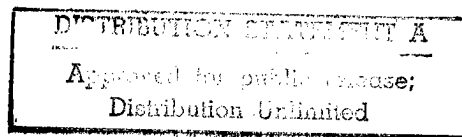


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23 APRIL 1987



# Southeast Asia Report

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23 APRIL 1987

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## INDONESIA

|                                                                                         |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Jakarta's Position on Afghan Issue Praised<br>(ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN, 17 Mar 87).....    | 1 |
| Trade Figures With GDR Reported<br>(BUSINESS NEWS, 20 Mar 87).....                      | 2 |
| Export Processing Zone To Be Established in Semarang<br>(BUSINESS NEWS, 18 Mar 87)..... | 4 |
| Briefs                                                                                  |   |
| Exports to FRG                                                                          | 6 |
| Thais Study Swampland Project                                                           | 6 |
| Japanese Grant for Forest Study                                                         | 6 |
| Outer-Island Sugar Mills                                                                | 7 |
| Log Production Potential                                                                | 7 |
| Trade Surplus With Singapore                                                            | 7 |
| Obstacles to Nonoil Exports                                                             | 8 |
| Additional LNG Export to Japan                                                          | 8 |

## MALAYSIA

|                                                                                                           |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Neo Yee Pan's Attitude Toward Coming MCA Election<br>(SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA, 6 Feb 87).....           | 9  |
| Separation of MCA, Multi-Purpose Holdings Berhad Announced<br>(SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA, 15 Feb 87)..... | 11 |
| DAP Ready To Talk With MCA, Gerakan<br>(SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA, 17 Feb 87).....                        | 13 |

|                                                                                                                             |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Rahman, Taib Rivalry Examined<br>(Shah A. Dadameah; THE STAR, 15 Mar 87).....                                               | 14 |
| Anti-Taib Plot Backfire Examined<br>(Zainon Ahmad; NEW STRAITS TIMES, 17 Mar 87).....                                       | 16 |
| Paper Calls for Non-Politicization of Shari'ah Law<br>(Editorial; SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA, 12 Feb 87).....                | 18 |
| Thorough Solution of Indonesian Immigrants Urged<br>(Editorial; SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA, 27 Jan 87).....                  | 20 |
| Paper Stresses Importance of Equal Treatment for Ethnic Groups<br>(Editorial; SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA, 10 Feb 87).....    | 22 |
| Foreign Reserves Double in Two Years<br>(Ahirudin Attan; BUSINESS TIMES, 16 Mar 87).....                                    | 24 |
| Palm Oil Exports Increase<br>(BUSINESS DAY, 19 Mar 87).....                                                                 | 26 |
| PHILIPPINES                                                                                                                 |    |
| Aggrieved Employees Assail U.S. Food Cannery<br>(Romi Gatuslao; MR. & MS., 20-26 Mar 87).....                               | 27 |
| Agriculture Secretary Raps EEC Protectionist Policies<br>(MANILA BULLETIN, 25 Mar 87).....                                  | 30 |
| Trade Secretary Hits EEC Coconut Oil Tax<br>(MANILA BULLETIN, 25 Mar 87).....                                               | 31 |
| Japan Exim Bank Okays \$300 Million Loan<br>(Juanito C. Concepcion; MANILA BULLETIN, 26 Mar 87).....                        | 32 |
| Aquino Cites Rejection in Feb 86 Junta Plan<br>(ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 27 Mar 87).....                                      | 34 |
| Cabinet Secretary Cites Aquino on Choice in Population Furor<br>(MANILA BULLETIN, 27 Mar 87).....                           | 35 |
| Cabinet Member Urges Youth Involvement in 'Social Revolution'<br>(THE MINDANAO MIRROR--BULLETIN, 9-15 Mar 87).....          | 36 |
| Laban Links Vigilantes to Enrile, Urges Disarming<br>(Ben Evardone, Chit Estella; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA,<br>27 Mar 87)..... | 38 |
| Alliance of New Politics Hits Aquino Slate's Rights Record<br>(Nick Quijano; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 26 Mar 87).....         | 39 |

|                                                                                                                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 'Supposedly Red' Candidates Launch Alliance of New Politics<br>(Dante V. Javier; MR. & MS., 20-26 Mar 87).....                    | 40 |
| Former Official Predicts Bloody Ilocos Elections<br>(Louie Logarta; PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER, 26 Mar 87).....                    | 43 |
| New Alliance Challenges Parties To Debate Issues<br>(Nick Quijano; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 27 Mar 87).....                         | 44 |
| Columnist Views Antique Activities; GAD, PNB Strength<br>(Belinda Olivares-Cunanan; PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER,<br>26 Mar 87)..... | 45 |
| Weekly Defines Aquino's 'Council of Trent'<br>(MR. & MS., 20-26 Mar 87).....                                                      | 46 |
| Administration Slate Platform, Opposition Land Reform<br>(Ben Evardone, Chit Estella; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA,<br>27 Mar 87).....   | 47 |
| Gullas Rejects Bid for Congress<br>(SUN STAR DAILY, 23 Mar 87).....                                                               | 48 |
| Bigornia Lauds Aquino War Policy, Enrile Candidacy<br>(Jesus Bigornia; MANILA BULLETIN, 25 Mar 87).....                           | 49 |
| Enrile Favors Arming Civilians Against NPA<br>(Ed Perpena; PHILIPPINES DAILY INQUIRER, 27 Mar 87).....                            | 51 |
| Armed Forces Revamp Targets RUC Structure<br>(Daniel Florida, Jr.; PHILIPPINES DAILY INQUIRER,<br>27 Mar 87).....                 | 52 |
| Daily Objects To Proposal for Manila Alsa Masa<br>(Editorial; PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER, 26 Mar 87).....                          | 53 |
| Manila Columnist: Give Alsa Masa a Chance<br>(Jake Macasaet; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 27 Mar 87).....                               | 55 |
| Davao del Sur Official Sees Insurgency Over in 4 Months<br>(PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER, 26 Mar 87).....                            | 57 |
| Weekly Analyzes Weaknesses of Amnesty for Rebels<br>(Bernardo V. Lopez; MR. & MS., 6-12 Mar 87).....                              | 58 |
| Weekly Illustrates Politicization of Cultural Center<br>(Candy Quimpo; MR. & MS., 6-12 Mar 87).....                               | 62 |
| Cebu Officer, Priest Discuss Paramilitarism, Church Stance<br>(Eileen G. Manguibat; SUN STAR DAILY, 22 Mar 87).....               | 66 |

|                                                                                                                              |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Cebu Editorial Agrees With Armitage Criticism<br>(SUN STAR DAILY, 22 Mar 87).....                                            | 67 |
| Cebu Article Links Marxism; Marian Piety<br>(Manolo O. Vano; SUN STAR DAILY, 22 Mar 87).....                                 | 69 |
| Cebu Bishop Justifies 'Armed Anticommunist Vigilantes'<br>(SUN STAR DAILY, 23 Mar 87).....                                   | 71 |
| Editorial Urges Government See to Cebu Refugees<br>(SUN STAR DAILY, 23 Mar 87).....                                          | 72 |
| Presidential Committee Reduces City Water Supply<br>(Joel Paredes, Romy Tangbawan; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA,<br>26 Mar 87)..... | 74 |
| Davao Receives 300,000 Pesos National Aid<br>(THE MINDANAO MIRROR-BULLETIN, 9-15 Mar 87).....                                | 76 |
| Top Fruit Products, 1985 Export Figures Reported<br>(THE MINDANAO MIRROR-BULLETIN, 9-15 Mar 87).....                         | 77 |
| Business Group Optimistic on Growth<br>(Deedee M. Siytangco; MANILA BULLETIN, 25 Mar 87).....                                | 79 |
| Body Urges Recall of New Tax Measure<br>(MANILA BULLETIN, 25 Mar 87).....                                                    | 80 |
| Banker: Peso Depreciation Rules Out Devaluation<br>(MANILA BULLETIN, 27 Mar 87).....                                         | 81 |
| Privatization Official Outlines Implementation Difficulties<br>(MANILA BULLETIN, 27 Mar 87).....                             | 82 |
| Concepcion Discusses Luzon Cement Shortage<br>(PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER, 26 Mar 87).....                                    | 83 |
| Association Spokesman Predicts Banking Sector Growth<br>(Rosa Ocampo; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 27 Mar 87).....                 | 84 |
| Briefs<br>Quedan Board                                                                                                       | 85 |
| SOLOMON ISLANDS                                                                                                              |    |
| Briefs<br>1986 Population Census                                                                                             | 86 |
| Diplomatic Ties With Italy                                                                                                   | 86 |

## THAILAND

|                                                                                                                |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Columnist: Military, Rich Subvert Democracy; Poor Shut Out<br>(Withayakon Chiangkun; MATICHON, 24 Feb 87)..... | 87  |
| Cartoon: Populace Has Negative View of Politicians, Army<br>(BAN MUANG, 17 Feb 87).....                        | 90  |
| Farmers' Impoverishment, Political Response Examined<br>(Niyaphan Wannasiri; SIAM RAT, various dates).....     | 91  |
| Daily Worries About Overpopulation, Unemployment<br>(Editorial; BAN MUANG, 26 Jan 87).....                     | 105 |
| Briefs                                                                                                         |     |
| Smugglers to PRK                                                                                               | 106 |
| Workers' Repatriated Earnings                                                                                  | 106 |
| Fisheries Wants SRV Talks Without Political Strings                                                            | 106 |

## VIETNAM

### POLITICAL

|                                                                                                         |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Municipal Congress Representative Discusses Budget, Planning<br>(Nguyen Xien; NHAN DAN, 12 Jan 87)..... | 108 |
| Briefs                                                                                                  |     |
| Pham Van Dong Receives Envoy                                                                            | 110 |
| Pham Van Dong Expresses Condolences                                                                     | 110 |
| Cuban Filmmaker Receives Friendship Medal                                                               | 110 |
| Greetings Sent to Sri Lanka                                                                             | 110 |
| Egyptian Ambassador Finishes Term                                                                       | 111 |
| Central Committee Greets Austrian Congress                                                              | 111 |
| CPV Greets Mexican Congress                                                                             | 111 |
| Nguyen Van Linh Greets Nosaka                                                                           | 111 |
| Truong Chinh Greets Maltese National Day                                                                | 111 |

### ECONOMIC

|                                                                                                                                 |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| FRG Institute Analyzes Tentative Economic Reform Efforts<br>(FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT,<br>17 Feb 87)..... | 112 |
| Provincial Congress Representative Discusses Food Production<br>(Phan Tan Tien; NHAN DAN, 12 Jan 87).....                       | 114 |
| Many Problems Confront Efforts To Mine Tin for Export<br>(Thao Lan; NHAN DAN, 15 Jan 87).....                                   | 116 |
| Authorities Contradicted Over How To Solve Draft Power Issue<br>(Hoang Dinh Mac; NHAN DAN, 15 Jan 87).....                      | 118 |

JAKARTA'S POSITION ON AFGHAN ISSUE PRAISED

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 17 Mar 87 pp A3, A4

[Text] Pakistani Ambassador to Indonesia Dr. Samiullah Mujahid Koreshi has praised Indonesia's position on the Afghan issue.

In an interview with ANTARA here Monday the ambassador added that all friends would always give contribution to help solve the issue and if Indonesia proposed a better solution Pakistan would certainly praise it.

Indonesia, he said, will always support the UN resolutions demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

The UN resolution is an important element since it is the foundation for a peaceful settlement of the Afghan issue, Koreshi said, adding that the remaining issue is the timetable for the withdrawal of the Russians from that country. Pakistan has indirectly through the special mission of the UN Secretary General held ten time meetings with Afghan representatives, and the latest meeting was held last month.

Koreshi, a doctor in political science of the Ottawa University, Canada and has been in service as diplomat for 38 years saw the latest meeting as still unfavourable for which he hoped that the next meeting would be better capable of improving the situation.

"What we want now is the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan within only a few months since it is the basic element for the achievement of a political settlement", he stressed.

But if the troops withdrawal is based on a long term schedule, it means that the Soviets will settle this issue on a military basis, he noted.

/13104  
CSO: 4200/478

## TRADE FIGURES WITH GDR REPORTED

Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 20 Mar 87 p 9

[Text]

Indonesia and East Germany have exchanged ambassadors with an Indonesian ambassador posted in East Berlin & an East German ambassador occupying the embassy in Jakarta. The two countries signed a bilateral trade agreement in 1984.

On March 16, 1987 Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumatmadja and East German Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer signed an agreement for shipping cooperation and an agreement for the prevention of double taxation.

The trade volume and value between the two countries are still relatively small at present, sharp increases have been obtained in the past ten years.

The volume of bilateral trade between Indonesia and East Germany in the past ten years has increased from 6.5 million kg/year to about 20 million kg/year, while the trade value has jumped from only US\$ 3 million to around US\$ 15 million.

The balance of trade between the two countries has been in favour of Indonesia in the past ten years, except 1982 and 1986 when Indonesia sustained deficits.

The trade balance between the two countries from 1976 to 1986, according to data obtained from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), is described in the table below:

| YEAR                 | INDON. EXPORTS |                     | INDON. IMPORTS |                     | BALANCE FOR<br>IND. (US\$) |
|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
|                      | VOLUME (M.TON) | FOB VALUE<br>(US\$) | VOLUME (M.TON) | FOB VALUE<br>(US\$) |                            |
| 1976                 | 7,666.7        | 4,807,000           | 6,346.0        | 1,531,000           | + 3,276,000                |
| 1977                 | 6,060.6        | 4,614,138           | 6,568.4        | 3,706,186           | + 907,952                  |
| 1978                 | 6,691.1        | 5,663,940           | 6,422.1        | 1,446,073           | + 4,217,867                |
| 1979                 | 7,353.5        | 8,457,048           | 21,861.1       | 2,530,080           | + 5,927,968                |
| 1980                 | 10,480.0       | 13,031,484          | 18,979.1       | 4,863,727           | + 8,167,757                |
| 1981                 | 9,592.2        | 9,877,898           | 27,642.7       | 6,696,088           | + 3,181,810                |
| 1982                 | 6,103.7        | 4,731,321           | 16,941.4       | 5,281,895           | - 550,574                  |
| 1983                 | 12,036.0       | 10,498,557          | 34,351.4       | 8,992,868           | + 1,505,689                |
| 1984                 | 8,418.8        | 8,349,831           | 7,524.6        | 2,256,422           | + 6,093,409                |
| 1985                 | 14,311.1       | 13,470,126          | 5,307.4        | 2,111,365           | + 11,358,761               |
| 1986 (Jan-<br>Sept.) | 3,458.0        | 3,598,810           | 7,066.3        | 4,023,772           | - 424,962                  |

The imports of the German Democratic Republic from Indonesia consist mainly of natural rubber, coffee and textile/garments (relatively small). Indonesia still has wider opportunities to step up exports to East Germany, which has bought many other Indonesian commodities via a third side such as Singapore, Hongkong and the Netherlands.

Indonesian commodities bought by East Germany from third sides include tea, cocoa, palm oil, tin, processed timber, fish, shrimp and plywood.

Indonesia's imports from East Germany cover around 40 kinds of products, mainly chemicals, paper/kraft paper, iron and steel, machines complete with their components/spareparts, telecommunication equipment and many other industrial products.

/13104

CSO: 4200/478

EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE TO BE ESTABLISHED IN SEMARANG

Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 18 Mar 87 pp 5, 6

[Text]

The government will set up an Export Processing Zone (EPZ) at the Tanjung Emas port, Semarang, Central Java. The activities for the establishment of EPZ will start coinciding with the beginning of the second phase handling of the Tanjung Emas port.

The establishment of EPZ is expected to be entirely completed by 1995, Sjafrudin BE, head of the Technical Division of Perum Pelabuhan III (third port public corporation), disclosed recently.

Perum Pelabuhan III will handle the opening of EPZ in cooperation with the Central Java Regional Investment Planning Board (BKPM) and the Technical Faculty of the Diponegoro State University in Semarang.

The Semarang EPZ, which will cover around 42.3 ha, will be located west of the port. The zone will accommodate various industrial plants such as those operating in automobile, coal, cement and steel industries. The port administration will provide various facilities in the EPZ such as roads, electricity and water installations.

A pier which will serve the loading and unloading of coal, steel products, cement, chemicals and other industrial products will be built at the port.

The second phase development of the Tanjung Emas port, which will start in the current 1987/88 fiscal year, will begin with the drawing up of engineering de

sign of roads and a pier which will cost around Rp 440 million from domestic fund sources and ¥ 545 million worth of assistance from the Japanese Government. Part of the funds will also be used to finance the construction of a full container terminal and a special terminal for fertilizer at the port.

The supply of fertilizer from the PUSRI state-run fertilizer plants to Central Java through the Tanjung Emas port is projected to reach an average of 680,000 tons/year as of 1995.

The port will serve the shipment of 205,000 tons of molasses/year to the overseas market beginning this year. Mitsui, a Japanese company, will manufacture fuel tanks for vessels with a capacity of 10,000 tons in the Semarang EPZ and the product will be exported to Japan and Europe.

The EPZ will be expanded to 169 ha in the third phase development of the Tanjung Emas port which is expected to be completed by the year 2005.

/13104

CSO: 4200/478

## BRIEFS

EXPORTS TO FRG--Indonesia's exports to West Germany have kept on increasing in the past several years. According to data collected by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), the sales of Indonesian commodities in that West European country reached US\$ 246 million in 1984, US\$ 255 million in 1985 and US\$ 232 million in the first nine months of 1986. West German exports to Indonesia were worth US\$ 820 million in 1984, US\$ 677 million in 1985 and US\$ 492 million in the first nine months of last year. Thus the balance of trade between the two countries still shows deficits for the Indonesian side. Indonesian export commodities supplied to West Germany include animal feed, coffee, tea, pepper, spices, rattan, palm oil/palm kernel oil, cacao beans, tobacco, essential oil, natural rubber, leather, wood/timber products, tape cassette, textile/garments, tin, handicraft products, vegetable oil, charcoal and fruits. [Text] [Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 20 Mar 87 p 7] /13104

THAIS STUDY SWAMPLAND PROJECT--A group of Thai officials Sunday toured a swamp landreform project in Sragi, Palas, southern Lampung and began their comparative study. The project which was started in 1978 covers an area of some 22,000 hectares. Until 1986, of the total area, around 15,700 hectares have been reformed and distributed to 7,155 farmers, said head of Lampung's regional development board Drs. Man Hasan. He further explained to the 11 members of the visiting Thai officials led by Thiravi Subhanit that the project was generated with funds deriving from the Netherlands totalling 66.36 million Dutch guilders (about US\$32 million), state budget amounting to Rp2.4 million (ca. US\$1.4 million) and provincial aids. Among other things the funds had been used to complete a 230 km (144 mile) long irrigation channel, a 300 km (187.5) mile long dike and other infrastructures. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 16 Mar 87 p A4] /13104

JAPANESE GRANT FOR FOREST STUDY--The Japanese government has decided to extend a grant amounting to 1,207 million yen (some Rp. 12.99 billion) to the Indonesian government, which among others will be used for the expansion of a tropical forest research centre. The agreement on the grant will be signed at the foreign ministry here Thursday by Director General of Foreign Economic Relations Rusli Noor and Japanese Ambassador to Indonesia Toshiaki Muto, the Japanese embassy here said Tuesday. Of the total grant, the tropical research centre will get 235 million yen (Rp. 2.53 billion), while the rest will go to a project for the development of urban fire control and fire prevention

system, 498 million yen (Rp. 5.36 billion) and the expansion of a seamen school in Ujungpandang, 474 million yen (Rp. 5.1 billion). [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 17 Mar 87 p A12] /13104

OUTER-ISLAND SUGAR MILLS--In 1989 the government plans to build sugarmills outside Java island to meet the rising demand for sugar in Indonesia. Minister of Agriculture Achmad Affandi said here Monday. After meeting with President Soeharto at the Bina Graha here, Minister Affandi told the press that the relevant feasibility study had already been conducted for the building of sugarmills in Baturaja (South Sumatera), Ladongi (Southeast Sulawesi), Los Palos (East Timor) and in Paguyaman (North Sulawesi). The minister estimated the cost for the construction of the four mills at US\$ 350 million. He said the construction of the new mills outside Java island would be of vital significance, because by 1993 Indonesia would have a great need for sugar. With reference to the sugarmills in Java, Affandi said they have almost reached their maximum production capacity, so that a second stage rehabilitation of some of them would be necessary. Indonesia's 1988 sugar output, he said, may very likely be increased to 2,375,000 tons compared with the 1986 output of 2,016,000 tons. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 17 Mar 87 p A2] /13104

LOG PRODUCTION POTENTIAL--Indonesia's log production is expected to reach about 60 million M3 a year based on the acreage of production natural forests in the country. Forestry Minister Soedjarwo has said. Indonesia's production natural forests at present are recorded at 60 million hectares, Minister Soedjarwo said in his written address to the celebration of the fourth service day of the ministry of forestry in Irian Jaya read out by Irian Jaya Governor Izaac Hindom here Monday. However to decrease the dependency of log production on the natural forests the ministry of forestry plans to develop industry forests in large scale in the current fourth Five Year Development Plan, he said. In order to preserve the forests the plan will be designed carefully in accordance with the world conservation strategy launched on March 6, 1980, the minister said. Soedjarwo reiterated that the forestry sector had a big potential for increasing the country's foreign exchange earnings. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 17 Mar 87 p A7] /13104

TRADE SURPLUS WITH SINGAPORE--Indonesia's trade balance with Singapore in the last four years had been in favour of Indonesia except that of 1983 when Indonesia suffered a deficit of US\$277 million, data of the bureau of foreign relations of the Indonesia Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN) shows here Thursday. Indonesia's exports to Singapore in 1983 were recorded at US\$3,128 million whereas its imports from the country stood at US\$3,405 million or a deficit of US\$277 million for Indonesia. In 1984, Indonesia's exports to Singapore dropped to US\$,126 million while its imports from the country fall even further to US\$1,239 million. Its exports again declined to US\$1,626 million in 1985 against its imports of US\$839,09 million. During January to September of 1986, Indonesia's exports to Singapore totalled US\$918,29 million against its imports from the country amounting to US\$544,40 million. The continuous drop of Indonesia's exports to Singapore since 1984 has been partly due to the world economic recession besides the government's policy in direct trade. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 19 Mar 87 p A1] /13104

OBSTACLES TO NONOIL EXPORTS--Efforts to increase Indonesia's non oil commodity exports still face barriers particularly in the face of protectionism of the advanced countries, Secretary General of the Trade Ministry T. Umar Ali said here Thursday. The other constraints of Indonesia's non oil commodity exports are lack of competitiveness, high production cost and scarcity of market information. In its efforts to help exporters to boost their exports and to win markets abroad, the trade ministry has set up a trade information centre (PIP). PIP provides data on the market information needed by exporters. To increase its services for businessmen, PIP is required to train skilled workers through an international business course. The trade ministry will also intensify such a training centre at its office. To realize it, it will seek for funds through the World Bank and Japanese agencies. [Text [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 19 Mar 87 p A4] /13104

ADDITIONAL LNG EXPORT TO JAPAN--Indonesia and Japan are discussing the possibility for an additional one million tonnes of LNG export to Japan per year, Pertamina President Director A.R. Ramly stated here Thursday after signing an LNG sales contract with Taiwan. Japan wished to increase its LNG import from Indonesia which now stands at 14.7 million tonnes per year, he added. Indonesia is ready to accept any buying offers apart from Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, both on a long-term basis or on periodical arrangements, Ramly disclosed. Singapore is among the Asia-Pacific countries interested in buying Indonesia's LNG on a long-term basis. Indonesia and Singapore are still discussing the possibility of LNG export to Singapore, particularly concerning the installment of LNG pipelines from the Natuna Island, in the South China Sea, which will transport the gas to Singapore. Ramly said that Japan would likely increase its use of LNG, instead of fuel oil under the consideration that LNG causes less air pollution. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 20 Mar 87 p A4] /13104

CSO: 4200/478

NEO YEE PAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD COMING MCA ELECTION

Selangor SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA in Chinese 6 Feb 87 p 1

[Excerpts] Datuk Dr Neo Yee Pan is adopting a wait and see attitude toward the Malaysian Chinese Association [MCA] election in July.

Notwithstanding rumors that he will stage a comeback as MCA president he has remained noncommittal, saying merely: "It's still too early. Let's wait and see."

Not long ago, Datuk Neo and Datuk Tan Tiong Hong met with each other through the good offices of a third party in a joint effort to challenge the current MCA leadership, it was learned. However, in the wake of accusations that Datuk Tan has instigated distrust against the party and that his political future remains uncertain, there is no chance for the Datuk Neo-Datuk Tan cooperation.

While it is possible that Datuk Mak Hon Kam might be interested in the deputy presidency, the chances of his collaborating with Datuk Neo are negligible.

After the MCA infighting came to a close toward the end of 1985, the forces of the Neo and Mak factions were in disarray; that's why it would not be easy for Datuk Neo to form a presentable line-up.

On the other hand, ever since Tan Koon Swan was thrown into prison, the Tan clique within MCA has been badly split.

Another factor disadvantageous to the present MCA leadership is the recent affair involving cooperative societies, in which many depositors, particularly MCA's basic members, felt that their money was not guaranteed.

It is generally believed that MCA Deputy President Datuk Lee Kim Sai enjoys the greatest support of the basic members, but Lee's relationship with leaders of the United Malays National Organization [UMNO] leaves much to be desired, so it appears that Datuk Lee will not aspire after the MCA presidency.

It looks like each and every MCA leader is doing his own calculating.

Sources close to Neo Yee Pan said that he will not go it alone. If he cannot muster a good, meaningful front, he will not run for office. The present

ruling faction reportedly thinks that Neo's rumored comeback is regarded as the faction's common external enemy and therefore has a favorable effect on its solidarity.

Another factor which is drawing public attention is the upcoming UMNO election in April where a new situation may crop up.

It is generally predicted that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir will be returned to the office of UMNO presidency. It is likely, however, that after his reelection, a cabinet reshuffle will ensue. Whether this reshuffle will affect MCA remains to be seen.

The MCA annual convention is scheduled for 11 July, while the conferences for its youth wing and women's division will take place 1 day before that.

