not yet gotten an answer as to what the present Thai administration will do to exert its role in solving the Lao-Thai issues that remain within a reasonable period of time, while ACM Sitthi Sawetsila remains firm in his stance as mentioned. It is necessary to wait for him to change his attitude before these problems are solved?

Trade Prospects Viewed, Chatchai Praised

42060006 *Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao*
6 Sep 88 p 2

["Talk" by S. Simouksavan: "Thailand Should Have Had Such a Policy Long Ago"]

[Excerpts] Speaking only of Lao-Thai relations, as desired by the peoples who share the same blood, there has never been a time when the Lao and Thai peoples stopped their mutual cooperation. They had to endure

the turbulence of the dark influence of a number of dictator warlords in the Thai power-holding clique in the fifth Prem administration. They would even go so far as to lovingly share a grain of rice or a piece of vegetable. The more the obstacles between them, such as the confusing thirst for war coming from the provocative ideas of those who controlled foreign policy, the more the Lao and Thai peoples felt deeply about each other.

In the past Thailand has benefited immeasurably from exporting goods to Laos since Laos has been an underdeveloped country. Its people are still poor, and it has barely survived the destruction of war. Laos and its people are in great need of goods necessary for everyday living, and the country has no direct access to the sea. Thus, a great deal of consumer goods pour in from Thailand, and the amount of goods that Laos exports to Thailand are way out of balance with Thai exports to Laos. Lao imports from Thailand support Thai workers and factories. Laos has no adequate modern factories to produce ready-made products for export, and it must accept whatever the going price is for raw materials and it must rely on Thailand and Thai merchants as the way to the outside world. Lumber, rattan, resin, iron, gold and aluminum are Lao exports to Thailand, and nothing produced by Lao factories is sufficient to bring in any income. This is shown by increased orders and the desire of the Lao people for foreign products. This has resulted in all kinds of products from toothpicks to toilet paper pouring into Lao markets in increasing numbers. Even though this is known to those who control foreign policy in the Foreign Ministry of Thailand, they have made every effort to restrict and block trade and cooperation between the Lao and Thai peoples. What is worse is that,

by putting pressure on the Lao economy since Laos has no direct access to the sea, and by trying to block the expansion of Laos, a number of power-holding cliques in the Thai Foreign Ministry have created tensions along the border between the two countries. Finally, if there is a border dispute, they will use the excuse of the so-called "security of Thailand" to unilaterally block the border or else to ban those goods which are necessary for daily use from being exported to Laos by saying they are strategic goods. This is what happened before in the previous fifth Prem administration. This policy was provocative, bellicose and selfish.

Now in the new Thai Government under Major General Chatchai Chunhawan, although those who control foreign policy are the same people, it is incumbent on the head of the government to set foreign policy by exercising his role in guiding the ministers in their work, and by reviewing whether their performance promotes that foreign policy. Major General Chatchai Chunhawan's words agree with those of the Vietnamese foreign minister on changing the battlefield of the three Indochinese nations into a field of trade and cooperation. It is therefore a good sign that Thailand is carrying out a gentle and cautious policy for the benefit of the Thai nation and its people, as well as for nearby nations that are ready to cooperate and open extensive trade with Thailand. We think the policy of opening extensive trade and cooperation between Thailand and the three Indochinese nations should have happened long ago. This will promote solidarity, friendship and mutual benefits, and will advance peace and stability for a long time to come.

MCA Urged To Do More for Ethnic Chinese Schools

42050004b Kuala Lumpur *NANYANG SIANG PAU*
in Chinese 10 Sep 88 p 7

[Text] Loke Teng Geok [phonetic], acting president of the Federation of Chinese Teachers, today said that, to a certain degree, the presence of MCA [Malaysian Chinese Association] officers as ministers and deputy ministers in the Cabinet, as well as members in Parliament and state assemblies, is the outcome of Chinese society's support to the party. Therefore, Mr Loke added, if the MCA does not want Chinese-language education to remain a protracted issue, it should "work harder."

In a public statement issued today, Mr Loke quoted MCA President Datuk Ling Liong Sik as saying, after the recent Johor Baru by-election, that "if it was true that the majority of Chinese voters supported Independent candidate Datuk Shahrir, it was because they believed that the MCA had not done enough for them and they were lodging an indirect protest. Another factor was perhaps the [Chinese] voters believed that the National Front had not properly looked after the interests of the Chinese people, such as in the cases of Southern Campus and site for Pei Hwa Chinese School. If these educational issues continue to exist, the situation will become more serious. The MCA must seek and reassess its role vis-a-vis the National Front, because it affects not only one political party, but also the form of existing cooperation with the National Front."

Mr Loke said that he recalled a remark by Prime Minister Dr Mahathir who once said: "If only the MCA would whisper to me, I'll pay close attention to what it says."

Mr Loke pointed out that the chief minister of Perak also said that National Front member parties should not place all responsibilities onto the shoulders of the United Malays National Organization [UMNO], although the latter is the National Front's biggest party.

"It can be seen that the MCA should play its role properly, because, next to the UMNO, MCA members serve as Cabinet ministers and deputy ministers, political vice ministers, MPs and state assemblymen, so it cannot all the more shirk its responsibilities," Mr Loke concluded.

Blaming MCA for Johor Baru By-Election Defeat Deemed Unfair

42050004c Kuala Lumpur *NANYANG SIANG PAU*
in Chinese 12 Sep 88 p 6

[Excerpts] Datuk Chan Siang Sun, MCA [Malaysian Chinese Association] vice president and concurrently health minister, said that it is unfair and irresponsible to blame the MCA for the defeat of the National Front in the recent Johor Baru by-election.

He stressed that all National Front member parties should make a self-examination for the defeat, instead of putting the blame on MCA's shoulders.

Datuk Chan made these remarks yesterday while officiating at the fifth regional executive committee meeting of the MCA Pahang State Division, of which he is chairman, at Mentekab.

He asserted that as a National Front member, the MCA regards this alliance as the main thing in every general election or by-election, so those other members which blamed the MCA for the Johor Baru by-election defeat should make a self-examination about their contribution in the said by-election.

Datuk Chan also urged all MCA members to stand firm in facing unfavorable challenges against their party.

He reaffirmed that the MCA will do its utmost to help out in the coming by-election for the Parit Raja, Johore state assembly.

GERAKAN Official Discusses Possible Two-Party System

42050004f Selangor *SIN CHEW JIT POH* in Chinese
14 Sep 88 p 4

[Text] Kerk Choo Ting, Esq, secretary general of the Malaysian People's Movement [GERAKAN], pointed out that if the development of our political trend coincides with the Chinese aspirations of a two-party system, it is possible that we will be faced with either a more democratic or a more autocratic political situation.

He explained that Chinese society has always been in favor of a two-party system to maintain a sense of equilibrium, but in politics that is usually not the way the ball bounces, due to many objective factors. Therefore, even assuming that a two-party system emerges, it is possible that our country will lead to a more democratic society, but it is also possible that the country will become extremely autocratic.

Mr Kerk was analyzing the current situation in his speech entitled "The Effect of the Johor Baru Parliamentary Seat By-Election on Malaysia's Political Situation" given at a forum organized by a GERAKAN's division in Bojong, Selangor.

He said that no matter what kind of a political system, it should possess the following conditions:

- 1) A set of political theories which fits into its social conditions;
- 2) An organization which can be brought into play;
- 3) A leader who can be trusted and relied upon;
- 4) Leadership that is persistent in putting the theories into practical effect through tactics and strategy.

He continued that lacking in the above conditions, a ruling political power will crumble by itself in no time, thereby plunging the country into anarchy, as was the case during the military warlord period in the Chinese republican days. If such a situation should break out, another organized group (the military people, for instance) can enter the vacuum and create an autocratic government.

