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Southeast Asia Report

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JAKARTA'S ACQUISITION OF F-16'S ANALYZED

Kunyung PACIFIC DEFENCE REPORTER in English Aug 86 pp 9, 10

[Article by Andrew MacIntyre]

[Text] In February this year it was reported that the Reagan administration was preparing to seek Congressional ratification for its decision to allow Indonesia to buy between eight and 12 F-16 tactical fighters.¹ This was only the most recent development in the on-again-off-again saga of Jakarta's desire to upgrade its Air Force capabilities. Having apparently rejected the idea of acquiring a sophisticated, state-of-the-art fighter in October 1984, the Commander of the Armed Forces, General Benny Murdani, announced to reporters in the course of a wide-ranging interview two months later that Jakarta was indeed interested in purchasing a limited number of F-16A aircraft.

That Indonesia should seek to upgrade the front-line wing of its Air Force was not surprising. However, that the preferred choice of aircraft was the very expensive Mach 2, F-16A/100 fighters, which had not yet been approved by Washington for general export, was cause for considerable comment. Some observers² were evidently sceptical of Jakarta's ability to finance such a high-tech purchase in view of its deteriorating balance-of-payments situation. Certainly the Armed Forces' development expenditure budget for 1985-86 increased by only a modest 2.3 per cent and it is scheduled to actually fall sharply in 1986-87 (see table 1).

In nominating the F-16A, powered by the Pratt and Whitney F100 turbo-fan engine, Indonesia was following a precedent set by Thailand for not accepting the less powerful F-16/79 or the Northrop F-20 Tigershark--both of which had already been approved to friendly Third World states.

Indonesia's Air Force is currently headed by past-generation aircraft. Included are 12 Northrop F5E Tiger II's together with 30 McDonnell-Douglas Skyhawk A4-E's. Additionally, there are four F-5F's and two TA-4H's--both of which are limited primarily to training roles. It appears that Jakarta actively considered the possibility of acquiring the F-20 Tigershark as a logical follow-on to the F-5s. Indeed, Northrop discussed the possibility of a co-production agreement with the Indonesian state-owned Nasantara (formerly Nurtanio) Aircraft Company.³ This must have been a significant attraction to Jakarta in view of its professed drive for greater military self-reliance. When coupled with the appreciably lower cost of the F-20 relative to the

F-16A/100, this, and their--in many respects--comparably matched capabilities, would appear to have made the former an attractive option.

The F-20, however, suffered from a number of weaknesses as a replacement fighter. Significantly it lacked the international cache of the F-16A/100 which enjoyed the status of US Air Force service. Furthermore in the absence of sufficient buyer interest, Northrop would not be in a position to commence production runs on a competitive pricing scale.

What then were Jakarta's motives in deciding to purchase the F-16A/100 at a time of increasingly acute financial stringency? Several reasons can be readily identified. Firstly, as Murdani himself has emphasized on a number of occasions, Indonesian defence planners wish at least to keep up with state-of-the-art aircraft technology, without, at this stage, investing on a massive scale. Unlike Australia, for example, which chose to invest heavily in the McDonnell-Douglas F/A-18, Indonesia evidently could not justify diverting from developmental targets the enormous amount of capital which would be necessary to acquire more than one small squadron. This is particularly so in a period in which Indonesia's international currency reserves are deteriorating and it is faced with a pressing debt schedule.

Nonetheless, while the acquisition of a strategically significant number of tactical fighters is out of the question, Indonesian defence planners have stressed their desire to keep abreast of technological developments so that Air Force personnel are in a position to make a quick and smooth transition up to advanced equipment at some stage in the future, should the need arise.⁴ In short, one motive for purchasing the Mach 2 Fighting Falcons is for the purposes of training and technological familiarization.

A stimulus to Jakarta in this regard has been the still vivid memories of the situation in which Indonesia found itself in the early 1960s. During the Soekarno period Indonesia accepted MiG-21 fighters from the Soviet Union but soon discovered that it lacked sufficient trained pilots and technicians to service the aircraft itself. In consequence, Jakarta was forced to accept a large contingent of Soviet technical advisers in order to keep the aircraft functioning.⁵ This desire to reduce dependence on foreign military courses has been a constant theme in Indonesian defence force planning in recent years.

A further, though less tangible, motivation to acquire the F-16A/100, stems from Indonesia's deeply rooted sense of national pride. As one observer put it following the announcement of Jakarta's interest in the Fighting Falcon in October 1984: "[President] Soeharto cannot stomach the prospect of Singapore having a more modern fighter force than Indonesia."⁶ Perceiving itself to be a leading member of the ASEAN grouping, and as such the prime manager of regional stability, Indonesia would find it extremely difficult to abide a situation in which Singapore and Thailand possessed frontline aircraft qualitatively far superior to its own.

No Cause for Paranoia

Turning from the probable motives for their acquisition, what implications might a small squadron of Indonesian F-16s have for a region? Certainly it

would not be cause for a rekindling of Australia's traditional paranoia as to a possible future Indonesian invasion. The number of planes under consideration is very small and the range of the aircraft relatively limited--the radius of action is approximately 920 kilometres, though it is capable of up to 3890 kilometres in ferry mode with drop tanks.⁷ Technologically, the "A" model is limited, and its operational flexibility would suffer in adverse conditions. Moreover, the aircraft are not scheduled to come on the line before the end of the decade.

Sceptics might argue that the F-16 decision cannot be viewed in isolation, and instead must be considered within the context of other significant Indonesian arms acquisitions in recent years. These include two West German 209 type submarines (with two more on order), five Australian Attack class patrol boats, four fast South Korean patrol boats, three Dutch-built corvettes and three refitted British frigates--with the last three types of vessel being equipped with Exocet missiles. In addition, the Army is to acquire an unspecified number of Rapier anti-aircraft missiles. Finally, these developments have taken place within a climate in which Jakarta has made it clear to donor countries--such as Australia--that it wants all military aid to be tailored so as to promote Indonesian self-reliance.

None of these developments should be interpreted as representing some form of significant and threatening arms buildup. Not only is the amount of military hardware quite small and in some cases outdated, but the overall force structure of the Indonesian military is quite plainly defensive rather than offensive. Moreover, if simple weapon-systems "head counting" was to be given credence, Singapore would have to be viewed with far greater alarm than Indonesia.

Encouragingly, there has been little sign of these traditional anxieties. Reaction to the F-16 decision and the series of developments just

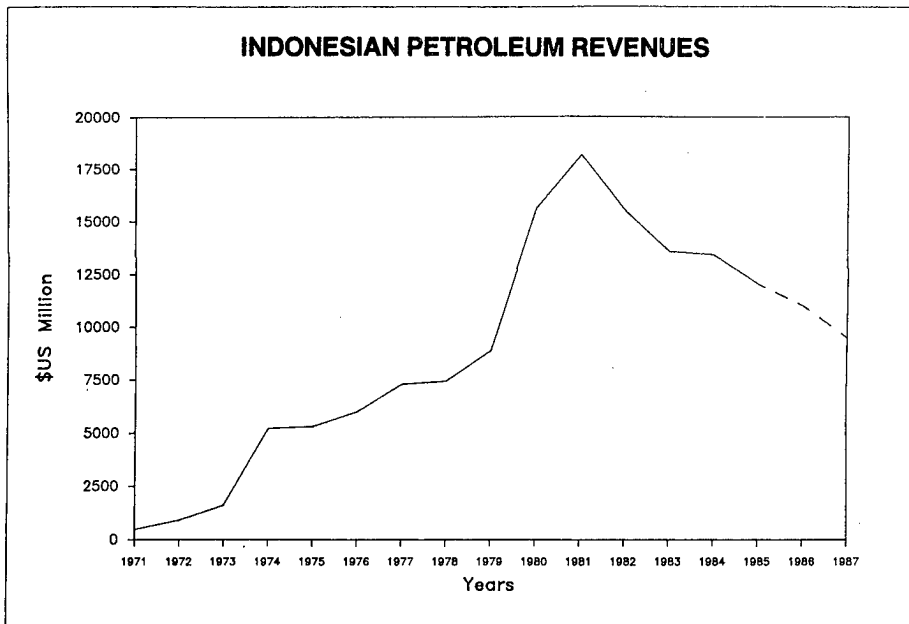
described has instead tended to take the form of postulating an incipient arms race in South-East Asia.⁸ These concerns are typically illustrated by pointing to the widespread enthusiasm for the F-16 and other advanced military hardware within ASEAN and East Asia together with the appearance of the Soviet MiG-23 in both North Korea and Vietnam.

This situation can, however, be readily accounted for in other ways -- without recourse to notions of an arms race. To begin with, vigorous military acquisition policies are to be expected on the strategically sensitive Korean peninsula and among the states actively involved in the Kampuchea stalemate, namely Thailand and Vietnam. With regard to Singapore, it would seem that that country's inevitable sense of vulnerability generated by its size and location, together with its general economic orientation towards integrated high-tech industrial developments, account for its large investment in defence purchases -- such as the F-16. The surge of defence expenditure in Indonesia is, however, an interesting and somewhat different case.

Defence's link with oil price

WHEREAS military spending elsewhere in the region has been largely stimulated by perceived short and medium-term threats to security, the primary stimulant in the case of Indonesia appears, as Crouch has persuasively argued,⁹ to be a byproduct of the dramatic rise of Indonesia's oil revenue. A partial exception to this, it must be admitted, was the early security concern in Jakarta concerning the possibility of conflicting territorial claims with Vietnam in the oil-rich seabed area off the Natuna Islands. This source of unease soon faded, however, in the early 1980s.

By referring to the pattern of Indonesian military expenditure and oil-derived revenue in recent years (see tables 1 and 2), it can be seen that there is a basic correlation between the two. Following the international oil price rise in 1973-74 there was a noticeable rise in defence spending, and then following the further sharp rise in oil prices in 1979 there was a very large jump in defence expenditure in the subsequent years. Correspondingly, with the recent big fall in the price of oil, the defence



Note: The broken line is an estimated projection

TABLE 2.11



development budget has been pruned back substantially, with proposed expenditure for the current financial year being approximately 22 per cent lower than in 1985-86. The point to be made here is that (allowing for a normal time lag) Indonesia's recent high-cost military acquisitions can best be explained by the skyrocketing of Indonesia's oil-related earnings.

In this light it thus seems likely that the recent surge of military acquisitions in Indonesia will abate fairly rapidly. Unless there is a

sudden and substantial upturn in the international price of oil — something which is hard to envisage — Jakarta is very unlikely to be in a position to undertake expensive military acquisitions on the scale of the F-16 for the foreseeable future. Indeed, in view of the deterioration in the country's financial situation, it would appear that it has largely been the strong nationalist-inspired desire for greater military self-reliance together with a sense of national pride which have managed to sustain the high-prestige F-16 project, even if on a reduced scale and drawn out over a lengthy period.