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CSO: 4205/12

SEPARATION OF MCA, MULTI-PURPOSE HOLDINGS BERHAD ANNOUNCED

Selangor SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA in Chinese 15 Feb 87 p 1

[Text] The Malaysian Chinese Association [MCA] enthusiastically welcomes and wholeheartedly supports the new board of directors of the Multi-purpose Holdings Berhad under the chairmanship of Robert Kwok Hock Nien. The MCA also guarantees that it will not interfere with the business management of the company in political matters. This indicates a separation of politics from economic affairs between the two outfits.

At a news conference today, MCA President Datuk Ling Liong Sik expressed his belief that the Multi-purpose Holdings Berhad [MPHB], under the new board of directors, can solve the various problems it faces and consolidate its business to confront future challenges.

He said that MPHB's existence and development have had a deep impact on the 160,000 members of its cooperative societies and depositors.

He stressed that the MCA leadership fully supports MPHB's new board of directors to strengthen the latter and it will take all actions necessary.

He pointed out that strengthening MPHB's board constitutes part of a plan to safeguard MPHB's cooperative society depositors and its shareholders' interests.

Datuk Ling Liong Sik continued that MPHB's leadership expressed appreciation for the leadership and contributions of the outgoing board of directors under the chairmanship of Datuk Lee San Choon.

He said that in his meeting with Datuk Lee in London where the latter was on vacation, Datuk Lee was gratified about the new board.

He pledged that MCA will no longer meddle in MPHB's program in the political field. He believes that the new board will fully concentrate on MPHB's management.

He said that the reorganization of MPHB's board was completed in an amicable atmosphere, made in the interest of MPHB's shareholders and members of its cooperative societies.

Datuk Ling declined to comment on the resignation of Datuk Lee San Choon and his men, merely saying that Datuk Lee was highly satisfied with the new board of directors, who will render more effective service.

Talking about the long tenure of Tan Sri Lee Loy Seng and Robert Kwok Nien in MPHB, Datuk Ling explained that they both will stay there as long as their services are needed by the company.

Regarding the role of the new board, Datuk Ling said that the board members can not concentrate wholeheartedly on managing the company and overcoming its difficulties.

The reorganization of MPBH was announced at a board meeting yesterday, with Robert Kwok the entrepreneur elected chairman, Auw Bok Seng of Perlis City as manager, and Tan Sri Lee Loy Seng, a noted industrialist, and Chan Hua Ying elected as members.

Those who stepped down included Datuk Lee San Choon, Datuk Oon Seng Lee, Datuk Chu Cheng Hua, Datuk Lo Hock Guan, Teo Boen Chiang, and Chu Kee Liang.

MCA officials present at the press conference included Deputy President Datuk Lee Kim Sai, Vice President Datuk Tan Seng Sin, Organizing Secretary Wang Choon Wing, Central Committee member Kuok Wee Chiat, and Wee Boon Liang.

It was learned that the main reason for the MPHB board reorganization is that the company wants to overcome its debt problem and also rectify its business and administrative work.

It was learned that MPHB's financial position has reached a dangerous stage and is liable to be taken over by its creditors. Unless its difficulties are overcome within a short time, this so-called big enterprise of Chinese nationals will crumble.

Sources said that Tan Sri Lee Loy Seng and Robert Kowk are eager to help overcome MPHB's debt problem and revive Chinese enterprises. The top priority now is for the company to solve its debt problem.

Asked about the question of repayment of MPHB's \$20 million loan with a Singapore-based foreign bank, MCA Deputy President Datuk Lee Kim Sai disclosed that this problem has been resolved.

9300/12232

CSO: 4205/12

DAP READY TO TALK WITH MCA, GERAKAN

Selangor SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA in Chinese 17 Feb 87 p 5

[Text] Dr Chen Man Hin, president of the Democratic Action Party [DAP], today stressed that in the common interests of ethnic Chinese citizens, his party is ever-ready to hold a dialogue with the Malaysian Chinese Association [MCA] and the Malaysian People's Movement [GERAKAN].

Dr Chen was commenting on the open suggestion made by Datuk Kee Yong Wee, leader of MCA's Youth Wing, that MCA and DAP hold a dialogue.

However, Dr Chen wanted to clarify whether Kee Yong Wee's proposal truly represents MCA's voice.

He pointed out at this time of crisis at MCA's cooperative societies, has already said that DAP is willing to cooperate with MCA to seek a reasonable solution for the unfortunate depositors.

Dr Chen stressed that in the common interests of the Chinese people, DAP is ready to talk with MCA and GERAKAN at any time. However, this readiness may be interpreted as DAP's expression of intention to join the National Front formation.

Dr Chen pointed out that if MCA and DAP succeed in holding a dialogue, the first priority to be handled should be the cooperative society crisis, to be followed by other issues.

9300/12232  
CSO: 4205/12

## RAHMAN, TAIB RIVALRY EXAMINED

Penang THE STAR in English 15 Mar 87 p 7

[Article by Shah A. Dadameah]

[Text]

THEY ARE uncle and nephew but once again differences between Tun Abdul Rahman Yakub, former Sarawak Yang di-Pertua Negri and before that Chief Minister, and Datuk Patinggi Abdul Taib Mahmud, present Chief Minister, have burst into the open with political repercussions for the largest State of the federation.

It has been made complicated by the overtones of Dayak political and social frustration in the open rebellion against Datuk Patinggi Taib of 27 of his Assemblymen.

What has become apparent is that in the run-up to the State elections, for which a date has not yet been fixed, many of the issues that would normally be pertinent to Sarawak politics will be diminished in prominence.

The recession, unemployment, the need to increase productivity and cost cutting will take a back seat. So will the controversy over whether the \$10 billion Bakun Dam project, described by environmentalists as a "monstrous white elephant" and opposed by many tribespeople.

Even roving Swiss artist Bruno Manser and other foreigners championing the cause of the nomadic Penans have been put in the shade.

The stirrings of Dayak interest in the economic and political activities of the State have coincided with Umno and PAS indications on the peninsula that they would like to extend their activities to Sarawak where they believe they can pick up enough support to make it worth their while.

Umno has already obtained the blessings of Datuk Patinggi Taib's PBB to consider a possible merger. PBB assistant secretary-general Datuk Haji Abang Ahmad Urai said it was "inevitable and only a matter of time" before a merger in the interest of the Sarawak Malays, who are a minority in the State.

If the rebels chose, they could make the entry of Umno and PAS into the State an election issue but this could dilute their drive to put across the message that Sarawak needs a Chief Minister other than Datuk Patinggi Taib.

When you come down to it, it boils down to a matter of whether Datuk Patinggi Taib should be Chief Minister or not. Given Tun Rahman's status among the rebels, the added twist, as far as Datuk Patinggi Taib's supporters are concerned, is whether Tun Rahman should be kept out of State politics.

Sources close to the re-

bel group, who have styled themselves *Bersatu*, have said the group planned the breakaway carefully, sending several delegations to meet prominent persons, among them Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Information Minister Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, the Elections Commission, Umno Youth chief Anwar Ibrahim and Sarawak's present Yang di-Pertua Negri Datuk Patinggi Haji Ahmad Zaidin Adruce Mohamed Noor.

An aide of Tun Rahman said these groups will continue to operate within Bersatu as panels to follow up on developments regarding their plan of action.

Bersatu has yet to announce its strategy for the polls and the panels are said to be considering many things, including the possibility of taking legal action over the appointment of four State Ministers and three Assistant Ministers — to fill the vacancies left by those who resigned to join the rebels — just before the dissolution of the State Assembly was announced.

The campaign is expected to be bitter and, if the Oya by-election of about eight months ago is any yardstick, expensive as well. Campaigners had to use jeeps and boats to

reach their electorate who largely live away from built-up areas.

Lined up against each other were two cousins of Datuk Patinggi Taib — Wan Madzihi Wan Mahdzar, who had been picked by Datuk Patinggi Taib to stand, and Datuk Salleh Jafaruddin, who had vacated the seat and quit the PBB after falling out with Datuk Patinggi Taib. Datuk Salleh was backed by Tun Rahman.

Wan Madzihi, as Barisan Nasional candidate, won but as fate would have it he himself has now joined the Bersatu group of rebels.

The core of the Bersatu group campaign will, it would appear, centre on criticism of Datuk Patinggi Taib's administrative and personal styles. With Tun Rahman as a de facto head they will hope that this will strike a note of sympathy with the electorate.

They also count on voters recognising their service and see Tun Rahman's presence among themselves as a persuasive factor.

For his part, Datuk Patinggi Taib has already ap-

peared at huge rallies to hold up his record as Chief Minister for scrutiny and by calling an election has demonstrated that he is asking voters to have the final say by choosing who they want.

He has the advantage, of course, of the Barisan Nasional machinery, the media and his position as Chief Minister to traverse the huge State to the most remote village and most inaccessible town.

Bersatu spokesman Dr James Masing acknowledges they have nothing like that behind them — they had, he added, only the spirit to fight and the support of those who felt like they did about Datuk Patinggi Taib.

Worse, except for the PBDS, the rebels from the PBB, SNAP and SUPP will also not enjoy the support of their respective parties.

Events in neighbouring Sabah in recent years had encouraged the Dayaks of Sarawak to take stock of their position in the State, where they make up the largest ethnic group, and to try to make inroads

into the intriguing world of politics.

The PBDS, which is spearheading the new Dayak awareness, has all eight of their Assemblymen in the Bersatu group and its deputy president, Datuk Daniel Tajem, said: "We are about the only party that's 100 per cent committed to oust Datuk Patinggi Taib."

Tun Rahman, who initially said that he was merely a "concerned party" in the whole affair later stated that he was available if the people wanted him and there is some talk that should the rebels triumph in the State elections he will be asked to serve once again as Chief Minister.

But if it becomes necessary to follow the tide, it is likely that the new Chief Minister will come from that community now that the group's initial preferred Chief Minister, Datuk Haji Mohamed Noor Tahir, State Environment and Tourism Minister until he resigned, has since said he will not stand.

/13104

CSO: 4200/473

## ANTI-TAIB PLOT BACKFIRE EXAMINED

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 17 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Zainon Ahmad]

[Text] KUCHING, Mon. — The attempt to force the resignation of Datuk Patinggi Abdul Taib Mahmud was to have been executed "quietly" with "someone" flying to Kuching to persuade the Chief Minister to step down, sources said.

However, the 28 Assemblymen who planned the move did not anticipate the report of the resignation of the four Ministers and three Assistant Ministers appearing on March 10.

The story caused the "someone" to shy away from flying to Kuching. It also alerted Datuk Taib and he immediately summoned all Ministers, Assistant Ministers and State Assemblymen to a meeting.

By 9am of the same day, he realised the gravity of the situation and acted swiftly. To the Chief Minister, the only option before him was a snap election.

Thus he saw the Yang di-Pertua Negeri and quickly departed for Kuala Lumpur to counter the influence of the "rebels" in the Federal capital.

The original move of the group of Assemblymen, who later called themselves Bersatu, was to have that "someone" convince Datuk Taib of the hopelessness of the situation.

Datuk Taib would be convinced as the presence of that person in Kuching alone would swing the support of other Assemblymen to Bersatu. They would be convinced that the plan was working.

But the newspaper report threw a spanner into the works.

The group, however, quickly came out with another strategy. It despatched former Environment and Tourism Minister Datuk Noor Tahir to convince the Yang di-Pertua Negeri of the need to convene a meeting of the State Assembly.

The idea was to table a vote of no confidence against Datuk Taib as Chief Minister. The group felt that others would support this move.

"The planners were mindful of what happened in Datuk Stephen Kalong Ningkan's case in 1966 and therefore did not attempt to request the Yang di-Pertua Negeri to sack the Chief Minister," Tun Abdul Rahman Yakub said at a Press conference today.

But Datuk Tahir was unable to see the Yang di-Pertua Negeri.

The group did not want to wait for a State Assembly sitting coming up in June to pass a vote of no confidence as they thought the first option "was much cleaner and smoother". They had hoped that a new Chief Minister would be at the helm of the Government by then.

## Momentum

The plan to oust Datuk Taib was hatched about a month ago, said a source.

Tun/Rahman said: "Some leaders of Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak (PBDS) and Sara-

wak National Party (SNAP) came to see me in Kuala Lumpur and asked me to help them."

Among those present at the meeting were Datuk Leo Moggie, Datuk Daniel Tajem, Datuk Edmund Langgu from PBDS and Datuk Edward Jeli of SNAP.

The others were approached and slowly the number of Assemblymen increased to about 15.

Confident that the move would gain momentum, the PBDS leaders began to move ahead. Datuk Moggie and Datuk Tajem spoke strongly against Datuk Taib's policies at the PBDS annual delegates conference in Sibu about two weeks ago.

This was the beginning and soon a few more from SNAP joined in.

Prior to that, Wan Madzih Wan Mahdzar (formerly Datuk Taib's blue eyed boy), who contested against Tun Rahman's protege Datuk Salleh Jafaruddin in the Oya by-election and won, apologised to the former Yang di-Pertua Negeri for the allegations he had made earlier.

After the apology appeared in a local newspaper, Tun Rahman asked his lawyers to withdraw the suit against Wan Madzih.

A source said that the State Assemblymen began leaving for Kuala Lumpur after the Melanau annual celebration in Mukah on Saturday (March 7). Ironically at a function there Datuk Taib made a speech criticising factional politics.

By Monday, 24 Assemblymen were in Kuala Lumpur. It was only late in the day that another four turned up. The last to join in were the PBDS Assemblymen.

"We decided on that line of action as in the past we usually ended up being the only people involved in any action taken," said a former PBDS Assemblyman.

A confidant of Datuk Taib's said: "We knew that something was afoot but could not pin it down. We knew because Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB) secretary-general Datuk Leonard Linggi was also invited.

"But Datuk Linggi said he was not going to desert his party."

The trick he said was to call someone and tell him that many had already agreed and he would be left out. Most did not know who were invited and who had agreed. So out of fear of being left out, the number increased.

"They had perfect timing. Many of Datuk Taib's advisers were either abroad or out of town or in Kuala Lumpur on some business or other," said the confidant.

He said thus when the newspaper report about the resignation appeared "we were caught with our pants down".

He believed that the freezing of the timber licences was the catalyst of a movement which began long before that.

"We knew that something was being planned when we discovered that some members of the group were pooling their financial resources," he said.

A member of Bersatu said that the group feared for a while that Datuk Taib would not call for an election after he appointed the new Ministers and Assistant Ministers.

"Datuk Taib can postpone a scheduled Assembly sitting. It meets once in every six months. During the two or three months' interval that Datuk Taib would have, he could have slowly enticed a few from among us to come back to him.

"He could have hung on and continued to head the Government for about a year or more.

"But Datuk Taib was hasty and we breathed a sigh of relief when he announced the dissolution of the State Assembly."

/13104

CSO: 4200/473

PAPER CALLS FOR NON-POLITICIZATION OF SHARI'AH LAW

Selangor SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA in Chinese 12 Feb 87 p 19

[Editorial: "Don't Regard Religious Law As a Political Issue"]

[Text] Islam is one of the most influential religions in the world. It was founded in the Arabian Peninsula in the early 7th century. Toward the end of the 13th century, it spread to Sumatra and thence to Malaysia.

Islam is a religion with great vitality which has had a deep impact on the cultural and spiritual lives of Asian and African peoples. Islam stressed tolerance, love, and peace and teaches its believers to conduct themselves in society through humanistic principles. It forbids all factors that lead to anger and enmity, and firmly believes that peace will lead to a tranquil life which in turn will lead to a good society and a progressive nation.

Islam's religious doctrine is lofty. Devout Muslims have a deep understanding of the teachings and are willing to respect wholeheartedly the religious beliefs of others.

However, judging by the Bachu affair in 1980, the bloody incident in Wareng in late 1985, as well as recent attempts at conversion to Islam by force or inducement, we are worried about the mounting unscrupulousness of fanatical elements.

Most recently, the religious court in Kuantan State convicted a youth for drinking and assignation with a woman and sentenced him not only to 7 days' imprisonment and M\$1,000 fine but also to undergo unprecedented flogging.

This harsh punishment has aroused wide interest and hot debate in Moslem society. Both Tunjku Abdul Rahman, father of our republic, and former Prime Minister Hussein Onn have expressed opinions on this case, hoping that the authorities concerned would carefully study the matter and exercise caution.

As a matter of fact, it is understandable and acceptable to chastise errant Muslims in accordance with the Koran's teachings. What is deplorable, however, is that a certain member of Parliament, Mohammad Rachmat, has turned the issue on non-Muslims and proposed that the local government consider revising the law so that non-Muslims found guilty of fornication and drinking in public places will also be subject to flogging. He proposed that this law be uniformly validated throughout the country, irrespective of race or religion, for the sake of equality.

Mohammad Rachmat's view is most destructive and at the same time anticonstitutional because it does not tally with the aspirations of other religious believers and it tramples the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of belief.

It is gratifying to learn that Deputy Minister Yusuf Nor of the Prime Minister's Department has made a clarification. He said that no matter what the circumstances, the government will not apply shariah law to non-Muslims. Our constitution clearly stipulates that members of any ethnic group may choose their own religious conviction. The deputy minister hopes that non-Muslim society will not worry or fear.

Datuk Yusuf Nor also reminded politicians not to fool around by regarding religious law as a political issue or express opinions which might cause misunderstanding among the public.

These self-serving politicians, by ignoring the unity and harmony of our multi-racial, multireligious and multicultural nation, have spared no effort in sabotaging the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. They are indeed a contemptible lot!

We hope that the government will take all necessary steps to deal with those irresponsible politicians in order to safeguard ethnic harmony and national tranquillity.

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CSO: 4205/12

THOROUGH SOLUTION OF INDONESIAN IMMIGRANTS URGED

Selangor SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA in Chinese 27 Jan 87 p 21

[Editorial: "Thoroughly Solve the Problem of Indonesian Immigrants"]

[Text] In recent years, criminal offenses committed by Indonesian illegal immigrants in our country have been on the increase day by day, causing a serious threat to the lives and property of our people and disruption of public order. Our political and commercial circles as well as mass civic organizations, gravely concerned about the numerous social problems brought about by the influx of illegal immigrants from our neighboring country, have unanimously appealed to the government to take positive measures against the swarm of Indonesian illegal immigrants and their criminal activities in our country.

As a matter of fact, based on the robberies, rapes, murders, and harassment of our fishermen on the east coast and other hair-raising misconduct, these Indonesian illegals are, to a certain degree, destroying our country's international reputation and tourism development. Now that the ASEAN countries are making a concerted effort to strengthen their cooperation in the tourism industry, it is high time for our government to come up with a timely and appropriate solution to the Indonesian immigrants problem.

Although in the past 2 years the government has arrested illegal immigrants and ordered the Seventh Task Force and the marine police to intensify their patrolling on the west coast, this problem has not won a thorough solution.

Deputy Home Minister Megat Junid indicated that Malaysia may put into practice a border entry permit system for Indonesians in an effort to overcome the problem.

He disclosed that the Home Ministry is considering this problem and will bring it up for discussion with Indonesian President Suharto when he visits Malaysia next month.

In all fairness, implementing the border entry permit system may solve the problem to a certain degree, but to solve it effectively, we need to act in a comprehensive way, especially in cooperation between the two governments.

Facts in recent years have shown that those Indonesian immigrants who illegally slipped into our territory were able to obtain "red cards" easily. In the

common interest of our multiethnic citizens, we hope that the government will draw up a stricter law against any person or organization aiding the illegal entry of Indonesian immigrants.

The government should pay attention to the impact of the presence of those illegals on the livelihood of our citizens. At present, our country's unemployment rate has increased from last year's 8.7 percent to 9.5 percent. In terms of numbers, the unemployed people have gone up from last year's 529,000 to 588,300. Besides, 172,000 laborers have been laid off.

As the country is faced with a serious unemployment problem, it is incumbent upon the government to guarantee the citizens' basic rights and interests and help out the jobless rank and file. The cold fact today is that a number of alien workers, including illegal immigrants, have stolen job opportunities from our citizens, while others have even wrested some urban hawker positions which have traditionally been occupied by our own people. Some public installations acquired through payment of taxes by our citizens are being enjoyed by outsiders free of charge. This is really an ironic and deplorable thing.

We hope that our national leaders, in their talks with President Suharto of Indonesia, will bring up a plan which will solve the problem of Indonesian illegal immigrants once and for all.

9300/12232

CSO: 4205/12

PAPER STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF EQUAL TREATMENT FOR ETHNIC GROUPS

Selangor SIN CHEW JIT POH MALAYSIA in Chinese 10 Feb 87 p 10

[Editorial: "Treat All Nationalities Equally"]

[Text] The other day, Deputy Prime Minister Gafar Baba indicated that the United Malays National Organization [UMNO] will treat all ethnic groups equally to safeguard their harmonious coexistence.

He said that UMNO must govern this country justly and treat all ethnic groups equally. If this principle is strictly adhered to, everybody will be able to live peacefully; if this principle is abandoned, not only the Chinese but the Malays will also be affected.

The deputy prime minister's sincere remark may be termed a golden saying, a useful inspiration to all ethnic groups and definitely a timely exhortation to virtue and purity to all racist elements within our political parties.

Malaysia is a multiracial, multicultural, and multireligious nation. Living in such a country, we should not view the interests of all groups and problems among these groups from the viewpoint of one race only. The reason is that the organizational structure of a multiracial nation is substantively different from that of a homogenous nation, and the problems faced by it are very different.

In our country, one particular ethnic group may selfishly put forward strong demands for its rights and interests in disregard of the interests of other ethnic groups. Thus, if the government leaders neglect or fail to maintain the principle of equal treatment for all groups, the result can only destroy racial harmony and bring about misfortunes to this multiracial country.

Since our independence 29 years ago, from the Alliance era to the present National Front coalition government, the people basically have been attaching great importance to the problem of ethnic unity and to the importance of equal treatment of all groups.

However, objectively speaking, it must be pointed out that the efforts of the Alliance and the National Front on this score have been considerably offset by several fanatic racists and irresponsible elements of public opinion.

In such a situation, if the present government leaders want to govern our country fairly and justly, and hope their successors will do likewise, they should from now on begin to wipe out the ill effects of narrow racism and to defeat the sinister intrigues of religious fanatics. In handling all major problems affecting all ethnic groups, the leaders should adopt a just and firm stand in the interest of our nation and in the spirit of our constitution.

As is generally known, the National Front is made up of political workers representing various nationalities and imbued with a common political platform. It is a widely representative and powerful leadership organization. In more than 10 years past, its political practice has proved that the National Front fulfills the requirements of our multiracial society. Therefore, its member parties should often examine the interrelationship among the ethnic groups and exchange their experiences in order to guarantee the continued fair treatment of all ethnic groups and the just governing of this country.

Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir has also indicated that he firmly maintains UMNO's concept of racial cooperation and that the National Front Government will continue to establish justice and righteousness among the nationalities.

Equal treatment for all ethnic groups is an important element for national unity. We believe that as long as our national leaders put the interests of the country and the people at heart, and if they are good as their word, they will lead our nation toward unity, progress, and prosperity.

9300/12232

CSO: 4205/12

## FOREIGN RESERVES DOUBLE IN TWO YEARS

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 16 Mar 87 p 1

[Article by Ahirudin Attan]

[Text] **MALAYSIA'S** foreign reserves increased nearly two-fold during the past two years, from \$9.6 billion to some \$17 billion, giving yet another indication that the economy is indeed improving, Finance Minister Daim Zainuddin said yesterday.

He said at \$17 billion, the country can finance seven months of its import needs as against \$9.6 billion in 1984 when the country could only finance up to three months of its imports.

He said Malaysia takes pride in this achievement as "few among developing countries, or even the developed ones, can increase their savings given such a short period."

Most developing countries have only enough reserves to finance one or two months of their import requirements, he added.

Opening the Umno Telok Kemang Division's 26th delegates meeting in Port Dickson, Encik Daim challenged those in the party who have said that the economy has deteriorated as a result of wrong and unsound economic policies adopted by the Government.

He said the growth in the nation's foreign reserves is a reflection of the Government's sound and successful economic policies. And the same policies are showing signs of success elsewhere, he added.

"We used to face capital outflow problems, but now the

ringgit is strengthening and it is evident that money is flowing back into the country."

Encik Daim said that in November and December last year, inflow exceeded outflow by some \$212 million compared with some \$614 million that went out of the country during the first 10 months of the same year.

There is also increased interest shown by foreign investors lately. He said the value of shares at the stock exchange reached \$82.6 billion at the end of last month, its highest since January 1984.

Encik Daim also cited other examples: Average price for RSS One this year jumped to 226 sen a kg from 208 sen a kg last year; prices for palm oil increased to some \$750 a tonne in the last few days; and petroleum prices are now around US\$18 from US\$14.80 at the end of last year.

He said a study conducted by Bank Negara recently showed that the manufacturing sector is also picking up, particularly the textiles and the electronics industries.

"There is increased demand from overseas this year. Some textile and shoe companies say they will not be able to meet orders which have been received so far."

Encik Daim said with all the indications of an improving economy, he is flabbergasted that there are certain quarters within the party who say the economic policies adopted by the Government have resulted in the economic

downturn.

"They say the Government makes up everything to make the economy look good. But we based our assumptions on the very same data used by the World Bank and also other creditor banks."

Encik Daim said the economy is improving further because the leaders are effective and have guts to implement the policies despite the criticisms thrown at them.

He told the delegates it is important that these policies are continued with the same degree of effectiveness and guts. He said: "Members should therefore not elect leaders who are weak, who are more interested to play politicians' games and fight for their own interests."

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CSO: 4200/473

## PALM OIL EXPORTS INCREASE

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS DAY in English 19 Mar 87 p 16

[Text]

MALAYSIA'S palm oil exports rose by 32.6 per cent to 4.55 million tonnes last year from 3.43 million tonnes the previous year, the Palm Oil Registration and Licensing Authority (Porla) reported yesterday.

However, the revenue generated dropped by 25.2 per cent to \$3.09 billion from \$4.14 billion, due to a sharp 43.6 per cent erosion in the price of palm oil to only \$679 a tonne from \$1,206 a year earlier.

Palm Oil Update, Porla's monthly publication, said the attractive palm oil prices and the total nullification of export duties during the third quarter of the year led to multi-fold increases in the various palm oil products exported.