DAP To Assess Implementation of New Economic Policy

42050004e Kuala Lumpur *NANYANG SIANG PAU*
in Chinese 13 Sep 88 p 7

[Text] DAP Acting Secretary General Lee Lam Thye today divulged that in its meeting last night, the party's Central Executive Committee resolved to form a working committee to be headed by Vice President Dr Tan Seng Giaw. This working committee will make an in-depth study and assessment of the implementation of the New Economic Policy [NEP] in the past 18 years, including its weaknesses, defects and other unfair phenomena.

Mr Lee said that this new committee will be responsible for drafting a concrete document enumerating the DAP's overall critique of the NEP's implementation and presenting proposals to the government and the prime minister about what economic plans should be taken after the year 1990.

Mr Lee added that this document will first be approved by the party's Central Committee before it is submitted to the authorities.

Mr Lee, also an MP representing the opposition, expressed these views in a statement issued today. He said: "The DAP welcomes professional associations, mass organizations and concerned individuals—if they have an opinion about the NEP or share the same feelings as the DAP—to write to the party's headquarters and to take part in discussions about the future of the country and people.

"In the past 18 years, the NEP implementation put too much emphasis on the restructuring of society or the distribution of wealth and incomes of various people of the middle and upper-middle classes, but seriously neglected its objective of eradicating poverty among all nationalities."

He pointed out that due to the government's overemphasis on restructuring society, huge amounts of public resources were used to take over or establish industrial and commercial enterprises, thereby gravely depriving the poverty-stricken people of the opportunity to improve their livelihood and to enjoy the fruits of the economic boom of the 70s. Consequently, the NEP not only failed to resolve the poverty in the rural areas, but also caused an increase in the rate of urban poverty.

Mr Lee stressed that it is his party's belief that any economic policy must be based on unity of all nationalities and realization of socioeconomic justice.

Paper Comments on Attempted Conciliation Between Old, New UMNO

42050004d Kuala Lumpur *NANYANG SIANG PAU*
in Chinese 12 Sep 88 p 2

[Editorial: "New, Old UMNO Attempt at Reconciliation"]

[Text] In the past few days, a wind of conciliation suddenly swirled around the old and new UMNO which have been embroiled in a factional power struggle for the Malays, thereby cooling down the blazing political temperature somewhat. Preparatory work is being seriously considered to create an atmosphere, but whether the thunder will bring in a good rain is still difficult to predict at this preliminary stage. At any rate, politics is an art of making compromises after all, and relationship between friend and foe cannot remain unchanged forever. Eventually, both sides are likely to settle disputes and bring peace to each other.

Last Friday, the new UMNO held a Supreme Council meeting, during which the party top leader Dr Mahathir announced the appointment of three vice presidents of the party. They were the same officers chosen at the party convention in April last year, and one of them was Datuk Abdullah Badawi who at that time belonged to the challenger faction. Although the statute of the new UMNO is different from that of the old UMNO, the leadership retained Badawi's position, a reflection of its broadmindedness and political astuteness. Such an officer as Datuk Badawi who is acceptable to both parties should be the best choice to act as the middleman for the conciliation negotiations.

The UMNO challenger faction, headed by Tunku Razaleigh and Datuk Musa Hitam, must of necessity change its strategy after having lost its litigation in its old UMNO position and used up other legal procedures. The recent Johor Baru by-election apparently enabled this challenger faction to grasp the initiative again, while the victory naturally made it enormously proud of its success, like a shot of cardiac stimulant. The forthcoming Parit Raja by-election, though not created by the challenger faction, will provide the parties concerned with an opportunity to test their respective strengths.

The prime minister has criticized an MP of the challenger faction who, having resigned from his position, actively campaigned for the by-election, a move described as "tiring the people and draining the treasury" on grounds of personal selfishness. In all fairness, campaigning for oneself in a by-election after resigning his own post is not only a waste of money and manpower, but also affects the vitality of the new and old UMNOs, and it serves no good purpose to the people as

a whole. For the challenger faction itself, however, if it had not taken part in the electioneering, it would not have been able to attract the people's attention toward its struggle. Apparently it was the faction's strategy that if it had remained silent, it would have been neglected and forgotten by the people.

In any by-election, the new UMNO invariably finds itself in a bad position, no matter whether it wins or loses. Psychologically, the people would think that it is only natural if the new UMNO wins the by-election; but if it loses, its political opponents will interpret the loss as a bad omen of the people's distrust, although the outcome of a war cannot be determined by one battle only. Even so, the coming Parit Raja by-election will carry greater meaning to the new UMNO than the Johor Baru by-election, and it is crucial that it carry the day there, for the voters are 80 percent Malays.

At this juncture, if both sides want to explore the possibility of conciliation, they should first of all refrain from taking provocative actions or uttering hostile words in order to show their respective sincerity. Then, for the sake of mutual respect, all moves must be kept secret. In addition, time must not be wasted but must be fully utilized to prevent dragging-on or miscarriage of the talks, while other matters, such as government affairs (by-election) or party affairs (first new UMNO convention), must go on as usual.

Datuk Shahrir, vanguard of the challenger faction, has announced that this week he plans to invite the four top leaders of the old UMNO and the new UMNO for a meeting, during which he will propose an agenda for future talks. Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir yesterday already made an encouraging reaction, saying: "We are ready to sit down and talk, as it has always been in the past." The Election Commission has already set the 20th of next month as the date for the Parit Raja by-election, with nomination of candidates set for the 6th. Also, the new UMNO has scheduled its general assembly for the 28th of next month. Both the new UMNO and its challenging faction have announced that they regard unity of the Malays as the main thing. As a matter of fact, both sides belong to the mainstream of the struggle for the Malay race, and it is quite possible that they will leave differences open and seek a common ground to regain unity. The question ahead is only how to deal with these two time tables.

Paper Views Possibility of National Front Becoming Single Party

42050004a Kuala Lumpur NANYANG SIANG PAU
in Chinese 10 Sep 88 p 2

[Editorial: "National Front Moving Toward Its Objective of Becoming a Unitary Party"]

[Text] In a talk the other day, Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba voiced the aspiration of National Front

leaders to the effect that one day the National Front will be transformed into a single political party comprising many nationalities. In the present political reality, this is of course merely an ideal, an objective requiring great efforts to be realized.

No doubt, if the National Front could develop itself into a unitary political organization, it would be a political reform of historic importance which would bring great impact and far-reaching effect to Malaysia's political structure and political development. The deputy prime minister frankly pointed out that it is difficult to predict how long it will take to reach this goal. In his view, it is only when the economic position of all nationalities in the country has attained a more balanced level can this ideal be realized.

Based on our country's social structure, it is really natural and reasonable for this multinational nation to follow a multinational political line, in which all components, irrespective of race, muster their forces into a single political organization and jointly govern the country and enjoy equal rights and interests—that would be the ideal structure. However, historical factors have made it impossible for us to get rid of racialistic party politics since independence. Prior to attaining independence, the ethnic peoples, living under colonial arrangements, had formed an inequilibrium in political and economic status, so that the various nationalities had to go through their respective political organizations to negotiate for their common future. Up till today, various nationalities still have to rely on their own ethnic leaders or monoracial political parties to fight for their interests. This is obviously an abnormal situation, and due to the development and repercussions of this racial party politics, ethnic polarization is still a grave phenomenon after 30 years of national independence today.

Following 30 years of development since independence, our political and economic situations have undergone changes and the economic gap between the nationalities has been steadily narrowed. Under the existing structure of our nation and society, should the racially-based political parties continue to play their current role, or should they seek a transformation in order to break through the prevailing situations?

There is no denying that for our party politics to move from the unitary to the plural foundation, it is necessary to deal with several objective difficulties. When Datuk Onn, the founder of the United Malays National Organization [UMNO], at one time proposed that the UMNO be open to non-Malays, he met with a major setback. One problem must be solved before trying to develop the National Front into an all-embracing single party, and that is, whether all the nationalities would accept this precipitous political transformation and change of direction.