NOTES

1. *Aerospace International*, vol. 14, No. 5, 1986, pp3-4. In March this was taken a step further when the Administration formally submitted the matter to Congress. Under American law the sale of the aircraft will be approved unless both Houses of Congress vote against the Bill within 30 days. For details see, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19/3/1986 p7.
2. See, *The Age*, 11/1/1985, p7.
3. Howard H.M.F. *The East Asian Tactical Fighter Markets in International Defence Review*, vol. 16, no. 12, 1985, p1957.
4. Comments by General Murdani, reported in the Jakarta press, emphasize this point. See, *Sinar Harapan*, 18/12/1984, pp1&12.
5. Crouch H., *No Enemy In Sight* in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 14/2/1985, p33; and Kaye L., *Fighting Trim Reforms* in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 24/10/1985 p24.
6. As quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7/3/1985, p11.
7. *Jane's All The World's Aircraft*, 1984-85, p400.
8. An intriguing example of this is a paper produced by a Victorian research group, Asian Bureau Australia, see *Asia's Military Jigsaw* in *Asia Pacific Context*, vol. 1, nos. 2 & 3, December 1985.
9. Crouch, *op. cit.*
10. Source: *Nota Keuangan Dan Racangan Pendapatan*, Jakarta, compiled from 1970-71 editions onwards. It is very important to note that Indonesian military spending is broken into two categories — routine and development expenditure. The former covers such items as personnel and administrative running costs, whereas the latter primarily deals with costs such as new capital expenditure. Table 1 deals only with development expenditure.
11. Data for table 2 is drawn from several sources and should be considered as indicative only. *Asian Development Bank: Key Indicators Of Developing Member Countries*, MacMillan, London, 1985, pp170-71; and Glassburner B, *Survey Of Current Developments in Bulletin Of Indonesian Economic Studies*, April 1986, Table 4, p7. ■

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CSO: 4200/1356

PRC APPROACHED ON FUTURE SATELLITE LAUNCHES

BK140909 Jakarta THE INDONESIA TIMES in English 7 Aug 86 p 1

[Text] The Minister of Parpostel (Tourism, Post and Telecommunication), Akhmad Tahir, said the Indonesian Government is presently negotiating with the United States Government in connection with the plan to launch Palapa B-II Substitute Satellite by using Delta rocket. But Indonesia thinks that the cost of the launching is too expensive, while the United States is not willing to be responsible for the risk if there happens to be a failure.

Akhmad Tahir made the statement answering reporters on the eve of the limited cabinet session on IKUIN (Economy, Finance and Industry), directly presided over by President Suharto at Bina Graha building on Wednesday.

He said to save our Domestic Satellite Communications System Palapa we should consider the entire possibilities in connection with the launching of satellites into space as successful as possible and with the cheapest possible cost.

In this case Indonesia has approached the government of the People's Republic of China in connection with the launching of satellites in the future. Although there has been no diplomatic relations between both countries so far, such an approach can be done using special mechanism.

Information being gathered says that China has rather improved in satellite launching, so that it becomes natural for consideration of the possibility for Indonesia to make use of China's ability.

Answering a question, Minister Akhmad Tahir said that up to now there has been no certainty yet about the launching of Palapa B-II Substitute Satellite. When questioned whether it will be postponed again, he firmly said no. The satellite system will even be used for communications in the General Election in 1987, he emphasized.

The Minister also confirmed that the United States Congress has proposed that the U.S. rocket users pay the actual cost for the making of the rockets. For this purpose Indonesia is now negotiating with the U.S. Government about the cost for the launching of the rocket.

He said that the budget planned to be spent for the shuttle spacecraft has been returned. When questioned whether Indonesia objects to the U.S. Congress' proposal, Minister Akhmad Tahir said that Indonesia does not object to this. What it is doing now is negotiating the matter, he said.

NATIONAL TELEVISION NETWORK, SATELLITE DISCUSSED

BK220535 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0444 GMT 22 Aug 86

[Article by Izham Shuhaimi Ahmad--BERNAMA feature: "For use on 24 August in conjunction with TVRI anniversary celebrations"]

[Text] Jakarta, [no date as received]--Indonesia, in whatever endeavor, can afford to think big. The world's fifth largest country--with a diverse population of 165 million--is poised to take the lead in various technological fields and is confident of achieving success.

It now has P.T. Nusantara, an aircraft manufacturing company in Bandung, West Java. It also has one of the world's best agricultural institutions in Bogor, some 55 km southeast of Jakarta.

The short courses for off-campus students and the advice on agricultural matters offered to farmers in every corner of the 13,667-Indonesian archipelago is provided by the institute via satellite--Indonesia's own Palapa B1.

In this respect of communications, the Television of the Republic of Indonesia (TVRI) has proven its ability in capturing the attention of local viewers.

Indonesia's director general of radio, television and film, Dr H. Subrata, said the use of satellite for communications could increase the speed in disseminating information to the remotest parts of the island republic, regardless of the distance and time limits.

However, there appears to be a minor snag as Palapa B1, already more than 10 years old, is considered a spent-force, he told 30 visiting participants of the second ASEAN exchange of journalists program.

According to the Geneva-based International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the life-span of a satellite is seven years and by that time another satellite should be put into use, on a different orbit.

After some technical problems are overcome at Cape Canaveral, Houston, United States [as received], can Palapa B2 be launched, probably early next year, to replace Palapa B1.

The radius of the Palapa satellite transmission covers not only Indonesia but also Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines and parts of Papua New Guinea.

The word "Palapa" is taken from an ancient Javanese phrase, "Amukti Palapa". Amukti means "to enjoy" and Palapa "the fruits of the effort." The Palapa ground stations are run by the Telecommunications Corporation, while TVRI runs the transmitting stations.

Subrata said that as a broadcasting media, TVRI has to achieve the targets of the information system within the context of national development.

The objectives include instilling dedication and the will to fight for the nation, strengthening national unity, stimulating a sense of responsibility and national discipline, promoting national culture and encouraging the nation's participation in development.

In 1962, when it started broadcasting, TVRI with a staff of 100, then had managed to cover the independence day celebrations at the State Palace on 17 August and a week later telecast the fourth Asian Games held in Jakarta.

The successful "live" telecast of an important sports event marks the official birthday of TVRI. TVRI, with a total workforce of 4,833 now, matures into its 24th year on Sunday (24 August).

As far as keeping a clean record is concerned, TVRI has not gone astray in upholding the state motto: "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" (unity in diversity).

Indonesia believes that the traditional cultures must be preserved so that the innate dignity of each area is not lost amidst the technological and materialist advancements of modern society.

TVRI re-emphasizes the efforts of upholding that respective ethnic dignity by pursuing into a pattern of broadcasting, breaking into 47 percent education/religion and two percent others.

Located in a busy area of the Senayan sports stadium, TVRI has 203 broadcasting and relay stations throughout Indonesia, its range spans 548,438 sq km, reaching a listening population of 101,410,000.

The metropolitan station in Jakarta alone has four studios (including one which also serves as a training center), five outside broadcasting (OB) vans with three cameras each, 11 studio cameras, 11 electronic cameras and a newly completed production center consisting of a film preview room and editing, dubbing and audio facilities.

The other regional stations are at Yogyakarta (central Java), Medan (North Sumatra), Ujung Pandang (south Sulawesi), Balikpapan (east Kalimantan), Palembang (south Sumatra), Surabaya (east Java), Denpasar (Bali) and Manado (north Sulawesi).

At present, each regional station broadcasts two hours of programs a day.

TVRI believes that by using satellite communications it is possible to expand into areas as yet untapped in the electronic media. The Palapa system has presented a unique opportunity for the member countries of ASEAN to communicate directly with one another and on daily basis.

The ASEAN countries with a total surface area of 18 million sq km, 18 land masses of three million sq km, a population of about 230 million and a potential viewing audience of more than 150 million, are planning to use the Palapa in a news exchange program.

It is not only TVRI which is broadcasting aloud that it is to be the coordinating body of the transmission system linkage for the entire region. Indonesians too think big and say all things "bisa diatur, beres dong" (can be done, sir).

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CSO: 4200/1353

JAKARTA DROPS THREAT TO DEFENSE LINKS WITH AUSTRALIA

Melbourne THE AGE in English 5 Aug 86 p 5

[Article by Mark Baker]

[Text]

CANBERRA. — Indonesia has dropped its threat to cut defence cooperation with Australia and is seeking a strengthening of the \$10 million-a-year assistance program.

A two-day meeting on the future of the program will begin in Sydney today. It will be attended by the secretary-general of the Indonesian Defence Department, Lieutenant-General Yogi Supardi.

An Indonesian embassy official said yesterday the meeting con-

firmed relations between Australia and Indonesia were recovering from the row earlier this year that was sparked by news reports about the wealth of President Suharto's family.

At the height of the diplomatic row, Indonesia's military commander, General Benny Murdani, threatened to scrap aspects of the defence cooperation program, including joint mapping operations and Australia's assistance with aircraft maintenance.

But the Indonesian spokesman said yesterday that while aspects of the program were being scaled down by mutual agreement Indo-

nesia was keen to maintain a broad program of defence cooperation with Australia.

He said Indonesia wanted to diversify the program away from simple aid donations and the Sydney meeting would discuss the possibility of technology transfers. "We want to get away from just relying on straight aid from Australia and other countries like the United Kingdom and the United States," he said. "We want to develop more mutually beneficial programs of cooperation."

Australia's defence assistance to Indonesia was worth about \$9.9 million last financial year.

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CSO: 4200/1356

STUDENTS CALL FOR MORE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

BK191505 Jakarta THE JAKARTA POST in English 14 Aug 86 p 1

[Text] Jakarta (JP)--A group of student unions has called for a political climate conducive to the growth of active participation of the people in Indonesia's political development.

"The success of political development can be judged by the level of people's participation in expressing their political beliefs," Kelompok Cipayung [Cipayung Group] said in a statement issued Wednesday [13 August].

Kelompok Cipayung is a loose grouping of Indonesia's major student unions, including two Muslim students associations (the Islamic Student Union, HMI, and the Indonesian Muslim Student Association, PMII) and two Christian students organizations (the Indonesian Catholic Students Association, PMKRI, and the Christian Students Movement, GMKI). Named after the town in West Java where it was formed ten years ago, the group routinely issues a political statement each year on the eve of the Independence Day.

Wednesday's statement opened with a critical assessment of the government's economic policies. It said little attention had been paid to economic sectors "directly beneficial to the majority of the people."

"Economic sectors which historically form the backbone of the people's economy are given little attention so that there is an imbalance impeding the progress of development itself," the statement said.

The group called on the government to develop economic sectors other than heavy industries "such as the informal and agribusiness sectors on which the livelihood of the majority of the people depends."

"There is a tendency of the village economy being increasingly dependent on the urban economy," it said. "The village cooperatives, KUD, has not functioned as a dynamic village economic organization, instead it has tended to develop into a new bureaucracy serving the government and the interest of urban economic power."

The group also criticized the growing role of bureaucracy in Indonesian politics. "There is a tendency for the bureaucracy to play an increasingly dominant role in politics as reflected in the life of the political parties," it said.

The group said the dominant role of the bureaucracy is "weakening the power of the people for participation and paralyzing the political infrastructure."

It said many people looked at politics as "something fearsome" making them afraid to express their political aspirations.

The group attacked what it called "perception of national stability which puts emphasis on excessive preventive dimension bringing about a political culture not in line with Pancasila democracy."

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CSO: 4200/1353

FRETILIN DESCRIBED AS MERE NUISANCE IN EAST TIMOR

Kunyung PACIFIC DEFENCE REPORTER in English Aug 86 p 15

[Article by Patrick Cusick]

[Text]

LIFE IN East Timor, even in areas close to former Fretilin strongholds, has returned to almost normal. Hungry Fretilin guerillas with families to feed still mount occasional food forays but are no more than a nuisance to the Indonesian forces with their hit-and-run tactics.

The action, such as it is, is confined to the remote hills of the former Portuguese colony, where some hundreds of hardened guerillas remain.

Their weapons consist of high-powered M16 rifles and other easily carried arms captured from the Indonesian Army.

According to Governor Mario Carrascalao, an East Timorese of Portuguese descent, Fretilin is a spent force. Malaria, he says, takes more lives than the guerillas.

The bustling streets of Dili suggest that conflict is minimal. Department stores sell the latest in electronic equipment, including color television. The people appear to have forgotten (or prefer to forget) the bloody civil war that was fought in the city's streets after the hurried departure of Portuguese administrators ten years ago, leaving a fledgling nation without a government or obvious leader.

Though their numbers have been depleted to a few hundred hardened guerillas, Fretilins continue to fight in the remote hills of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor 10 years after the Indonesians hoisted their flag.

To support their families, the guerillas are obliged to make raids for food. When I visited East Timor earlier this year, life appeared to have returned to normal.

There are still some bullet holes in the stone buildings where hundreds of East Timorese died before Indonesia annexed the entire island incorporating it into its eastern provinces.

Over recent years Indonesia has pumped huge amounts of capital into East Timor, building roads, hospitals, schools and houses.

Military sources say that the army's presence has been reduced to six battalions — or about 6000 soldiers from an original force of 20,000.