Crude palm oil made up 113,454 tonnes or 2.5 per cent of the total exports from only 13,051 tonnes or 0.4 per cent in 1985, while exports of neutralised palm oil amounted to 270,369 tonnes or 5.9 per cent from only 48,482 tonnes or 1.4 per cent.

Exports of refined, bleached and deodorised (RBD) palm oil rose by 107.7 per cent to 1.37 million tonnes or 30.1 per cent of total exports from 659,813 tonnes or 19.2 per cent previously, making this the largest tonnage increase registered by an individual product.

This elevated RBD palm oil as the second most important export product after RBD olein which rose by 6.5 per cent to 1.8

million tonnes and its relative contribution fell to only 40 per cent from 49.8 per cent the previous year.

Exports of all palm stearin products fell significantly with crude stearin down by 53.9 per cent to 20,975 tonnes, non-bleached and deodorised stearin by 85.9 per cent to 2,967 tonnes and RBD stearin by 1.9 per cent to 665,488 tonnes.

In the by-products group, exports of palm acid oil and palm fatty acid distillates rose by 76.6 per cent to 30,265 tonnes and 10.7 per cent to 223,526 tonnes respectively.

Exports to all destinations rose with India and Pakistan increasing their imports to new records, taking nearly one-third or almost 1.5 million tonnes of the total Malaysian exports last year.

India increased its imports by 29.2 per cent to 855,861 tonnes or 18.8 per cent of total exports while Pakistan increased its imports by a staggering 197.7 per cent to 641,097 tonnes or 14.1 per cent of total exports.

Singapore followed second after India, despite the decline in its offtake to account for 17.1 per cent or 777,927 tonnes.

Among the other 10 major buyers were the European Economic Community, 494,701 tonnes, the United States, 304,832 tonnes, Japan, 220,622 tonnes, USSR, 178,448 tonnes, South Korea, 166,044 tonnes, Iraq, 151,750 tonnes and Turkey, 108,686 tonnes. - Bernama ES

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CSO: 4200/473

AGGRIEVED EMPLOYEES ASSAIL U.S. FOOD CANNERY

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 20-26 Mar 87 pp 20, 21

[Article by Romi Gatuslao: "Trouble in Cannery Row"]

[Text]

**C**AGAYAN DE ORO CITY — Victor Gege spent 35 years of his life working for the Philippine Packing Corporation (PPC). When he was retrenched in 1982, he found that he was entitled to only five years worth of severance pay. He had been a casual employee for 30 years without knowing it.

For several decades now, the PPC has been growing and canning the world-famous Del Monte products, providing employment to the work-starved population of Bugo, Cagayan de Oro City. People trickle down to Bugo from as far south as Kisolon, Bukidnon and from as far east as Salay, to seek work at the (est.) 45,000 hectares PPC plantation.

But for the last three weeks, the cannery gates have been besieged by retirees and terminated workers seeking compensation for years of alleged unfair labor practices.

About 200 of the former fruit workers, ages ranging from the late 40s to the 70s bitterly air their gripes against their former employer from a banner-adorned, makeshift stage. "We have given the company the best years of our lives. We have watched it grow from a small company and it now saddens us that it has not compensated us properly for all those years," says one protester, his face weathered by years as harvester and planter.

The total of these affected persons may reach 4,000, and each day, new names are added to the list. To keep track of the records are five of their colleagues, all women, who man a table under a pitched tent, just behind the stage. More than half of the aggrieved are women, many had worked as packers and packagers before. They allege that either their separation or retirement pay was deliberately reduced, work records

(e.g. time records, years of service) manipulated or miscomputed resulting in gross underpayment. In the case of 32 retirees, they were not paid at all.

Gege, for example, joined the PPC in 1947. By 1982, at 56 (company policy has the retirable age at 55), he was retrenched. He was shocked to find that his severance pay amounted to a meager five years as regular employee. All the other years, the company said, had Gege shuttling from one inferior worker category to another. Because Gege was retrenched and not retired, he was not eligible for a monthly pension, nor is he qualified for group insurance.

Added up, this means thousands of pesos saved by the American-owned company (1985 net sales ₱1,874 billion; aggregate profit ₱269,856 million; net profit after taxes, ₱175.6 million) on just one worker deemed past his prime and therefore less productive. "While the intention of the labor code for retrenchment is legally to be suffered by the workers, the PPC goes beyond what the law allows and uses retrenchment to exploit its employees," accuses the PPC retirees and terminated workers association (PPCRTWA).

The workers were retrenched because the company claimed that it was not earning enough to maintain their positions. But the retrenched workers say they discovered that their jobs were merely taken over by a

set of younger workers. Workers who opposed the retrenchment of their colleagues later found their names on the bulletin board as part of the laid-off group.

The association of former retirees is aided by consumerist-awardee Robert James Siao, chairman of the People's Economic Council under the Department of Trade and Industry, and lawyer-couple Reynaldo and Remedios Llego. The association identifies Messrs. Marianito Sarsadias, industrial relations officer; Joshua Nabor, personnel

officer; and Isabelo Dejos, plant manager of the Bugo cannery as the triumvirate responsible for the workers' fate. Below them are what the workers have dubbed the "little gods"; an array of *capataz*, leadmen, supervisors and Filipino department heads. These are the "eyes and ears" of the triumvirate. The workers warn that one must never talk back to these people. Such presumptuous behavior bodes certain doom to any prospect of a raise or promotion. Worse, one can get fired as in the case of a stevedore who reportedly complained to a foreman about the discriminatory selection of warehouse workers.

Upon entry in the PPC, workers are classified into casual, seasonal, regular I, regular II and finally, regular. The workers call this a mockery of security of tenure, labor's basic right. Normally, workers languish on "seasonal" for the first

five years or more; for 20 years they could shuttle between regular I and regular II. It is only in the twilight of their productive years that they may expect to be deemed a regular.

The retirees and retrenched complain that their "regular" years were deliberately manipulated so that the PPC could circumvent social benefits. The present crop of workers are hired on a new system in which contracts are renewable every three months — without the usual privileges and benefits.

In stark contrast to the miseries of the once and current workers, are the amenities enjoyed by the "Filipino staff" (the triumvirate) and the "little gods". They enjoy free housing, free transportation, and preference in medical treatment at the company hospital in Camp Phillips, Bukidnon. Their salaries are secret but each reportedly receives six figures annually. Says the retirees' association: "They ingratiate themselves into the confidence of Americans with the sole purpose of enhancing their image at the expense of the rank and file . . . (they) never think of the welfare of the lowly worker."

The PPC employs 12,000 rank and file workers: 9,500 planters and 2,500 cannery workers. Actuaries say that the PPC can afford year in expenses. This is in sharp contrast to the P10 per hectare per year the company pays the govern-

ment for rental of public lands (with an additional 25 centavos per ton of harvest). Critics wonder at the government's hesitation at demanding more from the PPC considering its vast resources.

With all the noise created by the retirees and the disenfranchised workers outside the cannery's gates, they still have no leverage over the company, neither does the picket affect production. Reacting to the round of protest, the PPC said it cannot negotiate with the association because the group "is not a recognized collective bargaining agent". Workers say there is no other way because the two present labor unions at the PPC have a long history of connivance and willing collaboration with management. They claim that past labor leaders made a killing on certain retirement and separation claims which, with their influence, they helped arrange. Management is considering raising the pension, offering some amount to selected retirees and creating a task force to look into the merits of individual complaints. The association however calls these mere "palliatives" which cannot solve the problems of the aggrieved former workers.

Sources close to the PPC reveal that the company has been engaged in secret studies exploring the possibilities of expansion. For a growing company, reaping millions of pesos from the sweat of workers a year, the insignificant problems of a bunch of lowly workers must be such a pain.

AGRICULTURE SECRETARY RAPS EEC PROTECTIONIST POLICIES

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 87 p 19

[Text]

Agriculture Department Secretary Carlos Dominguez lambasted yesterday the European Economic Community (EEC) for a host of protectionist measures in violation of an earlier commitment to absorb the country's exports of coco products and sweet potato.

Dominguez made his denunciation before members of the European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines (EECP) in a meeting held at the Philippine Plaza Hotel. (Related story on Page 21).

He even quoted an earlier commitment of the group's president, Arthur Gilmour, to "actively contribute to a

smooth and speedy recovery of the Philippine economy."

"What I am not happy about however is the response we now get from the EEC after all the efforts to give importance to agriculture, he said.

Dominguez noted that in the case of sweet potato, the country launched a production program in 1984 following the pledge of an "EEC open market and the substantial order from an EEC member country representative, the Dutch firm Granaria."

"A few months before harvest, however," he said, "we get the bad news that we have nowhere to go for our sweet pota-

toes."

He said: "Why, then, in the first place, did EEC have to give us such commitment if only to do a complete turnaround so soon?"

Also affected is the country's copra meal exports which will soon be restricted in the EEC market for its alleged high aflatoxin content.

"The restriction on aflatoxin levels may have valid health grounds. However, we cannot help but consider this move as another non-tariff barrier by EEC to restrict imported animal feed stuff so as to dispose of its burgeoning cereal surpluses," he said.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

TRADE SECRETARY HITS EEC COCONUT OIL TAX

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 87 p 21

[Text]

TAUPO, New Zealand, March 24 (Reuter) — Philippine Trade Secretary Jose Concepcion bitterly attacked the European Community today and demanded that developing countries be allowed to keep their share of world trade markets.

Concepcion singled out the community's decision to continue imposing levies on vegetable oils for special attack on the opening day of a General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) ministerial meeting.

He said the decision, which affected a vital Southeast Asian export community, was in direct opposition to a declaration at the last GATT summit meeting in

Uruguay that the trade of poorer nations should not be disrupted.

"I cannot help but wonder whether the agreements we produce in meetings like this are of any real value," Concepcion said.

He added that the health and growth of world trade required a halt to the trend that saw developing countries lose their share of the global market.

Ministers from 23 nations are gathered in the New Zealand resort of Taupo to discuss how to speed up trade negotiations that began at Punta del Este in Uruguay last September.

"The view of colleagues is that we would like to see

progress, but none of us are innocents or naive. It is very difficult and complicated," New Zealand overseas trade minister Mike Moore told reporters.

He said it had been agreed that non-controversial issues should be settled quickly so that there would be an "early harvest" from the Uruguay Round of negotiations.

Items that could produce early results were copyright rules to prevent counterfeiting and protection of intellectual property such as computer programs.

Moore said agriculture, a vital concern to developing countries and not covered in past GATT rounds, was discussed along with debt problems.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

JAPAN EXIM BANK OKAYS \$300 MILLION LOAN

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 26 Mar 87 p 17

[Article by Juanito C. Concepcion]

[Text] The Japanese Export-Import Bank has agreed to extend to the Philippines a \$300 million loan representing its co-financing to the \$300 million economic recovery loan that the World Bank has approved last week for extension to the country, finance department sources said yesterday.

The agreement was forged during loan negotiations conducted in Manila last week. Final approval of the loan, however, will still be made by the bank's management.

The loan, being tapped to support the national government's budget, carries an interest rate of six percent per annum and payable over 21 years, including a five-year grace period.

Disbursements will be made annually to the Philippine government. The amount of disbursements will

depend on annual estimates of capital expenditures of projects eligible for financing under the loan.

Sources said that Japanese Eximbank loan negotiators have told the government that the bank could not deviate from the project-approach lending of the bank.

But a compromise was struck by both sides when the bank agreed to deviate from its conventional practice of limiting its project financing support to the industrial sector and new industrial projects.

Under the compromise agreement, the bank has agreed to finance capital expenditures of the government other than industrial projects, a practice which would diverge sharply from the bank's conventional lending practices in Colombia and Mexico.

Budgetary expenditures that are eligible for financing

under Japan's Eximbank loan include the following: (1) peso counterpart and foreign exchange shortfalls of foreign assisted projects, (2) funding requirements of locally-funded projects, and (3) improvement works on plant facilities, just like in the case of the National Power Corporation.

Capital and infrastructure of various agencies are eligible for financing under the loan.

These agencies include the NPC, National Irrigation Authority, Depart-

ment of Transportation and Communication, Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System and Department of Public Works and Highways.

Japan's Eximbank has stipulated that there should be no double financing of projects the implementation of which is being financed from the loan's proceeds.

To prevent this possibility, a review of projects being implemented through financing of the Japanese loan will be undertaken.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

AQUINO CITES REJECTION OF FEB 86 JUNTA PLAN

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[Text] President Aquino said yesterday some leaders of the February Revolution wanted to set up a junta, but she insisted on an immediate return to full democracy.

Speaking before the University of the Philippines Law Alumni Association, President Aquino said some leaders of the revolt that toppled the 20-year Marcos regime believed it was "too soon for democracy."

"Some people said absolute power should be shared by the liberators and held until the people were ready," she said.

The President did not identify who opposed an immediate return to democracy, but there have been reports that former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile proposed the formation of a revolutionary junta to oversee the transition.

"I did not believe in it (concentration of power)," Mrs Aquino told some 500 lawyers celebrating the Law college's 65th anniversary.

"Even while I held all the powers of government in my hands, I began to parcel them out and provide for their independent exercise," she said.

The President said the results of the February plebiscite "proved me right and proved wrong all the apologists of dictatorship."

"Our people are instinctive with the love of freedom and will not have themselves governed any other way than by a de-

mocracy of laws," the President said amid applause.

In her speech, the President urged lawyers "to uphold the supremacy of the law that marks our society today.

"In the sincere and dedicated pursuit of the law, lies the answer to many of our people's demands" she said.

The President, who was honored by the UP College of Law with an honorary doctorate last year, on her ambition to be a lawyer.

**ATTRACTED TO LAW**

"I was attracted to the law for its discipline rather than as a profession. But not far into the course at Far Eastern University, I stumbled. I fell in love with another law student, a sharp one but haphazard at this studies," Mrs. Aquino said, referring to her slain husband Benigno Aquino Jr.

"I cannot claim to be steeped in the discipline of law which has taken you years to master. But I think our recent experience has taught us that mastery of law does not necessarily result in respect for its aims of justice," the President said.

Mrs. Aquino also lambasted her deposed predecessor Ferdinand Marcos.

"The law is the first defense of our freedom and security. He made it an instrument of oppression on the one hand and of selective favor on the other, violating the spirit of equality that animates it" he said.

"We will reestablish and ratify these democratic principles — that respect for the rule of law — which the dictatorship had erased our books, but which God had kept alive in our hearts," the President said.

CABINET SECRETARY CITES AQUINO ON CHOICE IN POPULATION FUROR

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 27 Mar 87 pp 1, 18

[Text] President Aquino directed the Commission on Population (Popcom) yesterday to respect the freedom of choice of couples to determine the size of their family and give adequate and correct information on alternative methods of contraception.

Social Welfare Secretary Mita Pardo de Tavera made the statement in the face of a furor over a proposed executive order submitted by Pro-Life Philippines seeking to ban the promotion and distribution of contraceptives that allegedly induce abortion.

Speaking before the Philippine Federation for Natural Family Planning's national consultation workshop, Pardo de Tavera said population policy must be "improved" to conform to the new Constitution which recognizes the need for responsible parenthood.

While stressing that she is not issuing any policy on population, Pardo de Tavera said the country has to come up with a policy "different" from the present population control policy.

She cited the need for a population "welfare"

policy that would stress on education and other measures to uplift the quality of life.

"Population control adds fuel to class struggle," she said. She cited, for instance, that some rural folk say that population control is only for the rich. The rural poor say they need children to help in their farms or watch over younger children, she said.

"For as long as people are in difficulty, they will need children to help them out," she said.

The secretary pointed out that family size would eventually decrease as people become more educated. She said it is the middle class who have less children.

Pardo de Tavera urged non-government organizations to help formulate a national population policy that is acceptable.

Pardo de Tavera's views on population has reportedly been unpopular with some Cabinet members, particularly Health Secretary Alfredo R. A. Bengzon and Economic Planning Secretary Solita Monsod, who are both members of the Popcom board.

Meanwhile, she announced the appointment of Dr. Ester Sy-Quimsiam, former Popcom deputy executive director as executive director of Popcom.

CABINET MEMBER URGES YOUTH INVOLVEMENT IN 'SOCIAL REVOLUTION'

Davao City THE MINDANAO MIRROR--BULLETIN in English 9-15 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[Text] The political revolution at EDSA last year must be followed up by a social revolution.

This was the gist of the message of Secretary Heherson T. Alvarez of the Department of Agrarian Reform to student leaders of 12 universities, colleges and high schools in Davao City at the Venice's Hotel March 6.

Alvarez explained that the EDSA revolution is a political one which merely changed the oppressive government by toppling the Marcos dictatorship. There should be a change in society and it should be a peaceful and not a violent one in order to make the EDSA revolution meaningful to the country.

"While it is difficult to pursue social change it is not entirely impossible," he said.

He exhorted the young leaders to actively participate in changing society. One way of doing this in that they see to it that the mandate of the constitution is given substance by getting involved in the forthcoming election. However, Alvarez said, it is not enough to merely cast one's vote in an election. One should go further by writing to the elected representatives to inform them of the pulse of the people. He assured the students that officials will listen to an enlightened and educated sector of the community.

Alvarez also stressed that the basis for industrialization should be a systematic land reform program such as the one being conceived under the present administration.

"We have to industrialize," he said.

The agrarian reform secretary observed that in the previous administration, development programs were concentrated in the urban centers. The present administration, he said, is humbler because development will be in the rural areas where 70 per cent of the population reside.

It is in this area he explained where the quality of life should be changed.

The short talk of the Secretary was followed by a forum where questions on agrarian reform and education were asked.

One question was about government subsidizing the payment of lands to be distributed to farmers.

Alvarez said that while this is good, it is unfair because there are many citizens who are actually poorer than the farmers. He said that in his meetings with farmers he has noted that they are aware of their social responsibilities like paying for the land they have just acquired and making it productive.

He also cited a truism that when something is given free one would take it for granted and not work it out. He said that something we acquire thru sweat we will value.

Answering to a question about the proposed 15 percent across the board tuition fee increase, Alvarez commented that this is only reasonable when the productive capability of the people shall have increased. If the productive capability remains as it is, it is unwise to have increase in tuition fee.

The schools that sent faculty and student representatives to the dialogue with the Agrarian Reform Secretary are: Ateneo de Davao University, Holy Cross College of Davao, Immaculate Conception College, International Harvardian University, Rizal Memorial Colleges, Mindanao Aeronautic and Technical School, St. Peters College, Philippine Women's College, University of Southeastern Philippines, University of Mindanao, and Davao City High School. (FV Sl cam)

/13104  
CSO: 4200/477

LABAN LINKS VIGILANTES TO ENRILE, URGES DISARMING

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ben Evardone and Chit Estella]

[Text]

The Lakas ng Bayan ruling coalition yesterday linked opposition senatorial candidate Juan Ponce Enrile to the armed vigilante groups and called for their disarming, saying they might be used by the anti-Aquino forces in the May 11 elections.

In an interview with **Malaya** in Cebu City, administration senatorial candidate John Osmena charged that the persons leading the armed anti-communist groups, like the Alsa Masa and the Citizens Anti-Communist Alliance, are known to be loyal to Enrile.

In calling for their disarming, Osmena expressed fear that the opposition might use these armed vigilante groups which are mostly in Davao and Cebu to terrorize voters in the coming elections.

Saying that the armed solution to the insurgency problem should be left to the military, he said, "for us to recruit untrained civilians and arm them in a country that has just gone through an episode of fascism, in a country where you have a history of warlordism and in a country where you have a record of abuses by undisciplined personnel, this would be dangerous."

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

# ALLIANCE OF NEW POLITICS HITS AQUINO SLATE'S RIGHTS RECORD

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 26 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[Article by Nick Quijano]

[Text]

Non-traditional politicians running in the senatorial race under the Alliance of New Politics yesterday told the ruling coalition to stop crowing about its human rights records.

The ANP, a coalition of Partido ng Bayan, Volunteers for the Popular Democracy and Bagong Alyansang Makabayan, said the ruling coalition's "loud proclamations" on human rights were ironic as the Aquino government "defends the wholesale violation of human rights by the military in the pursuit of its 'sword of war' policy."

ANP candidate Romeo Capulong said the Aquino government has lost "its moral authority" to raise human rights issues even against the "so-called oppositionists in the Grand Alliance for Democracy and the Union for Peace and Progress."

ANP senatorial candidate Jaime Tadeo also said the government's present human rights record is already being questioned by the country's farmers.

Speaking in Tagalog, the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) chairman said the administration's repeated recalling of human rights abuses under deposed President Mar-

cos was starting to sound hollow in the face of the Mendiola and Lupao massacres as well as the support and arming of armed vigilantes like the Alsa Masa.

## OLALIA KILLING

Senatorial candidate Crispin Beltran also said the unresolved killing of Kilusang Mayo Uno chairman Rolando Olalia continues to put into question the democratic label of the government.

"Our memory is not too short to forget the assassination of Olalia under this government that purports to be democratic and held under control by civilian authority," Beltran said.

Beltran also said the workers have unmasked the government's "empty posturings and promises," adding "hindi na makokontento ang mga tao sa mga komisyong wala namang nararating o sa pagbibigay ng mga manyika sa mga biktima ng masaker."

## ABUSES

ANP senatorial candidate Nelia Sancho, meanwhile, expressed concern over increasing reports of abuses by US servicemen against Filipinos working in and around the US bases, citing the latest reported molestation of a Filipino by two US servicemen in Clark Air Base.

Sancho said the reported case of Lourdes Nokum Reyes should prod the Aquino government to swift action now, instead of it waiting "until graver evils from the US bases fall on Filipinos."

Another non-traditional politician Maita Gomez, will be proclaimed Congressional candidate for Manila's fifth district tomorrow in Paco. Gomez is a common candidate of the Liberal Party and the Kababaihan Para sa Inang Bayan (KAIBA).

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

## 'SUPPOSEDLY RED' CANDIDATES LAUNCH ALLIANCE OF NEW POLITICS

Manila MR. &amp; MS. (Special Edition) in English 20-26 Mar 87 pp 23, 24

[Article by Dante V. Javier: "New Politics Proclaimed"]

[Text]

**L**AUNCHING the New Politics in Plaza Sta.

Cruz seemed ahistorical when compared to the sites that were symbolic birth-places of the parliament of the streets, Mendiola, Liwasang Bonifacio, Plaza Miranda. The proclamation of the Partido ng Bayan (PnB)-Bagong Alyansang Makabayan-(BAYAN)-Volunteers for Popular Democracy (VPD) slate of seven could not be less symbolic when it comes to the propulsion of street parliamentarians to the constitutional parliament. For a supposedly red assemblage, the color red was significantly muted.

To be sure, the banner proclaiming the "*Kandidato ng Tao*" (People's Candidate) was red with yellow print. But the candidates' banners themselves had all the colors of the spectrum except indigo. Green and Yellow: Jaime Tadeo, *Tinig ng Magbubukid* (Farmer's Voice). Red on Yellow: Bernabe "Dante" Buscayno, *Tinig ng Pagbaba-*

*go* (Voice of Change). Yellow on Blue: Romy Capulong, *Tinig ng Makataong Karapatan* (Voice of Human Rights). Yellow and White on Green: Horacio "Boy" Morales, *Tinig ng Kaunlaran* (Voice of Progress). White on Orange: Crispin Beltran, *Tinig ng Manggagawa* (Voice of Labor). Orange on Yellow: Joe Burgos, Jr., *Tinig ng Malayang Pamamahayag* (Voice of Free Press). Yellow on Violet: Nelia Sancho, *Tinig ng Kababaihan* (Voice of Women).

Firebrand Leandro Alejandro, introduced as PnB-BAYAN candidate for Congress for Navotas, was tepid, seemingly disoriented in a form of struggle alien to him. "*Ganito pala ang pagpaparticipate sa eleksiyon at sanay tayo sa boykot.*" (So this is the way it is when one participates in elections. We're experienced in boycott).

But otherwise, the temper was combative, no excuses, no hesitation. The New Politics, principled and idealistic, was proclaimed,

boldly challenging the old politics of the elite democrats. *"Itagumpay ang bagong pulitika upang maalisan natin ang mga lumang pulitiko at lumang pulitika!"* (The New Politics must succeed the Old.)

Contemptuously, the cause-oriented politicians coined a new term consistent with their opinion and intentions for traditional politics and politicians — *trapo* — with all its connotations and images — a dirty and discarded washcloth fit to be thrown and consigned to the dustbin of history by a resurgent (and insurgent?) people.

Seven thousand people came to proclaim seven candidates for the Senate and to endorse an eighth — Bobby Tanada of the Administration slate. As if to emphasize the emergence of new stars in the political horizon, a rocket flew each time that a candidate was introduced, punctuating the still night with the explosion of new politics.

For those who were looking for the usual trappings of the political rally circus, they were not disappointed. The bombast, the wit, the entertainers, the hype were present. Absent however, were the T-shirts, the goodies, the standard tirades on graft and corruption in the government, the movie stars. While peasant leader Jaime Tadeo would quote passages from the Bible, he would lay down a program for land reform.

While Romy Capulong, 1971 Constitutional Convention delegate, 1978 Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN) deputy-secretary general, and lawyer for the NDF in the peace talks, enumerated the fine points of listing down 24 senators in the ballot, he would also explain the whys and wherefores of choosing candidates. While there were entertainers who sang songs, they were songs of meaning (more direct and truer to local experience than "True Colors" and "The Greatest Love of All"). Pol Galang and the Working Class Band paid tribute to the martyrs, while Sinaglahi asked: *Bakit kaya naghihirap, / tayong lumilikha ng yaman ng bansa / tayong mga manggagawa. / Tanong ko ay pakinggan niyo / Saan tayo patutungo / Saan tayo mula rito / Lakbayin natin kahit may kalayaan.* (Why do we suffer, why are we poor, we who create our nation's wealth? Listen to my question: Where are we headed from here? Let's journey on, though it may be far.)

Poor and without multi-millionaires or agents of a foreign power the new politics may be, what they don't have in material wealth, they more than make up for with spiritual and idealistic conviction, that the new politics must emerge, responsive and born of the cry of the oppressed and the down-trodden, whose machineries are not oiled with grease money nor fueled by the imperative to

maintain the interest of  
foreigners and the local elite,  
dedicated to making  
meaningful the word  
Democracy for the majority  
of the people.