Judging by the present situation, the National Front has 12 member parties in eastern and western Malaysia, including monoracial and multiracial parties. Viewed from a certain angle, the National Front may be described as a microcosm of the relationship among the

entire nationalities. As a matter of fact, however, the UMNO occupies the dominant position as leader of the coalition, while the other parties play a complementary role. In political reality, the UMNO holds a power of which it should feel proud, because it will crucially depend on its decision whether the form of the National Front should be changed or not.

Judging by its political effect, if the National Front can be transformed into a single party and govern the country for the common interests of the people irrespective of race, it will play a positive role in promoting the objective of national unity.

At the present stage, the National Front government is striving to eradicate poverty and restructure our society through implementation of the New Economic Policy. If and when all nationalities have attained equilibrium in rights and interests, that will be the opportune day to put the unitary party system into effect.

While the transformation of the National Front from its present form into a unitary party may only be an ideal, yet, as long as the direction is correct, as long as it coincides with the needs of the times and fulfills the people's aspirations, and steadily moves forward in an orderly manner, this ideal is likely to be realized one day.

Cordillera Congressmen Urge Repeal of Autonomy Order

42000016f Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE
in English 10 Oct 88 p 9

[Article: "It's Rough Sailing for Cordillera Autonomy"]

[Text] Baguio City—Proponents of federalism in the country who are banking on the success of the autonomous government "experiment" in the Cordillera, have a long wait ahead of them.

The quest for autonomy in this mountainous region is already wracked with problems, ranging from petty squabbles among Cordillera officials to demands for the overhauling of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) created last year by President Aquino.

All six Cordillera congressmen met recently with Mrs. Aquino and asked for the repeal of Executive Order 220 creating CAR which they called unconstitutional. CAR defines the territorial scope of the autonomous government including its implementing bodies.

Rep. William Claver, key advocate of Cordillera autonomy in the Lower House, told Philippine News and Features that the move to amend and repeal certain sections of EO 220 is also meant to "soften the impact of Balweg in the region."

Ex-priest Conrado Balweg, who heads the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA), a break-away group from the communist-led New People's Army (NPA), is said to dominate CAR.

He sits in the powerful Cordillera Executive Board (CEB) as CPLA chief. The Government, after entering into a sipat (cessation of hostilities) with CPLA in 1986, also officially acknowledged the armed group as a "peace-keeping force" in the region.

Formed as early as last year, CEB, with 29 members, is supposed to be the "development body and implementing arm" of CAR. But many here described as anomalous its being created ahead of the Cordillera Regional Assembly (CRA) which was formed only last month.

Some sectors here criticize the appointments of so-called "non-Cordillerans" to CRA. Others question the capability of CRA members, described by the president as "representative people," to formulate policies for the region.

Defense Official Broadens 'Reservist' Definition in Caggu Role

42000016a Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE
in English 10 Oct 88 p 3

[Article: "90 Per Cent of Filipinos are Caggu Reservists"]

[Text] More than 90 per cent of Filipinos aged 20 and above can be called reservists and should be part of the Citizen Armed Force (CAF) from which members of Caggu (Citizens Armed Force Geographical Units) may be drawn.

Caggu is the new anti-insurgency force the military hopes to use to defeat the 20-year-old guerrilla war being waged by the New People's Army.

Defense Undersecretary Eduardo Ermita, in a forum on "Caggu: Is It Necessary?" sponsored by the human rights group Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates at the Quezon City Sports Club, said CAF will be composed of "inactive" reservists, while the Caggu is its active auxiliary which can be called to active duty "in times of emergency."

"Ninety-eight to ninety-nine per cent of the people in this hall are reservists," said Ermita.

Ermita said reservists would include all ROTC cadets, 20-year olds who have undergone military training, veterans of World War II, ex-military personnel discharged honorably, and all citizens "commissioned under different circulars, regulations as well as laws existing right now."

Under the law, all citizens 20 years of age are required to undergo military training but only a few are actually trained due to limited government resources.

In defending the formation of Caggu, Ermita cited the 1987 Constitution which says that all citizens may be required, under conditions provided by law, to render personal, military or civil service.

Ermita said the Caggu was in line with President Aquino's Executive Order 264 which provides that the Armed Forces of the Philippines should "keep a regular force necessary for the security of the state."

EO 264 was issued right after Aquino's order to dismantle all para-military groups, including the notorious Civilian Home Defense Forces.

"Caggu is not the same dog with a different collar because members of Caggu are reservists. Those who volunteer to be in the active auxiliary of CAF shall be organized into regular units. They shall fall under the command structure of regular military units and shall therefore be subject to military law," said Ermita.

But Ma. Serena Diokno of the National Movement to Disband Vigilantes who was also in the forum, said Cafgu was just a "recycled" version of the CHDF.

"Many of the members of the Cafgu are former CHDF members," said Diokno.

Reacting to Ermita's claim that Cafgu members are subject to military law, Diokno said that "it will be difficult to implement accountability" among Cafgu members.

"We find it already very difficult to run after members of the Armed Forces who commit abuses. How much more difficult will it be for the Cafgus?" Diokno asked.

Diokno likewise questioned the "voluntarist" aspect of Cafgu.

"What if I'm called to duty and I don't agree? I'm sure I'll be branded as pro-communist or unpatriotic," Diokno remarked.

"The military claims Cafgu is strictly on a voluntary basis. But in actual fact, the opposite happens," said Diokno.

PC Arms Inventoried Following Illicit Sales
42000016c Manila *PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER*
in English 10 Oct 88 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Montano Orders Arms Inventory"]

[Text] Constabulary authorities yesterday ordered an inventory of all guns and bullets in PC and police armories nationwide following reports that some soldiers and policemen are selling these to anti-government forces.

Maj. Gen. Ramon Montano, PC-INP Chief, virtually confirmed the reports when he ordered all PC provincial and regional commands to "negate the further losses of firearms."

Last week, a PC sergeant and two policemen were arrested in Mandaluyong for selling high-powered firearms and ammunition to agents to the PC Criminal Investigation Service who posed as buyers.

Col. Evaristo Carino, CIS chief, said the suspects had been selling firearms to anti-government forces.

Montano's order also came in the wake of reports that renegade soldiers, led by Gregorio Honasan are out to stage another coup attempt code-named "Oplan Three Kings."

Last month, Gen. Renato S. de Villa, Armed Forces chief of staff, ordered harsher punishment for soldiers involved in any plot against the government. This prompted speculations that de Villa already knew of the plot as early as that time.

Police Reporter Cites Zambales Governor's 'Goons' in Killings
42000016d Manila *PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER*
in English 10 Oct 88 p 3

[Text] It seems Zambales Gov. Amor Deloso's goons' thirst for murder is unquenchable.

A few months after they were implicated in the ambush-slaying of three persons, including a policeman, in Botolan town, Deloso's armed bodyguards are again involved in another cold-blooded killing.

Two of them, Arthur Menez and Jaime Detona, are accused in the Botolan carnage and are also allegedly involved in the recent killing.

We've been informed that Deloso's goons were heavily drunk when they allegedly mowed down last Sep. 22 Valentino Garcia, 32, an employee at the highway district engineer's office in Iba town.

Why can't the local PC disarm Deloso's bodyguards? Is the PC provincial commander so afraid to be yanked out of Zambales that he looks the other way while the governor's men strut around with their M-14s and M16s.

Public Survey Shows Increased Fear of NPA Capabilities
42000016e Manila *PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER*
in English 10 Oct 88 p 9

[Article: "...But Metro Manilans Worry About Insurgents"]

[Text] Majority of Metro Manilans feel that the fighting ability of the communist rebels has improved, making them the most serious threat to government, and that the Marcos loyalists are no longer a force to reckon with.