Five helicopters are used to flush out the guerillas who hide in the far eastern hills, protected by heavy foliage and rugged domain.

Yunus Yosfiah, the commander in charge of air operations claims that any fighting between Fretilin and the Indonesian Army is all but over. The last major conflict was in 1983. Since then, he says, skirmishes have only occurred when Fretilin carried out food raids.

According to Yosfiah, the most feared soldiers are the local East Timorese battalion. Anxious for revenge, the East Timor regulars seek conflict with Fretilin and are frustrated with the existing Indonesian policy of minimal combat.

Yosfiah said the military had restricted its presence to three-man outposts which report any Fretilin activity.

I was taken on a guided tour to Baucau — a district that is said to be close to a Fretilin stronghold. A visit to the local market indicated that the people were in good health and life was normal.

A massive building program was under way, with a huge soccer stadium nearing completion on the town's outskirts. Despite rumors to the contrary, military spokesmen said all Fretilin had left the area.

There are 550,000 people in East Timor. On the island of Atauro — clearly visible from Dili — some 900 Fretilin supporters are confined.

Governor Carrascalao told me that despite the "normalization" of life in East Timor there was little likelihood of a peace "deal" with Fretilin to end the conflict.

Carrascalao said that he had instigated a major peace initiative with the Fretilin leader in 1983. "But they tried to make a fool of me," he said. "I offered them peace if they stopped fighting and came down from the hills. But instead they (Fretilin) told our people that the reason I wanted peace was because Australia was about to send troops to East Timor."

The Governor said that it would be difficult to embark on another peace program with Fretilin since there was little trust. ■

/9274
CSO: 4200/1356

BRIEFS

JAPANESE GRANT --The diplomatic note on grant assistance for two projects worth 3,120 billion yen was signed between the Japanese ambassador to Indonesia and the director general of foreign economic relations of the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Department in Jakarta 20 August, 1986. [Summary] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 21 Aug 86 BK] /9738

COMMANDER SEES DEFENSE MINISTER--Defense and Security Minister Poniman received a courtesy visit by Thailand's Military Supreme Commander General Athit Kamlang-ek at his office in Jakarta yesterday. General Athit's visit is one of a series of visits before terminating his position as Thailand's Military Supreme Commander. Defense and Security Minister Poniman said relations between the two countries' Armed Forces has been good all this while due to efforts by military officials including General Athit Kamlang-ek. Minister Poniman conveyed his thanks to General Athit for his efforts in developing closer relations between the two countries. [Text] [Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 2300 GMT 21 Aug 86 BK] /9738

JAKARTA SCHOLARSHIPS TO SURINAMESE--The Indonesian Government has in principle granted a request by the Surinam Government to provide scholarships to Surinamese youths who want to further their Islamic studies in Indonesia. Religious Affairs Minister Munawir Shadzali said this when he met with visiting Surinam Foreign Minister Hendrik Hrenberg at his office in Jakarta yesterday. Speaking to newsmen after the meeting, the Surinam foreign minister said that he was delighted to hear about the scholarships program. However, he will first discuss the procedure of the scholarships program with Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja. The Surinam foreign minister added that during his meeting with the Indonesian religious affairs minister, the promotion of religious activities in Indonesia was also discussed. [Text] [Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 2300 GMT 22 Aug 86 BK] /9738

TWO ENVOYS PRESENT CREDENTIALS--President Suharto received credentials from two envoys at Merdeka Palace in Jakarta on 9 August 1986. They were French Ambassador Louis Hennekine and Vatican Apostolic Pro-nuncio Francesco Canali. [Summary] [Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 11 Aug 86 BK] /9738

GOLD, SILVER EXPORTS ALLOWED--Trade Minister Rakhmat Saleh has issued a ministerial decree allowing the exports of pure gold and silver effective 9 August 1986. Under a 1982 ministerial decree, the exports of pure gold and silver were prohibited. The government's decision, aimed at boosting nonoil and nongas commodity exports, has been welcomed by many domestic businessmen. [Summary] [Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 1200 GMT 20 Aug 86 BK] /9738

COMMENTARY SCORES UNITED STATES ON NICARAGUA

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 30 Jun 86 p 4

[Column: "Washington's Scheme To Oppose Nicaragua Faces Certain Defeat"]

[Text] Recently under pressure from the Reagan administration the House of Representatives of the United States of America passed a White House bill granting \$100 million in aid to the group opposing the Nicaraguan revolution. This action by the United States has let it be known that the Washington administration is in violation of the UN charter and disregards the aspirations of the nations of Central America, such as the Contadora group, which are trying to solve the problems of the area peacefully.

As everyone knows, the ruling circles in Washington have not disregarded the denunciations of the progressive, justice-loving nations and forces of the world, which are demanding that the American imperialists and their lackeys stop their undeclared war against the revolution of the people of Nicaragua. But they are continuing to interfere in and invade Nicaragua in many ways. Every day it becomes clearer that they hope to destroy the fruits of the revolution of the people of the country. According to various allegations made recently, they have falsely accused Nicaragua of supporting "terrorist" groups and invading the territory of neighboring countries in order to cover up their use of mercenaries and former Somoza soldiers operating from Honduran territory together with the group opposing the Nicaraguan revolution as tools to overthrow the revolution of the Nicaraguan people. The training of mercenaries in Honduras by the CIA and the giving of direct aid to the counterrevolutionary group by the Reagan administration is nothing but a plan for undeclared war against the people of Nicaragua. Washington really hopes to overthrow the revolutionary administration of the Nicaraguan people and then set up a puppet administration for them. In any case the period of violence by the militaristic imperialists is past, and for this reason the schemes and actions of Washington in the past as well as the present, including the granting of \$100 million to the contras in order to oppose the Nicaraguan revolution, not only heightens the national and revolutionary spirit of the Nicaraguan people but also causes the people of other countries as well as the people of the United States of America and various international organizations to denounce loudly the militaristic policy of the Washington administration in every corner of the world. On 28 June the last World Court decided that the United States of America had violated the

UN charter and that the United States must pay compensation for the losses of Nicaragua; it also demanded that Washington immediately stop aiding the group opposing the Nicaraguan revolution. Not long before this all of the Contadora countries had requested that both sides meet for talks in order to bring peace and stability to Central America without the use of force. With regard to this request the Nicaraguan representative to the United Nations has responded already by bringing the matter up with the secretary general of the United Nations in order to demonstrate Nicaragua's willingness to sign a regional peace treaty to achieve peace and cooperation as suggested by the Contadora group. Therefore, when the United States of America stubbornly continues to provide aid to the contras in order to increase the level of the undeclared war against Nicaragua, it not only subjects the administration to wider denunciations every day and isolates it within the country and internationally, puts the United States of America on the way to another painful and more disgraceful defeat. The just struggle of the people of Nicaragua to defend their nation and the fruits of their revolution under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which receives wide support from progressive nations and the peace-loving and justice-loving forces of the world, is certain of victory. They will eagerly participate in defending the peace and stability of the region and the world.

8149/9835

CSO: 4206/122

ARMY FACES PROBLEMS IN OFFICER TRAINING

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 1 Jul 86 p 2

[Article: "Good Lesson From Outstanding Division"]

[Excerpt] The Antiaircraft School under the Joint Officers School is one of the divisions that contributed additional useful experience about its improvements and outstanding performance in many areas to the recent army training conference.

In reality, the Antiaircraft School under the Joint Officers School has shouldered the many heavy tasks that the party and state have delegated to it since its establishment. The school has experienced many difficulties in performing its duties, especially during the initial period of its establishment. There were few teachers and they were of differing levels of pedagogy, with some strong, some weak. School placement was confusing and the location of the school was not stable; there were many changes and the school moved around continuously.

However, the school looked for ways to solve its problems. The teachers struggled to overcome those difficulties with the guidance of cadres of each training session. They taught and were also enriched by capable and experienced former teachers. For example, the director of the Antiaircraft School told our reporter that from 1973 to the present, the Antiaircraft School has seriously undertaken research and study, and has compiled lessons for guiding and helping organize and expand the work of the school.

For example, the army has been able to draw lessons for improving and carrying out its work ably at many points from the initial 10 year period of reform and development of socialism in our country. Cadres and fighters have absorbed party and state policies. They are loyal to the party and the country and enthusiastic in their political and ideological training, namely, in regular monthly or quarterly training sessions which study reports, the genuine attractiveness of the army, and outstanding work or individuals. In addition, party members, cadres and fighters unanimously and with the highest responsibility host the banner and encourage political ideology around the school.

The school has a great deal of interest in improving and establishing the party, cadres, LPRYU, Lao Women's Patriotic Association and other political

organizations to make them systematic from bottom to top, externally and internally. The school is united starting with the commanding cadres at the leadership level, who are democratic and united in every area of work, with each person given responsibility. They work as a team, with plans and with deadlines, events are predicted and conclusions drawn. Each month, every task is studied and lessons are drawn from them, without omitting any of them. New tasks have been set up for dissemination in the future. Prompt persons with good performances are praised. When an order is issued from the high level or the party committee, the party chapter commander studies and understands it first, then releases it to each level. He guides and implements that order per the slogan, "The party guides and the party chapter supervises implementation." In the area of self-reliant production, guiding committee commanders set plans to establish, implement and also inspect and guide especially closely those cadres responsible for finance. They also supervise cadres with special skills to struggle and overcome obstacles in order to improve the living standard of their colleagues. Leading committees and commanders also plan to raise livestock for each period.

Employing these lessons, the school has been able to have an outstanding performance and claims that it has completed the training of 6 classes with 343 students. Each class has passed a written exam, with the highest score 90.8 percent.

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CSO: 4206/124

WEAKNESS IN OUDOMSAI ARMY UNIT SEEN

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 30 Jun 86 pp 2, 4

[Article by K. Thounphousai: "Quartermaster's Office for Oudomsai Province Is Improved"]

[Excerpt] The quartermaster's office for Oudomsai Province is one of the units which always does its duties well.

The job of raising the level of political and ideological responsibility of the commanding cadres is thought to be indispensable, or put another way, it is essential for the industriousness and unity of an organization. It is what guarantees that each person does his job completely. For this reason in 1985 they mobilized to change themselves from an organization which was not very firm in politics and ideology to one in which the cadres were unified in their work program and actual operations; the cadres excelled in leadership with the combatants in all seasons.

An important problem and a more decisive factor than this lay within the unit. They made the unit strong and well-rounded so that the quartermaster's office of Oudomsai Province developed in the past year in both the quantity and the quality of its cadres and combatants.

In addition to the activities above they worked every day on the standard of living of the units, offices, organizations, schools, and hospitals affiliated with the armed forces of their locality. These special service departments of the province did their duties bravely: they distributed food, clothing, and equipment to each unit on time, which allowed each unit to do its duties conveniently.

The work of increasing production and animal husbandry within the unit is something they did well. For example, in the past year they raised 35 pigs and 300 ducks and chickens. They cultivated 500 gardens for various vegetables and harvested 3,400 kg. They also raised pumpkins, gourds, peppers, and eggplants and harvested 1,370 kg. This improved their standard of living.

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CSO: 4206/122

'TALK' CITES HAYDEN, SCORES POL POT

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 8 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Saiboua: "Pol Pot's Deeds Cause Reaction"]

[Text] At present the murderer Pol Pot is running into a violent political storm. While within the group which calls him the leader of Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer reactionaries, there are conflicts and disagreements, world opinion is demanding that Pol Pot, who was instrumental in annihilating the Kampuchean race, be brought to trial for sentencing appropriate with his crime.