In Plaza Miranda, a few  
blocks away, the *trapos* of  
the Grand Alliance for  
Democracy (GAD) held their  
own rally. **MM**

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FORMER OFFICIAL PREDICTS BLOODY ILOCOS ELECTIONS

Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 26 Mar 87 pp 1, 10

[Article by Louie Logarta]

[Text]

**CONGRESSIONAL** elections in the Ilocos, particularly Ilocos Sur, have always been bloody and the coming polls will not be an exception, according to former Ilocos Norte Vice Gov. Roque Ablan Jr.

Ablan, who is himself running for congressman in Ilocos Norte's first district under the banner of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan-Union for Peace and Progress, singled out the bailiwick of the Crisologo and Singson clans- first district of Ilocos Sur- as the most "potentially troublesome" because it has always been traditionally "violence-prone."

The district which includes the capital town of Vigan and which was lorded over in pre-martial law days by former Rep. Floro Crisologo, was the site of several politically motivated killings, Ablan said. Crisologo was himself shot dead inside the Vigan Cathedral in 1971.

He said that the killings increased in number and frequency whenever election time came around. The vic-

tims, he said, were most often the followers of the different political factions seeking supremacy in the district.

"The three-cornered fight for the first district's congressional seat has created a tense political atmosphere as the candidates and their followers gird for battle and begin deploying their forces in the district's various municipalities and barangays," Ablan said.

The congressional seat is being contested by two former governors of Ilocos Sur--Carmeling Crisologo and her nephew Luis "Chavit" Singson-and former assemblyman Salacnib Bateria.

In his home province, however, Ablan declined to predict the outcome of the political battle.

His bid is being challenged by former Minister Rolando de la Cuesta, deposed President Marcos' coconut czar, who is under the Nacionalista Party, and former Laoag City OIC Vice Mayor Renato Peralta, a brother-in-law of former Laoag City Mayor Rodolfo Farinas.

NEW ALLIANCE CHALLENGES PARTIES TO DEBATE ISSUES

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[Article by Nick Quijano]

[Text] The Alliance of New Politics yesterday challenged the pro-administration Lakas ng Bayan and the opposition Grand Alliance for Democracy to a three-cornered debate on the issues in the May 11 elections.

At the same time, the ANP charged the military with interfering in the campaign, citing a case in Iloilo province where a large number of ANP supporters were reportedly barred from attending a rally because the military did not want the ANP to compete with a GAD rally.

"They can name the time and the place," ANP spokesman Alan Jazmines aid on the proposed debate. He added that the lack of issues from the other two groups signified the return of "decadent politics."

Jazmines said that, while the ANP has a clear platform, both the Lakas and GAD continue to squabble among themselves over what should be the agenda of the campaign.

Jazmines, also the general secretary of Partido ng Bayan, said the people will not allow them-

selves to again "lose by default" in the elections and allow politics to go back to the "decadent politics of traditional politicians."

Jazmines also said ANP, a coalition of the PNB, Bayan and the Volunteers for Popular Democracy, has forged alliances with progressive elements in pro-administration parties in the battle for the Lower House.

An ANP insider said the forging local alliances shows that the ruling coalition recognizes the political strength of the non-traditional political parties.

Jazmines said the ANP has forged alliances with the Liberal Party (Salonga wing), the PDP-Laban, independent Nacionalistas in Ilocos Sur and Bicol and lately, the "Katawhang Kusog" (People's Power) in Negros.

Quoting an initial report from an ANP chapter in Iloilo City, Jazmines said about 35,000 ANP supporters were prevented from joining a rally because the military said "the ANP and GAD cannot hold simultaneous rallies."

The ANP also denounced in a statement the defacing of the alliance's campaign materials and the raising of the "communist bogey" in the campaign.

The statement blamed unnamed political opponents for launching a well-funded smear campaign against the ANP, citing the two cases of unauthorized streamers strung up at busy intersections in Manila.

The ANP statement said the banners bore the communist hammer-and-sickle symbol and the slogan "Inahal ang Partido ng Bayan."

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

## COLUMNIST VIEWS ANTIQUE ACTIVITIES; GAD, PNB STRENGTH

Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 26 Mar 87 p 5

[Article by Belinda Olivares-Cunanan in "Political Tidbits": "Can Mass-Based Groups Deliver?"]

[Excerpt]

SOMETHING hitherto unthinkable in Antique is happening: the late hero Evelio Javier's brother Exequiel and Evelio's godsister and political teammate, Sally Zaldivar-Perez, are running against each other for the province's lone congressional seat. Common followers of both families, which had been close allies for so long, are confused and agonizing over this split and rivalry; but Sally thinks that Evelio's "naughty spirit" could be manipulating the turn of events for a higher good. How else, she says, do you explain Exequiel's sudden decision to run and even pit a candidate against Gov. Ike Zaldivar? Why did the OIC mayors suddenly ask her to run?

Mutual friends like Paul Aquino and Judy Roxas tried to bring the two rivals together to mend fences, but Exequiel backed out. Sally, after much "soul-searching," claims she has divined the message of Evelio: that she should invite Exequiel and two other opponents to practice the "new politics" as they had learned it in the leadership seminar sponsored by the Evelio Javier Foundation. Away from the bloody tradition of violence every election that the province has become notorious for. As Sally puts it, politics of issues instead of personalities, of fair play instead of guns, goons and gold.

Accordingly she plans to invite the concerned parties to share the same platform and discuss before the Antique electorate their programs for the province, even as they promise to wage a decent and intelligent campaign.

Says Sally: "The moment this succeeds in Antique, we all become winners, including the people. The seat in Congress becomes just a bonus, and one of Evelio's dreams will come true."

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Senatorial bet Ernie Maceda doubts whether the opposition slate's plan to merely rely on TV and radio instead of barnstorming, will be effective. The veteran politico says there is no substitute for the electorate seeing you in the flesh but he doubts whether the opposition can barnstorm like the administration bets. With all the OICs helping Cory's candidates, it took campaign manager Paul Aquino and his people still 10 whole days before they could finalize the schedule for the four teams, Maceda points out. The opposition wouldn't have this kind of a machinery.

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What about the non-traditional politicians? At *Talakayan* Horacio "Boy" Morales of Partido ng Bayan (PnB) said that their mass-based umbrella organization counts with some three million members, yet he candidly admitted that the PnB organizations are more used to waging boycotts than participating the electoral process, and that probably many of the members even failed to register. The question for the cause-oriented mass-based groups is, can they substitute for the political parties? Do they have what it takes to win elections?

Morales said PnB and allies are fielding some 104 candidates all over, and hopes to garner at least 20 percent of the seats. He says it's an uphill climb this first time, "but if we can get at least 12 percent of the total votes cast," this is a good enough start.

Ernie Maceda consoled Morales by saying that "perhaps in 1998 you may already win." Boy smiled.

WEEKLY DEFINES AQUINO'S 'COUNCIL OF TRENT'

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 20-26 Mar 87

[Article: "The Council of Trent . . . According to Bernas"]

[Text]

The "Council of Trent" was coined by Fr. Joaquin Bernas to describe the people who formulated Aquino's strategy during the tenuous days of the snap presidential campaign. Accounts differ as to who were the original members. If based on the original group behind Aquino's campaign, the members would be Bernas, Jaime Ongpin, Ramon del Rosario, Tony Gonzalez, Noel Soriano, and Baby Lopa. The members in one way or another eventually became part of government. Members fell away through time and new members

"(people somehow hew closely to Ongpin's ideas) became identified with the group. It is not a club or a formal organization but a group of people who share the same beliefs. The "Council of Trent" is creature of the media, specifically columnists and who, for writing convenience and for their own amusement, labeled blocs within the government in this way. The name has stuck and, in the latest furor over the Cabinet Crisis, has somehow given the nebulous group the status of a cohesive force.

/13104  
CSO: 4200/479

# ADMINISTRATION SLATE PLATFORM, OPPOSITION LAND REFORM

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Ben Evardone and Chit Estella]

[Text]

In separate rallies in Cebu and Iloilo, meanwhile, administration senatorial candidates pledged to dismantle the stranglehold of the national government on the local government units which has instituted by the Marcos regime.

## MORRAL TEAM

The "MORRAL team" composed of Raul Manglapus, Osmena, Alberto Romulo, Santanina Rasul, Edgardo Angara and Jose Lina Jr. said that it would introduce a measure that would decentralize the powers of the national government.

In a separate rally in Cebu the "ZAPSS team" composed of Victor Ziga, Agapito "Butz" Aquino, Aquilino Q. Pimentel Jr., Vicente Paterno, Augusto Sanchez and Leticia Shahani said they would move for the implementation of a comprehensive land reform program.

Pimentel said the Aquino government's policy on land reform is not only to give lands to the landless but also to give the farmers the necessary support, such as marketing and financing aid.

## LAND REFORM

In Manila, senatorial candidates Jaime Tadeo of the Partido ng Bayan, Nilo Tayag of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan and Wenceslao Lagumbay of the Grand Alliance for Democracy

urged President Aquino to issue a decree providing for a genuine land reform program to stem the growing agrarian unrest.

The three candidates spoke at the "Kapihan sa Manila" at the Manila Hotel.

Tadeo, head of the Kilusang Magbubukid sa Pilipinas, said "If President Aquino is really sincere in solving the root causes of the problems of the basic masses, she should issue immediately a decree calling for a comprehensive land reform program with the Hacienda Luisita as the pilot project."

Tadeo said President Aquino should not wait until the convening of the Congress "because the Congress will be surely dominated by landlords and representatives of big capitalists."

Under the new Constitution, the President has the power to legislate until the convening of the Congress in July.

Friends, a civic organization for a youth-oriented Senate, yesterday included Joey Lina Jr. in its magic slate to bolster the youth's voice in the legislature.

"We have adopted the former Metro Manila governor because of his talent, honesty and youthful compassion," Teddy Javier, president of Friends, said.

The unique organization is composed of business executives and former youth organizers dedicated to the aspirations of a new future for the youth.

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

## GULLAS REJECTS BID FOR CONGRESS

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 23 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Text]

Former Cebu Gov. Eduardo R. Gullas yesterday declared he is not running for Congress in the May 11 national elections despite well-meaning advice from his friends, political leaders and close associates.

In a press statement, Gullas said joining the congressional fight was 'very tempting after listening to the counsel of his supporters and leaders who believe he has a good chance of winning in the first district following a recent survey placing him on top of his probable rivals.

He decided, however, not to run after "a careful study and soul-searching," Gullas said he believes he has done his share in serving the Cebuanos and the Filipino people when he was in public office.

"It is my hope to devote myself now to education which is just another facet of public service," he added.

Gullas, served 17 years in public office as a congressman, associate commissioner of the Professional Regulations Commission (PRC) and governor. He said he has always been guided by the principle: "Cebu above all else."

On the Partido Alayon

which was newly accredited by the Comelec, Gullas said founding members who coalesced with other political groups have the Alayon's blessing. He cited the cases of former Mandaue City Mayor Demetrio Cortes and former Santander Mayor Crisologo Abines.

The Alayon sought Comelec accreditation for its members who may want to run under the banner of the party and wage an effective campaign.

Cortes is seeking the congressional seat in the sixth district under UNIDO while Abines is running in the fifth district as official candidate of the administration Lakas ng Bansa.

In his statement, Gullas stressed that Partido Alayon was organized "not to promote the ambition of any single individual but to serve the best interests of the Cebuanos."

He also thanked the people who supported and stood by him in moments of crises and encouraged him in his years as a public servant.

"I hope I can repay my debt of gratitude to you in the future," he said.

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/13104

CSO: 4200/477

BIGORNIA LAUDS AQUINO WAR POLICY, ENRILE CANDIDACY

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 87 pp 6, 11

[Article by Jesus Bigornia: "Hopes Revive Over Aquino's 'War' Policy"]

[Text] **"HELL** hath  
like that of a  
woman scorned."  
Her hand offered in  
friendship scorned,  
President Aquino  
has at last declared  
war on the radicals  
of the "left" and of  
the "right." No more appropriate  
setting could have been picked for  
the declaration of hostilities. It  
was at the Philippine Military  
Academy (PMA) in Baguio City  
where still-to-be-identified ene-  
mies of the President and of the  
State had laid out a death trap for  
her which providentially exploded  
ahead of time. To the graduating  
cadets who now belong to the  
officers corps of the Armed Forces  
of the Philippines, the President  
demanded victories.

Filipinos, who viewed with  
alarm the administration's tem-  
porizing with communist rebels  
and the rapid growth of the com-  
munist New People's Army  
(NPA), have their own private  
reservations. They ask if the  
President's declaration of war  
means that the military will now  
take the initiative in the anti-  
rebel campaign, that the full  
might of the Armed Forces will be  
unleashed to quell the rebellion.  
If so, Malacañang can well expect

the nation's approval and sup-  
port.

\* \* \*

For too long the military has  
suffered mounting casualties.  
Busybodies, waving the flags of  
human rights, have consistently  
denigrated the men in uniform,  
the soldiers and the policemen to  
the point that many of them are  
losing morale completely and  
with it the will to fight. But now,  
with the President's "fighting  
speech" for support, the law enfor-  
cers may now be expected to bring  
the battle to the enemy's lairs  
whether in the jungles or on city  
streets.

\* \* \*

Of the more than 40 opposition  
candidates for the revived Senate,  
former defense minister Juan  
Ponce Enrile appears to have  
drawn the concentrated fire of  
the administration. At a break-  
fast at Club Filipino for senator-  
ial candidates "Bobby" Tañada,  
"Butz" Aquino and "Tito" Guing-  
ona, the erstwhile Cabinet mem-  
ber was roundly attacked. While  
"Butz" spoke of national recon-  
ciliation as a requisite for econo-  
mic advancement and "Bobby"  
discoursed on government re-  
forms, "Tito" indicted and ex-  
coriated those who served in the  
despised Marcos government,  
particularly those who were ac-  
tive in supporting the martial-law

regime. Enrile was the chief implementor of martial law.

\* \* \*

Not to be outdone, the President's daughter Kris by repeated reference to recent coups d'etat virtually indicted Enrile as among her "mommy's enemies." Young Kris loosed her political barbs at Enrile during a rally at the Liwasang Bonifacio that featured the proclamation of the candidates of the "Lakas ng Bansa." At the Club Filipino as at Liwasang Bonifacio, listeners perceived the attacks of Guingona and Kris as attempts to "bait" Enrile to react with violent words.

\* \* \*

So far, "feedback" from the Visayas and Mindanao where Enrile's team of candidates was stumping indicated that he was among the frontrunners in the senatorial race. And that he has merely smiled in brushing attempts to goad him into making brash statements. It would seem that, like a bigtime labor leader here, the people in the boondocks have forgiven the ex-defense minister's association with deposed President Marcos because of his role in triggering the February Revolution.

\* \* \*

Speaking on Enrile's chances of making the magic circle of winners, a perceptive Mindanao newspaperman claims the masses "see in Enrile, rightly or wrongly, the country's savior from a threatened communist takeover." As the campaign progresses, the polarization toward Enrile of the

people afraid of a communist coming to power will increase proportionately, this source predicted. He adds that communism as an issue in the current political campaign has caught on and favors the opposition camp.

\* \* \*

Political observers predict the conversion of the revived Congress of the Philippines as one "tayo-tayo" club, led by persons with close blood and other ties to the present Malacañang incumbent. They point to Rizal as exhibit. There it is pointed out that former congressman Francisco Sumulong and nephew "Dong" Tanjuatco are running for the two congressional seats for the province, with Victor Sumulong "on deck" ready to contest the race for governor of Rizal in August.

\* \* \*

More interesting is the wholesale entry of members of the extended Tañada family on the political scene. With former customs commissioner Wigberto Tañada already on the campaign trail for a Senate seat, brother-in-law Adrian Ocampo (married to a daughter of former senator Lorenzo Tañada) is running for Makati's congressional slot. Adrian's older brother, former congressman Pablo Ocampo, is staging a comeback in Manila. Meantime, the ex-senator's granddaughter, Karen, is angling for the congressional post reserved for the Mandaluyong-San Juan district. She will have to contend with "Vicky" Garchitorena, reportedly the President's personal choice.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

ENRILE FAVORS ARMING CIVILIANS AGAINST NPA

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY INQUIRER in English 27 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by Ed Perpena]

[Text]

DAVAO CITY --  
Former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile said Wednesday night he favors the arming of civilians to protect their families from attacks by communist guerillas.

"If the government cannot protect its constituents, there is no reason why the people cannot arm themselves, as a means for their protection," Enrile told reporters during his oppositionist party's campaign sortie here.

Enrile, now running for senator under the Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD),

interpreted the vigilante Alsa Masa "phenomenon" as an expression of the civilians' frustration over the government's inadequate protection for its constituents.

He said that because of this lack of protection, the people should be allowed to take the initiative of defending themselves. "This is a matter of self-preservation, and the people must find ways and means to protect themselves."

Five GAD senatorial candidates ended here their four-day quest for votes in Mindanao with a *mit-*

*ing de avance* attended by a crowd of some 7,000.

Aside from Enrile, the GAD candidates were Blas Ople, Rafael Palmares, Abulkhayr Alonto and Homobono Adaza.

Isidro Rodriguez, also a member of the former defense chief's team, was unable to address the rally as he was required to proceed to Iloilo City after a campaign sortie in Digos, Davao del Sur.

The GAD team is scheduled to proceed to Laoag City next week to start their barnstorming through northern Luzon.

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

ARMED FORCES REVAMP TARGETS RUC STRUCTURE

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY INQUIRER in English 27 Mar 87 pp 1, 10

[Article by Daniel Florida, Jr.]

[Text] ARMED Forces authorities have started establishing "area commands" throughout the country preparatory to the phaseout out of the so-called Regional Unified Commands (RUCs) which Ferdinand Marcos used to keep his stranglehold on the military, sources said yesterday.

The sources said studies conducted by the AFP high command showed that the RUCs have not been responsive to the operational needs of the military, especially in its counterinsurgency drive.

The organizational restructuring program--designed to improve the operational capability of military field units, particularly defense and security functions--is "virtually in response" to President Aquino's recent call for more decisive victories in the fight against the "forces of the extremes" from both the Left and the Right.

The sources said the RUCs were established by Marcos to give generals and other officers close to him and Fabian C. Ver, his AFP chief of staff, their own commands and, therefore, ensure their loyalty.

The restructuring program, the sources said, involves putting up three area commands in Luzon and at least two more each in the Visayas and Mindanao.

Its implementation started last Ja-

nuary when the Southern Luzon Command (SOLCOM) was activated to cover the jurisdiction of the Southern Tagalog and Bicol RUCs.

The SOLCOM chief is Brig. Gen. Restituto Padilla, concurrent chief of the Army's 2nd Infantry Division.

Yesterday, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel V. Ramos ordered the activation, effective April 1, of the Northern Luzon Command (NOLCOM) to cover the jurisdiction of the Ilocos and Cagayan Valley RUCs. Brig. Gen. Felix A. Brawner Jr., former RUC 2 and 5th Infantry Division chief, was named NOLCOM chief.

In support of this program, the Armed Forces recently started dispersing its ground forces' division and brigade bases all over the country, according to the AFP information office. These bases of the AFP's infantry units will be moved closer to the mountain lairs of the insurgents to enable them to engage rebel forces in open battles away from centers of population.

In another development, the defense department announced that 448 new candidates for the Philippine Military Academy's new freshmen class will have to first undergo six to eight months of "break-in" field training before entering the academy as fourth class cadets. The field training will be conducted at Camp Servillano Aquino in San Miguel, Tarlac, starting Tuesday.

DAILY OBJECTS TO PROPOSAL FOR MANILA ALSA MASA

Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 26 Mar 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Vigilantes in Manila"]

[Text]

**THE ALSA Masa** has landed in Manila. Spawned in a slum district of Davao City, this extremist response to the communist-led rebellion has spread to many parts of Mindanao with the active encouragement of certain military officers and the Department of Local Government. It has also established a beachhead of sorts in Cebu. Yesterday no less than acting Mayor Gemiliano Lopez Jr. has reportedly endorsed the formation of vigilante groups in the capital city as part of the campaign against so-called urban terrorists.

The reason that's been given for City Hall's official endorsement of vigilante groups here is the rash of killings that have recently taken their toll on the ranks of Manila's Finest. About a dozen or so policemen have been murdered by *unidentified* gunmen whose real objective, officials claim, are the lawmen's firearms. With little else but the hazy descriptions given by witnesses to go by, the authorities have come to the conclusion that the killings are part of the New People's Army's *agaw-arms* (arms-snatching) operations. This they have officially declared without any hard proof linking the communist-led guerillas to the killings, without one gunman being taken *alive*, without a single murder weapon being recovered, without all the other pieces of evidence that competent investigators usually produce in identifying suspects. Apart from the flimsiest circumstantial evidence, the authorities in fact have nothing tangible with which to convince the public of their contention that the communists are indeed responsible for the cop killings.

Nonetheless these same officials have shown no qualms about reacting to the murders in a manner fraught with danger for the people at large.

In the first place, the "volunteers" they would want to field in their counterinsurgency drive in the city are civilians who are ill-prepared to face the life-and-death situations that combatting rebels--and the hardened killers of those fallen policemen--entails. Bravado just won't be enough.

Then there is the possibility that poorly trained volunteers, equipped with the authority that should be given only to full-time professionals, would "overreact" in such situations. The massacres in Mendiola and Lupao, Nueva Ecija, demonstrate how even trained policemen and soldiers can so easily overstep their authority in a highly pressurized atmosphere. What more of civilian volunteers?

Third is the very real likelihood of abuse. It must be borne constantly in mind that these vigilantes are the creation of local executives who may be tempted to employ these groups for purposes other than fighting rebels. We need only to recall the then-opposition's experience with the barangay tanod of the Marcos regime who were turned into neighborhood "enforcers" of the dictatorship's will, which included disrupting community assemblies called by the regime's opponents and the rigging of elections. The danger that the vigilantes might be turned into an instrument for partisan politics becomes even more serious when one remembers that the local executives now in power are mere appointees and that local elections are just around the corner. What assurance does the public have that the vigilantes won't in time go the way of the barangay tanod?

Despite the objection of various quarters to the government's active sponsorship of vigilantism, certain officials have persisted in this ill-advised campaign of pitting poorly trained, badly prepared civilians against the insurgents. When the bodycount of the anti-rebel campaign starts including the names of these gung-ho volunteers (as it surely must if the officials concerned stubbornly implement this program), who will accept the final responsibility for their deaths? Who is going to answer for the abuses and human rights violations that vigilantism has been known to result in? Fighting the rebels is such a complicated affair that it should be left exclusively to professionals.

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

MANILA COLUMNIST: GIVE ALSA MASA A CHANCE

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Mar 87 pp 4, 5

[Article by Jake Macasaet: "Alsa Masa and the Rebels"]

[Text] If the meaning of Alsa Masa is "revolt of the masses," the first real Alsa Masa is the Communist Party of the Philippines and its armed group -- the New People's Army. The CPP-NPA tandem draws strength from what it perceives to be the oppressed mass of people neglected -- in fact abused -- by government, particularly its military arm. This is the justification for what now appears to be an armed struggle to gain power by having nothing less than the reins of government. In other words, the CPP-NPA (the rebels) is the Alsa Masa against duly constituted and sovereign government. The government's duty to defend and preserve itself against any armed threat -- transfers of power being allowed only through the ballot by the Constitution -- demands that the rebels should be crushed.

The President no less made this pronouncement and included those she perceives are threatening the stability of her government from the so-called extreme right groups which, sadly, appear to include recalcitrants in the military establishment.

If the citizens of a sovereign nation have a duty to defend and preserve their government against armed threat, there should be just cause for the existence of

the kind of Alsa Masa that has reportedly weakened the near stranglehold by the NPA on the entire City of Davao. The Alsa Masa in Davao is literally a revolt against those revolting against the government. Their number is increasing. Just the other day, a new Alsa Masa group composed initially of 1,000 people headed by a civic leader in the town of Kabankalan, Negros Occidental, was organized. Another will be formed in the town of Ilog, also in Negros, according to Winston Javellana, member of the Sanggunian of the town.

The Alsa Masa must be clearly distinguished from the lynch mob, although it must be admitted that having no authority from government, it can expand its objectives to the point of wanton abuse. This could be the main reason why Local Governments Secretary Jaime Ferrer objects to the arming of the Alsa Masa. But the Alsa Masa cannot be justly condemned without first examining the role it plays or will be capable of playing in the government's anti-insurgency campaign. The experience of Davao should be a good example.

It must be clearly understood that the Civilian Home Defense Forces never got the support of the people of Davao in the five

years that they were practically running the city. The CHDF was supposed to be an instrument against insurgency but it so abused its powers to a point that it only succeeded in multiplying the number of rebels in its own domain.

The Alsa Masa on the other hand, tells another story. Being led by former rebels, the Alsa Masa in Davao is said to have substantially weakened the NPA. At least, the Alsa Masa minimized the ominous presence of the rebels in Davao. If reports that the group is gaining popular support and in fact succeeds in reducing the threats from the rebels, the Alsa Masa cannot be condemned. On the contrary, the government should make sure that the Alsa Masa is further disciplined so that it could continue to enjoy the support of the larger masses of people who do not share the ideology of the rebels, but do not keep their eyes closed to military abuses either.

It is significant to note that unlike the infamous CHDF, the Alsa Masa in Davao has not been

justly accused of committing abuses against civilians it is supposed to protect. It is more significant to note that those who protest against its existence are not even from Davao and therefore are not in a position to make an objective judgment of the role or abuses that the Alsa Masa has so far played. Until the citizens or civilians themselves that the Alsa Masa is obviously committed to protect denounce its existence, there should be no harsh judgment against what so far appears to be a peace-keeping group.

The concern of the left-leaning groups about the possible abuses that the Alsa Masa is capable of committing should be interpreted in at least two ways. One way is that they are concerned over possible abuses. The other is that they are just as seriously concerned over the possible setback that the rebels can suffer from the activities of the Alsa Masa. We have all the time to find out what the Alsa Masa will really turn out to be. Let's just wait.

/13104

CSO: 4200/479\

DAVAO DEL SUR OFFICIAL SEES INSURGENCY OVER IN 4 MONTHS

Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 26 Mar 87 p 8

[Text]

ACTING Davao del Sur Governor Douglas Cagas yesterday predicted that the communist insurgency problem in his province will be over in three to four months.