A survey conducted last March by Social Weather Stations Inc. (SWS) on the public perceptions on the threats to the government shows that 68 percent of 300 Metro Manila residents believe that the communist rebels pose the greatest threat to the government, followed by the Muslim and military rebels, both with 60 percent.

Public fears of the danger posed by the loyalist forces have dipped considerably—from 61 percent in October 1986 to 41 percent in March 1988.

According to SWS, the extent of the people's fears of these threats is tied closely to their appreciation of the ability of the various rebel groups to fight against government forces.

For example, 47 percent of Metro Manilans believe that the fighting ability of communist insurgents has improved and 18 percent felt otherwise. Fifty-five believe that the loyalists have become stronger. On the fighting ability of the Muslim rebels, 40 percent say they have improved and 17 percent felt otherwise. Opinion is

divided on the fighting ability of the military rebels—29 percent believe they have become weaker.

The danger posed by communist rebels is borne out by the belief of the majority of Metro Manilans, or 53 percent, that the NPAS are all over the metropolis.

POLITICAL

Reviewing Work Done by 3rd Session of National Assembly

42090265 Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese
2, 9 Jul 88

[By Le Han: "What's New in the Third Session of the Eighth National Assembly?"]

[2 Jul 88 p 1]

[Text] After 7 days of work (22-28 June 1988), the third session of the Eighth National Assembly ended in a sense of confidence, in the light of the resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPV on a number of urgent party-building issues. Deputies have already gone back to their localities to report its achievements to their constituencies and to make them clearly see the situation of the country in order to join with the party and the state in striving to overcome difficulties, to resolve problems, and to save the country from the current socioeconomic situation.

Closely following the activities of the National Assembly, our DAI DOAN KET reporter noticed a few new things in the third session of the Eighth National Assembly in the following pages of his notes.

21 June 1988: Ordinarily prior to a National Assembly session we would attend only one news conference. But prior to the third session of the Eighth National Assembly, we were invited to attend as many as three meetings. One with the Department of Propaganda and Training of the Central Committee of the CPV (on 14 June 1988). One with the Office of the National Assembly and of the Council of State (on 16 June 1988). And the third one with the spokesman of the National Assembly on the Vietnam Press Day (21 June 1988). All of those meetings were aimed at exchanging ideas about improving the information task. The reason was that at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPV and General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh with journalists (24-25 May 1988) an idea that was expressed pointed out that the job of National Assembly reporters was very easy and light because these reporters would act only as a copying machine to duplicate the propaganda instructions about the National Assembly and have no opportunities to play a role based on their own initiative. Therefore, the Press Department of the Ministry of Information (on 27 May 1988) met with the daily newspapers and submitted a resolution to the Office of the National Assembly and of the Council of State suggesting changes in the way of working with journalists, really respecting their right to work on their own initiative, and creating favorable conditions for them to have access to the activities of the National Assembly so as to be able to write in a lively manner. Representatives of Ho Chi Minh City's voters expressing their opinions to the deputies in the National Assembly also pointed to

the need to create favorable conditions for the mass information offices to participate in and openly report the activities of National Assembly deputies in the session.

22 June 1988: In the morning, after National Assembly Chairman Le Quang Dao had declared that the session would recess for 15 minutes, domestic and foreign reporters rushed into the conference hall. General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh immediately found himself surrounded by reporters. Among the foreign reporters I noticed the correspondent of THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL, C. Ann Rossett, who received answers from Nguyen Van Linh to questions about a number of international issues, price freedom, and the percentage of the private economic component in Vietnam. Then came the turn of the TIMES OF IRELAND correspondent, Tom Fauthrop, to ask questions:

"Do you think the chairman of the Council of Ministers plays a very important role?"

"Yes, that's right. The reason is that our party holds the leadership role only in terms of our line and policies, while actually the leadership over implementing them belongs to the state organs—the Council of Ministers, first of all the chairman of the Council of Ministers."

"Do you think that the election this afternoon will be lively?"

"There certainly will be many candidates. This also is a step toward democratization which we have not yet been able to accomplish before. The role of the National Assembly here is very important: to elect the chairman of the Council of Ministers and to decide about actual positions and policies."

In the afternoon, the National Assembly elected the new Council of Ministers chairman in an open and democratic atmosphere. Chairman Le Quang Dao informed the deputies that Council of State Chairman Vo Chi Cong nominated as a candidate Do Muoi, member of the Political Bureau and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers. At the meeting of the chiefs of the delegations of National Assembly deputies the following proposals were made:

Twenty-six delegations nominated Do Muoi.

Two delegations (Kien Giang and Tien Giang) nominated Vo Van Kiet.

Ten delegations nominated both Do Muoi and Vo Van Kiet.

The Minh Hai delegation nominated Do Muoi, Vo Van Kiet, and Nguyen Co Thach.

The Long An delegation did not nominate anybody and only suggested that two or three people be nominated as candidates for the election.

Chairman Le Quang Dao informed the deputies that Nguyen Co Thach and Vo Van Kiet withdrew their names. Professor Ly Chanh Trung, deputy from Ho Chi Minh City, went to the rostrum and addressed the deputies:

"Carrying out the advice of General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh made in the first session of the Eighth National Assembly, the deputies have been showing a blood-and-flesh solidarity with the people and representing the legitimate interests of the people. In the precarious situation of the country today, people all over the country are turning to us to see whether our decisions are correct and conform to their will. Before we came to this meeting, we had made broad contact with voters from all walks of life and had found that all of them wished that the election would be truly democratic and free from any form of imposition. There must be at least two candidates. We cannot hold a single-candidate election because we had in the past opposed the American-puppet single-ticket elections, the psychological and political consequences of which still linger until today. If Vo Van Kiet wants to withdraw his name, let me suggest that we vote and prevent him from withdrawing."

Responding to the wishes of many deputies who proposed that the National Assembly include in the list of candidates two names, Do Muoi and Vo Van Kiet, 100 percent of deputies raised their hands to express approval.

The result of the election was Do Muoi received 64 percent of the votes and was elected chairman of the Council of Ministers. The deputies applauded for a long time.

Do Muoi, gave an emotional address to the National Assembly:

"I want to express my true gratitude for the confidence of the National Assembly after it appointed me chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV. Along with the entire Council of Ministers, I also pledge to carry out the promise made to the National Assembly by the Council of Ministers, which my predecessor, the late Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Hung, had solemnly read in the first session of the Eighth National Assembly: 'We members of the Council of Ministers as a whole will do our very best, with revolutionary determination to be on the offensive, realistic moves, and positive effectiveness, to fulfill our responsibilities toward the party, the National Assembly, and the people.' The first important thing that we must do is to profoundly absorb the spirit of renovation, to rely on the working people's collective-ownership strength, to wholeheartedly serve the people, for whose interests we must always make sacrifices and fight, and to deserve being 'the really loyal servant of the people,' as President Ho Chi Minh had taught us to become."

[9 Jul 88 pp 1, 3]

[Text]

24 June 1988: Being allowed to be present at team meetings, we noticed that almost all deputies recognized the fact that in its report the Council of Ministers in this session dared to look into the truth, to reveal the truth, and to make honest and serious reviews and self-criticisms. However, the deputies found that the action was far from truly complete and positive; that the Council of Ministers failed to blame any specific sectors, echelons, localities, and individuals; and that it remained confused, passive, undecided, and plagued by a lack of concentration, timely and firm decisions, and so on. In the case of the Thanh Hoa delegation, the deputies suggested that it clearly determine the responsibility of and take appropriate disciplinary measures against those party committee echelons and administration officials who had allowed famine to kill 21 people. The report on the real famine situation in Thanh Hoa Province, written on 25 April 1988 by a work group that had been sent there by the Office of the National Assembly, analyzed the subjective reasons for the famine as follows: "First of all, the Provincial CPV Committee and People's Committee have subjectively and wrongly evaluated the state of agricultural production and farmers' living conditions in the province. There was a tendency to go after achievements and, as all echelons from top to bottom had been doing, to make reports that would not conform to the truth. After the famine had spread in the province, some of the province's leaders still believed that there could be no famine. As the 1987 crop was bad, the entire province was short of 80,000 tons of paddy, while its population increased by 76,000, equal to the population of Vinh Loc District. Some members of the Standing Committee of the Provincial CPV Committee and Provincial People's Committee, after being criticized in Notice 74 of the Secretariat, showed signs of being negatively shaken and did not dare to resolve matters within the scope of their local responsibilities."