Last week Mr Bill Hayden, the foreign minister of Australia, told a meeting of the foreign ministers of the ASEAN nations in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, that an international court should be set up to sentence Pol Pot and his group. A well-known American legal expert, Professor Gregory Stanton, cooperated in collecting various documents and records about the details of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge eradication of the Kampuchean people. If this evidence is not sufficient to implicate them, it is not because it is an unfounded story; people all over the world know what Pol Pot did in Kampuchea when he came to power at the end of the "1970's". More than 3 million of the Kampuchean people became victims of genocide. Representatives of various international organizations including Western correspondents came to see the actual conditions after the Kampuchean People's Army, which was under the guidance of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party led by General Secretary Heng Samrin and which was coordinated with the powerful assistance of the Vietnamese volunteer force, was able to liberate and save the lives of the Kampuchean people, prevent the loss of the nation, and create the Kampuchean People's Republic on 7 January 1979. They all say that: the murderer Pol Pot, the fascist Hitler of this era, must be punished. If there were no more bloody deeds for which his skills were responsible, the Kampuchean people would certainly make greater progress, but it seems that now they must not only build a new life and rebuild the economy and culture of the nation which were almost totally destroyed but also defend the nation because of the interference of the Pol Pot lackeys who are supported by international reactionary forces and the reactionary ruling circle in Thailand. Nevertheless the People's Republic of Kampuchea is still growing and getting steadily stronger.

In contrast, the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot and the other reactionary Khmer groups which are receiving unlimited assistance in both money and weapons

from the Chinese reactionaries, the American imperialists, the Thai reactionaries, and other reactionary forces do not seem to be helped by this assistance. They are getting weaker every day--they are rotting within. Son Sen, who is called the prime minister of the government cabinet of the Khmer Rouge, had to use the strategy of threatening to resign. At the end of June he threatened again. It certainly was only Pol Pot or Sihanouk who was worried by this because world opinion is tired of their squabbles. Although they want to gain Kampuchean territory, they do not control 2 inches. While they are lying about this, they are shrinking back every day. How can they assert that the Khmer Rouge represent the Kampuchean people? If they are still alive, it is because of the money and weapons of Beijing and Washington and because their bases are in Thai territory. If this were not the case, these Khmer reactionaries would not live a single day.

The ones who are disheartened by this are the power holders in Beijing and the reactionary generals who are the power holders in Thailand because they have been helping the Khmer Rouge greatly and supporting the dislocated Khmer reactionaries so that they can return to resist the recovery of the Kampuchean people and resist the revolution of the three fraternal nations of Indochina.

In any case, morality must always defeat immorality. I fear that the rottenness of the murderer Pol Pot's group, which has been festering for a long time, has burst out. This will give an odor to all those fostering them such as the Chinese reactionaries, the American imperialists, and the right-wing reactionaries among the Thai power holders. They will smell so bad they will not be able to endure it.

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INDUSTRIAL, INFRASTRUCTURE PROBLEMS, SRV TIES DISCUSSED

Paris SUDESTASIE in French Feb-Mar 86 pp 12-16

[Article by Martin and Elisabeth Stuart-Fox: Laos, Ten Years Later]

[Excerpts] The path chosen by the People's Democratic Republic of Laos a decade ago still has its pitfalls. Nevertheless, the leaders are showing a certain realism.

In December 1979, in the key document of the Seventh Resolution of the Supreme People's Assembly, party leaders recognized that many mistakes had been made and that the implementation of the program for transition to socialism had not taken Lao conditions into account. A new policy was needed. The Seventh Resolution recognized the coexistence in Laos of five forms of economic and means-of-production organization at the time of the transition to socialism: the individual private production economy (especially at the subsistence level); the collective economy (in which farm cooperatives continued to operate); the state economy (consisting of government farms and manufacturing concerns); the capitalist economy (private businesses operating within government limits); and the mixed economy.

In order to stimulate production in all sectors of the economy, regulations governing business and investment were eased, price controls were abolished, and farm taxes lowered. The office of state-owned businesses was reorganized for greater efficiency. In addition, profit was adopted as a criterion for productivity. The currency was devalued. Government subsidies were reduced, and wages were increased. A year after the implementation of these more liberal measures, appreciable results could be discerned. As the regime celebrated its fifth year in power, rice production had reached 1 million metric tons, and Vientiane markets were once again overflowing with merchandise.

When the country's first 5-year plan (never published in detail) was implemented in 1981, it was obvious that the principles of the Seventh Resolution would continue to be applied. In fact, seven priority goals were established.

Increased Farm Production

The first goal was increased farm production. Emphasis was on rice and corn, but manufacturing commodities such as tobacco, cotton, and wood were also included. According to the government, the goal of an annual per capita consumption of 350 kg of rice and other starches was met. Official statistics show that rice production increased by 1.3 million metric tons a year (or, after subtracting seed rice and hulls, 700,000 metric tons of white rice), a net increase for this 5-year period. Other crops (especially wood) were less satisfactory; marketing proved ineffective, and corruption was general.

Industry: Administrators and Infrastructure Lacking

In industry, the goal of the first 5-year plan was to build "strategic businesses" and to strengthen existing state-owned concerns. Statistics in this area are nonexistent or less than complete. Hydroelectric output, almost all of which was sold to Thailand, probably accounted for up to 85 percent of foreign currency (\$24 million in 1984). Other state-owned companies such as the Tha-Ngon animal feed plant and the Vientiane brick factory are less profitable and are operating at less than capacity due to the scarcity of raw materials.

Although one of the Seventh Resolution priorities, industrial development, did suffer from a lack of infrastructure in all areas, it also suffered from a shortage of competent administrators. Despite official statistics indicating that 40,000 "financial, scientific, and technical administrators" have been trained, including over 5,000 in the service sector, Laos is short on high-level administrators. Not enough administrators have foreign training. Moreover, they are considered too young for important positions on return from abroad. In addition, despite partial economic decentralization, the reluctance--or rather, the fear--of government employees to make any decision that might provoke ideological criticism of any kind and lead to re-education classes has the effect of slowing economic growth.

Progress in transportation and communications has also been slower than planned. Route 9, connecting the Vietnamese port of Danang to Savannakhet on the Mekong, has not been surfaced yet.

Route 13, which travels 1,300 km from southern Laos to Luang-Prabang, has been improved, but one of the biggest bridges, the one over the Nam Cading, is still awaiting completion. Telephone and telegraph communications have improved, but like all transportation and transmission systems, they are subject to sabotage by the guerrillas, who still plague the country.

Slow Progress Toward Literacy

Other goals of the first 5-year plan, such as obtaining and utilizing economic aid and combating illiteracy, have produced positive results. Laos receives all the economic aid that the country can absorb (around

\$80 million a year)--mostly from the Soviet Union and Vietnam, but also from Sweden, Japan, Australia, various United Nations agencies, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. On the other hand, the contention that even the non-Lao-speaking ethnic minorities are now literate in Lao (for the population from 15 to 45 years of age) cannot be taken seriously. Great progress has been made in adult education, but not to the point of entirely eliminating illiteracy.

The seventh goal is to strengthen and restructure "organizations governing the economy and the state." This goal was implemented at the Third Lao People's Democratic Republic Party Congress in April 1982. Central Committee membership more than doubled. Most of the new members were representatives of the Army or the provincial governments. The central government was also restructured. The three-level hierarchical system introduced consisted of a private cabinet of vice-presidents of the Council of Ministers (all except one of whom were Politburo members); a Council of Ministers; and a large number of vice-ministers (around 70). The number of ministries and commissions increased from 15 to 19.

Progress was also made in other areas, although not as much as expected. For example, despite a considerable increase in the number of village primary schools--especially in ethnic minority areas--as well as in the number of district middle and secondary schools, education levels dropped sharply. There is also a tremendous shortage of teachers, books, and school supplies. Students sent to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe often have language problems and do not have the educational background required for the coursework. Another basic problem is the extremely low wages paid government employees, and therefore teachers, who end up opening small private shops in order to survive. These is reason to fear that the basic problem of education will be perpetuated.

Some progress has also been made in the field of public health.

Paramedics have been trained and sent to most villages and dispensaries in all the districts, and hospitals have been built in all the provincial capitals that did not have one. An accelerated medical training program has more than quadrupled the number of doctors (1 for every 1,700 persons). However, life expectancy is still 45 years, and infant mortality remains very high (284 out of 1,000). Malaria and intestinal and parasitic illnesses are endemic. There is also a tremendous shortage of medicines, and the quality of medical care leaves much to be desired.

Relative Regional Autonomy

The new regime made its first real effort to integrate [the Lao Soung, or "Mountain-Top" Lao, who speak Tibeto-Birman languages, and the Lao Theung, or "Mountain-Side" Lao, who speak Mon-Khmer languages] into the national political apparatus, but it did not have the means to improve their standard of living significantly. A number of administrative employees who belong to the ethnic minorities have a certain amount of political power in local and provincial government, but the party Central Committee is overwhelmingly dominated by the Lao Loum [the ethnic majority].

The necessity of taking the pressing needs of these minorities into consideration led Lao authorities to modify their policy on two important points: (1) relations with China and (2) the degree of central-government control. Traditional trading among minority groups in Yunnan and Laos continues, despite the ceaseless bombardment of anti-Chinese slogans in official Lao medias. In fact, border contacts between Lao and Chinese troupes are even cordial. This is an example not only of Lao pragmatism turning a deaf ear to Vietnamese-inspired ideology, but also of the degree of regional autonomy that exists in a state which claims to be socialist and centrally planned. However, it should be noted that the degree of provincial autonomy in Laos reflects not only its geography and its poor communications system, but also the determination of provincial officials to keep their grip on the hard-won power they acquired during the war years, especially in the provinces, where party organization is dominated by administrators belonging to minority groups.

The extent of provincial autonomy in Laos is particularly evident on an economic level. The provinces trade directly with Vietnam and Thailand. The central government collects a percentage of foreign currency revenues, but the provincial government can use the rest to finance development projects in the province. Major export items are agricultural, led by wood products. For example, the provincial government can sell its wood directly to businesses--which are generally Vietnamese or Thai. In addition, due to the "special relations" with Vietnam, each Lao province has a twin province in Vietnam with which it maintains close ties and with which it also trades agricultural and forest products in exchange for industrial goods.

Vietnam's Shadow

The nature of relations between Laos and Vietnam is the subject of much heated debate. The relationship is obviously an unequal one, if we consider that fact that Vietnam is much more heavily populated and much more powerful than Laos. However, it would be a mistake to consider the relationship a colonial one. It would be equally misleading to say that Laos is part of a Vietnamese-dominated federation. Nonetheless, Vietnamese influence in Laos is obviously considerable. However, this influence is not felt in local and daily government politics but rather at the level of the relations between the respective parties, where political policies are decided. In other words, to the extent that it influences the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Vietnam controls the country.

Vietnam also has considerable influence over the Lao People's Army. Vietnamese advisors train all Lao Army units, with special emphasis on assisting in the political training of administrative officers. For this reason, it is interesting to note the surprising and rapid growth in the Army's influence on the political life of the country, especially since the Third Lao People's Republic Party Congress. Army representation on the party Central Committee has increased. The party has also granted the Army certain financial autonomy. The central government has given it logging concessions with sales and export rights. The Army has also been granted the right to use the foreign currency obtained to finance the projects for which it will be responsible under the second 5-year plan directly.

The political and economic decentralization brought about by this strategy of regional self-sufficiency and the slowdown of the socialist transformation evident in the first 5-year plan has not gone uncriticized. Lao people's Democratic Republic Secretary-General Kaysone Phomvihane clearly said as much in his January 1985 speech to the Supreme People's Assembly, in which he mentioned "the struggle to resolve the problem of which of the the two tendencies, socialism and capitalism, will have beat which." According to Kaysone, this struggle took on a more violent and intransigent character in 1984. However, Kaysone also stated that at the same time, the successes being achieved under the first 5-year plan proved that "the party line is correct and extremely creative," leaving all observers a bit perplexed as to Kaysone's own position.

"The struggle between these two tendencies" seems to have been partially responsible for the series of arrests of vice-ministers (followed in some cases by release and rehabilitation) which took place between 1983 and 1985. No less than six vice-ministers were charged, three of whom are still in prison. Three vice-ministers were released following much maneuvering and heavy pressure on the part of their families and powerful supporters. Some observers interpreted both the arrests and releases as reflecting the existence of two or more factions within the Lao People's Revolutionary Party. However, the very fact that there were arrests shows the probable dominant influence of the faction opposed to small-scale capitalism, which would like to place new controls on private business and further flagging farm cooperativization.