Cagas reported to Local Government Secretary Jaime N. Ferrer that current NAKASAKA (Nagkahiusang Katawhan Alang sa Kalinaw or united People for Peace) operations have repulsed the inroads of communism in the province resulting, he said, "in the surrender of thousands of NPA rebels and the withdrawal of some."

"Many of them have retreated and spilled over to neighboring provinces," he said.

Cagas said South Cotabato Acting Governor Ismael D. Sueno had complained that many of

the rebels who have not surrendered in Davao del Sur are now sighted in his province.

But Cagas said Sueno will finally resolve his own problem when the NAKASAKA will also operate in his province.

South Cotabato is one of the 12 Central and Northern Mindanao provinces that will adopt the NAKASAKA system in May, the target month for the organization of this movement in these rebel-infested provinces.

A former deputy minister of local government before his appointment as Davao del Sur officer-in-charge, Cagas said everybody in his province was an NPA sympathizer before he assumed office last February. "But now the tide has turned in our favor because of NAKASAKA," he said.

He reiterated that NAKASAKA is not an armed civilian group but a defensive system composed of the political, civilian and military sectors of the citizenry.

"The military support comes only when called for," he said.

Asked if the NAKASAKA will not disintegrate by "ningas cogon" attitude of the people, Cagas said a system will not endure without an ideology.

"The NAKASAKA has an ideology. It is composed of God-fearing, peace-loving who believe that communism cannot be won by arms alone but with civilian support," he said.

He said there is no close estimate of the NAKASAKA strength, "but all the people in the province are involved in this movement," he said.

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

WEEKLY ANALYZES WEAKNESSES OF AMNESTY FOR REBELS

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 6-12 Mar 87 pp 8, 9

[Commentary by Bernardo V. Lopez: "Amnesty Won't Work"]

[Text] INSURGENCY is like a cancer. Amnesty, a cancer operation. With the excision of the malignancy, the disease often spreads. There are many lessons to be learned from the wars of the *Hukbalahap*, a guerrilla movement of the '50s. Ramon Magsaysay, reputed to be a "CIA boy", quelled the Huk movement by capturing its entire Communist politburo in one sweep. (The man who betrayed the CPP hierarchy, Tarciano Rizal, was ironically the grandson of national hero Jose Rizal and a disenchanted Huk commander. Alfredo Saulo, author of *Communism in the Philippines*, writes: "The greatest achievement of Magsaysay as an anti-Communist fighter was not planned but came by accident" — with the help of Tarciano, one of the first "*balimbings*" in history.) This was followed by a sweeping general amnesty. The Huks descended from the hills in droves and surrendered en masse.

The Huks capitulated for many reasons: the ouster of charismatic Huk leader Luis Taruc; the success of military operations against ill-armed Huk units infested with informers; and lack of mass-based support.

The Americans, who helped stave off the peasant uprising, building roads, irrigation dams, and schools as weapons of counter-insurgency, were pleased by the "success" of Magsaysay's general amnesty program. Magsaysay doled out public land in Lanao, Cotabato and Isabela (which are rebel-infested today). There was relative peace for a few years.

Then out of the rubble of the failed Communist guerrilla movement Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB) rose the CPP-NPA, more massive and far-encroaching. The Huk movement was localized in the lush central plains of Luzon, the rice bowl of the nation. Amnesty, no matter how "successful", as in the Huk experience, does not really work. It

cannot, in itself stem revolution. It simply delays it. In fact, it enhances revolution by letting it percolate quietly for a few years. Until the real causes of revolution are addressed and resolved, there will always be uprisings. The gap between the fall of the Huks (1954) and the birth of the New People's Army (1969) is short. Amnesty, by its very nature, is myopic and short-term.

Revolution defies arithmetic. A recent mass surrender of 2,000 in Leyte, if it was not fake or overrated, gladdened the hearts of many who yearned for peace. 2,000 rebels killed or 10,000 surrenderees are meaningless statistics it replaced tenfold or even a hundred-fold by another batch of guerrillas. There is no success or victory against an insurgency whose causes are shelved in favor of band-aid solutions. There is only eventual genocide. If half of the armed regulars of today's NPA lay down their arms (about 12,000, a preposterous surrenderee figure), while feudal agricultural practices are not dismantled, they will once again rise like a monster in a few years. The NPA will forever grow under certain socio-political conditions, no matter how big the massacres and surrenderee figures are.

Guingona, government truce negotiator, said that the Communist Party of the Philippines can be legalized ON ONE CONDITION that the rebels lay down their arms first. But only a few may take the bait. The CPP-NPA

of today know the big mistake of the CPP-HMB in the '50s in laying down their arms. They became helpless in the ensuing pogrom or "clean up operations". The main core of rebels today, said an NDF statement denouncing the arrival of American mercenaries finds it a duty to "stand in defense of the people".

U.S. involvement in our counterinsurgency drive is one reason the NPA will not lay down its arms. In the Huk wars, the government used many different approaches to convince the rebels to lay down their arms. Foremost were promises of land and livelihood — the same thing Aquino is doing today. But selling sequestered lands cheap or even giving them away to surrenderees is a band-aid solution. Even if the government uplifts the lives of 12,000 surrenderees, there remains the 40-million-odd agri-based Filipino peasants from whose ranks will rise a new New People's Army (NNPA?) much larger than its predecessor. Even ousted defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile echoes this, "They (the rebels) have their own vision of what society should be." In other words, the rebels are not fighting for themselves alone but the rest of "society" or the 40 million.

The proposed massive funding for the amnesty program, a staggering P3.8 billion to buy the rebels, will only make a small dent long-term.

**LAND REFORM.** Structural change, structural revolution is perhaps the proper long-term key to peace. And this lies in the area of agriculture from which peasantry, the base of the revolution and which comprises about 75% of the nation, thrives marginally. Feudalism persists within American-built democracy.

Aquino recently launched an ambitious P64 billion land reform program. Assuming half of the money reaches the peasants after administrative expenses and allowance for corruption, will land reform finally dismantle centuries-old feudalism? It must be remembered that Marcos launched the same sweeping and impressive land reform (PD 2) to dissipate mounting anger against martial law. A series of amendments starting with PD 27 rendered his land reform useless, making exception decrees (some still secret) to accommodate the landed class, elements of which were influential politicians around him. Throughout history, land reform has been either used as a political tool for image or power or amended into uselessness by the ruling class. No authentic land reform has been implemented in our entire history.

This is perhaps why the NDF rejected Aquino's initiative as a "rehash" of the Marcos land reform ploy. The NDF argues that Aquino's amortization plan will only bring peasants deeper in debt. Land

without seed money is useless. And farming for export (a government vision) rather than for subsistence, as in the Huks (the rice was exported to Manila), means revolution. We have been fooled by American economic experts into believing that we have to export food to "recover" economically. A truly healthy economy means food for the Filipino, even if we cannot export prawns and tuna. It is a socio-political regression (and eventually an economic one) to service only the needs of global economics while the Filipino grows hungry.

The peaceful process of land reform is slow and highly complex on the legal plain. It is not even known if it is attainable based on history. Will the dominant classes in agriculture rather die than capitulate in favor of the peasants? Are peasants more and more convinced that the only option is armed struggle, the classical Marxist theory, which states that the ruling elite will never concede rule to the masses which is attainable only by force? This is where the insurgency impasse lies. The more the peaceful process to dismantle medieval land tenancy drifts away, the faster the specter of war rises above our shoulders.

Aquino's land reform, if it is not broken down into uselessness by the influential landed class around her, if the complex legal

implementation spanning years is not a failure, if the next interregnum does not dissipate her program, if all the hurdles are met, will be the first in history, nullifying for the first time the deep roots of Spanish colonial feudalism. This is the true solution to insurgency, yet it is so far from our reach. The Americans make it even farther with their well-funded physical-force logic.

Enrile believes in the amnesty program but says it won't work for shallower reasons -- "bad-timing" in the light of the political situation. He says the rebels are not in a position to accept amnesty because of heightened post-ceasefire skirmishes between AFP and NPA.

Enrile also cites the failure of amnesty in Thailand and Malaysia. Enrile predicts that the amnesty of Aquino will end up an "embarrassment" to the government. This may fuel mock surrenders to save face for the government, which has happened in the past. Enrile also believes in the "left-hand-right-hand approach" of Magsaysay -- a preposterous combination of offering bread while pointing the gun at the recipient. This was branded by NDF spokesman Antonio Zumel as "the hypocrisy of a government which calls for peace while mounting an all-out offensive in three directions" (backed up by \$100 million from the U.S. government for arms procurement).

The NDF brands Aquino's amnesty as a "sheer farce of surrender". For the NDF pushes for structural changes as evident from the truce-talks agenda, a point that was never really discussed. Land reform, for which 17 died in the Mendiola Massacre, is the crux, for the NDF.

AFP Chief Gen. Fidel Ramos meanwhile raises his perennial "alarm" as he has done two to three times a year -- the Reds are coming, hundreds of sparrows in Metro Manila, etc. His latest statistics, 181 killed in 13 days (Feb. 8 to 20, right after the plebiscite) is really "normal" in the standards of the Marcos days. Conflict has not really heightened. That is an illusion brought about by the ceasefire lull. Before the snap election, ambushes and military operations were hitting the news daily. Is the Ramos alarm another justification for beefing up the military, more operations, more U.S. arms aid, more CIA clandestine aid like the Singlaub affair hints of, and more anti-Red support from the people?

In the past, rebels surrendered, went back to the hills, and resurrendered for some government benefits in a vicious cycle. Surrender is a political game that saps government funds without solving anything. The only benefit is a better government image (are the KBLs right in saying amnesty is a campaign gimmick?) and a more assured public that everything is alright when it actually is not.

WEEKLY ILLUSTRATES POLITICIZATION OF CULTURAL CENTER

Manila MR. & MS. (Special Edition) in English 6-12 Mar 87 pp 19-22

[Article by Candy Quimpo: "'The Good, the True and the Beautiful' Bow out at the CCP"]

[Text] Imelda Marcos is going to have a fit. Her beloved Cultural Center of the Philippines, haven of "the good, the true and the beautiful", has been invaded by realities of the ugliest sort. Bulwagang Gantimpala, the CCP's smallest theater has been staging Desaparecidos, a play on missing persons believed salvaged by the deposed regime. Though Imelda Marcos used to insist that there were "no political prisoners, only criminals and violators," the CPP Main Gallery has on display a haunting papier mache figures of a torture victim, created by Tence Ruis (of WHO MAGAZINE and CHRONICLE fame). The realistic, half naked figure was kept in an enclosure apart from an exhibit of social realistic paintings, shocking many a viewer who rounded the corner without being told of the enclosure's content. Protest murals and steamers festooned the CCP grounds during the month of February when CCP featured "Silayan: Sining Para sa Kalayaan" (Art for Freedom).

Not only has the content changed but the audience as well. Where once only the glamorous uppercrust trod the CCP's marble floors and carpeted stairways; where once only the tuxedos could sigh to the tragedy of Tosca; where once lace, manicures and perfumed handkerchiefs occupied its most coveted seats, now shuffle slipper-clad, boiled peanut-munching masses. Not many, mind you, but enough to merit a rethinking of policy. During the Silayan opening ceremonies, one particular group of workers invited to the show began joining in the singing of protest songs, enthusiastically clapping and stomping their feet. A worried member of the audience brought it up with CCP's new president, Ms. Ma. Teres "Bing" Escoda Roxas. Bing Roxas brushed the complaints aside: "It is something we are happy to live with. The CCP is for the people."

Indeed, the Center's new image is mainly due to the cast of characters that has filtered into the system since the fall of the Marcos regime. Roxas, who was once a mere name on an arrest order issued against women demonstrating against the former government, now occupies Imelda Marcos' opulent offices on the building's third floor. When Roxas was first appointed CCP president last year, she found that her office featured a bathroom stocked with oodles of make-up and a shocking pink couch. The make-up has been replaced with an austere array of rubbing alcohol, toothpaste and lotion. The couch remains. Roxas' first official act was to remove a brass plaque in the CCP lobby proclaiming the complex, in Imelda's words, "the sanctuary of the Filipino soul".

Says Chris Millado, author of *Desaparecidos* and artistic coordinator of the CCP's outreach training: "We wish to dispel the illusion that the Cultural Center of the Philippines is the center of culture in the Philippines." The decentralization campaign, says Millado, "recognizes the fact that culture is not the monopoly of the National Capital Region". Thus the CCP's outreach program, which existed even during Imelda days, has intensified the campaign to reach out to the provinces: providing logistics and various services to regional cultural organiza-

tions, and setting up workshops in the various arts.

Working on the theme "art is not just for artists", the outreach program experimented with a mural-painting workshop in a Pasig community where workshop participants — students and out-of-school youths with artistic inclinations — transformed a vacant wall into a mural that is supposed to capsule the Pasig experience. At the corner of Dr. Garcia and A. Luna Streets now stands a previously bare 8'x30' wall painted with a vision of the Virgin Mary (Pasig's patron saint) dressed like Mother Philippines exhorting community residents to "people power". Residents stood around watching the painting of the wall, providing suggestions and comments as it was made. Jeepney drivers stopped to watch. When participants ran out of food, they set up a collection box which residents gladly filled. Vice Mayor Benjamin Reyes provided the venue (Pasig Manpower Training Center) for the participants' initial training sessions with known artists. Says Noel Kintanar, CCP training assistant and a member of Patatag (a militant singing group known in rally circles for their inspiring nationalistic songs). "The pilot project was a good start. Perhaps more impact could be had if other communities took the initiative of raising funds for similar workshops."

The resulting murals may not please the government who bankrolls these endeavors. The next community targeted for the project is a remote barrio stronghold of the New People's Army whose mural may be a far cry from the "people power" theme of the Pasig community.

The CCP's new breed of employees are not all that comfortable with the sudden opulence of their surroundings. "Am I less of a cultural worker because I get paid?" laments Joy Barrios, artistic coordinator for documentation and research who used to shout herself hoarse leading the chanting of Mendiola rallies. Chris Millado, who used to call the CCP "the vanguard of elitist culture", admits to a bit of "culture shock" when he first joined the CCP ranks. With the new orientation of the CCP however, he says it is the same type of work as the dusty, marching days of the cultural worker: "the main difference is in that of contacts, resources and machinery".

The new pluralism of ideas at the CCP has given birth to a few incongruous situations. Some *higantes* (giant papier mache figures) entered in a CCP competition had several entries that looked suspiciously like effigies. Among the traditional themes (sarimanoks, legendary figures) were renditions of the Mendiola Massacre and whatnot. The suspicion was confirmed when gleeful

artists began shouting anti-military and anti-U.S. slogans outside the U.S. embassy which was along the route of the parade.

The Cultural Center's inauguration, three years before Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law, was attended by then California Governor Ronald Reagan and a host of placard-bearing protesters opposing Imelda's latest extravagance. Since then, under the astute direction of former CCP president Lucrecia "King" Kasilag (retained as consultant to Ms. Roxas), the CCP birthed two excellent resident companies, Ballet Philippines and the Philippine Philharmonic Orchestra, and produced other cultural endeavors which set the highest standards of artistic excellence. Still, the stigma of Imelda's sponsorship never earned for it the trust of the ordinary people. The CCP was known less for its standards than for Ms. Marcos' grand entrances in the midst of performances where a fawning audience provided her with the adulation she desired.

*Tosca* and tuxedos, the "good, the true and the beautiful", will still be seen at the Cultural Center of the Philippines. But the invasion of ordinary people, their passions, and aspirations, cannot be stopped. Imelda's dream of building a "sanctuary for the Filipino soul" may finally come true.



PASIG'S pulse: a mural expressing community thought is born at the corner of A. Luna and Dr. Garcia.

CCP FILE PHOTO



"JUSTICE under martial law" by Orlando Castillo, pastel, 1980.

/13104  
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CEBU OFFICER, PRIEST DISCUSS PARAMILITARISM, CHURCH STANCE

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 22 Mar 87 pp 4, 33

[Article by Eileen G. Manguibat of SUN STAR DAILY]

[Text] Militiamen who want to enlist in the regular armed forces may not qualify because of the military's high standards, said Capt. Inocencio Sanchez. Recom 7 spokesman last night.

This is a problem foreseen by the military as one of the effects of the disbanding of the Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) as mandated in the new Constitution, he said.

The abolition of the CHDF and vigilante groups was discussed in "On The Spot", on PTV 3 sponsored by the National Press Club-Cebu chapter.

Another guest, Fr. Galileo Jumao-as, member of the regional peace negotiating panel, said he welcomes the move which President Aquino has recently ordered for study by her secretaries.

Jumao-as said citizens have the right to defend themselves but must act within the bounds of law.

He added that the Church's official stand is to oppose any form of violence, whether it be poverty or armed conflict.

Meanwhile Sanchez said the disbanding of the CHDF will

create a "serious security problem" in remote barangays threatened by rebel infiltration but will not greatly affect the overall capability of the military.

Program co-host Sun•Star Daily columnist Godofredo Roperos asked Fr. Jumao-as why church people do not openly declare their support for anti-Communist groups which attack the CPP-NPA for its Godless ideology.

The priest said the church has to carefully examine the purposes, strategies and persons behind these anti-Red groups first.

Jumao-as added that "some bishops and priests" are in fact supporting these groups and that one bishop in Cebu, whom he did not name, has made a clear stand against Communism.

Asked why some clergymen are silent on NPA abuses, Jumao-as explained that the

priests may have different facts of the incident from the official version or are slow in gathering evidence to form a stand since clergymen are not trained for investigation.

Meanwhile, Capt. Sanchez said he favors disciplining CHDF volunteers who commit abuses but qualified that some irregularities are expected because the military is a big organization.

"In the military organization we are not composed of angels," he said.

He said to qualify as a CHDF, a volunteer must be between 17 and 60 years old and a responsible member of the community.

Priority is given to those with previous military training and the recommendation of the mayor or governor of the area. There are about 300 CHDF members in Cebu and 750 in Central Visayas. EGM

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

CEBU EDITORIAL AGREES WITH ARMITAGE CRITICISM

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 22 Mar 87 p 5

[Editorial: "The Armitage Criticism"]

[Text]

**President Aquino has expressed displeasure over the report that U.S. Defense Undersecretary Richard Armitage had criticized her government's manner of handling the insurgency problem in the country.**

**Reports from the Palace said the President "reacted sharply" to and "was obviously peeved" by the comment of Armitage that Mrs. Aquino has failed to develop a comprehensive plan to combat the thriving rebellion here.**

**It is the President's prerogative to send her own signals to the U.S. or any other foreign country on any issue affecting her government. She can publicly or privately tell any official of any foreign country what she pleases.**

**However, with respect to Armitage's statement, she could have sounded more sophisticated and familiar with the ways of world politics by answering him without the note of anger.**

**After all, Armitage made the comment while officially performing his job - making a privileged report to the U.S. House of Representatives East Asia and Pacific subcommittee. He was not granting an interview or making a club speech where he could have held his punches so as not to ruffle the President's feelings. He was appearing before a Congress subcommittee where he had to reveal candidly and honestly his perceptions, based on reports American agencies gathered here, of the situation in the country.**

Coincidentally, too, the Armitage assessment of the insurgency problem in the Philippines tallies with the evaluations of many of President Aquino's own military officers. In fact, the criticisms of the said officers had reached the President which then prompted her to talk with them in an effort to correct the flaws in her policy.

The Armitage criticism, in fact, had long been aired here, but they were sounded out by Filipinos, not by the U.S. official who must have been convinced that indeed the Aquino approach to the rebellion is far from desirable.

Moreover, it is a widely known fact that the U.S. has a huge stake – economically and militarily – here which we must recognize in dealing with so-called “acts of American meddling.”

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

## CEBU ARTICLE LINKS MARXISM; MARIAN PIETY

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 22 Mar 87 pp 6, 22

[Article by Manolo O. Vano: "Mary and Marx--True Marian Piety"]

[Text] Just to associate their names together is outright abhorrent -- impious. The lady has come to symbolize peaceful piety and docility to religious authority; the man, rightly or wrongly, brings to mind conflicts and struggle. Yet, a strong bond of union overshadows their great differences, namely, their identity with the poor inherited from their Jewish prophetic ancestry.

Indeed, the best form of Marian piety is PRAYING -- not TO but -- WITH Mary. In the account of the conception of the Messiah, she praises God: "My soul magnifies the Lord, my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour. x x x. He has filled the hungry with good things, the rich He has sent them away empty" (Lk. 1, 46-55; cf. 1 Sam. 2, 1-10). Mary belonged to the lowest class of Jews called the Amawim, the poor who were awaiting God's blessings promised to Abraham's children (a Catholic feminist conjectured she was a victim of male lust -- Lk. 1, 34; Deut. 22, 26).

That Mary was identified with the poor of the land is perhaps all that we can and all we need to know about her. Inasmuch as the Apostolic tradition was concerned ONLY with events concern-

ing Jesus FROM his baptism to his ascension (Acts 1, 22; 10, 37; 13, 34; 2 Pet. 1, 16-18), all testimonies outside this tradition (such as the accounts of his birth and boyhood) are more symbolic than literal, more theological and legendary than historical. Matthew, who derived his story of Jesus' conception from Gen. 38, 24-26, never called Mary a "virgin" (this word, quoted only from Isaiah, refers fittingly to the Holy Spirit as the Gospel of Philip said); and Luke called Mary a "virgin" only BEFORE she conceived Jesus (Lk. 2, 21).

Yet, we see Mary in the mission of Jesus. After his baptism, Jesus went to the synagogue, read from Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has annointed me to preach good news to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim deliverance to the captives.." and then he expounded on the text in such a manner that "those who knew him very well" asked, "Is not this JOSEPH'S son" (Lk. 4, 18-23). Yes, except that Joseph's son had a divine mission for those with whom his mother was identified -- the poor.

Marx also identified himself with the poor. He agonized over the fact that alienation of human beings from

one another due to egotism and greed for inanimate object (private property) and domination of the propertied class over those without property through such institutions as government and law have resulted in much human sufferings. He saw hope in Hegel's dialectic — for, as lovers unite in sexual union, separate and re-unite in their offspring, so alienation and domination shall give way to a society of persons lovingly sharing the essential things in common.

But Marx was not thinking of a society characterized simply by the levelling of differences in wealth and property. Such a "vulgar communism", he wrote, succeeds only in universalizing greed and envy; rather, there must be the freeing of the person from love of property and the

return of himself as "social" being. But he ignored Hegel's insight that man's transformation cannot be effected by mere changes in relations to property.

The Rosary, if it is to be relevant today, must have its medieval content updated. Instead of parroting the words of Elizabeth (who was not Christ's follower — Mat. 7, 21), we must say with Mary: "My spirit rejoices in God my Savior. x x x . He has filled the hungry with good things." Then Christianity, in preferring the true to the legendary Mary, need no longer be allied with the wealth-seeking powerful colonialists but shall rather fulfill Christ's divine mission of bringing the Good News to the poor. "The rich He has sent them empty away."

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

CEBU BISHOP JUSTIFIES 'ARMED ANTICOMMUNIST VIGILANTES'

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 23 Mar 87 pp 4, 25

[Text] A ranking leader of the clergy in Cebu yesterday justified the existence of armed anti-communist vigilantes.

In an interview with **Sun•Star Daily**, Msgr. Manuel Salvador, Auxiliary bishop of Cebu said self-protection is a right of every citizen in this republic.

"Our constitution provides that all citizens be protected and, if they decide to gather and protect themselves, there is nothing wrong with the act," he said.

The auxiliary bishop stressed that he can also understand why civilians threatened by communists arm themselves.

"We really cannot blame these civilians who decide to arm themselves for protection since they cannot count on the soldiers or policemen to protect them 24 hours a day," Msgr. Salvador added.

He pointed out that soldiers, policemen and militiamen who are half-hearted in performing

their counterinsurgency functions need understanding.

"Communists are adept at the propaganda of deception and they can readily portray an honest to goodness performance as a human rights violation," the auxiliary bishop said.

Civilians at this point of history have already realized the dangers posed by communist insurgency, said Salvador.

Meanwhile, Msgr. Esteban Binghay, parish priest of Guadalupe described the evacuation of the residents from upper and lower Lanipao as "mass hysteria."

Binghay in a separate interview said these poor residents did not even know who they were running away from.

"They just wanted to escape from supposedly armed men whom they never saw because they were just told about it," he said.

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CSO: 4200/477

EDITORIAL URGES GOVERNMENT SEE TO CEBU REFUGEES

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 23 Mar 87 p 5

[Editorial: "The evacuees at our door"]

[Text]

Evacuation by panic-stricken residents of hinterland barangays lately has become such a frequent occurrence in Cebu that authorities of the Government, both civilian and military, should now form a task force in each locality to study and handle their problems.

The recent evacuations in Talisay, Balam-ban, and Tuburan towns in Cebu province, in Pardo and Guadalupe in Cebu city, and some barangays in Toledo and Danao cities had elicited responses from the government and civilian sectors, but these were often delayed and disorganized because there were no preparations for the crises.

Evacuations arising from the unstable peace and order situation in some areas here should now be considered a disaster for which governmental and civilian relief machinery should be prepared.

Usually, civic organizations and the clergy have borne the brunt of feeding and giving shelter to the evacuees, with the government not quite ready to assume the major burden.

The recent complaint aired by the parish priest of Guadalupe, this city regarding the "inattention" of the city government provides some dimensions to the predicament in which the clergy and civilian organizations are usually placed when these evacuations occur.

The military, too, should play a bigger role in dealing with the evacuees. Not only should they be prompt in restoring safety at the homes of

evacuees, they should secure them against criminal elements and unscrupulous merchants who prey on their helplessness.

The task force on evacuees can coordinate the allocation of aid supplies from government and civilian sources and the return of the dislocated people to their homes.

The task force can also study the causes and circumstances of the flight of evacuees and recommend to government officials measures to minimize the adverse effects of evacuation.

The evacuees are at our door and we can't just ignore them. They won't go away unless we help.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

# PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE REDUCES CITY WATER SUPPLY

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 26 Mar 87 pp 1, 6

[Article by Joel Paredes and Romy Tangbawan]

[Text] **A presidential committee yesterday put into effect two conservation measures to cushion the impact of a drought now gripping many parts of the country.**

The two measures are:

- Reduction of water distribution to Metro Manila from 2,400 million liters per day to 2,250 million liters.