Many National Assembly deputies were overwhelmed by and felt the pain of the famine that the Council of Ministers report said was spreading in 21 provinces and affecting 10 million people.

25 June 1988: Ordinarily in the National Assembly sessions the questioning of the executive body by the legislative body would be very interesting and bring about heated debates, the extent of which would depend on the scope of the matters and issues being questioned.

We found that the responding to the National Assembly deputies this afternoon more progressive. It was no longer the case of a single member of the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers having to answer all questions for the Council as what had happened in the second session. Hundreds of questions had been collected, classified, and given to the Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry, director general of the Vietnam

State Bank, chairman of the State Price Commission, Minister of Foreign Economic Affairs, Minister of Communications and Transportation, and Minister of Finance for them to answer personally. Their answers in this session enabled the National Assembly deputies to see the real situation and difficulties faced by sectors and ministries. The picture that emerged from all this still was the fact that bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies had become deeply ingrained and that movement had been slow and difficult. There was a very noisy reaction among deputies to the answer made by Minister Nguyen Cong Tan to the effect that the data as mentioned in the article, "Good Crop in Thanh Hoa," had been forwarded to the Statistics General Department for its consideration. Only a few months after that article had been published, famine occurred in Thanh Hoa Province. Almost all National Assembly deputies were unsatisfied because questions did not receive direct answers and officials tried to skirt the issues, to avoid them altogether, or to defend their action. For instance, the team of National Assembly deputies of Cao Bang, Bac Thai, and Lang Son asked the following question:

"Is it true that recently the Council of Ministers seemed to rely on purchases of paddy in the Mekong delta and thus underestimated the need to invest in the northern regions and provinces, including the provinces in the northern highlands?"

The deputy from Phu Khanh Province asked:

"In the first and second sessions of the Eighth National Assembly, when the Council of Ministers representative was questioned about the three economic programs of the state, he said that he was not yet ready to answer and would report to the National Assembly later, but so far no report has been made. Then when will we have such a report?"

The deputy from Ho Chi Minh City asked:

"The Council of Ministers should let us know who was responsible for the false report that has led to wrong estimates by the Council about balancing the grain supply and consequently the famine we mentioned earlier. To what extent is the Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry responsible for this? If he is responsible, what form of disciplinary action can be taken?"

"We suggest that the Council of Ministers dismiss from office those chairmen of village, district, and provincial people's committees who have let people die from starvation and have shown a lack of responsibility toward the people because of their interest in scoring achievements and untrue reports."

The deputy from Lai Chau Province asked:

"The procedures and policies applicable to cadres in the highlands and border areas have been proposed many times and in the second session of the National Assembly

in December 1987, the Council of Ministers did mention the highland issues and promise to revise and supplement them in the first quarter of 1988. Why has nothing been done so far?"

28 June 1988: In the morning of 28 June, the deputies expressed their opinion about social issues. The Quang Nam-Da Nang deputy, Ha Thi Thu Suong, and the Haiphong deputy, Tran Thi Mai Huong, movingly pointed to the current state of education being bound by budgetary limits and asked the National Assembly to find a way to remedy it. The deputy from Thuan Hai Province, Hoang Bich Son, who also is chairman of the Overseas Vietnamese Department of the Central Committee of the CPV, asserted as follows as he mentioned the feelings and aspirations of overseas Vietnamese at the time the state promulgated the nationality law: "It is obvious that we cannot evaluate our compatriots abroad only in the legal aspect, but the important thing is to consider their moral quality. In other words, we do not recognize our compatriots solely in terms of nationality, but we must admit that almost all our compatriots abroad do keep the national trait and that very few of them have Vietnamese nationality but everybody has a Vietnamese soul." Lawyer Phan Anh had this to say: "The National Assembly is meeting in a special situation of need—need for rice—which everybody can see. And we are striving to resolve the problem. But besides the problem of hunger there is a special situation of hunger—being hungry for authority, for law. As a member of the Law Committee, I now cannot help mentioning a few matters that I wish the National Assembly could resolve. In the prosecution of criminals there presently are many failures, too many for me to mention here, but a big hole is the fact that some cadres holding high positions and having great authority have a poor concept of law enforcement. Recently we launched a 'campaign' against negative acts, which has brought about good initial results. I suggest that the Council of Ministers find out to what extent we have carried out the directives and resolutions of the party and the state on fighting negative acts to restore health to our social relations. To protect the democratic rights of the people, as mentioned in Article 36 of the draft criminal action law—I think we should not consider lawyers only as defenders but also as protectors of the law and lawyers often cooperate with investigating cadres, we should let defenders take part in a trial right from the beginning of prosecution. Our National Assembly in this session has made a step, though not very great, toward democratization of its activities. But since things are difficult at the start, I would like to ask the National Assembly to accept the suggestion that I have just made so as to truly promote democratization." The last speaker was Vo Van Kiet: "We have noted many constructive and responsible ideas from you mostly on grain, socioeconomic matters, education, and so on. About the recent famine, who was responsible? There are three levels of responsibility: The chairmen in localities who had made untrue reports, the ministry in charge which had failed to exert control, and the person representing the Council of Ministers who

had presided over the meeting. If that had been a mistake that led to a wrong evaluation, we must adopt the attitude of being willing to handle the matter in a strict and just manner."

In the afternoon of 28 June, the National Assembly held its closing meeting and passed four important resolutions. The entire conference hall was a scene of busy activities as the deputies weighed every word and carefully discussed all matters and issues with a sense of great responsibility before raising their hands to vote on international issues and actual articles in the criminal action law. Dao Xuan Mien reported on the people's and the deputies' ideas about seven important matters, such as the power to arrest people, particularly in emergency cases, temporary detention and confinement, termination of defendants' jobs, the right of defenders, and so on, and sought the National Assembly's final opinion about them before turning everything over to the Council of State so that it could consider and make it public following the 15-day session. Lawyer Phan Anh was elated when the National Assembly accepted his ideas with a majority of 210 votes. About Article 93 giving the Customs Service and other organs the authority to conduct investigation, although the deputies' teams had reported that 31 deputies were against it, the final vote showed that only three deputies did oppose it. The question of making a list of the properties of defendants was the subject of the hottest debate. This afternoon, before the National Assembly reviewed this article, Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho went to the rostrum and said as follows: "There have been in fact many cases of the defendants' properties being put in a list, but such properties later were taken anyway. Quite a few defendants who were either acquitted or given light sentences returned to claim their listed properties but found them gone. Because these properties are the fruits of a person's lifetime efforts, when a list is made to show the properties of a defendant, we should notify the bank and the court; avoid keeping gold, silver, and other precious metals; and really respect the people's ownership rights. I would like to suggest that the National Assembly keep Article 121 as it has been drafted." According to the teams' report, 73 percent of the deputies agreed that the properties listed could be held in a temporary manner. But, on the contrary, when the vote was counted, nearly 100 percent of the deputies agreed that gold, silver, and other precious metals should not be taken from defendants and kept before the court has indicted them. However, 13 deputies who hold important positions did not agree.