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LAOS

FURTHER ON ALLEGED LAO-SPONSORED ANTI-THAI BROADCASTS

Bangkok LAENG KHAO in Thai 22-28 Jun 86 pp 16, 17

[Article by Phinit Sarodom: "The Voice of the People Radio Has Gone to Paris, Attacks Thailand"]

[Text] If I remember correctly, the Voice of the People of Thailand, the former mouthpiece of the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), went off the air in 1982 because of a split within the party and pressure from the Thai government through the government in Beijing, which once supported the CPT. In particular, the radio station was located in the Kunming area in southern China. Ever since then, nothing more has been heard from that radio. At first, there were a few broadcasts from the Voice of the People of Thailand Information Office. But that did not survive very long. It faded away along with the CPT. There were occasionally rumors that illegal radio stations were trying to broadcast programs attacking the Thai government. But nothing ever came of that.

The issue of the Voice of the People Radio arose again about 2 months ago. But this time, this is quite different from the normal, because it concerns a country that is thousands of km from Thailand. And the radio is not a CPT radio as in the past. Instead, it is operated by Lao refugees who fled to that country. The country mentioned above is France, the country with a history of struggle for freedom.

A news source in diplomatic circles has informed LAENG KHAO that that illegal radio station calls itself the International Voice of the People of the Northeast. It broadcasts on a frequency of FM 106 megahertz. Its broadcasts can be received in some parts of Paris. The news source stated that the station broadcasts every Monday from 2000 hours to 2100 hours. It also broadcasts a shortwave program on Wednesdays and Fridays from 0600 hours to 0800 hours Asian time. The news source did not provide any details on the shortwave frequency.

The same news source stated that in its broadcasts, this radio station tries to incite people in northeastern Thailand to split away from Thailand. It cites the special traditions and customs of the northeast and the fact that people there speak the same dialect. For the most part, the broadcasts try to incite northeasterners to rise up and fight for independence and freedom. They

attack Thailand, saying that Thailand exploits northeasterners. They claim that the northeast once belonged to Laos but that Thailand used tricks to annex the 16 northeastern provinces.

"Some of the programs have charged that the Thai government has arrested a writer from the northeast. But they have not said who the writer is, when he was arrested, or on what charges he was arrested. They have said that the state is persecuting that writer for writing an article calling for freedom," said the news source. He added that what is even worse is that some of the broadcasts have slandered the king and other members of the royal family.

Although most of the programs attack Thailand, they are broadcast in the Lao language, which is different from the language spoken in northeastern Thailand. Thus, it is thought that those behind this are Lao rather than northeasterners. The news source said that this is actually rather humorous if the targets of the broadcasts are the northeastern Thai living in France and neighboring countries. Because there are very few such people living there.

"Their targets are probably the Lao living in Paris or in the surrounding area. Because there are many more Lao refugees there than Thai," said the same news source. He said that according to news sources in Paris, this radio station is located in or near Paris, because the transmitting power of the FM system is not very great.

As for separating the 16 northeastern provinces from Thailand, that has been an issue ever since Vietnam made plans to form an Indochinese Federation. Thai leaders believe that the communist countries of Indochina, headed by Vietnam, have not abandoned their dream of seizing Thailand's 16 northeastern provinces. Thailand and Laos used to have fraternal relations, but relations have now deteriorated greatly. In particular, ever since the communists triumphed in Laos in 1967, there have frequently been incidents along the border. Most recently, a dispute arose over three villages in Nong Khai Province. These three villages are located near the border. This issue is still unresolved.

A news source from the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed LAENG KHAO that so far, there is nothing to indicate that Lao officials are involved with this radio station in any way. This probably involves Lao refugees who fled to France after the coup against Gen Kong Le more than 10 years ago. "Gen Kong Le is now living in Paris. But he is probably not involved, because he is no longer involved in political activities."

One potential problem is the matter of relations between Thailand and France. This is a rather delicate issue. This has been classified "top secret" in order to prevent this from affecting relations between the two countries. In particular, this year the two countries will celebrate 300 years of Thai-French friendship. However, at the end of April 1986, the Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, asked Mr Gabriong Yaknet, the second secretary at the French embassy in Thailand, to come and discuss this matter.

This same news source said that Thailand asked the French government to find a way to shut down this illegal radio station. Mr Yaknet said that French

officials will not permit foreigners living in France to carry on political activities against another country. Anyone who does so will be deported. He said that he would report this to his government.

"You probably know that France is a political land. Khomeini, who overthrew the Shah, lived in France prior to that. Thus, we have to be very careful about this," said the news source. "Their (French) laws do not permit that because that would be contrary to the Vienna Treaty on International Law, which France signed. They have promised to take action on this."

A report from the Thai embassy in France stated that the Thai ambassador met with Mr Ivan Bastuil, the director-general of French Asia and Oceania (Pacific) Department on 24 April 1986. He discussed this issue with Mr Bastuil. Because it is feared that the Thai people will mistakenly think that France is supporting this radio station, which could affect relations between our two countries.

Another news source revealed that even though France promised to take action on this, no progress has been made yet. The Thai embassy in France continues to report that this radio station is still broadcasting. "They have promised to take action and so we have to give them time to do so." Similarly, an assistant press attache at the French embassy in Thailand said, through an interpreter, that "we are pursuing this matter. There is nothing new to report." That was all he would say. He refused to provide any more details.

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CSO: 4207/307

READER CITES DISAPPEARANCE OF LAO DRESS; THAI OCCUPATION NOTED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 1,2 Jul 86 p 2

[Column: "Why Lao Dress Not Worn"]

[Excerpt] 1. Why do our television announcers dress like Thai television announcers? They do not wear Lao dress in accordance with Lao culture... especially women.

2. Why do Lao people and especially Lao women wear pants and dress and wear their hair like foreign women? Please discuss our beautiful culture and the customs of Laos, and explain them to me.

Thank you in advance.

From Boun Gnok

Heroic School of LPRYU of Km 14, Tha Deua.

Dear Boun Gnok,

These are the editor's informal opinions about your two questions. Concerning the way that Lao women dress, you must be referring to the chignon hairdo and someone wearing an off-shoulder shawl and sarong that you have seen at a party or wedding, right? If that is the case, they you are right because Lao women have always dressed that way. However, nowadays those clothes are disappearing, and are seen only as bridal wedding dresses or at fashion or cultural shows. In my personal opinion, the reasons for this are:

- A. Related to changes in the social situation (fashion)
- B. Because of the high cost of Lao women's clothes (for silk skirts, off-shoulder shawls and blouses)
- C. Because of official regulations concerning clothing suitable for women's roles (such as women in the military and police; when they are on duty it is difficult for them to move around if they are wearing skirts)

Consequently, owing to these circumstances, Lao women are distancing themselves from genuine Lao clothing. Lao women's dress is disappearing and Lao women are dressing more casually and simply, but in more active wear, which

has become the style among the young people. Concerning the question about why Lao television announcers dress like Thai announcers, this question is not surprising because the Lao and the Thai have similar cultures, traditions and languages. I think you know that historically, the Lao and the Thai were closely related Lao people--from the "Uncle City" and "Aunt City" era or the Nong Se Era--who were invaded by the Chinese feudalists. Subsequently, they fled to new settlements, namely, those along the Mekong River called themselves Lao and those along the Chao Phraya River called themselves Thai. Especially now, the Lao are being attacked and terrorized by Siamese feudalists, who take Lao land and make it into Thai territory. Our fellow Lao still have their own culture, which no one can threaten or change at all. Therefore, to say that the Lao copy the Thai is not correct; only the Thai copy from the Lao. Please read about the Sisattanak Kanakut era, when Laos lost its independence and became a colony of a Siamese reactionary (during the Prince Anou Era).

12587/9835
CSO: 4206/124

BRIEFS

VIENTIANE PROVINCE IRRIGATION CAPACITY--Since 1976 to the present, 45 permanent small scale irrigation systems and local canals have been built in Vientiane with a capacity to irrigate more than 10,000 ha of rice fields. [Excerpt] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 15 Jul 86 pp A7, 8] 12587/9835

ATTAPEU RICE SALES, EXCHANGES--From January up to the present, the cadres and workers of the Foodstuffs Company of Attapeu Province have bought and bartered 2,286 tons of rice from the people. Merchandise bought as barter was galvanized sheet, bikes, cement and other consumer and daily use goods worth 12,500,000 kip. Purchases and bartering of rice between the state and the people in Attapeu Province is currently in progress and very popular. [Text] [Vientiane KHAOSAN PATHET LAO in Lao 17 Jun 86 p A5] 12587/9835

VIENTIANE DISTRICT PUBLIC SECURITY SERVICE--In the afternoon of 8 July 1986, at the Chantaburi District Club House, Vientiane Capital, the Public Security Service of Chanthaburi District organized a ceremony, which was held in a very jolly atmosphere, to review the first 6 months of the year. One hundred cadres and fighters of the district PSS joined the ceremony. Mr Thongmy Phoumvisai, chief of Vientiane Party and the secretary of the Chanthaburi District Party; Mr Chanpheng Sinouvong, mayor of Chanthaburi District; and Capt Bounlai Aphaygnasane, chief of the Chanthaburi District PSS, were there to honor the occasion. [Excerpt] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 10 July 86 pp 1, 4] 12587/9835

BABY FOOD FACTORY--The first baby food factory at Tha Ngone, Xaithani District, Vientiane, started production the beginning of the year, according to a report by Comrade Bounleut Louangkhamdeng, director of the factory. He pointed out that in the beginning, the factory made food for babies 3 months old and up. For 1986 alone, the factory has plans to produce 100 tons of baby food. In the last 6 months, it has produced 8 tons of food. Comrade Bounleut Louangkhamdeng added that factory production has been low because the general public does not know its products, but that if its baby foods were used widely, the factory would produce as much as called for in the annual plan figure. The director of the factory also stated that the quality of the baby food produced in it is equal to that of foreign products. In 100 grams of the baby food, there are not less than 390 calories, 17.19 percent protein and 3 percent cholesterol, multivitamins and complete minerals. The raw materials used in production consist of 60 percent rice, 30 percent soybean powder, 9.4 percent

sugar, .1 percent vitamins and .5 percent iron. These products not only provide substances for baby growth but also can be prepared as sweets for people who are familiar with them. [Text] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 30 Jun 86 pp 1, 4] 12587/9835

SHEET METAL PRODUCTION--From the beginning of January to the end of June 1986, the cadres and workers of the metal sheet and mosquito incense coils factory under the Ministry of Industries and Forestry have produced a total of 503,100 metal sheets, of which 462,500 are curved, and packaged 37,056 boxes of mosquito coils; 1,348 kilograms of nails have been produced, with a total value of 244,648,000 kip. [Excerpts] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 2 Jun 86] 12587/9835

CSO: 4206/124

MALAYSIA

THAILAND'S ATHIT GIVES NEWS CONFERENCE BEFORE DEPARTURE

BK200515 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0433 GMT 20 Aug 86

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 20 Aug (BERNAMA)--Retiring Thai Armed Forces Supreme Commander General Athit Kamlang-ek gave an assurance Wednesday of his country's continued cooperation with Malaysia in the fight against communist terrorists along the common border. "If we continue to work together and coordinate each operation, I'm sure they (the communist terrorists) can be eradicated," he told a news conference at the Royal Malaysian Air Force base here before leaving for Jakarta for a two-day visit.

Athit, who had made a three-day visit here, said as a result of combined operations undertaken by Thai and Malaysian Armed Forces, the number of communist terrorists along the common border "is getting smaller."

Although he could not give off-hand the exact number of communist terrorist remnants along the border area, it is reliably learned that the figure is around 2,000.

Athit also talked of deploying what he termed as "blocking forces" to prevent communist terrorists from moving inside Thai and Malaysian territories during operations against them. On the demarcation of the common boundary, Athit, who is also Thai Border Committee chairman, described it as a mission well completed. "We have already completed a great deal of the work," he said, attributing the progress to close cooperation between the governments and armed forces of both countries.