- Recycling of backwash water recovered from the water filter beds.

The Cabinet committee was formed by President Aquino to meet the threat of the drought. She appointed Public Works Secretary Vicente Jayme to head the committee whose principal job is to monitor the drought, its effects on the water supply and agricultural crops and to take the necessary steps to lessen its impact.

In other developments:

- The National Food Authority dismissed fears that prices of rice and corn will shoot up in the coming months as a consequence of the prevailing drought.

- The National Power Corp. assured the public that the electric power situation in the country, particularly in Luzon, is normal notwithstanding the drought.

- Newly installed Administrator Luis Sison of the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage

System urged the public to conserve water to prevent a water shortage.

- The MWSS assured Metro Manila residents that there is enough water to last until the next rainy season.

In his initial report to the President, Jayme said his committee would try to control the water supply in Angat Dam to sustain potable water consumption in the metropolis at least until June — the start of the rainy season.

Both measures, Jayme said, would ensure enough water the next two months.

The President was assured in a closed-door Cabinet meeting that agricultural standing crops have been spared from the drought inasmuch as the first harvest would have been made by May.

Jayme, however, warned that if the drought worsens "it would mean a delay or reduction in the planting of a second crop."

Apart from the Cabinet committee, the President's crisis management committee has also formed an inter-agency body that would closely coordinate the activities of the government in "minimizing the negative consequences of a drought."

The inter-agency body will be headed by the MWSS administrators with members coming from the National Irrigation Administration, Local Water Utilities Administration, Rural Waterworks Development Corporation, National Water Resources Council, Public Works and Highways Department, National Power Corporation, National Water Resources Council, Agriculture Department and Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Sciences Administration.

In the meantime, Jayme said projected water releases by the NPC which operates the Angat Dam, the Angat reservoir elevations by the end of June would be 181,000 meters, which is still one meter above the programmed level.

of demand of 180 meters.

Angat Dam has been the main source of MWSS water supply. Jayme reported that the reservoir has been maintained at a "comfortable" level. As of March 23, the water elevation at the reservoir was 201.95 meters, or 5.03 meters above the programmed level of water demand for the reservoir.

The National Power Corporation, assured the President the power supply situation in the Luzon grid was good enough to meet the projected energy requirement for the year.

There is less reliance on the power output of the Angat hydroelectric plant starting the first week of April when scheduled power generation drops from 150 megawatts to 60 megawatts.

NFA Administrator Emil Ong allayed fears of any increase in prices in rice and corn and also refuted a predicted increase of meat prices as a result of corn shortage.

Ong said the NFA is prepared to fill in any shortage.

Agriculture Secretary Carlos Dominguez allayed fears of such shortage.

Local Governments Secretary Jaime Ferrer, who is also a member of the crisis committee, said the situation is "serious."

NPC president Conrado D. del Rosario said a contingency plan has been prepared as a precautionary measure in case of a drought more severe than that of 1983 and if unexpected technical problems arise in its oil-fired plants.

The contingency plan involves a "voluntary power curtailment" program for industries. Del Rosario, however said that the plan will only be adopted in the unlikely event of a severe power shortage.

At the same time, Del Rosario said that priority in the use of water from the Angat Dam is the water supply of Metro Manila while water coming from the Pantabangan and Magat dams is primarily intended for irrigation purposes.

Administrator Sison told a press conference that "there is more than enough water" for the eight-million residents of the metropolis and that the supply will last until the next rainy season.

He made the announcement following the warning aired by the Cabinet crisis committee formed by President Aquino that the ongoing drought may result in a water and power crisis this summer.

/13104

CSO: 4200/479

# DAVAO RECEIVES 300,000 PESOS NATIONAL AID

Davao City THE MINDANAO MIRROR-BULLETIN in English 9-15 Mar 87 p 3

[Text] DAVAO CITY — Davao City recently received additional aid from the national government with Wendel Avisado, the regional director of the Department of Local Government, Region XI, the other day turning over to Acting Mayor Zafiro L. Respicio a check for ₱300,000 as budgetary aid for essential operating expenses for CY 1986.

The money came from the DLG's National Aid to Local Government Units (NALGU) funds. The NALGU funds are intended to prop up financially strapped municipalities and cities in the pursuances of their infrastructure projects.

The DLG had previously released a total of ₱610,000 for Davao City under the NALGU for CY 1986. Of this amount ₱500,000 was allotted for the rehabilitation of the Calinan and Mintal public markets, while ₱110,000 is intended for the construction of the Mabuhay Elementary School in Paquibato District and the Bantol Elementary School in Bagulo District.

Meanwhile, Genaro Batingal, City DLG officer-in-charge, disclosed yesterday that the NALGU aid for Davao City for CY 1987 in the amount of ₱500,000 is already forthcoming.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

TOP FRUIT PRODUCTS, 1985 EXPORT FIGURES REPORTED

Davao City THE MINDANAO MIRROR-BULLETIN in English 9-15 Mar 87 p 3

[Article: "Bananas, mangoes, pineapples dominate fruit production in RP"]

[Text] Value and volume of fruit production in the Philippines are presently dominated by only three items - bananas, mangoes and pineapples.

The reason is that the three fruits are among leading agricultural export products of the Philippines.

Size of the foreign exchange being earned by the three items is indicated by the fact that several transnational corporations are involved in their cultivation, processing and marketing abroad.

Harvest of the three fruits in 1985 amounted to 3.5 million metric tons valued at P10.4 billion (production figures for 1986 not yet available), according to agriculture ministry figures.

The same statistics show that outturn in 1984 was 5.9 million tons worth P7.7 billion, showing a decrease in volume but an increase in value when compared with the 1985 figures.

For 1985, production of all fruits in the country had a volume of 5,831,035 tons or 401,108 tons less than the 1984 output of 6,232,143 tons.

However, the ministry figures shown that value of total fruit production had climbed

to P10.4 billion compared with the previous year's P8.5 billion.

Bananas are the most widely produced fruit in the nation. A total of 3,697,824 tons were harvested in 1985 with a value of P4.2 billion exceeding the P3.4 billion of 1984 which had a higher volume of 3,818,907 tons.

Pineapples rank second to bananas in production volume with 1,448,662 tons reaped in 1985 valued at P2.1 billion compared with the year-ago 1,718,866 tons worth P1.7 billion.

Second to bananas in value, mango production of 1985 fetched P3.1 billion from a volume of 383,342 tons while output in 1984 had a worth of P2.6 billion and totalled 377,056 tons, ministry statistics show.

Domestic production of mangoes is being given further emphasis by the ministry due to what it describes as the "spectacular" rise in demand for the fruit in the international market.

Philippine mangoes ("Carabao" variety) are presently being shipped to the United States, several Asian countries, the Middle East and some European nations.

Serving to underscore the

ministry emphasis for mangoes is that production value of the fruit had exceeded that of pineapples in the past five years and threaten to outstrip that of bananas.

Central Luzon is identified by the ministry as the top regional producer of mangoes. It harvested 96,777 metric tons in 1985. A close second was the Ilocos with 95,309 tons with Western Visayas at third with 66,765 tons.

Mango harvests in the other regions for the same year: Southern Tagalog, 37,597 tons; Northern Mindanao, 31,212 tons; Central Visayas, 18,493 tons; Western Mindanao, 18,477 tons; Southern Mindanao, 14,174 tons; Cagayan Valley, 2,774 tons; Central Mindanao, 2,151 tons; Eastern Visayas, 327 tons, and Bicol, 276 tons.

In the case of bananas, Southern Mindanao is way ahead of the other regions with a 1985 harvest of 1,288,952 tons. A far second is Central Mindanao with 688,659 tons and Ilocos with 688,659 tons and Northern Mindanao with 505,013 tons.

Banana harvests in the other regions: Western Visayas, 336,027 tons; Eastern Visayas, 210,486 tons; Southern Tagalog, 201,142 tons; Western Mindanao, 131,234 tons; Ilocos, 106,598 tons; Central Visayas, 68,

994 tons; Cagayan Valley, 60,348 tons; Bicol, 57,458 tons, and Central Luzon, 42,913 tons.

Ministry records show that multinational companies, based in the US and Japan, dominate the banana growing industry in Mindanao and in the export of the product.

Prominence of the transnationals in the export of Philippine grown bananas has triggered studies prompted by a question as to whether exportation of the product really benefits Filipinos or the foreign companies. The studies have left the question largely unresolved.

The same question revolves around pineapple production in the country since multinationals are also involved in their processing and export.

Northern Mindanao is the leading producer of pineapples in the nation with a 1985 output of 742,643 metric tons. At second is Southern Mindanao with 625,054 tons and Southern Tagalog a far third with 45,019 tons.

Pineapple production in the other regions is mainly for the domestic market, according to the ministry. Their 1985 harvests — Bicol, 19,491 tons; Western Visayas, 6,435; Central Visayas, 3,222; Eastern Visayas, 2,490; Cagayan Valley, 1,815; Ilocos, 1,382; Western Mindanao, 770 tons; Central Mindanao, 346 tons, and Central Luzon, 15 tons. — DEPTH news

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

BUSINESS GROUP OPTIMISTIC ON GROWTH

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 87 p 10

[Article by Deedee M. Siytangco]

[Text] Young entrepreneurs expressed optimism yesterday about the growth of the economy with the Constitution ratified and a normalized situation in the country.

Speaking during the "Bulong Pulungan" forum at the Philippine Plaza, Millie Reyes, one of the young businessmen forming the panel, said business activities have already picked up.

Reyes, immediate past president of the Hotel and Restaurant Association of the Philippines, said business would be even better if democratic processes, like elections, go smoothly.

Arsenic Laurel is engaged in food distribution and spice growing, said the country has tremendous potential in exporting spices.

Laurel, an economist, grows hot pepper, black pepper, and tumeric which, he said, have caught the attention of European buyers.

The spice industry here is still untapped,

he said. Spices, like pepper, can be harvested after four short months, Laurel explained.

"For farmers, a cash crop like pepper can be very attractive. We need all the 'ailing labuyo' and black pepper we can grow for exports," he said.

Marilen Panganiban of Baron Travel said that tourism depends very much on the image of the country abroad.

She said that foreign newsmen are mostly interested on "negative factors," like the Mendiola massacre, the Wakaoji kidnaping and the PMA bombing.

If this can be corrected, the tourism industry can still grow, she said.

Discos, ready-to-wear industry, and the cosmetics business are growing said Wopsy Zamora, disco equipment manufacturer; Ogee Salonga, disco operator; Vicky Tuason, who has RTW line, and Ricky Reyes, hairstylist.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

BODY URGES RECALL OF NEW TAX MEASURE

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 87 p 19

[Text]

The executive technical board of the inter-agency Development Budget Coordination Committee is strongly batting for the suspension of Executive Order No. 37 because its implementation could result in a P500 million reduction in national government revenues.

If the new tax measure spelled out by EO 37 is implemented, it would also conflict with the government's objective of making the tax system more equitable, Budget Undersecretary Benjamin Diokno, ETB chairman, told the DBCC.

The new tax measure would also go against the government's policy of emphasizing the collection of direct in-

stead of indirect taxes, he said.

EO 37 effectively lower the rates on taxable income from zero to 35 percent, the same level as that currently imposed on compensation income.

If EO 37 is implemented, it would have provided for a sharp tax reduction from the current tax rates of five to 55 percent levied on business income earners.

The implementation of EO 37 has been held in abeyance due to the failure of the finance department to issue a measure designed to limit the scope of claiming personal expenses as business deductions by imposing standards or "statutory" ceilings.

The government originally intended to

issue the statutory ceilings to accompany the proposed reduction in applicable tax rates on business income earners, in an apparent move to recoup lost revenues arising from reduction in tax rates by increasing revenues through a reduction in personal expenses that could be deducted from taxable business income.

Diokno said that the proposed suspension of EO 37 would mean using the old tax rates imposed on business and other income.

He said the National Tax Research Center, which estimated the potential revenue loss from the implementation of EO 37, has no objection to the proposed suspension of the tax measure.

/13104

CSO: 4200/477

BANKER: PESO DEPRECIATION RULES OUT DEVALUATION

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 27 Mar 87 p 25

[Text]

A devaluation of the peso, which is being suggested by many economists as a way of boosting the country's exports, is no longer necessary because the peso's value has already depreciated substantially, Manuel Morales, president of the Bankers Association of the Philippines, indicated before members of the Financial Executives Institute of the Philippines yesterday.

The fact that the US dollar, to which the peso is linked, has already substantially lost ground to all major currencies "substantial depreciation of the peso has also taken place," Morales told the Finex meeting.

Morales also expressed confidence that the peso-dollar exchange rate will remain stable as he pointed out that vital economic decisions in the country are made not by eco-

nomists but by politicians who prefer to see a stable rate.

"Since economic decisions are never made by economists but by politicians, who are prone to see a stable peso — no matter how it is made to look stable — as an indication of a strong economy, then more probably than not, there will be little adventurism in the exchange rate," Morales said.

In a separate speech before Finex, Economic Planning

Secretary Solita C. Monsod emphasized that a government-mandated (peso) devaluation is in apparent conflict with the government's declared policy of allowing a flexible and realistic exchange rate that accurately reflects the free interplay of market forces.

"What we would like to see is an exchange rate that will encourage ex-

ports and efficient import substitution and at the same time allow our importations to be financed without having to resort to quantitative restrictions or unsustainable borrowings," she said.

Such rate, she added, would therefore be one that accurately reflects the price of the country's export goods in the foreign market and the price of imported goods.

"Both the real interest rate and the exchange rate will have to seek their own respective levels in the market," she added.

Monsod, who is a member of the Monetary Board, also said that the Central Bank has every right to intervene in the foreign exchange market by either selling or buying dollars to remedy a temporary blip or aberration in the market.

PRIVATIZATION OFFICIAL OUTLINES IMPLEMENTATION DIFFICULTIES

Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 27 Mar 87 p 25

[Article: "Identifying real buyers difficult"; "Sycip admits no mechanisms"]

[Text]

The Aquino government still has not devised any effective means or mechanism of preventing Marcos cronies from reacquiring their assets that have been sequestered by the Presidential Commission on Good Government.

This prospects surfaced as David Sycip, chief executive trustee of the Asset Privatization Trust (APT), yesterday admitted difficulties on the part of the APT in effectively implementing instructions of the Committee on Privatization (COP) for the APT to discourage the sale of government-owned assets to their original owners, specially those linked to deposed president Marcos.

He said the APT has told the COP that the latter's instruc-

tion is not practical because there is hardly any way by which the APT will know where the winner of a bid for the sale of government-owned assets got his money and which party or interest the winning bidder really represent.

"It is not our business to check on the background of the bidders. This is more the job of the PCGG," Sycip said.

Even if the APT disqualifies a certain party or group from participating in the bidding for the sale of government-owned assets, the disqualified bidder cannot really be prevented from asking another bidder, with a promised payment of a commission, to represent the disqualified bidder in the bidding, he said.

The PCGG, he said,

is really mandated to check against the possible entry into the country of ill-gotten wealth of people closely linked with Marcos.

The commission, he added, can perhaps sequester assets of a winning bidder if the PCGG suspects that the bidder represents a Marcos crony in the purchase of government-owned assets and it would be the latter's problem and not that of the APT.

The move stems from reports that certain Marcos cronies, like Eduardo Cojuangco Jr., have been trying to regain control of their former business interests in the country by using various local and foreign companies to represent them in the investment or purchase of these business ventures.

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CSO: 4200/477

CONCEPCION DISCUSSES LUZON CEMENT SHORTAGE

Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 26 Mar 87 p 4

[Between Deadlines . . ." by the INQUIRER Reportorial Staff: "Cement Shortage"]

[Text]

THERE is now a cement shortage in Luzon. In fact, Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion revealed that the government has ordered the transfer of cement production from Mindanao to Luzon to stabilize the market.

The sudden increase in construction activities, aggravated by the fact that many of the country's less than 20 cement manufacturers are still closed after suffering massive financial losses during the 1983 crisis, was the reason for the shortage.

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Concepcion allayed fears though of cement price increase. He said that the government is threatening the local producers that it will resort to importations should they insist on jacking up prices to take advantage of the booming market.

He added that the government has already temporarily ordered a stop in cement exportations to stave off the shortage.

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CSO: 4200/479

ASSOCIATION SPOKESMAN PREDICTS BANKING SECTOR GROWTH

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Mar 87 p 9

[Article by Rosa Ocampo]

[Text] A leading banker yesterday predicted that after more than two years of stunted growth, the country's commercial banking system is headed toward an improved financial performance.

Citing the latest financial indicators, Manuel Morales, president of Equitable Bank and the Bankers Association of the Philippines, said the banking system is geared to increase its lending portfolio and in the process improve its profitability.

He also said that as the economy sustains its recovery from more than two years of negative growth. The banking system should be able to cash in on this positive trend through "innovative banking products and practices."

Morales said that the private, commercial banking system increased its loan portfolio by P3.1 billion in the fourth quarter of 1986, ending nearly two years of what he called negative trend.

He said bank liquid assets as of Dec. 31 rose to P95 billion, while investments went up by P3.17 billion, indicating that the banking system has an increased capacity to help fuel the economic recovery program.

In the same forum, Morales said that the peso has substantially depreciated in relation to the

dollar, contrary to the claims of some quarters that the peso is overvalued.

"The dollar to which the peso is linked has already substantially lost ground to major currencies," indicating that a "substantial depreciation" of the peso has already taken place, Morales said.

Economic Planning Secretary Solita Monsod earlier reported that the peso is overvalued by as much as 10 to 20 per cent because of the many subsidies given to domestic industries.

If the country gears for an export orientation, the most forthright thing to do is to allow the exchange rate to float to a more realistic or competitive level, Monsod said.

However, Morales, contended that the peso is not overvalued. "You don't see it in the exchange rate quotations, which hovers at the P20.50 to the dollar level, but in the decreasing value of imported goods."

He admitted that for an export-oriented rate is strategy to succeed, a competitive exchange rate is necessary to make Philippine exports cheaper vis-a-vis other products. He pointed out that the world export leaders like Japan, Germany, Taiwan and Korea deliberately under-value their currencies.

/13104

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BRIEFS

QUEDAN BOARD--The Quedan Guarantee Fund Board is now under the umbrella of the Department of Agriculture and Food (DAF) pursuant to Executive Order NO. 116 signed recently by President Aquino. Galo Garchitorena, executive director, said the move was in line with the department's intention of making the board a major conduit of funds under the consolidated agricultural loan fund (CALF). The P100 million pledged by the department is currently being processed for release to the board. [Text] [Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 26 Mar 87 p 17] /13104

CSO: 4200/477

## SOLOMON ISLANDS

### BRIEFS

1986 POPULATION CENSUS--The population of Solomon Islands up to November 23 and 24 last year, was 285,796. This is an increase of 88,973 persons (45 percent), according to the Census Office. The fourth national census was carried out in November last year. The Solomon Islands' population in the 1976 census was 196,823. The Census Office said that the annual rate of growth since 1976 was 3.5 percent which is very close to the annual growth rate between 1970 and 1976 (3.4 percent). The population of Solomon Islands in 1970 was 160,998 and in 1959 it was 124,076. The Census Office said that according to the survey, the female population increased slightly faster (3.6 percent) per year in the period between the last two census than the male population (3.4 percent). [Text] [Honiara SOLOMON STAR in English 13 Feb 87 p 1] /13104

DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH ITALY--Solomon Islands has established diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level with the Republic of Italy. This was confirmed by a joint communique issued simultaneously in Honiara and Rome on Sunday (March 1) announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, according to a statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Part of the communique reads. "The Government of Solomon Islands and the Republic of Italy in pursuance of and in conformity with the interests and desires expressed by the two countries have agreed to establish full diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level as from March 1, 1987. "The two Governments further agreed that in reciprocity the Republic of Italy's Ambassador to Solomon Islands will, in the first instance be accredited out of Canberra, until a resident mission is established in Honiara, while Solomon Islands nonresident Ambassador to Rome will initially be accredited out of Honiara. The move to establish diplomatic relations with Italy beings the number of countries with which Solomon Islands has full diplomatic and consular relations to 30, the statement said. [Text] [Honiara SOLOMON NIUS 6 Mar 87 pp 1, 6] /13104

CSO: 4200/475

## THAILAND

COLUMNIST: MILITARY, RICH SUBVERT DEMOCRACY; POOR SHUT OUT

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 24 Feb 87 p 7

[Article by Withayakon Chiangkun: "Soldiers and Politicians, When Will the People Be Given a Chance To Engage in Politics?"]

[Excerpts] In a speech and interview, the RTA CINC criticized politicians, calling them good merchants who are interested only in profits. That is a valid criticism. Politicians have responded by saying that soldiers, particularly the present RTA CINC, used their influence to appoint the prime minister and form the government. That is true, too.

Thus, looking at political developments, although it seems that the military scored more points this time, actually, it is the soldiers who should bear responsibility for the situation in which politics benefits only a small group of people, including soldiers. The soldiers have supported this constitution, and they supported forming a coalition government headed by Gen Prem.

Besides the politicians, those who are playing politics and who have a political role today include senior military officers, civilian government officials, police officers, landowners, financiers, and businessmen. Even if they do not engage in politics directly, they still play a greater role and have more influence than ordinary people. Thai politics today is politics of the elite, the rich, and the leading class in society. It is not politics in which the majority of people participate directly.

The ordinary people have only one political right and that is to vote for MPs whenever the government gives them a chance. After that, all they can do is watch and pay the expenses (taxes) of the politicians, soldiers, and senior government officials who are playing politics. If they see that some of these people are not playing correctly and that they are acting improperly, they can make criticisms. But there is nothing else they can do. And very often, the voices of the people are too weak to attract anyone's attention.

In principle, it seems that Thailand is a democracy just like the other developed countries. The people have equal political rights and freedoms. Anyone who has the basic qualifications can run for a seat in parliament and has the right to become prime minister or minister. But in actual practice, to be elected MP, you have to be rich and you have to have influence and many

followers. Poor people, common people, have no chance of being elected MP even if they are knowledgeable and talented people and effective local leaders.

Thus, in actuality, Thailand is not really a democratic country. Holding elections and having a parliament are elements in the development of a democracy. But by themselves, they do not constitute a democracy. Even calling this a semidemocracy is an exaggeration. It is more accurate to label this a "financiers' democracy."

The people have been fooled into thinking that we are a democracy. As a result, some people think that our style of democracy cannot help solve the problems or eliminate poverty and so they have become tired of democracy. They are not interested in elections. They don't think that it matters who is elected to parliament and so they vote for whoever distributes money or helps develop their locality. They feel that this is better than voting for someone who doesn't do anything for them.

Those who view the world with optimism hope that if we continue to have elections and the people are better educated and learn more about politics, we may eventually have MPs who are better qualified and the country may become more democratic. But pessimists have begun to feel that this system cannot survive. Even if we continue to hold elections and the military does not stage a coup, these people will just spend more money and use more political tricks for the benefit of themselves and their cronies. The poor people will have to make greater material demands from the candidates, and the struggle for power and profits among politicians will intensify.

Thus, those who see no way out are bored with politics, telling themselves that the country does not belong to them alone and that a single person or small group of people can't do anything or bring about change. Whether intentionally or not, such people promote the idea that politics is a matter for the rich and elite and that it is far removed from the ordinary people.

Some people have even placed their hopes in a strong dictatorship or what they hope will be a moral dictatorship. They may not dare speak frankly about this, but some of their ideas show that this is how they feel. For example, some say that a strong military government is better than a weak civilian government. Some talk about forming a national government and national parliament not requiring many parties or an opposition. There is also talk about "pure power," which is a contradiction in terms. Because in this world, there is no power that is "pure."

Today's type of democracy, in which the people have the right to vote for MPs once every 4 years, does not provide a way out or give much reason for hope. But we don't have to restrict ourselves to this type of democracy. We can think in terms outside this type of democracy. Those who want us to restrict ourselves to this framework are those who benefit or who expect to benefit from having such a constitution and from having elections and politics like this. These people are mainly from the upper and middle classes. They are not part of the great majority of people, who want to see changes made and who want a better life.

In a real democracy, or at least in a Western-style democracy, the people participate in politics. They have a much greater voice in administering the country, in determining how the resources, taxes, and revenues are to be used, and in formulating national development, national peacekeeping and defense, and foreign policies than do people in Thailand today.

The right to elect MPs every 4 years is a minimum right. By itself, this is insufficient to build a real democracy. There must be other rights. For example, our parliament has a Senate that is composed of people appointed by powerful people. The senators are the representatives of the upper class rather than the masses. We should demand that the Senate be abolished. Or if the Senate is maintained, the senators should be elected officials. The military leaders who claim that they support democracy can start showing their sincerity by taking action on this point.

MPs should have the right to promulgate laws and play a greater role than at present in monitoring the activities of the government. Today, the regular government officials have much broader powers than the MPs. The MPs play only a minor role in handling economic matters, setting budgets, and formulating policies and national development policies, which are all very important tasks. The regular government officials just present matters to them for approval. The right to trim the budget by a tiny amount is of very little importance when compared with the right to determine how the entire budget is to be used. And they can't touch the military's budget at all.

Something else that can be done to enable the people to participate in politics in order to develop a real democracy is encouraging the people to participate in groups such as labor unions, cooperatives, professional associations, and farmers federations. This will give the people greater political bargaining power. Today, it is difficult for people to join together, because the administrators still have a negative image of the people. They feel that if people form groups, they must be leftists. The financiers and businessmen oppose this, because they are afraid that this will reduce their profits.

Actually, the formation of groups is an important principle in the capitalist democracies. People have about the same bargaining power, or they are not at too great a disadvantage. People can negotiate with each other and solve the problems in a more efficient manner than can people in the underdeveloped countries, where people are blocked from forming groups.

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CSO: 4207/158

CARTOON: POPULACE HAS NEGATIVE VIEW OF POLITICIANS, ARMY

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 17 Feb 87 p 3

[Cartoon]



Key: 1. Politicians in the view of soldiers.  
2. Soldiers in the view of politicians.  
3. Politicians and soldiers in the view of the people.