The third session of the Eighth National Assembly successfully ended in the most exciting time. Professor Ly Chanh Trung said that he was happy because he had never been as successful as he was in this third session in fulfilling the wishes of Ho Chi Minh City voters. Nguyen Xien, a Hanoi deputy, said that he wished the National Assembly would accept the proposal to set up a committee to draft a revised constitution that would suit better our country's period of transition and help to carry out

economic reforms along with political reforms and to build the democratic mechanism for our elected organs. He agreed that some new things did take place in this session, although that was just the beginning. The basic problems that Nguyen Van Linh had mentioned in the first session should continue to be dealt with in a realistic manner in the activities of the National Assembly in the spirit of renovation.

ECONOMIC

VINACAFE To Export 1988 Coffee

42090008e Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN
in Vietnamese 8 Aug 88 p 1

[Article by Ngoc Nam: "As of July 1988, VINACAFE Has Completed Plan To Deliver 1988 Coffee to the Soviet Union"]

[Text] In 1988, the Coffee Export-Import Corporation (VINACAFE) was given the plan to export 17,500 tons of coffee. Of this amount, 6,026 tons were for export to the Soviet Union.

Since the beginning of the year, despite the state not providing liquid capital and sufficient material, the corporation has overcome difficulties by: the director and cadres in the corporation directly going to provinces and units having coffee production to discuss specific solutions and organize shipping and receiving coffee quickly and systematically; at the same time, actively obtaining sources of capital and material in order to gradually pay off the localities and production installations.

Due to identifying responsibilities in delivering goods for export to the Soviet Union and fraternal countries, the localities and production installations have created favorable conditions for the Coffee Export-Import Corporation to have enough products for export. Thus, as of July 1988, the Coffee Export-Import Corporation has delivered 9,656 tons (equal to more than 55 percent of the annual plan) to countries. For the Soviet Union, the corporation has fully met the 1988 annual plan standard.

The corporation now has in storage a fairly large supply of coffee and is continuing to obtain it so it can deliver more to other countries in August and strive to overfulfill the coffee export plan.

Joint Venture Enterprise Created, Named OTAS

42090008d Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN
in Vietnamese 25 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Lan Phuong: "OTAS Joint Venture Enterprise"]

[Text] Our country's Ministry of Foreign Economy issued a decision granting permission for the Oil and Gas Service Travel Corporation (OSC) and the Czechoslovak

AK Slusovice (AKS) Association of Cooperatives to form a joint venture enterprise named the OSC-AKS Joint Venture Travel Enterprise (OTAS for short) headquartered in Vung Tau.

The nominal capital both parties are contributing to the OTAS Joint Venture Enterprise is 1 million U.S. dollars. OSC is contributing 45 percent and AKS is contributing 55 percent in foreign exchange and machinery, equipment, supplies, and material to build a hotel and other material and technical facilities.

In 10 years from the date of formation, OTAS will create and boost the level of the Tam Thang Hotel and other hotels at Vung Tau to international standard and will actively seek and exploit sources of international tourism.

OTAS will also invest in and join in association with economic organizations with a view toward expanding production domestically and creating sources of export goods.

Problems Reflect Irrational Situation at Saigon Harbor

42090026 Hanoi GIAO THONG VAN TAI
in Vietnamese 30 Jun 88 pp 3, 6

[Article by Tran Thi To Nga: "Problems That Must Be Resolved at Saigon Harbor"]

[Text] Since the day the South was liberated Saigon Harbor has been maintaining the tradition of overfulfilling its annual plan in any year always at a higher level of achievement than in the previous year. This year, as of 10 June, it handled 1,243,969 tons of cargo, served 326 ships, and fulfilled 54.9 percent of its 1988 plan. As to the handling of grain alone, it fulfilled 102 percent of its plan for this year and has received a commendation from the Council of Ministers.

With such an achievement, its cadres and workers should have felt happy and enthusiastic. However, when we met with the harbor's leadership, we noticed that every one of them was worrying. Nguyen Van Nhu, deputy director of the harbor, confided to us as follows: "The more we work, the more money we lose. The reason is that to handle a ton of goods, the harbor must spend 500 dong, and yet the rate that was set for the harbor to charge was only 170 dong, and after repeated proposals, in April 1988 we were allowed to increase it to 240 dong a ton. Consequently, in only the first 5 months of this year, the cargo we handled meant we have lost more than 200 million dong."

I also learned that the rate that the harbor currently charges its customers for the use of its warehouses and yards is too low, only 10 percent of that now charged by Ho Chi Minh City, and that customers consequently do not mind leaving goods in the harbor's warehouses and yards for longer periods of time, a fact that has led to the

situation in which each year nearly 2,000 tons of goods would be left unclaimed and thus worsen the shortage of space in the harbor's docks, warehouses, and yards. That situation did happen early this year when the harbor had to grant priority to loading, unloading, and transporting grain; it consequently lacked space to accommodate cargo from ships of the Soviet Union, had to delay unloading those ships, hence their departure, and as a result was fined 104,000 rubles.

In order to have the means to compensate for losses in the handling of cargo and to ensure decent living conditions for its cadres and workers, the harbor was seeking various measures aimed at increasing its income, such as improving organization, using the surplus cadres and workers to establish a new enterprise providing miscellaneous services, working with customers toward giving bonuses to workers showing higher productivity in loading-unloading and effectively protecting their goods, and so on. By doing many things along that line the harbor was able to earn each year some 4-5 million rubles-dollars of additional income. But because each and every ruble and dollar earned that way could be calculated with a value not exceeding 10 percent of its actual market value, the harbor's income has not increased much. If this situation continued to exist, how would the harbor's workers support themselves?

One thing that is extremely irrational is this: The principal production at the harbor is in tons of cargo handled, and this job of loading and unloading is done both manually and with machines. But this principal production sector always must compensate for losses by using other sources of spending. This means that the harbor's main labor force—the workers doing loading-unloading work—must live on part of the spending provided by the labor of other people, in spite of the fact that they themselves have high labor productivity and always overfulfill the plan that is assigned to them.

Because the principal production at the harbor sustains losses, i.e., income from this production is not enough to cover spending, where does the harbor find money to pay for repairing machines and the means of loading and unloading? According to current statistics, Saigon Harbor now has 74,000 square meters of warehouses that have seriously downgraded and more than 98 kinds of machinery and equipment that are getting too old and breaking down more frequently. Since every year it has to spend 25-35 million dong (more than 10 percent of its total income) to repair the existing means and equipment and yet can satisfy only less than 50 percent of its production needs, certainly it is beyond its ability to talk about accumulation for expanded reproduction!

The above-mentioned worrisome reality is getting worse everyday. It is threatening the survival of Saigon Harbor and the living of its cadres and workers. Therefore, there is no other way than to quickly revise any inappropriate procedures. We must quickly readjust the freight rate to realistically conform with the present situation so as to

make our cargo-handling workers believe that with the fruit of their legitimate labor, they can earn their living without having to rely on any compensation.

Export Goods From An Giang Province
42090008c Hanoi *QUAN DOI NHAN DAN*
in Vietnamese 5 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by To Quyen: "An Giang Province Exports 42,000 Assorted Pieces of Lingerie"]

[Text] As of the end of May 1988, the Production Department of the An Giang Province Association of Cooperatives turned over to ARTEXPORT for export 42,000 assorted pieces of lingerie. The product is rated high in quality. It is aimed toward creating sources of export goods to obtain foreign currency for the province, to provide jobs for the unemployed, and help cadres, workers and civil servants make full use of free time in their families to increase income. An Giang Province formed the export embroidery organization at the end of 1987 and attracted 950 embroiderers, including 60 professional ones.

The production department signed a contract with the Ho Chi Minh City ARTEXPORT branch and, in 1988, An Giang will embroider 45,000 assorted pieces of lingerie. Due to active planning from the very start, fully preparing thread, fabric, and material, and satisfactorily organizing the processing network, in less than 5 months it has finished and turned over for export 42,000 pieces.