Athit, who will be retiring soon, conveyed his regards to all members of the Malaysian Armed Forces and also expressed the hope that Malaysians and Thais would continue to live closely and peacefully as they had been doing in the past.

His Malaysian counterpart, General Ghazali Che Mat, who was there to see him off, shared Athit's hopes for continued cooperation between the two armed forces. Athit was accompanied by a delegation of 25 senior Thai officers.

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CSO: 4200/1354

COMMENTARY DOUBTS CHANGED SRV STAND ON CAMBODIA

BK181445 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0800 GMT 18 Aug 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] One more speculation is rife concerning a possible change of attitude or even a change of policy by Vietnam on the Cambodian issue. Two good-will messages sent by the Vietnamese prime minister to the Thai prime minister have sparked off this hope for some relief from the present political deadlock.

Reactions of most people who have been monitoring Vietnam's relations with its ASEAN neighbors can only, at this stage at least, be one of skepticism. Numerous previous occasions on which Vietnam appeared to be on the brink of a change of policy turned out to be mere diplomatic gestures to impress world public opinion. Such may be the case with Vietnam's present posture too. Hanoi knows that in a few weeks' time, the nonaligned summit conference will begin in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe.

The ASEAN partnership has been engaging in a determined diplomatic exercise to keep the international community fully informed of the current realities in Cambodia. Vietnam, with strong support from its mentor, the Soviet Union, is equally determined to spread a corpus of distortions and misrepresentations about the Cambodian situation. The main thrust of the propaganda efforts is still the old myth that Vietnamese troops entered and occupied Cambodia as liberators of the people who were victims of the Pol Pot regime's tyranny.

Vietnam has had to bear a very heavy economic burden for its Cambodian policy. Resources that could have been used for the reconstruction of the country after 2 decades of warfare have had to be diverted for military purposes. Vietnam has been forced to lean more heavily on the Soviet Union, while being isolated from the international community. The contrast with the ASEAN bloc is particularly significant--the ASEAN nations have embarked on economic growth and even a large measure of self-sufficiency in consumer goods and foodstuff.

Vietnam continues to lose thousands of its own citizens who are prepared to risk their lives in their bid to leave Vietnam. They prefer the hazards of the South China Sea and possible refugee status to the austerities of Vietnam.

Prospects for a settlement of the problem of Cambodia have not improved since the last UN General Assembly on the subject. It is relevant to recall that in last year's UN General Assembly discussion on the Cambodian issue, a resolution was passed calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia. The voting figures are truly significant. The ASEAN-sponsored resolution on Cambodia was adopted by an increased margin of 114 members in favor, 12 against, and 16 abstention. There was no challenge to the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea.

Malaysia, with its ASEAN partners, supports the 8-point peace proposal of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the leader of the tripartite Cambodian coalition. The people of Cambodia should be allowed to determine their own future. Therefore, ASEAN will not be widely enthusiastic about Hanoi's so-called interest in peace and stability, but it will respond quickly to any sincere move by Vietnamese leaders for solving the Cambodian problem.

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CSO: 4200/1354

MALAYSIA

FOREIGN FISHERMEN, FOUR TRAWLERS SEIZED OFF JOHOR

BK201529 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 1450 GMT 20 Aug 86

[Text] Lumut, Malaysia, 20 Aug (BERNAMA)--Fifteen foreign fishermen in four trawler boats were arrested for encroaching in Malaysian waters off southern Johor State on Sunday.

A spokesman from the Maritime Coordination and Enforcement Center here said Wednesday they would be charged in court in Kota, Tinggi, Johor, next week.

The fishermen aged 16 to 52 were detained off Tanjung Penawar. A trawler boat in the group however, managed to escape from the authorities. He said the boats were found about 14 km offshore by local patrol boats which detained them at about 10 p.m.

The crew of two of the boats had cut their trawler net ropes in a bid to escape but failed to get away. The authorities also impounded the fishermen's fishing equipment and auctioned their catch.

The arrest is the third in Johor waterd this year. The first was on 21 April when a boat with four foreign fishermen on board was detained. Ten foreign fishermen in three boats were arrested on 28 May.

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CSO: 4200/1354

BRIEFS

MAHATHIR ON MEDIA'S ROLE--Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir says the government has to devote all its energy and financial resources to overcome any problem now that the elections are over. Any unexpected criticism or misinterpretations will only retard development and this would affect the country. Speaking at the annual press night in Kuala Lumpur last night, the prime minister pointed out that the progress of the country does not depend on the government alone as all parties have their respective roles, especially the newspapers. In this respect he stressed the need for newspapers to be controlled by responsible people. This is to prevent any publication that could be prejudicial to the security of the country. Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir said the media can expose malfunctions in the government machinery but the veracity of the alleged malpractices should be checked first. Citing an example of a rumor that he will step down as prime minister on the 28th of this month, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir said this had caused tension and uneasiness among the society and had affected the business climate. If the media reports such rumors, it could be tantamount to sabotaging the economy of the country. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 21 Aug 86 BK] /9738

LEADERS CONGRATULATE ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS--His Majesty the King has sent a congratulatory message to President Nicolae Ceausescu on the occasion of Romania's national day. The prime minister, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamed, sent a similar message to his Romanian counterpart, Constantin Dascalescu, expressing confidence that Romania would continue to enjoy peace and prosperity. Foreign Affairs Minister Datuk Rais Yttim, in a message to his Romanian counterpart, Mr Ilie Vaduva, hopes the present friendly relations and close cooperation between the two countries would be further strengthened. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 23 Aug 86 BK] /9738

LEE KUAN YEW VISITS--Subang, 23 Aug (BERNAMA)--Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew arrived to a red carpet welcome at the Kuala Lumpur International Airport here this morning for a one-day visit. Malaysian Foreign Minister Rais Yatim was among those at the airport to welcome the leader. Lee is accompanied by Foreign Minister S. Dhanabalan, Finance Minister Dr Richard Hu and senior government officials. He later proceeded to the prime minister's department for discussions with Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamed. Dhanabalan and Dr Hu will have separate talks with their Malaysian counterparts. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0405 GMT 23 Aug 86 BK] /9738

CSO: 4200/1354

BRIEFS

LEE RETURNS FROM BRUNEI--The prime minister and Mrs Lee Kuan Yew have returned home after paying a 3-day visit to Negara Brunei Darussalam at the invitation of His Majesty Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah. The prime minister was accompanied by a delegation of 12 which included the law minister, Mr E.W. Barker; the acting minister of trade and industry, Brigadier General Lee Hsien Loong; and key officials. Earlier at a news conference in Bandar Seri Begawan, Mr Lee spoke of the strong relationship binding Singapore and Brunei. The prime minister said the relationship between the two countries is based on deep personal trust. He said this relationship began several decades ago when the Seri Begawan, who was the sultan at that time, invited his over. He said the results of this close relationship can be seen in many areas such as the use of military training grounds in Brunei by the SAF [Singapore Armed Forces]. [passage indistinct] Replying to a question on Brunei's 5-year new development plan, Mr Lee said if Brunei required it, Singapore was willing to offer its expertise to set up industries in Brunei. [Excerpt] [Singapore Domestic Service in English 1400 GMT 21 Aug 86 BK] /9738

MINISTER ON ASEAN'S RELATIONS--The foreign minister, Mr Dhanabalan, says ASEAN should reassess its relations with its dialogue partners with a view to further improving ties and the grouping's approach to development cooperation. He says [words indistinct] whether the present format of the annual ministerial meeting and the post ministerial conferences as well as the areas of the dialogue details should continue. Mr Dhanabalan made the points when he outlined the areas the ASEAN Standing Committee and relevant ASEAN committees should consider throughout this year. Mr Dhanabalan, who is the new chairman of the Standing Committee, was speaking at its first meeting in Singapore today. He also disclosed that a high-level steering committee would soon be set up to prepare for the third ASEAN summit next year. A special committee will then be formed to look into specific subjects such as economic planning, trade, industries and investments, and the ASEAN machinery. On the political front, Mr Dhanabalan said ASEAN should continue discussions on Cambodia, bearing in mind development in the area. While it should maintain support for the nationalist resistance group, ASEAN should also continue contacts with Vietnam, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States in search of a comprehensive political solution. [Text] [Singapore Domestic Service in English 1400 GMT 22 Aug 86 BK] /9738

CSO: 4200/1355

THAILAND

ECONOMIC DECISIONMAKING IN NEW CABINET REVIEWED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 7 Aug 86 pp 43, 44

[Unattributed report: "In the New Government, Who Will Be Economic Czar?"]

[Text] In the final week before the election on 27 July, a high-level news source in economic and political circles informed LAK THAI about the "National Data Operations Center," which will collect data 24 hours a day and help the new prime minister solve various economic problems. It is known who will become the new prime minister and shoulder responsibility for solving the problems quickly in accord with the nature of the problems and the needs of the people. There will again be an "economic czar," who will serve as the right hand of the prime minister. The conditions are: He must have much experience in both the public and private sectors. He must be a person who dares to make decisions but who will show flexibility (he must not be conservative like Sommai, who ruined the country's economy). He must not have served as a minister before. And he should have worked in a large bank. There are at least three potential candidates whom senior people are looking at. Everyone wonders who will become the new economic czar.

A high-level news source in banking circles said that the "person who will become the next economic czar will probably hold an important position. He will have to control the five economic ministries, which includes the Ministry of Finance, which is the country's pocketbook, the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Communications. The economic czar will have to hold the position of deputy prime minister for economic affairs. That position is senior enough. If he is to serve as economic czar, the deputy prime minister for economic affairs will also have to serve as minister of finance, because he must control the government's budget. As a result, one of the conditions for being economic czar is that the person must have worked in a bank before. All eyes are now on three people, which may or may not be right. The three are Mr Burma Wongsawan, Mr Wan Sansu, and Mr Bodi Chunnanon."

Another well-informed news source said that "two of those three men have served on the board of directors of a bank. Mr Burma Wongsawan was once asked to serve as minister of finance during a previous Prem administration. But he refused. And so Mr Sommai Huntrakun was appointed minister instead. It is thought that he will refuse this time, too. Because he is already quite

old. As for My Wan Sansu, who is a very intelligent man, a close associate said that he would definitely not accept this position. He would rather remain in his present position. The third person, Mr Bodi, is an expert on financial matters even though he has never worked in a bank before."

A political news source said that "it's unlikely that anyone in an opposition party will be selected, and that includes the former economic czars who ran for election this time and former governors of the national bank whose names were submitted but who have been rejected as unsuitable."

A university economics professor said that the "new economic czar, who will serve as the reserve for the new prime minister, must be a real fighter. He must be a knowledgeable person who is not afraid to make decisions and who is confident of his ability to solve the economic problems. There are several people worth watching. Each one has his own strengths and weaknesses. The one with the fewest weaknesses should be chosen. For example, Dr Phaichit Uathawikun, the former deputy minister of finance, is a talented person who has much experience in the financial field. But he is too sensitive. He is not strong enough to deal with the rotten politicians. Mr Suthi Singsane, the deputy minister of finance, who knows more about the national budget than anyone, is a bureaucrat. He is too hesitant and slow in making decisions. Dr Suphachai Phanitchaphak is a financial and monetary expert. But he will probably serve as an MP as a member of a political party. The final two possibilities include Dr Amnuai Wirawan, who has problems in Bangkok Bank, and Dr Ohan Chaiyaprawat, the deputy managing director of the Thai Commerce Bank. He is a very interesting person who has very progressive ideas on how to solve the problems. Recently, the government has implemented several of his ideas, such as reducing commercial bank interest rates, solving the liquidity problem, and stressing credit, exports, and housing. He is a young banker who has very creative and progressive ideas and who has feasible policies that can be implemented."

The question of who will become the new economic czar will remain unanswered until the new cabinet is announced. And after that, we will have to wait awhile to see just how talented this new economic czar really is. Let's just hope that he doesn't fail at the very start. And he shouldn't say that he is going to "experiment" for a year. Otherwise, the Thai people will be pounded by economic storms.