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## THAILAND

### FARMERS' IMPOVERISHMENT, POLITICAL RESPONSE EXAMINED

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 14, 17, 18 Feb 87

[Article by Assistant Professor Niyaphan Wannasiri, Faculty of Sociology, Kasetsat University: "The Struggle of Thai Farmers, a Case Study of Farmers in Pathumthani Province and in Lat Krabang, Bangkok Metropolitan"]

[14 Feb 87 p 14]

[Excerpt] In general, the main problem of Thai farmers is poverty. This is manifested by a lack of land to work, huge debts, exploitation by financiers and merchants, and a lack of knowledge and education.

#### Thai Farmers in the Central Region

I would like to present the findings of a study done on farmers in the central region. I helped conduct the study and had a chance to make observations and gain experience personally in Lat Lum Kao District, Pathumthani Province, and Lam Pla Thiu, Lat Krabang, Bangkok Metropolitan. The purpose of the study was to gain a better understanding of Thai farmers in general, to observe their struggle for survival amidst great poverty, and to observe how they cope with great debt.

Here, I will present the findings concerning the situation and problems of Thai farmers in Lat Lum Kao District, Pathumthani Province. For the sake of clarity, I will occasionally analyze the results of the study conducted among Thai farmers in Lat Krabang, Bangkok Metropolitan. The study conducted in Lat Lum Kao District, Pathumthani Province, focused on the farmers' loss of land. The study was conducted by Chirophat Phunsuwan, who was then a student in the master's degree program in social development, Faculty of Sociology, Kasetsat University. Interviews were conducted during the period June-August 1983. I had a chance to help collect data and conduct interviews. The results of the study have already been presented in a thesis.

The data that I will present below are only some of the data that were collected. I will discuss these data from the standpoint of the struggle being made by Thai farmers. I have obtained permission from Chirophat Phunsuwan to inform the public about the real situation of Thai farmers.

The farmers in Pathumthani Province and Lat Krabang can be considered to be representative of farmers in other localities in Thailand, because in general, the situation of farmers is the same.

I studied the farmers in Lat Krabang myself. I conducted my own study during the period December 1983-February 1984.

Of the 239 farmers in Lat Lum Kaeo District sampled by Chirophat, it was found that 235, or 98.3 percent were rice farmers. The rest grew upland field crops and raised livestock. All of the respondents in the study were "peasants" in the sense of the word as defined by Wutichai and Thammanit (1982): "Peasant does not refer just to those who engage in rice farming. It refers to all those who work the land, which includes rice fields, orchards, and upland fields, and who live in a rural environment."

Most of the farmers in Pathumthani Province were very poor. This poverty stemmed from:

#### 1. Overwhelming debt:

The farmers (sampled) in Pathumthani Province were very poor. Most were in great debt. Of the 239 farmers sampled, 178, or 74 percent, were in debt. The average debt was 20-30,000 baht per person per year. The farmers had to invest approximately 30-35,000 baht per year to carry on farming activities, and the value of their yields was approximately 50-55,000 baht. Thus, the net income of the farmers averaged approximately 20,000 baht per person per year. However, their profit of 20,000 baht was barely sufficient to service the debt. And they also had to use the profit to cover their living expenses for the year. As a result, the farmers fell deeper and deeper into debt without any hope of ever getting out of debt.

The farmers were in debt because:

1.1. They didn't have any savings that they could draw on to invest in farming activities each year. A total of 24.5 percent of the respondents had this problem and so they had to borrow money to carry on farming activities.

1.2. Yields were poor, because the technology used was out of date and the farmers didn't have much money to invest (data based on systematic observations).

1.3. Rice prices were low. Farmers sold their rice for approximately 2,700-2,800 baht per kwian [1 kwian equals 2,000 liters]. To be able to survive, farmers must sell their rice for at least 3,300 baht per kwian.

1.4. A large share of the yields were used to pay the debt and land rent.

1.5. The interest rates were higher than those allowed by law. That is, rates were between 13 and 24 percent. Thus, the debt increased continually. This was the leading cause and was cited by 77.5 percent of the respondents.

The loan sources or creditors were, in order:

- 1) The Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives, 38.8 percent (of total number of respondents).
- 2) Merchants or financiers, 17.4 percent.
- 3) Agricultural cooperatives, 15.2 percent.

I have had experience concerning farmer debt from having conducted studies among farmers in Hang Chat District, Lampang Province, in 1982, in Kranuan District, Khon Kaen Province, in 1981, in Muang District, Udon Thani Province, in 1983, and in Lat Kra Bang, Bangkok Metropolitan, in 1976, 1973, 1974, 1982, and 1983. I found that in each of these periods, the farmers in all these districts had huge debts. The reasons for their indebtedness were quite similar.

## 2. Farmers did not own their own land:

Most of the farmers studied in Pathumthani Province were rather poor. In part, this was due to the fact that they lacked their own land. They had to rent farm land. Actually, if you look only at the figures on land ownership, it's hard to believe that most of the farmers are poor. This is because 56.9 percent owned their own land while 43.1 percent did not own land. However, while the percentage who owned their own land was higher than the percentage who rented, the figures were not very far apart.

The farmers who owned their own land were just as poor as those who rented. This stemmed from other other causes. For example, they lacked education and so did not know how to use effective methods, they did not have any savings for investments, they did not have any knowledge about markets and so they did not get a good price for their rice, and they could not escape the influence of the merchants, who exploited them. Not owning their own land just served to increase the poverty rate of farmers.

In the past, most farmers owned their own land. It has been only during the past 4-5 years that the rate of tenent farming has increased. The important reasons for this trend are:

- 1) Lost mortgage, 39.8 percent.
- 2) Sold to pay debts, 39.8 percent.
- 3) Seized by creditors, 11.7 percent.

Other reasons include division of estate into plots too small to farm and joint tenancy among relatives.

Most of those who lost their ownership rights to the land lost the land to loan merchants and loan financiers. That is, 39.1 percent lost their mortgages to merchants and loan financiers, 46.8 percent had to sell their land in order

to pay the money owed merchants and loan financiers, and 58.3 percent had their land seized by merchants and loan financiers. Those who gained ownership rights to the land from the farmers included financiers from the urban industrial sector, 53.4 percent, and local financiers, 46.7 percent. Of those in the first category, 25.2 percent were from Bangkok Metropolitan.

As for the complex ways in which farmers were exploited, with the result that they lost their ownership rights to the land, I cannot go into this in detail, because this was not part of the study. But the data on tenant farmers show that the majority of farmers in the central region are tenant farmers. That is, in 1968, 56 percent were tenant farmers. By 1973 this had increased to 60.8 percent. The provinces with high percentages of tenant farmers include Pathumthani, 83.92 percent, Ayuthaya, 76.49 percent, Nakhon Naiyok, 67.7 percent, and Chachoengsao, 60.66 percent.

Historically, it is the farmers who live near the capital and other developed urban centers who have tended to lose ownership rights to the land. During the period when Bangkok Metropolitan was developed, financiers from Bangkok cornered the market on land around the city for themselves (Department of Land Development, 1969). These historical data provide support concerning why the farmers in Pathumthani Province have lost their land.

One of the tricks used by (loan) financiers that has resulted in farmers losing their land is that farm land is put up as collateral to secure loans to invest in farming activities. Of the four-five types of collateral, this was the type used in 28.1 percent of the loans made. A total of 37.6 percent of the loans were taken from state organizations such as the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives and agricultural cooperatives, which do not require that land be put up as collateral. The rest of the loans were taken from other sources using other collateral or no collateral. Thus, it is clear why farmers have lost their land to financiers from the industrial sector.

### 3. Exploitation by middlemen and loan financiers:

Exploitation by financiers, who purchase yields on the spot, have taken the following forms:

A. Purchase yields at low prices: Because the state does not have a good marketing mechanism to help the farmers sell their produce, the middlemen and financiers have taken advantage of this to purchase the yields. They have put downward pressure on prices, which the result that each year, farmers have received very little from selling their produce. When asked to whom they sold their produce, 236 of the 239 respondents, or 98 percent, said that they sold their produce to middlemen who came and purchased the produce on the spot. They offered two different prices depending on the quality of the rice. They paid 2,700 baht per kwian for rice of inferior quality and 2,900 baht per kwian for good-quality rice (not including jasmine rice) (in 1983).

Because the interviews conducted in Pathumthani did not go into the details on the sale of produce, I would like to present data on marketing activities obtained from interviews and observations in Lam Pla Thiu, Lat Krabang, Bangkok Metropolitan. The farmers here can be considered to be from the

central region, too. Most of the farmers in this area sold their rice for 2,700-2,900 baht per kwian. They had sold almost all their rice by the end of February, which means that they sold their rice immediately after the harvesting in January. None of the farmers was able to store the rice and sell it later. There were several reasons for this:

- 1) They had to sell their rice in order to obtain money to pay the money owed the loan sources, particularly the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives and agricultural cooperatives, which required the farmers to repay the principal and interest before May or immediately after the harvesting was completed.

- 2) They did not have barns in which to store the rice. If they had not sold it immediately, it would have rotted. For example, the rice would have become moldy or sprouted.

Farmers in Lat Krabang said that in order to get a good price for rice and make a profit, you have to wait until around August to sell. By then, the price is approximately 3,200-3,300 baht per kwian, which is about the same as the government's guaranteed price. At this price, farmers can survive. They won't grow rich, but they can at least reduce their debt.

[17 Feb 87 p 14]

[Text] When asked why they did not sell to the Marketing Organization for Farmers (MOF) at the guaranteed price, respondents in both Pathumthani Province and Lat Krabang, Bangkok Metropolitan, said:

- 1) The MOF has not purchased rice (1983-1984 data).

- 2) In Lat Krabang, the MOF did come to purchase rice from some farmers, but this was after May. The farmers could not wait that long, because they were being pressed by their creditors. To solve this problem, the government must have the MOF purchase rice before May. But this has never been done (1983-1984 data).

Because farmers, both those who own their own land and those who rent land, have encountered problems in selling their produce and not been able to get a good price for their produce, they have had to go into debt, with the result that they have become poorer and poorer over the years. Interest rates and the cost of living index, which is determined by urban society, or industrial goods, have risen steadily. In the Pathumthani study, it was found that 53.8 percent of the (239) respondents had borrowed more and more during the previous 4-5 years. The financial position of the farmers in Lam Pla Thiu, Lat Krabang, was slightly better than that of the farmers in Lat Lum Kaeo, Pathumthani. But 65 percent of the (209) respondents in Lat Lum Kaeo were regularly in debt. They borrowed year after year to invest in farming activities. They did not borrow the money for personal use. They sold rice at the same rate as the farmers in Pathumthani. As for their economic position, they were able to break even as long as nothing happened to affect their farming activities.

However, if there was a severe drought or serious flooding (such as occurred in 1983) or someone in the family became seriously ill, they went into deep even more deeply. The farmers in Lat Krabang sold their rice for the same price every year. Although the price of paddy remained low, the farmers in Lat Krabang were not in as bad a position as those in Pathumthani. But their financial position did not improve. They remained poor just like most farmers in Thailand.

The respondents in both localities said that in view of the fact that farmers just manage to break even, in the case of those who are relatively well off, that is, who own their own land, if they encounter problems for 2 year in a row, their economic position will decline, because their debt will increase rapidly. Instead of borrowing just to invest in farming on a year-to-year basis, this forces them to borrow for personal use. "The financiers pay a low price for the rice but charge a very high rate of interest on the money loaned to the farmers." From this, it is clear that the merchants and financiers exploit and grow rich from the suffering of the farmers. Farmers in Lat Krabang also said that this will continue to happen because of the flooding in Bangkok Metropolitan. In particular, the flooding in Lat Krabang has been very bad, and the fields have been inudated during the farming seasons. If this continues, the situation of the farmers in Lat Krabang will grow even worse.

B. Exploitation in renting land: The farmers felt that they are treated unfairly when renting farm land. Among the responses were:

- 1) Land rents are higher than those stipulated by law: 31.6 percent of the 239 respondents.
- 2) No rent contract as evidence: 31.6 percent.
- 3) Rents are raised frequently: 21.1 percent.
- 4) Land is not suitable for farming but cannot be improved because owners won't help: 10.5 percent.
- 5) In cases in which the financial situation of farmers has improved and they want to repurchase the land to which they lost title, the owners refuse to sell the land to them: 5.3 percent.

C. Money loaned to farmers for investment in farming activities at high rates of interest or large amounts of produce are taken to service the debt: The farmers said that they have to deliver a large portion of their rice to pay their debts. All they have left is enough for family consumption during the year and for use as seed. A total of 77.5 percent of the respondents said that they paid an interest rate of 13-24 percent; 15.1 percent said that their interest rate was above 24 percent. Only 5.1 percent said that they did not pay any interest because they borrowed from close relatives. Besides this, 46.2 percent said that their rate of interest had been raised. This was particularly true of those who had borrowed additional money.

D. Seizure of farm land without any willingness to compromise and without any sympathy for farmers: Detailed figures have already been presented showing

that the farmers in Pathumthani Province lack farm land. But I would like to summarize this by saying that of the 239 farmers surveyed in Pathumthani Province, 43.1 percent rent land. Of these, 91.3 percent lost their land because of failing to pay their mortgage, having to sell their land to pay their debts, and having their land seized by creditors. In the case of those who sold their land in order to pay their debts, the financiers who purchased the land offered a very low price for the farm land, but the farmers had to sell because they had no other choice. (Most of the financiers were from outside the locality.)

#### 4. Low level of education and lack of knowledge about earning a living:

The farmers are poor and so they lack education. And because they have to spend so much time working, they don't have time to pay attention to what is going on around them. The farmers work very hard all the time. They are tired and weak. They have very little time to rest, that is, in the night. Because of their lack of education and lack of knowledge about earning a living, they aren't aware of the best production methods, with the result that yields are low. Another thing is that they don't understand the marketing mechanism and so they are at a disadvantage to the merchants and financiers. Very often, they don't know what is happening and so they lose their land and incur huge debts. In addition, they don't know how to join together to oppose the financiers and so they lack bargaining power in selling their produce.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents, 98.4 percent, had only a Grade 4 education (compulsory education); 1.6 percent had studied beyond Grade 4. (But none had been to the university. They had attended only lower vocational school or grades 5-7.)

A total of 78.7 percent said that they listen to the radio only five times a month, and 21.3 percent said that they never listen to the radio. Also, 58.2 percent said that they watch television an average of twice a month; 44.8 percent said that they never watch television. Very few, that is, 44.8 percent, read the newspapers while 55.2 percent said that they never read the newspapers. On the average, the respondents read a newspaper once a month. Only 10 percent said that they read the news. The other 90 percent do not read news articles.

As for going into the city, 79.9 percent said that they go to the city, with the average being two trips a month. The other 20.1 percent said that they had never been to the city.

A total of 50.6 percent of the respondents had never received any training in agriculture, and 88.7 percent had never traveled to another province to observe agricultural activities elsewhere. Only 11.3 percent had gone to observe such activities in other localities. A total of 59.4 percent said that they had never been given any advice on selling their produce. However, those who had received such training and advice said that they had received this training and advice from government representatives, who did not have the knowledge to match the tricks used by the merchants and financiers. And the advice that there were given was not useful. A total of 59.7 percent of the respondents did not know anything about selling produce. The great majority of

the respondents, 83.5 percent, did not know anything about the 1981 law on renting agricultural land. Only 16.5 percent knew anything about this.

The above figures clearly show that most farmers lack knowledge about things. This is one of the problems facing Thai farmers, and it is one of the reasons for today's poverty. Even though the government is aware of the farmers' poverty, it has not taken effective steps to solve the problem. Thai society is an agricultural society and is supported by the farm sector. Because the farmers are poor and face many problems, as summarized in the four sections above, rural society and the agricultural sector are keeping the entire society from developing.

### Solving the Farm Problem

The problems now facing Thai farmers can be summarized by saying that there are four main problems: (1) The farmers have huge debts; (2) the number of tenant farmers is on the increase; (3) the farmers are being exploited by merchants and loan financiers; and (4) the farmers have little knowledge.

These are all old problems that people have known about for a long time. Many seminars and conference have been held to discuss these problems. But farmers continue to face these problems.

The suggestions that I will make today are not intended to solve the problems of the farmers. The problems facing Thailand's farmers are major problems that are beyond my ability to solve. Rather, what I want to do is analyze what may happen in view of the fact that the farmers face such great problems and what they can do in order to survive.

Most Thai farmers are well aware of their situation and know the problems that they face. The farmers are not stupid, which is what people in urban areas think. The four main problems facing farmers stem mainly from capitalism and oppression by financiers. This includes local and urban financiers, including financiers from Bangkok. But the farmers have not become angry with the financiers or confronted those near them. Instead, the farmers in Pathumthani and Lat Krabang have blamed everything on the government.

Based on the information presented in the book "Farmer Uprisings" by Wutichai and Thammanit (1982), I think that the problems of farmers throughout the world are fairly similar. That is, they are exploited by local financiers, they lack land to farm, they are taxed heavily by the government, and they are affected by international conflicts, which is not a problem in Thailand today. The final straw that causes farmers to take up arms and fight is their dissatisfaction with local financiers. This includes representatives of the government who try to profit personally at the same time.

However, in the case of Thai farmers, the financiers who exploit the farmers and who obtain ownership to the farmers' land are rarely representatives of government. Usually, they are influential people in the locality. That is, they are well-to-do people in the locality. Usually, the government representatives, such as the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives and the agricultural cooperatives provide help regarding loans

and debts. They try to prevent the farmers from being exploited too much. However, most farmers are not aware of this. Whenever they encounter a problem, they blame those far removed from them. Actually, the problems have arisen because of the government's lack of sophistication in administering things and its inability to keep up with the tricks of the merchants. This is the fault of the government. The farmers have a right to be angry and dissatisfied with the government.

But what puzzles me is why the farmers are not enemies of the local financiers. Instead, there is widespread dissatisfaction with poverty and with the government. But nothing has happened because there has been nothing to incite them to seek revenge against individuals and those near them. The farmers are not angry with the private financiers who exploit them. I asked several farm leaders in Lat Krabang about this. All of these said that the "financiers are good people. We can talk with them. If we ask them for money or ask them to raise the price of rice a little, they always agree. Also, we know them quite well. They have been purchasing rice from us for 20-30 years."

Thus, it is clear:

- 1) The farmers are so convinced of the friendship of the financiers that they have forgotten that no matter how bad things have gotten, the financiers have always been the ones to set rice prices (2,700-2,900 baht), which means that rice prices paid to farmers continue to be squeezed.

- 2) The patron-client system is still deeply imbedded in Thai farm society. I realize that the local financiers don't take too much from the farmers. They do whatever they can for the farmers. The reason why the farmers are oppressed is that there are too many levels of financiers. The price of rice at the end is very different from that at the source. The farmers and local financiers have a patron-client relationship. The local financiers and financiers in the towns have a patron-client relationship. The financiers in the towns and those in Bangkok have a patron-client relationship. The financiers in Bangkok and the rice exporters have a patron-client relationship.

[18 Feb 87 p 14]

[Excerpts] Because of this patron-client system, Thai farmers and local financiers are not such bitter enemies as to give rise to turmoil (such as a general uprising by farmers).

- 3) The kinship system in farm society is one of the factors that has helped reduce tensions in the localities. The farmers in both Pathumthani and Lat Krabang who live in the same village are tied to each other by kinship ties. Sometimes, the financiers are direct relatives of the farmers. In other cases, they are close friends or relatives of farmers. Whenever there is dissatisfaction with a financier who is a relative or who is a friend of a relative, it is easy for them to discuss the matter and prevent the matter from getting out of hand.

It can be seen that Thai farm society still has many of the characteristics of the old farm society. That is, Thai farm society is sustained by

reciprocity, clientism, and a kinship system. When the farmers experience problems, they feel that it is the responsibility of the state to provide help. The state is well aware of the fact that these problems stem from the exploitation by the financiers. But they have not done anything about this. The government is trying to solve the problem of farmer poverty using a variety of methods, such as making loans, releasing revolving credit, developing agriculture, formulating rural development plans, and creating jobs in the rural areas in order to help increase the incomes of the farmers and reduce seasonal migration. But it still has no idea how to reduce poverty.

Many scholars feel that the government is not taking resolute or effective steps to solve this problem. To solve the farm problem, one important recommendation made in "Farmer Uprisings" is to carry out land reform. This is because land is a very important agricultural production factor. The reason why Thai farmers have lost their land is that they have been exploited by financiers. The government is aware of this, but it cannot do anything. Many attempts have been made to submit land reform bills in the Thai parliament. The last time was during the period 1982-1983. But these attempts have all failed.

I am sure that the government knows that the problems of the farmers stem from exploitation by financiers. But nothing can be done about this, because we can't distinguish between those in the government and the merchants-financiers.

Even though the farm problem stems from the financiers, the farmers don't realize that the financiers are the cause of their problems because of the patron-client and kinship systems, which put the farmers on the side of the financiers. And because of the capitalist development system, the government sides with the financiers. Thus, nothing will be done to reduce the poverty of the farmers. The farmers put all the blame on the government without even knowing who the government is. The farmers just say that the government doesn't know how to manage things or solve the problems and that it is not sincere about solving the problems. The farmers equate the government with officials and Thai government units.

#### Methods Used by Farmers to Solve Problems

In general, whenever a problem arises in farm society and the farmers run out of patience, they solve the problem using the following methods:

- 1) Hold a protest demonstration: They hold a demonstration to demand that the state take action to solve the problem, which has happened frequently in the United States.
- 2) Stage an uprising or revolution: This has happened many times in history. Examples are the farmer revolution in France in 1848, the Russian Revolution in 1917, the revolution in China in 1921, and the revolution in Cuba in 1958.
- 3) Accept fate: They bear the situation and do not engage in any movement.

4) Help themselves by moving into the industrial sector: This is a way of getting away from poverty without having to deal with the problem. They can no longer bear the situation but do not want to engage in a movement.

Thai farmers have struggled to survive using two of these methods, that is, by accepting their fate and moving to the industrial sector.

Accepting fate: As mentioned above, Thai farmers are not stupid. They are aware of their problems and know what needs to be done to solve the problems. But they blame the government and think that the government is responsible for solving the problems. By nature, Thai love peace. They don't like turmoil, confrontation, or conflict. They are not violent people. Thai farmers, who tend to follow the old ways and customs, are definitely like this. When a problem arises, all they do is complain to those whom they trust. Thus, the farmers have shown great patience concerning their poverty. They have not acted violently. This is the nature of Thai farmers, who have accepted poverty peacefully. This is in line with finding of scholars who have said that Thai farmers will not rise up or launch a revolution.

Another reason for their willingness to accept their fate is that Thai farmers are Buddhists. Since birth, they have been instilled with Buddhist values. In particular, Buddhist values permeate farm society, which is a rural society. The farmers at Lat Krabang are an excellent example of this.

The farmers in the central region have construed the Buddhist teachings in a very positive way. The Buddhist value concerning "contentment" has been construed as meaning "be satisfied with your situation." Even if things are not good and lead to doubts and pressures, the farmers have adhered to this value and refrained from engaging in anything requiring violence, thought, or struggle.

In response to my questions, farmers in Lat Krabang said: "we do not want to court trouble," "there is no use in taking action because we all live for just a short time," and "this is a good life, because at least we aren't beggars." All of these are an indication of the value of "contentment."

The values concerning "karma" or "good deeds beget good results, while bad deeds beget bad results" are part of the Buddhist teachings. Their belief in "this life-next life" comforts the farmers and teaches them to accept their fate in this life. They believe that their next life will be better than this one. That is, they believe that they will be richer and have a higher position in society in their next life. They also believe that they are poor in this life because they committed bad deeds in a previous life. They feel that they should accept their fate until they die and are reborn. Thus, they can't become careless in this life but must make a great effort to do good deeds. If they manage to make a little money, they feel that they should use it to do good deeds to make merit so that they will be rich in their next life.

One of the characteristics of Buddhism that benefits human society is that it is a very broad religion. That is, its teachings can be interpreted in a variety of ways. But clever people often interpret the teachings in a way that benefits them.

In the case of the holy men, or people with supernatural power," in the northeast, the teachings were construed to mean that "Phra Malaisut" and "Phra Si Ari" were coming to rule the world. This is village Buddhism, which teaches people to oppose injustice peacefully. On the other hand, the teachings about "contentment," "this life-next-life," and "good and bad karma" are interpretations of the ruling class or feudalists.

From talking with farmers in Pathumthani and Lat Krabang, I learned that the farmers in both localities are individualistic in nature. When I asked why they didn't join together and demand that the state take action to help them, many farmers (in both localities) said: "Why should we do that? People just try to do things for their own benefit." Or, "No one wants to work with us. They are afraid that we will gain." These responses indicate an attitude of "each man for himself." With such an attitude, farmers will never join forces to oppose the injustices around them. Also, this attitude of "each man for himself" probably stems from the development of a capitalist system, which fosters an attitude of turning away from each other rather than working together and cooperating with each other.

Why Don't the Thai Farmers Rebel?

Thai farmers have not staged a revolution because:

1) By nature, Thai do not like conflict, violence, or confrontation. This was discussed above, where it was stated that Thai farmers solve problems by accepting their fate. I think that one of the characteristics of the Thai people is that they like to gossip. They are interested in the affairs of others.

This helps to dissipate the tension and get their minds off their own problems. This characteristic is of great help in preventing violent confrontations.

2) They lack political unity. As analyzed above, Thai farmers (and Thai people in general) are individualistic by nature. They like to do things on their own. They don't like to work in groups, because they are afraid that someone else will benefit. Because of this stress on the individual rather than the group, people are not interested in group activities.

The study conducted in Pathumthani found that few farmers are interested in becoming a member of a group. For example, only 5 percent belonged to a savings group, only 15.5 percent belonged to a professional group, and only 22.6 percent belonged to a farmers organization. There were many other groups, but again the majority of farmers were not members.

This shows that farmers are not interested in joining groups, which could form the basis for fostering group identity and which could lead to joining forces to oppose what is wrong in society. When asked whether the farmers of

Pathumthani had political power, 95 percent said that they did not have political power. The lack of political unity is quite clear. In short, Thai farmers lack political bargaining power, which could lead to economic bargaining.

The revolution staged by the Vietnamese farmers achieved stunning results, because the farmers there were united politically.