The branch has signed another contract with the Production Department of the An Giang Association of Cooperatives to embroider an additional 10,000 tablecloths. This is an item that is hard to make and demands skill and high technical proficiency. It has done more than 100 tablecloths so far.

To further expand the installation and ensure uninterrupted production, the province should be concerned about helping out with additional capital and cash so the production department can purchase material and pay wages promptly to the producer.

Export Handicraft Products Sector Suspends Operations

42090008b Hanoi *QUAN DOI NAHN DAN*
in Vietnamese 4 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] The Ho Chi Minh City rattan, bamboo and leaf sector had accomplished 59 percent of the annual export plan by the end of May. This is a tremendous effort by the cadres and cooperative members throughout the sector. However, due to insoluble difficulties, capital especially, the sector has had to declare temporary suspension of operations as of 1 June 1988.

According to the export policy entrusted by the Ministry of Foreign Economy since 1 July 1987, the Ho Chi Minh City Association of Interbranch Rattan, Bamboo and

Leaf Handicraft Cooperatives has turned over to the Rattan, Bamboo and Leaf Export General Corporation (BAROTEX) a remarkable amount of goods. According to stipulations, cooperatives of the rattan, bamboo and leaf export sector receive 89 percent of the foreign currency in convertible goods. However, the BAROTEX organization still owes the city Association of Interbranch Rattan, Bamboo and Leaf Handicraft Cooperatives an amount of goods valued at 3.7 million rubles (including 1.5 million rubles of debt carried over from 1987), which is equivalent to 2.3 billion Vietnamese dong. Because it has not received the convertible goods, the association has no money and goods to give production organizations. Therefore, the production organizations have been forced to cease operations. Over 150 of the sector's production installations with more than 150,000 laborers are out of work.

SOCIAL

District in Tien Giang Resolves Half of Land Dispute Cases

42090018b Hanoi *NONG NGHIEP VIET NAM*
in Vietnamese 28 Jul 88 p 5

[Text] Cai Be District recently had to face a situation in which former landowners demanded that land be returned to them and land disputes broke out in many places. There were as many as 400 cases of complaints about farm land, including many land disputes between state-operated economic units and farmers, such as those in State Farm 19-5 (Hau My Trinh), Co Lich State Farm (Hoa Hung), and so on. The main reasons were a number of cadres in high positions of authority having wrongly implemented the land policy, the management measures taken by the collective economic units being ineffective, and the management cadres performing so poorly, and so on. On the other hand, many peasant households were not very familiar with the land law of the state and did not want to cooperate with the state-operated economic units to develop production. A typical situation was in the state farm in charge of the district's rice seed-producing program where 72 families asked to get their land back.

Cai Be District is concentrating its efforts on resolving once and for all the cases of land dispute and severely dealing with those cadres who have taken advantage of their positions and authority to seize and use farm land in an illegal manner. As for the complicated cases and incidents, it provides villages with guidance aimed at encouraging their discussions and solution at cooperative members' meetings and on that basis maintaining rational labor and land balance once again. It decides as follows: Those households that have been offered land following readjustment but have not yet surrendered any crop must do so before they could receive any new contractual assignment. As for the major disputes in

state farms, it organizes discussions between peasants and the state farm leadership for the purpose of seeking appropriate measures to resolve them in conformity with the law.

So far the district has positively identified and totally resolved more than 50 percent of the cases. Through resolving these land dispute cases it has been renovating the economic management mechanism in production and business, mostly in collective economic units.

Village Cadres Defy Land Decisions While Complaints Abound

*42090018a Hanoi NONG NGHIEP VIET NAM
in Vietnamese 28 Jul 88 p 5*

[Article by Dinh Dien: "Serious Land Acquisition Situation in Dinh My Village"]

[Text] It would not sound right if peasants in a place where "vast" land for cultivation exists said they were short of land to till. After we had received a petition for "help" from peasants of Dinh My Village (in Thoai Son District, An Giang Province), we still were reluctant to believe that the loss of democracy and the acts committed by a number of cadres there—arrogantly acquiring land, leasing land, and exploiting peasants in the form of "leasing land and collecting rent"—had been that serious.

On 30 June 1988 we went to the district.

Lu Van Ven, vice chairman of the District People's Committee in charge of agriculture, told us that although the total area of cultivated land in the district this year increased by more than 4,000 hectares, the area in Dinh My Village did not increase and was in fact only 92.5 percent of the goal set in its plan. Even after the Provincial People's Committee had issued a decision about returning land that had been acquired to its former users so as to make the tilling of land more effective, Dinh My still refused to carry it out seriously. More and more petitions were sent by peasants to the district to accuse cadres of seizing land, acting undemocratically, and challenging peasants, and the contents of their complaints and accusations were basically true.

Nguyen Van Lua, vice chairman of the District Inspection Committee and representative of the Complaint Examination Council, told us about the results of a survey made in accordance with the Dinh My people's complaints and accusations to reestablish boundaries of farm land in the village and about the fact that a series of unclear situations existed and would need to be clarified. Such situations included cases involving land being tilled but with current ownership being unknown; land showing tillers' names, but its registration being not made as requested during the presence of the district survey team in the village; land of households being affected by the policy on illegally cultivated land to be taken back; land being tilled by village cadres beyond their quotas; land of

committees, sectors, and mass organizations being tilled for the sake of "self-sufficiency," but actually being leased to the people; land of cadres of provincial and district level being tilled as additional source of earnings, and so on. The total area of these kinds of "problem" land was about 1,038 hectares. This figure perhaps was not very accurate. In accordance with many peasants who have lived for a long time in the village, the village had had in the past five big landowners, led by Truong Long Dan who had owned up to 1,500 hectares. After the liberation, because they were charged with having tilled land of other people, the administration took back all of their land, but not very much land was later redistributed to the people in the village. Who then tilled that land? This would require investigation and firm determination. Anyway, the figure, 1,038 hectares, conformed to a degree to charge 1 in the report that supplemented the village peasants' complaints: "A large majority of cadres in Dinh My Village has acquired for illegal cultivation about 500 to 700 hectares of land from peasants and used other people's names as those of tillers. In this case, the people supplied a list of more than 100 people who were strangers and did not live in the village, with the one who tilled the least land having tilled 96 cong."

Meanwhile, many farmer households in Dinh My did not have enough land to till and had to work as hired labor for village cadres (such as Mrs Tran Thi Le of My Thoi Hamlet who was hired to work for Duong Ngoc Han, the village vice chairman). There were cases of people whose land was totally taken from them, such as Nguyen Van Luc who lost all of his 25 cong of 10th-month rice because his son had failed to fulfill his military obligation.

To find out more about the real situation we went to the village with the district officials in charge of agriculture and the representative of the Complaint Examination Council. The secretary of the village party chapter (also a member of the District CPV Committee) "disappeared" after learning that the group of reporters and district cadres was coming. The village chairman went to school and was not available. The vice chairman in charge of agriculture and the vice chairman in charge of financial and trade affairs both also "vanished." All of the village's key cadres seemed to avoid being seen. Only much later, after being summoned, Duong Ngoc Hen, vice chairman in charge of financial and trade affairs, who was "mentioned" in 7 of the 13 additional charges made by the people, finally showed up.

When they answered each and every item contained in the people's complaints, the cadres who were present in the office of the village People's Committee proved themselves a closely knit "team." They all argued against the accusations and blamed the citizens who had signed in the petitions for having impure designs and personal grudge. To show that they were "just and impartial" and that "one would not be afraid if one were honest" some

village cadres said they had personally invited 20 households who had signed in the petitions to come and to confront the village cadres in front of the reporters and district cadres. But these people did not show up! We could say this: This was another deceitful trick. These people probably had never been asked to come and to meet the district officials and reporters. It was the same story as that of 51 farmer households who were supposed to have received land approved by the district's CPV and People's Committees in the recent phase of excess land retrieval but had never received any notices, although the village cadres reported that they did not show up to accept the appropriated land! On the other hand, out of absolute necessity, in order to keep up with the crop-growing schedule the village officials had to work all night to urgently appropriate land to 62 other households, whose names were not in the list of those who had been approved to receive land.