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CSO: 4207/305

THAILAND

WIRA DISCUSSES DP BACKING FOR PREM, PROSPECTS

Bangkok KHAO PHISET in Thai 11-17 Aug 86 pp 11-14

[Interview with Wira Musikaphong, the secretary general of the Democrat Party; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Did the Democrat Party win 100 seats because of the support it showed for Gen Prem?

[Answer] That wasn't the direct cause. It may have been an indirect factor. There is the party of Mr Chaloe Yubamrung. He said that he "didn't want Prem." He said that those who wanted Prem to become prime minister again should vote for the Democrat Party. That's what he said. He said that for us. We didn't say that. And then we won 100 seats. That means that people accept Prem. He is the one who said that. Not us. We took a neutral position. Besides Bangkok, there were only a few places that rejected Prime Minister Prem. It must be admitted that there was a lack of unity on this issue. For the most part, members remained neutral, saying that if we won 175 seats or more, Phichai should become prime minister and that if we won fewer seats than that, a nonpartisan figure would have to be selected. And of all the nonpartisan figures, without mentioning any other names, I think that Prem is the most suitable. We have discussed others, but we don't think that they are suitable. And so I won't mention their names here.

[Question] There are rumors that in this election, the Democrat Party received much "operational" support from the Prem faction. Is that true?

[Answer] One thing that I can say is that those who do not belong to a political party cannot understand the parties fully. But those of us who are involved with a political party, particularly the Democrat Party, do everything openly. Although we may not do everything in public view, the party executive committee is aware of everything that we do. Now that the election is over, we must settle our accounts. We must figure out how much money we spent, who received how much money, and what our sources of funds were. We have been managing our campaign funds like this for many years now. We do things like this each time there is an election. Thus, there is nothing secret. About 40 people know about this. How could it be a secret? It is not a secret. You can rest assured that there is no truth at all to those rumors about dangerous secrets. That can't happen in a political party. But it does

happen in political groups that are not parties. That's possible. But in a party such as the Democrat Party, it's just not possible.

[Question] In short, there is no truth to that, is that right?

[Answer] That's right.

[Question] As the secretary general of the Democrat Party, do you see any obstacles that would prevent the Democrat Party from joining the government?

[Answer] We must talk about the basic problem first. The basic problem is that we have 100 MPs. Having 100 MPs is a major problem for any party, not just the Democrat Party. It is not easy to satisfy each of these people. Some are unhappy about their position. That is, it is difficult for 100 people to work together. This is the basic issue.

Another problem is that after we join the government, we will have to confront the realities of society. The platforms that we and the other parties ran on state our targets or ideals. Every party has a platform. Every party has to have a platform. And our platforms are all quite similar. But there will be differences when we actually confront the problems in society. It looks as if we are boxing. We take different stances and argue about boxing fundamentals. That's what happens after we actually step into the arena. This is a discouraging problem for those of us in politics. We have to face these facts. It's a matter of resourcefulness, skill in repartee, and patience. You have to accept the fact that once you join the government, you will win some things and lose others. We have to be familiar with the words "win" and "lose." It's impossible to win all the time and never lose. But it's not fair if we always lose. Thus, what happens depends on how skilled we are.

[Question] In forming a government this time, have military groups exerted pressure to have Gen Prem appointed prime minister?

[Answer] This did not start with soldiers. I admit that soldiers became involved. But they did not start this. It began with political parties that won seats. The Social Action and Thai Nation parties reached an agreement. And then the Ratsadon Party joined them. They then asked the Democrat Party to work with them. Our party had thought about this. But we were one step behind them. Put quite simply, the election was held on 27 July, and by 28 July they had already joined together. We, on the other hand, were holding a party meeting. Our 100 MPs were hold a meeting together. But the other parties had already joined together. On 30 July, they contacted us and asked if we were interested. Because we had the largest number of seats, they waited for us. We had to negotiate with them. Our lines were in harmony. That is when we had to contact the soldiers. Gen Prem does not belong to a political party. He is a soldier. He felt that he was no longer prime minister and so he went to Korat. But once our four parties had joined together and agreed to support him, we had to coordinate things with someone. We had to coordinate things with the military. That is, we had to find someone to contact him directly. That is when the soldiers became involved. They coordinated things. They served as the link between us.

[Question] At that meeting held by the Democrat Party, besides Gen Prem, were any other people discussed?

[Answer] At first, we talked about having someone from our party. That is, we proposed having Mr Phichai become prime minister. We passed a resolution to this effect. I served on the work committee to coordinate forming a government. I took this resolution and negotiated with the other three parties. They did not say that our party leader did not have the talent or ability to serve as prime minister. But they did say quite frankly that there are both political advantages and disadvantages in forming a political party and that this matter had to be considered very carefully. No political party had won an absolute majority of the votes. They said that they had to consider the political advantages and disadvantages. They couldn't accept our party leader, because we would gain too great an advantage. We had to sympathize with them. Because we would have felt the same way if we had been in their place.

[Question] Did the other parties propose anyone else? Was anyone besides Gen Prem and Mr Phichai mentioned?

[Answer] No. No other names were submitted. We did not mention anyone else either.

[Question] What factors will determine how long this parliament lasts?

[Answer] How long this parliament lasts depends on how skilled we are in carrying out the tasks and on the problems that arise. If we can solve the problems in an efficient manner, parliament will complete its 4-year term. But if we can't solve the problems, parliament won't survive. This also depends on whether the parties in the coalition government can work well together and show unity. That is, are they prepared to work together to solve the problems or have they joined the government in order to gain greater popularity. If they are prepared to solve the problems, I think that we can solve the problems. We have the ability to solve the problems confronting Thailand.

[Question] Is the military an important variable?

[Answer] In the future, the military will serve as an even stronger guarantee than before in supporting parliament. I have great confidence in this military leader and in the younger officers who will rise to the top later on. From what we have seen and heard, these people adhere to the democratic line. I don't think that they will do anything destructive. Thus, I think that things will be better than before.

[Question] Many people do not feel that Gen Prem can lead the country forward. They think that things will just get worse under his leadership. Thus, they don't think that this administration will last very long. What is your view on this?

[Answer] The first question is, if we reject Prime Minister Prem, who will we put in his place? Sometimes, we criticize things at random. There is no clear shape. I think that if there is anyone more suited to serving as prime

minister than Gen Prem, the political parties will have to focus on that person. Don't forget that the political parties are composed of experienced politicians who are skilled in administering things. This is true of the Social Action, Thai Nation, and Democrat parties. They wouldn't do anything to ruin their own future. They would not cling to Gen Prem if it were not necessary. And no one has forced them to do that. The reason why they have asked Gen Prem to serve as prime minister again is that, in their view, there is no one else who is better qualified. They know that some people agree with them and that others disagree. They are aware of that. After all, they can't close their eyes and ears. That was the decision that they made. They made that decision because they had no other choice.

As for what was done in the past, everyone in the government, including those parties that are not in the present coalition, that is, the United Thai Party, the Thai Citizens Party, and the Community Action Party, have stated quite clearly that the problems are not the responsibility of the prime minister alone. I agree with them. I agree, because if we give people the impression that it is up to the prime minister to solve the country's problems, that means that we have made a mistake and taken the wrong course. We must all work together to solve the problems. Even the 44 cabinet ministers cannot solve the problems by themselves. In a democracy, everyone must help solve the problems. If people leave the problems for others to solve, if the people make the 44 cabinet ministers responsible for all the problems, and if the ministers put everything onto the shoulders of the prime minister, that means that we do not have a democracy. Thus, we all have to work together to solve the problems. We have to share the problems.

In this new age, or in a democratic system, the prime minister must serve as a coordinator. He must serve as a coordinator between those who carry out the tasks. But from what I have heard recently, people seem to want a hero on a white horse for a leader. They want a resolute leader. That means that they do not understand the real situation. They are careless in their thinking.

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CSO: 4207/309

THAILAND

ARTICLE SEEKS END OF THAI SUPPORT TO POL POT

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 3 Aug 86 pp 30, 31

[Article by Chen Charik: "Analysis of the Border Situation in Trat Province--Khlong Yai--Hat Lek"]

[Excerpt] The situation along the Thai border in Trat Province, starting from the Banthat mountains in Bo Rai District to Hat Lek Subdistrict in Khlong Yai District, or border marker 73, on which the governments of Thailand (Siam) and France (during the age of imperialism) signed a fifth treaty on 23 March 1906, with the Banthat mountain range used to demarcate the border between Thailand and Cambodia, has constantly been very tense, and this has had a great effect on the economy of Khlong Yai District.

A few days ago, I went to observe the border situation, taking the highway from Muang District to Khlong Yai District and Hat Lek Subdistrict (which is a restricted area controlled by the marines). Starting from Ban Tha Phrik, the road runs parallel to the Banthat mountains. In some places, the road is far away from the mountains; in others, it approaches close to the mountains. There are five or six checkpoints along the road. There is a provincial police checkpoint, an army checkpoint, a navy checkpoint, a Border Patrol Police checkpoint, a thahan phran irregular checkpoint, and a guard team checkpoint. Officials at each of the checkpoints inspect the belongings of passengers entering Khlong Yai District in order to see if they are carrying any prohibited war materials. Moreover, they check everyone's identification card very carefully both when entering and leaving the district in order to prevent strangers from carrying on espionage or entering the country illegally.

As we rode along parallel to the Banthat mountains, my guide, who is from Trat Province, pointed out things in the mountains, which are covered with dense forest. He said that Heng Samrin-Vietnamese reconnaissance units have set up bases along the mountain ridge. We stopped at the Khiriwong pass in eastern Khlong Yai District. On the mountain ridge across the border, you can clearly see two huts in a clearing. It is thought that Vietnamese artillery is positioned there. Cambodian forces have set up bases in the mountains to the right, which run through Hat Lek Subdistrict to the sea. These forces are composed of Thai minority groups that live in Ko Kong Province in Cambodia. Thus, Khlong Yai District is located in a very dangerous combat zone. No one dares to go traveling in Khlong Yai District even though there are several

tourist attractions here. For example, Hat Ban Chun is a lovely coastal area with a beautiful white beach. And there are many mountain waterfalls. The only people who come here are businessmen, particularly those engaged in the fishing business. It is worth noting that the fishing industry in Khlong Yai is bustling. This is a very lucrative business here. There is an abundance of marine life here, including shrimp, fish, and crabs. Large quantities are sent to markets in Bangkok. Also, this is the largest source of shrimp for export.

My guide told me about the border situation here. He said that everytime fighting erupts between the Khmer coalition forces (the Pol Pot side) and their enemies, the villagers in Khlong Yai District suffer losses. Artillery shells fired at the Khmer coalition forces land in Khlong Yai District, destroying the houses of people here. Some people have been injured, and a few have been killed. Also, business comes to a halt immediately and no one can make any money. These are facts that cannot be denied.

My guide told me about the bombing of the steel-reinforced concrete bridge on this highway that took place around the beginning of July. He said that there was a hidden motive behind this and made two observations that set me to thinking:

First, if Heng Samrin-Vietnamese forces had committed this act of sabotage, they would have used a larger charge capable of totally destroying the bridge. And they would have blown up several other bridges along this highway at the same time in order to destroy these strategic points, interrupt troop movements (of units in Thailand), and keep troops from being brought close to the Banthat mountains. That would have cut the supply of food and weapons, too. That is the strategic plan of the enemy.

Second, whoever did this used a small charge that could not destroy the bridge. All it did was damage three of the concrete bridge piles. This did not destroy, or collapse, the bridge. Thus, it is thought that this act of sabotage was committed by foreign troops, that is, Khmer coalition forces (Pol Pot forces). These forces live in the jungle and have received little attention from those who support them. They are like weary survivors who have no future. Thus, they did this in order to attract the attention of their supporters.