3) There are no leaders to promote unity. This stems from the individualism prevalent here, the fear that others will benefit more, the desire not to court trouble, the lack of interest in politics, and the lack of time. As a result, Thai farmers lack leaders to unite them. It is very important to have leaders to promote unity. Leaders serve to mobilize people, and they build up people's confidence and give them courage. They can give the farmers political ideals. Again, the revolution by the Vietnamese farmers is a good example of this. The revolution succeeded because the communist party served as the leader in uniting the farmers.

4) Nothing has lit the fuse. There have been several things that could have served to incite the farmers to rebellion in various localities. For example, Thai farmers have been squeezed by financiers. Financiers have seized land, charged high rates of interest, and increased interest rates on loans. But Thai farmers view the financiers as friends because of their long association with them. Thus, these things have never served as the fuse to incite the farmers to rebellion.

In summary, Thai farm society in the present period is not a dynamic society. Some elements of peasant society remain unchanged from the period prior to the rise of capitalism. For example, the patron-client system, the kinship system, and reciprocity are still intact. The financiers are viewed as relatives and friends who have done favors for the farmers on one or more occasions. Thus, regardless of how heavy the burden, the farmers are willing to shoulder the burden and be patient.

#### Conclusion

Thai farmers do not consider the financiers to be a problem of theirs that needs to be solved. Instead, they feel that all the problems stem from the mistakes, the lack of sophistication, and the lack of resolve of the government. They feel that the government must take responsibility. The government is trying to solve the problems, but it has failed to achieve results.

The farmers use two methods to solve their problems: (1) They bow their heads and accept their fate, because they don't like confrontation or violence. That is not the nature of Thai people. A Buddhist value is to accept your fate and try to do good, which will lead to a better existence in the next life. Also, there is a lack of interest in the outside world, except for playing a role in helping farmers to accept their poverty calmly. (2) Farmers solve their problems by moving from the agricultural sector into the industrial sector. They abandon their farms and come to Bangkok to find jobs. As a result, there

is a shortage of laborers in the agricultural sector, and yields have dropped. There is a lack of revolving capital in Thai society. Thai society will remain underdeveloped.

Thai farmers do not try to solve their problems by staging rebellions and revolutions in order to change the structure of society. This is because (1) they don't like violence, (2) they lack unity because they are not in the habit of working together or for a common cause, (3) they lack leaders and good guidance, and (4) nothing has happened to light the fuse and set off a peasant revolution. In peasant rebellions throughout the world, oppression by local financiers has served to incite the peasants to rebel. But Thai farmers view the local financiers as relatives and friends even though they have been exploited by these people.

Peasant society has undergone great change. But certain elements characteristic of precapitalist peasant society remain unchanged. That is, kinship relationships, patron-client relationships, and reciprocity underpin peasant society. As a result, Thai farmers have not staged a revolution.

11943

CSO: 4207/154

THAILAND

DAILY WORRIES ABOUT OVERPOPULATION, UNEMPLOYMENT

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 26 Jan 87 p 4

[Editorial: "The Greater the Increase, the Worse Things Will Become"]

[Excerpt] In his capacity as the director of the National Family Planning Program, Dr Somsak Worakhamin, the director-general of the Department of Health, said that Thailand may experience a population crisis in the future unless serious action is taken quickly on the family planning front. Even though the birth rate has been kept at 1.6 percent since 1984, with this rate, the population of Thailand will increase to 66 million by the year 2000. This will have serious economic and social consequences.

The country's population is increasing by more than 1 million people a year. This puts a heavy burden on the Thai people. Jobs and places to live must be found and educational and public health services must be provided. Today, Thailand has a population of 53 million people and already more than 3 million people are unemployed. The number of people who are unemployed is increasing by more than 500,000 a year. There is not enough land to work and so the forests are being destroyed. There is a housing shortage, which has given rise to many slums. The public health, medical, and educational services provided are below standard. Crime is on the increase. The social situation and morality have declined greatly.

All of this stems from the fact that the population has increased faster than our ability to develop the country's economy. The population stands at 53 million people today, but we cannot provide a good standard of living to all the people. If we allow the population to continue to grow, the problems will just get worse. No one knows how to solve the unemployment problem. There are no clear plans or projects for providing jobs and land. We have implemented five economic and social development plans, but they failed to solve the problems. Every year, we try to solve the problems, but we never succeed.

11943

CSO: 4207/158

## THAILAND

### BRIEFS

SMUGGLERS TO PRK--Police Maj Gen Thirachai Riancharoen, the commander of the Marine Police Division, learned that a fishing boat was going to smuggle goods to Cambodia. He ordered Police Col Butsara Nonthawari, the superintendent of Police Precinct 2, and Police Lt Suthin Thiphosananon to take Boat 622 and intercept the smugglers in the Chao Thale River in Khlong Yai Subdistrict, Khlong Yai District, Trat Province. At 0400 hours on 14 January, a fishing boat 14 meters long and 3.5 meters wide approached with two men in it. The police searched the boat and found 5,500 boxes containing 6-packs of dry cell batteries, 4 electric cables, more than 5,000 light bulbs, more than 6,000 electric circuit boards, and a large number of vehicle parts. Altogether, the items were worth approximately 1 million baht. The two men in the boat were identified as Mr Li Diwong, age 30, a Thai, and Mr Kiya, age 28, a Cambodian. Neither man would say who owned the boat or who had hired them to smuggle the goods to Cambodia. [Excerpt] [Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 15 Jan 87 pp 1, 16] 11943

WORKERS' REPATRIATED EARNINGS--A news report from the Department of Labor stated that in 1986, 86,000 workers went to work in the Middle East through the Department of Labor. Including those who went to work in the United States and Europe, the total number was approximately 400,000. During the period January-June 1986, workers in the Middle East repatriated a total of 5.5 billion baht. However, during this period, Thai laborers in all foreign countries repatriated a total of 11 billion baht. It is expected that even more Thai will go abroad to work in 1987. As for domestic lay offs, in 1986 approximately 50,000 people were laid off from their jobs. [Excerpt] [Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 15 Jan 87 pp 1, 16] 11943

FISHERIES WANTS SRV TALKS WITHOUT POLITICAL STRINGS--Mr Plotprasop Suratsadi, the deputy director-general of the Department of Fisheries, talked with reporters on 5 March about the Thai fishermen who were arrested in foreign waters during February. He said that besides the 466 Thai who have been released, 6 of the fishermen detained in Minh Hai have died. The dead include Mr Chamlong Sisalap and Mr Tan Bunprasoet, who worked aboard the P. Phuang Phet 4; Mr Na and Mr Song, surnames unknown, who worked aboard the Rung Samutnawi; and Mr Noi Chekkathok and Mr Thuak Sedi, who worked aboard the Chanphenmahachai 16. The deputy director-general of the Department of Fisheries said that the Vietnamese seize Thai fishing boats every year. The losses run into the tens of millions of baht. The fishermen who are arrested

are subjected to terrible hardships and some have died. This is very sad. Negotiations should be held in order to carry on joint Thai-Vietnamese fishing operations. Political and economic matters should be kept separate. [Excerpt] [Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 6 Mar 87 pp 1, 16] 11943

CSO: 4207/158

## MUNICIPAL CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVE DISCUSSES BUDGET, PLANNING

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 12 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Nguyen Xien, representative to the Hanoi Municipal Party Congress:  
"Some Thoughts on the 1987 Budget, Planning"]

[Text] In order to raise the management effectiveness of the state, the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress clearly stated: "Uphold the position and role of the National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels and enable agencies elected by the people to properly exercise their mission, functions, and power according to law."

Over the recent past, as the political report at the Sixth Party Congress clearly expressed, because "due to the state not being truly managed by law and due to bureaucratic leadership and ways of doing things, with one thing being said and another done and resolutions released without complying with operational regulations," the National Assembly has not exercised its mission, functions, and power.

Because detailed information and time for investigation and discussion were lacking, decisions on the state plan and state budget took on the characteristics of formality and procedure rather than representing the spirit of socialism.

The time has come for systematization, through appropriate legal documentation, of matters related to the makeup of the state plan and state budget; processing and deadlines for such matters to be acted on by the National Assembly; and the legal form and content of documents expressing resolutions of the National Assembly or the approval of the National Assembly so that the National Assembly, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers finally execute the missions, functions, and powers set for them by the constitution, as clearly stated in the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress. Hopefully, in the spirit of reinvigorating thinking, with the attitude of looking straight at the truth, and illuminated by the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress, the upcoming Eighth National Assembly will accomplish this in order to usher in a new era in the methods of operation of state agencies, putting the formulation of the state plan and state budget on a new foundation according to law.

For the immediate future, while prerequisites and foundations do not exist for approving plan execution as established by the constitution, we endorse and

propose that the National Assembly accept the analyses of the Economic, Planning, and Budget Committee of the National Assembly on the situation of implementing the state plan for 1986, so that the Council of Ministers may learn from the experience and not make similar errors in the guidance, regulation, and implementation of the state plan for 1987.

In the direction, tasks, and goals of the 1987 State Plan reported to this National Assembly, we noted efforts to express the basic outlines of policies and realism and balance among goals, means, methods, and policies. In particular, there seems to have been no attention paid to coordinating material resources planning with value planning with the aims of both expanded reproduction of materials and goods for society and expanded reproduction of financial capital for the state. Planning execution is still dependent on too many objective and subjective conditions.

We are in complete agreement with the Economic, Planning, and Budget Committee of the National Assembly on motions to ensure good implementation of the 1987 State Budget.

We support the Science and Technology Committee of the National Assembly on efforts to arrange appropriately larger investments (including materials and foreign funds) in scientific and technical activities in order to enable "the emergence of a great movement" in science and technology which will rapidly accelerate the pace of the nation's socioeconomic development.

In order to implement social policies and stress the human element in the task of building socialism, the 1987 budget estimate allocated funds for cultural, educational, and social expenditures at higher percentages of increase than other expenditures, but they will still not meet demands due to limited resources. Therefore, in addition to researching ways for the people and the state to work together, as proposed by the Public Health and Social Welfare Committee of the National Assembly, we hope that the Council of Ministers will manage the state budget more closely, guiding local use of the budget on the province/municipal level as well as the district level toward educational, health, and social goals rather than making extra-plan capital investment expenditures on ostentatious, formalistic projects inappropriate to the near-term socioeconomic situation.

As for the countryside, we must draw on experiences of such provinces as Ha Nam Ninh, Thai Binh, and Nghe Tinh to mobilize the people to participate in building the new socialist countryside via the formula of people working with state help to build nurseries, health stations, schools, and maternity clinics, and conditions must be established for these projects to play an increasing role with the financial and material help of cooperatives and the people, as well as contributions from the village treasury. Over the past few years, this movement spread to a number of provinces in the south, such as Long An and Tien Giang, so that the face of the countryside in the Mekong River delta has begun to change without needing great expenditures from the state.

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CS0: 4209/290

## BRIEFS

PHAM VAN DONG RECEIVES ENVOY--Hanoi, 24 Mar (VNA)--Egyptian ambassador Muhammad A. Shalabi today paid a farewell visit to chairman of the council of ministers Pham Van Dong before going home for a new assignment. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1519 GMT 24 Mar 87 OW] /12624

PHAM VAN DONG EXPRESSES CONDOLENCES--Hanoi, 24 Mar (VNA)--Chairman of the council of ministers Pham Van Dong today expressed his profound sympathy to his Mongolian counterpart, Dumaagiyn Sodnom, over the losses caused by the recent snowstorm to the population of the provinces of Sukh Baatar, Kehntiy, and east Gobi. He wished the Mongolian people quick recovery from the natural disaster. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1520 GMT 24 Mar 87 OW] /12624

CUBAN FILMMAKER RECEIVES FRIENDSHIP MEDAL--Hanoi, 24 Mar (VNA)--The council of ministers has decided to confer Vietnam's friendship medal on Jorge Ramon, a film director of the Cuban television. The conferment was made in recognition of Jorge Ramon's considerable contributions to producing television films on Vietnam's land and people, worthy of note is the film "when the death passes by" which has won the "gold dove" prize at the recent documentary and television films festival in Leipzig (GDR). The film features the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and army against the Chinese war of aggression in early 1979. The medal was handed over to Jorge Ramon at a ceremony held in Havana on March 22. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1513 GMT 24 Mar 87 OW] /12624

GREETINGS SENT TO SRI LANKA--Hanoi, 25 Mar (VNA)--The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam today extended warm greetings to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. The message reads: "Since its founding, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka has always stood at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and other reactionary forces, for the sake of national independence, democracy and social progress in Sri Lanka, thus making an important contribution to the common struggle for peace and security in south Asia and the world as a whole. "We are confident that your present congress will mark a new step in the development of the Sri Lankan people's lofty struggle". [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1459 GMT 25 Mar 87 OW] /12624

EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR FINISHES TERM--Hanoi, 27 Mar (VNA)--Egyptian ambassador Mohamed A. Shalaby left here today concluding his term of office in Vietnam. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1506 GMT 27 Mar 87 OW] /12624

CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETES AUSTRIAN CONGRESS--Hanoi, 27 Mar (VNA)--The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam has sent greetings to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria. The congratulatory message says: "Over the past years, the Communist Party of Austria has overcome many difficulties in the persistent struggle for the Austrian people's legitimate rights, and against the arms race policy of the imperialist forces, for peace and security in Europe and elsewhere in the world. We believe that your congress will further enforce the party's organizational work and influence to win new successes in your revolutionary cause. "We would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the communist party and people of Austria national construction and defence". [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1449 GMT 27 Mar 87 OW] /12624

CPV GREETES MEXICAN CONGRESS--Hanoi, 28 Mar (VNA)--The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam has sent a message of greetings to the Third Congress of the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico. The message reads: "Your Congress is convened at a time when the situation in Central America and Caribbean is further strained due to the Reagan administration's militarist and war-mongering policy and its hostile moves against the Nicaraguan revolution and the revolutionary movement in the region. "We are convinced that your congress will make important contributions to the common struggle of the peoples of Mexico and other Latin American countries against U.S. imperialism and its reactionary henchmen, for peace, democracy and social progress". [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1519 GMT 28 Mar 87 BK] /12624

NGUYEN VAN LINH GREETES NOSAKA--Hanoi, 29 Mar (VNA)--Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, today sent his best wishes to Sanzo Nosaka, honorary chairman of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) Central Committee, on his 95th birthday. His message expressed deep respect to the JCP leader, a great friend of the Vietnamese people, who has made considerable contributions to the persistent and glorious struggle of the JCP and the Japanese working class against imperialism and militarism, for an independent, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Japan. "We highly value the great contributions made by the JCP, especially your efforts, to strengthening and developing the time-honored militant solidarity and friendship between our two parties and two peoples," the message said. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0739 GMT 30 Mar 87 OW] /12624

TRUONG CHINH GREETES MALTESE NATIONAL DAY--Hanoi, 30 Mar (VNA)--President of the State Council Truong Chinh has sent his greetings to interim President Paul Xuereb on the National Day of Malta (March 31). [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1529 GMT 30 Mar 87 OW] /12624

CSO: 4200/450

## FRG INSTITUTE ANALYZES TENTATIVE ECONOMIC REFORM EFFORTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German 17  
Feb 87 p 2

[Article by vwd, Cologne: "Tentative Attempts at Reform in Vietnam"]

[Text] Following the Sixth CPSU Congress, Vietnam has made tentative efforts to develop new economic policies; however, they do not involve far-reaching reform policies. This is the conclusion of an analysis prepared by the Federal Institute for Eastern Economic and International Studies, Cologne.

Investments will focus primarily on the production of food, consumer goods and exports. Investments in the steel and machine-building industry will only be made after it has been ensured that the products will be of immediate benefit to agriculture and light industry. Industrial "mammoth projects" with long-term amortization, on the other hand, will be deferred. The centralized management system, which is protected by state subsidies, will be replaced by a system that will provide more autonomy to the individual enterprises in managing their financial affairs, in setting wages based on performance, in matters of economic cooperation--including with foreign countries--and the sale of their products, the report says.

However, the author leaves no doubt that planning, not the market, will remain the prevailing economic management mechanism. The objective merely is, he believes, to make planning more efficient by establishing economic levers, by taking account of objective economic laws and by improving accounting methods. Repeated references to the 27th CPSU Party Congress indicated that the new Vietnamese policies are being formulated in line with Soviet, rather than with the much more far-reaching Chinese, economic reforms.

"Cutting back on government intervention in economic policies should, however, not be considered the panacea for Vietnam's economic recovery. Rather, Hanoi's economic policies must first create the basic preconditions for more decentralized, even private-business-oriented economic development," the analysis continues. The author believes that the most important tasks are as follows:

--Curbing inflation and stabilizing the currency, which--again in line with the CPSU Congress resolution--will only be feasible if the current price and wage system is thoroughly revamped.

--Establishing a reliable statistical mechanism as a prerequisite for adequate economic decision-making and the effective utilization of foreign assistance.

--Setting up a well-organized tax system. Frequently arbitrary taxation of private enterprises has had an extremely negative effect on entrepreneurial initiative and reinvesting; in addition, it was an invitation to corruption.

--Constructing a denser transportation net and a better transportation system so that the system of local self-sufficiency can be dismantled, which makes sense in times of war, but frequently makes no economic sense at all in times of peace, and that causes unnecessary costs for the economy overall.

--Taking measures to improve the infrastructure; that requires central coordination and control, particularly a better inter-regional water-supply and electric power supply system.

7821/12948

CSO: 4620/18

## PROVINCIAL CONGRESS REPRESENTATIVE DISCUSSES FOOD PRODUCTION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 12 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Phan Tan Tien, Hau Giang representative to the Sixth Party Congress: "Policy on Meeting Targets for Food"]

[Text] Following the Sixth Party Congress, the people of Hau Giang applauded documents of the congress which have clearly stated that the Mekong River delta is the nationwide center for food production. We are very hopeful that once the economic and production structure have been established, the investment and management structure will develop accordingly.

The following are our recommendations for Hau Giang, a rather large agricultural province in the Mekong River delta, to increase its food production.

In the report before the Sixth Party Congress on the direction of socioeconomic targets for 1986-1990, one very important thing that must be done early and in a systematic way, and must be explained to the people clearly is to immediately investigate policies and programs toward farmers and correct and the eliminate inappropriate ones.

The Council of Ministers has announced that farmers must pay taxes and perform two-way accounting; we hope that this will develop rice culture, agricultural products, and exports expeditiously. It will be very advantageous for what is left over to belong to the one who produces it, and for the state at central and local levels to concentrate on helping the local level balance accounts for agricultural products and food. We suggest that if rice production is irregular and is exempted from taxation, then two-way receipts should also be lessened or exempted for the people at the same ratio.

We recommend that the Council of Ministers invest in such key food-production areas as water conservancy, draft power, manure, and insecticides, and we recommend that they invest early in drying yards, warehouses, and sacks. Early investments reduce losses, as reported by the commission on science and technology. Rice drying yards, drying houses, and sacks are very useful for hulling, storing, and transporting rice. In Hau Giang, for instance, 13,000 hectares of summer rice have been harvested. During the season, 434,000 metric tons were harvested, and if there were no drying yards, 20 percent of

the people's rice, equivalent to 86,000 tons, would have been lost. These actions will conserve a quantity of rice equivalent to what is raised on 22,000 hectares of cultivated area. Eleven years ago, everyone was asking why investments were not being made to reduce such losses.

In food production areas of the countryside, there should be better policies for communication, schools, health clinics, and cultural halls, on the model of "the state and the people working together." The state should have cement, lumber, and steel to sell to the people to construct such projects. The renovated countryside will have more capability to produce large quantities of food.

Programs should be reformed for cadres in villages. We suggest frankly that they should be the same as those affecting district-level cadres. There is no reason why there can not be relief programs for village cadres in difficult circumstances in grain-raising places. The lack of such programs is one reason cadres do not want to go out and work in the villages. There should be good programs for scientific and technical cadres who go out to the countryside to work in agriculture so that they go enthusiastically. Presently, scientific cadres are out of money when they come back from duty in villages.

Implementing target programs for food production is related to many matters. We will do better if our state pays close attention to the suggestions of the people and keeps in touch with the basic level. The food program is very intimately related to the population program and other social programs. We suggest that the Council of Ministers, all ministries and committees of the central echelon, and all government levels keep the above relationships in mind.

One of our great strengths is reliance on the people. Even though in a system of private ownership, farmers are very patriotic. If the party and the state are willing to listen to the people and the basic level, overcome diseases of bureaucracy, arbitrariness, and detachment from the masses, and ensure that people raising food have the same advantages as those in other occupations, the capacity for food production will increase further.

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CSO: 4209/290

## MANY PROBLEMS CONFRONT EFFORTS TO MINE TIN FOR EXPORT

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 15 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Thao Lan: "Who Will Take Responsibility for This Situation in Tin Mining for Export?"]

[Text] Last year, 1986, was the 4th year that the Federated Non-ferrous Metallurgy Enterprise (of the Ministry of Engineering and Metals) surpassed plans for mining tin for export.

However, the mines that produce tin for export are confronted with many problems. Workers mine tin seasonally: it is in the 1st and 4th quarters, when the mines are not damaged by heavy downpours, that labor and vehicular equipment are mobilized to the maximum. Plans for exports, wages, and awards plans are all formulated within those short periods. Managers and workers fervently hope that there will be enough equipment and means for production. Yet even in 1986 the enterprise received its power shovels 3 months late, its mine strata transport vehicles were 6 months late, and its steamrollers arrived 9 months late. Essential equipment was missing during the dry season--the season for mining tin. The first 6 months of the year had passed before one-third of the planned output had been met. By itself, the arrival of 15 trucks 6 months late caused the loss of 140,00 cubic tons of ore (calculating by the state norm of 25,000 cubic meters per truck annually). That quantity is equivalent to 100 tons of pure tin ore. The enterprise overcame this obstacle by modifying and bringing in all the vehicles that could be mobilized to haul ore. Operations are conducted at this mine continuously in three shifts, so that each vehicle can only meet the norm (20,000-22,000 cubic meters/year) for 3 years. The result is that of the 60 vehicles the enterprise presently has, only 10 can meet the norm. After many requisitions, the mine received agreement from the ministry to request an advance from the state of 17 trucks from the 1987 plan. Yet all those mining trucks were distributed to other projects and units. Those responsible for this matter have sought a final solution by borrowing from neighboring units. As of the present, therefore, the tin mines still face the crisis of not having trucks to haul ore.

The daily life of miners is also very hard. The enterprise has asked the state many times to allow its workers the benefits received by workers in the mining and coal sectors, but this has yet to be resolved. Even the awards for

exceeding planning goals ever since 1984 for the output of export tin set up by the ministry itself have been seen only on paper. The enterprise respectfully requested that only half the sum be paid, and not in foreign currency, but in Vietnamese currency, but still received no answer. In 1986, the Son Duong Tin Mine exceeded tin extraction goals by 13 tons, and the general director had set the award beforehand as 120,000 dong for each ton over the goal, yet no money has been received. Miners' wages are also short each month. The central bank says that there is enough cash to pay wages to workers, but local banks say there is not. Workers consequently receive wages late--1 month late on the average, but the June payroll was 3 months late. Workers also receive rice issues very late. On the average, miners only received 70 percent of their food entitlements during 10 months of 1986. The remainder was made up in sales of corn and manioc. Corn and manioc are usually not available, or are of substandard quality. There is a daily increase in the incidence of workers going out to burn forest land and plant rice and manioc, gather firewood, and prospect for gold.

The output of tin will increase greatly when responsible agencies change their management and regulation practices, organize production, supply technical equipment and food on time, and pay wages to production personnel so that they receive what they are entitled to.

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## AUTHORITIES CONTRADICTED OVER HOW TO SOLVE DRAFT POWER ISSUE

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 15 Jan 87 pp 3, 4

[Article by Hoang Dinh Mac, of Vinh Loc District, Thanh Hoa Province]

[Text] In implementing the practice of end-product contracting with labor groups and laborers, cooperatives usually organize units or groups to specialize in tilling operations. It only works at the beginning, however-- afterwards, people on the tilling team become deceptive. A number of management boards and production unit leaders have regulated the use of cattle for tilling in a relaxed manner, without equity. This occasioned conflict among cooperative members over draft animals, which led to their being divided up for use by cooperative members, one after the other. Once they are divided up, each cooperative member works them for 1 day. Some people work into the night to finish their area. The cattle therefore do not eat or do not get enough to eat and are overworked, not being allowed to rest. The incidence of illness and death among cattle is greater than before. In Bong Thuong Cooperative (Vinh Loc District, Thanh Hoa Province), there were 260 head in 1984, and 60 had died by the end of the year; in 1985, 100 died; and in 1986 there were only 100 left, all of them gaunt and unable to plow. Meanwhile, the cattle of cooperative members stayed fat and healthy, very few of them getting diseases or dying. Confronted with this situation, some cooperative members, including retired cadres, talked to the party committee and the cooperative management board about ways to resolve the issue of draft power and invest money to buy more to ensure that the land was tilled for the 10th-month crop of 1986. The suggestion was made to turn over the thin and weak cattle and young stock to cooperative members for care. Others thought that to sell them to cooperative members would be to disperse production materials, contrary to policy. The secretary of the party committee and cooperative director asked the district committee for its opinion, and the district committee did not agree with selling the stock to cooperative members.

Cooperative cadres anxiously met, realizing that they had to turn over the cattle to the care of cooperative members, or they would all die. Sure enough, within 2 months, all the thin and weak cattle had recovered. The cooperative bought 50 head, and some cooperative members provided funds to buy some and raise some separately. Unit 3 of Dong Hamlet, which previously had

26 head of cattle and now has, counting cattle of the collective plus cattle raised separately, 39 head, has sufficient draft power for the area it contracted to work for the cooperative.

Every production unit presently has three or four families that are too short of hands to raise cattle. The production unit arranges for relatives with draft power to help them out or exchange work points--it may be that two or three cooperative member families raise one head of cattle. The cooperative has also kept in a central location and developed 70 head of cattle born and raised collectively. These are intended to supplement and replace cattle that grow old, and provide a reserve of 7-10 head for transport for the cooperative and to work land for families short of hands.

Our cooperative managed draft power by turning the cattle over to cooperative members to oversee their use, with centralized regulation according to the tilling plan of the cooperative. This method contradicted opinions at all levels. I, therefore, suggest that responsible agencies explain what method of draft power management and use is better in the context of agricultural product contracting.

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- END -