In such a situation, we and the district agriculture cadres decided to see the people ourselves. Within just a few minutes more than 300 people "encircled" us and demanded that the voice of justice be heard and that those cadres who had been oppressing the masses, seizing land to lease to tenant peasants, and stealing from public funds to quickly enrich themselves be severely punished.

Nearly 100 petitions containing complaints and accusations were given to us right at that time. Their contents abundantly reflected the truth, with frank and direct statements naming those cadres who had misused their positions and authority.

Let us print some excerpts from these petitions as examples:

"I am Tran Thi Thuong, a resident of this village. Our family had a piece of 1-crop land totaling 283 cong, which was divided into 2 parcels of 200 and 83 cong. My husband and I had been devoting so much hard work and sacrifice to that land.

"My family divided that land to our children as follows....

"However, the People's Committee of Dinh My Village seized that entire piece of land and appropriated only 83 cong of it to the people and 200 cong to Luc, a cadre in the village's Agriculture Committee, who has been tilling it.

"My family was given back only 35 cong of that land...."

"I the undersigned am Khuu Van Thai residing in Dinh My Village.... I used to till 10 cong of 2-crop land. In 1984 when the order to settle farm land was issued, I was considered one who had tilled other people's land (the canal on this side and the one on the other side both are in the same village, the same hamlet). I was expelled by

the collective chief who took that land and appropriated it to my father. Since then I do not have any land of my own and currently work as a hired farmer...."

"My name is Cao Van Duc. In 1978 I inherited 15 cong of 1-crop land which my ancestors had acquired through personal efforts. The head of the Dinh My Village Agriculture Committee, Le Van Sau, came to my home to ask that I grow additional crops, or else he would take the land from me. I was so scared and had to rent a power plow to work in 15 cong, which cost me 150 gia of paddy, so as to grow additional crops. But after only one crop, the 1978 summer-autumn crop, my land was flooded and there was no harvest. In 1979 Le Van Sau came to see my family and asked to borrow these 15 cong of land to use as a seed-producing farm. At that time my family was in a very difficult situation and, therefore, agreed to let the village borrow our land for 3 years. During that same time, Mr Sau appropriated to me another piece of 15 cong of 1-crop land. I tilled that land for 2 years (1978 and 1980) and then received an order from the village People's Committee to the effect that it now would take it back and appropriate it to another person.

"I made a petition to ask that my family's old land be returned to me, but Le Van Sau only promised without taking any action, and until today the land has not been returned yet.

"As to what was done to my 15 cong of land, the village did not use it as a seed-producing farm as it had said it would but let the public security forces till it instead. And the latter again leased it to other people in order to collect paddy as rent...."

It was obvious that there had been a serious decline in the confidence of the people in the party committee echelons and administration of Dinh My Village. With 300 people swarming around us, we did not see a single key cadre of the village in the crowd to "confront" the people. Only the heads of the village's military unit and public security forces dared to sit there to listen to the people. Actually we saw the vice chairman in charge of agriculture ride his bicycle nearby, but he just kept going. And the people told us that the secretary of the village CPV Committee was drinking somewhere near there but remained indifferent as nothing serious had happened.

The acquisition and seizure of land in Dinh My Village is a serious matter. It will be more serious when harvest time comes without a good solution to the dispute about farm land being illegally acquired and used. To disregard democracy, to oppress the masses, to underestimate the importance of public opinion and superior echelons, and so on also is a serious matter. We wonder, in this case of a party chapter having a secretary being also a member of the district CPV Committee and a village People's Committee openly refusing to carry out decisions of the Provincial CPV Committee, what has happened to the law of the land. And why, with the irrefutable truths in

Dinh My (which the district's vice chairman has affirmed), the CPV Committee and People's Committee of Thoai Son District have not yet shown the attitude of dealing in a firm and just manner with the wrongdoers? Furthermore, would it be right for the People's Committee of An Giang Province to shut its eyes to and to "let go" the abuse of power and arrogance of a number of village cadres?

We do think that these are the matters that are unacceptable!

Peasants Voice Complaints to Council of Ministers Office

42090002 Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 17 Aug 88 pp 1, 2

[Text] In the morning of 12 August 1988, more than 300 peasants from Cuu Long Province's Districts of Tra On, Cau Ke, Vung Liem, Tam Binh, Long Ho, Tieu Can, and Chau Thanh arrived at Office 2 of the Council of Ministers in Ho Chi Minh City to denounce the wrongdoings in the land-readjustment efforts and to explain about the sufferings they had to wrongfully bear in the last few years in their localities.

These peasants mostly come from families of martyrs, the families that have done much for the revolution, and families of demobilized military personnel and members of women's, farmers', and other organizations.

Representatives of the Council of Ministers Office 2 met with them and listened to what they had to say in detail.

According to these peasants, in their localities, many party cadres and members of the administration had seriously violated their interests, such as forcing them to join production collectives, seizing the good land they were tilling for themselves and for their relatives under the pretext of making land readjustment, using force to suppress those who had dared to fight against wrongdoings, and so on. They also said that they had repeatedly presented complaints to the village, district, and provincial party committee echelons about wrongdoings, which remained unresolved.

As they came to the Council of Ministers Office 2 in Ho Chi Minh City this time, they asked that it immediately respond to their wishes. More specifically, they wanted to put an immediate end to the cadres' wrongdoings, such as forcing them to join the collectives, distributing land in an irrational manner, and seizing good land from peasants for themselves or their relatives; to punish and

stop the oppressive acts of some cadres in high and powerful positions in their localities; and to immediately free those innocent citizens who had been put in jail.

In the afternoon of 15 August 1988, Ho Minh Man, deputy secretary of the Provincial CPV Committee and chairman of the Provincial People's Committee, representing the Standing Committee of the Provincial CPV Committee and the Provincial People's Committee, along with cadres from the interested organs, committees, and sectors of Cuu Long Province, came to the municipality to see in person the peasants from his own province. Representatives of the Council of Ministers Office 2 also attended the meeting. After having heard the peasants' legitimate wishes, Ho Minh Man, chairman of Cuu Long Provincial People's Committee, promised (in writing) them that the following would be done: returning to peasants their inherited land, in accordance with Directive 57 of the CPV Central Committee Secretariat and Decision 188 of the Council of Ministers; totally respecting the principle of voluntary work on the part of peasants in their deciding to work in cooperatives and production collectives, which would be allowed to sign with individual households or groups of households original crop-growing contracts or to send them to production solidarity teams, with any peasants unwilling to accept such transfer being able to work on an individual basis. Any authoritarian acts, arrests, and oppression against farmers as committed by cadres, would be topics for education and appropriate punishment.

At that meeting, the peasants asked the CPV Central Committee and provincial authorities to give orders to districts and villages so that they would carry out totally the above-mentioned written guidelines and to take the necessary measures of control to prevent in time any reprisals against the peasants who had presented the complaints. They also asked for appropriate investigation, determination, and handling of the cases of those who have so far misused their positions and authority to oppress the people; a thorough and accurate investigation of the use of farm land by each and every family of cadres, party members, and peasants; and inspection aimed at looking into the income and distribution of income in collectives and cooperatives.

We learned that the CPV Central Committee Secretariat and the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers had just issued directives to the effect that all provinces should resolve in an urgent and proper manner and on the spot any suggestions about farm land made by peasants so as to avoid the situation in which peasants would go to Ho Chi Minh City to present their wishes.

In the evening of 15 August 1988, the Cuu Long Provincial People's Committee sent many vehicles to Ho Chi Minh City to pick up the peasants.