Besides that confusing event, around 1900 hours on 15 July 1986, a 6-wheeled truck produced by a friendly Asian power sped along this road carrying 20 armed foreign soldiers. The truck was taking these soldiers to a base near the Khot Sai school in Hat Lek Subdistrict, Khlong Yai District. A minibus used to transport passengers from Khlong Yai City followed the 6-wheeled truck. Everything seemed normal. But suddenly, the truck stopped and prevented the minibus from passing. Without anyone saying a word, soldiers on the truck seized "Mr Sawang," a Thai from Khlong Yai District, who was driving the minibus. They tied his hands behind his back, blindfolded him, put him on the truck, and took him to their base. When they reached their base, which was located in the jungle, they hung Mr Sawang upside down. Finally, the base commander, named Paen Suwan, a foreigner, arrived. He knew Mr Sawang and so ordered him released that night. Mr Sawang narrowly escaped a terrible death. He felt as if he had died and been reborn.

All of these things happened in Thai territory. And most of those who have suffered losses are Thai citizens. I am sure that everyone living in Trat Province knows about these things.

This war is a war between various Cambodian factions. But it is causing problems for Thai living in this area. Attention must be given to this problem. These terrible events can't be ignored. We can't allow similar things to keep happening again and again. That would not be good for Thailand's sovereignty or our territorial integrity.

Who is behind the terrible events that have taken place in Thailand? The Thai living in this area all know who is supporting this. Who is secretly benefiting from this without giving any thought to Thailand's sovereignty? Who is opposing the orders and policies of the Thai military? The people in this area know who it is. They know who is using this situation to profit personally.

It is not too late for senior commanders, meaning the government and the commanders-in-chief of the Thai military. They should take speedy action to solve this problem. They should adhere to the policy of not invading any country. All officials serving along the border have been ordered to carry out their duties seriously. Only if the enemy attacks first and violates our sovereignty can they retaliate.

All I want to say to senior powerholders who are responsible for national security is: Don't do anything to put war conditions in our national policy. We should cooperate in looking for ways to bring peace to the country and to this region as quickly as possible. We should work together to sustain the lives and lift the morale of the people in this war-torn area. We should work together to restore life to normal and improve the economy of this area.

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CSO: 4207/305

THAILAND

PUBLISHER SEES ASSEMBLY DOMINATED BY WEALTHY

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 7 Aug 86 p 66

[Speak Thai column by Rattana Yawapraphat: "A Parliament of Financiers--A Parliament of Draculas"]

[Text] The names of the 347 new MPs that were announced on 28 July, just 1 day after the election, show that this parliament is the most capitalistic parliament that Thailand has ever had in its 54 years of democracy. In Bangkok Metropolitan, about 75 percent of those elected to parliament are financiers. In the 72 other provinces, 80 percent of the new MPs are financiers.

There are financiers in every party, regardless of whether the party is large or small. Some are involved with large corporations. Others are local financiers who make huge profits from land and dark power activities. Thus, it will be very difficult to form a new government. This is because it will be difficult to share the profits in a way that pleases all the financiers in the various political parties.

But regardless of how difficult it is to establish a coalition government, getting parliament to function will be much more difficult than before. This is because the financiers in each party have major conflicts of interest. There are industrial financiers, business financiers, agricultural financiers, and land and concessionary financiers. This will be the fuse that sets off a huge explosion in parliament.

Draft laws to help the poor people will be delayed or crushed in parliament. Draft laws that will benefit the financiers will be submitted to parliament as quickly as possible, where they will pass easily. The gap between the rich and the poor, which is already a major problem, will grow much wider.

MPs who are poor but who have ideals will not be able to accomplish anything. Some may have to sell their vote in order to survive among the all the predatory financiers. Thus, this parliament is a parliament of bloodthirsty demons. It is a parliament of draculas.

The MPs who are financiers would probably try to defend themselves by saying that their being financiers benefits the country and the poor. Without their factories, the laborers would not have jobs. Without the taxes that they pay,

the government would not have any money to build public projects for the people. If large numbers of poor people were elected to parliament, the country might collapse, because these MPs would not know anything about trade or financial matters.

Even if the coalition government of financiers is headed by an honest prime minister or a resolute prime minister who does not say very much, it will still be a government of financiers, who will use the prime minister as a tool or "laborsaving" device in piling up profits for themselves, their businesses, and their underlings instead of the majority of people.

It is almost impossible to solve the problem now that it has reached this point. The few good MPs, who are poor, don't pose any problem at all for the wealthy MPs. It will be difficult for the prime minister to select large numbers of good people to join the administration, because this is a coalition government. Each party that joins the coalition wants its members to be given ministerial portfolios that will enable them to pile up profits. No one is interested in a ministry where profits are small.

Even though we seem to be at the mercy of the financiers, let's not give up. We still have the strength of the great majority of people, or silent majority as they are called. The question is, how can the strength of this silent majority be put to use? And what can be done to make the silent majority realize that their future will become even darker if they allow themselves to be stepped on by the financiers.

Among the financiers elected MP on 27 July 1986 are international financiers, foreign financiers, financiers who have betrayed the country, and financiers who want to "swallow" the country. All of these financiers have numerous underlings. Thus, another question is, how can we use nationalism to get our people to join together and form a united force? Will we make compromises as in the past, or will we "take the bull by the horns?" Or is there some better method?

One of the main principles of democracy is that sovereign power belongs to the people. And here, "people" refers to all the people in that society and country. Whenever power is taken from the people, the people can use their democratic rights to win back real power. This is one way out of the present situation, in which the people's parliament has become a financiers' parliament.

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THAILAND

FISHERIES, NAVY CONSULT ON DISPUTES WITH MALAYSIA, BURMA

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 23 Jul 86 pp 1, 2, 20

[Excerpt] On 22 July senior officials from the Department of Fisheries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Interior, lawyers from the universities, naval officials, and representatives for the fishermen held a meeting at the Department of Fisheries in accord with the order of the prime minister in order to discuss ways to settle the dispute between Thailand and Malaysia, Thailand's losses, Thailand's standpoint, and methods of solving the problem, including means and ways. They also discussed dividing the responsibilities among the various sectors.

Mr Plotprasop Suratwadi, the deputy director-general of the Department of Fisheries, stated that this meeting was held in order to take sustained action to solve this problem. Many fishermen have complained that Malaysia harasses them constantly. Also, the director-general of Malaysia's Department of Fisheries stated that resolute action will continue to be taken against Thai fishermen. This shows that the director-general of Malaysia's Department of Fisheries is aware of what has happened. Because he knows what happened, the question is whether they are justified in using violence. Thailand has condemned Malaysia's actions. They fired on a Thai fishing boat in the area near the mouth of the Kolok River and Kota Bahru, which is a contested area. The two countries had agreed that Thai fishing boats would be allowed to fish in this area until an agreement is reached.

Mr Plotprasop said that Malaysia is not harassing Thai fishermen just at sea. This is also happening on land. Fishermen have complained to the Department of Fisheries, saying that the Malaysian government is preventing vehicles and boats from transporting fish from Thailand through Malaysia. When they pass through Malaysian territory, they have to pay numerous fees. This has been confirmed by Singapore. Singapore has been affected, because as a result of this, there is a shortage of fish there. This matter must be discussed in depth to decide what action Thailand should take to solve this problem.

After the meeting concluded, Mr Plotprasop said that those at the meeting arrived at 10 conclusions, which will be submitted to the prime minister tomorrow. What is done after that is up to the prime minister. The 10 conclusions were: 1. Thailand should confirm its right to fish in the Kolok River mouth-Kota Bahru area. Because Malaysia already agreed to allow Thai

fishermen to fish in this area until the issue of who owns this area is settled. 2. Malaysia should be urged to hold serious talks on this issue in order to demarcate this area as quickly as possible. 3. So that fishermen know what is Thai territory and what is Malaysian territory, patrol boats of the Department of Fisheries, with support from the navy, should patrol this area. 4. Fishermen should be warned about violating Malaysia's territorial waters. 5. As for fishermen who are not sure about whether they are in Thai or Malaysian waters, action should be taken to equip their boats with communications equipment and radar so that they are clear about where they are headed. 6. There are also several other disputes between Thailand and Malaysia, particularly the issue of legal entry and exit and Thailand's right to sail boats through Malaysian waters. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs must hold negotiations as quickly as possible. Results must be achieved. 7. Malaysia must accept the fact that Thailand has the right to operate boats along historical routes in accord with the Law of the Sea. 8. Thai fishing boats that intend to fish in other territorial waters must give prior notice to the Department of Fisheries so that action can be taken to prevent Malaysia from firing on Thai boats and then claiming that those boats violated Malaysia's territorial waters. 9. Details on operating boats and maps must be provided to fishermen. 10. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs must negotiate with Malaysia on holding a joint conference on the new Law of the Sea. Malaysian officials must be told that Malaysia cannot take violent action against fishing boats even if they do violate Malaysia's territorial waters. They can seize and fine the boats, but must then release them. The law that applies is the Law of the Sea.

Mr Plotprasop said that Thailand will try to maintain a polite attitude and refrain from using resolute measures. But it will probably be necessary to hold a series of talks before this problem can be solved. As for those Thai fishermen who want to retaliate against Malaysia using force, an order has been issued to find ways to prevent this issue from becoming even more serious.

Thai fishermen do not have such problems only with Malaysia. Mr Amphan Khlaichang, the governor of Ranong Province, told reporters that since 1985, Burma has seized 147 Thai fishing boats operating in the Andaman Sea. Almost half of these boats were from Ranong Province. And since the beginning of 1986, more than 10 fishing boats from Ranong have been seized. Most of those were large boats equipped with sonar. Each of these boats cost 2 million baht or more. As a result of this, fishing boats from Ranong don't dare go out to sea. And fishing boats from other provinces, such as Phuket and Chumphon that operate along the west coast and deliver their catches to Ranong have stopped coming. This has harmed Ranong's economy. Several ice plants in Ranong Province have gone out of business, and several fish meal plants have indicated that they may have to cease operations.

The governor of Ranong Province said that Burma removes the engines from the fishing boats that it seizes and then sinks the boats off Victoria Point. When reporters went there, they saw that about 100 Thai fishing boats had been abandoned there. That is a graveyard for Thai fishing boats.

The governor of Ranong Province also said that the reason why Burma takes resolute action against Thai fishing boats and no longer sells fish to Thailand is that in January, Burma signed a contract to sell all its fish to a Japanese company. Furthermore, that Japanese company has helped Burma arm 30-40 flat-bottomed boats. These are used to patrol the area and prevent Thai fishing boats from violating Burma's territorial waters. They operate along the Kraburi River, which forms the border between the two countries. These boats have also fired at Thai fishing boats operating in Thai waters. Most recently, they fired at a Thai fishing boat operating in Thai waters off Pha Yam Island.

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CSO: 4207/304

THAILAND

FARMERS DESCRIBE INCREASING INDEBTEDNESS

Bangkok MATICHON SUT SAPDA in Thai 27 Jul 86 pp 28-31

[Article by Phithaya Wongkun: "Farmers Discuss Their Problems"]

[Excerpts] On whom can the farmers rely? The government doesn't seem to be very interested. Senior government officials and the heads of certain ministries repeat the same old platitudes. They keep saying that farmers can sell their rice for 3,000 baht per kwian [1 kwian equals 2,000 liters]. But that guaranteed price is just a "muddy path" that was washed out several years ago.

Today, paddy prices continue to decline alarmingly. On 18 June, at the Kamna Song Ongchaiyawattana rice dock, which is the important central rice market in Nakhon Sawan, paddy was selling for 2,100 baht per kwian, and the rice mills were trying to get the middlemen to lower prices, saying "I will give you 2,080 baht. Rice prices have still not risen."

When they heard the offer of only 2,080 baht, the middlemen probably started paying the farmer less than 2,000 baht. But farmers' production costs are approximately 2,500-3,380 baht.

"I feel very sad. No one can help us. Not even the government. It's terrible. There is nothing else to do. All we can do is lay down and die. But before we die, it's good to find out a few things."

One of the young farmers from the Nan River group grew more and more upset and finally exploded, saying:

"When we can no longer bear it, we will have to take up arms and rob the rich."

But even before he could finish expressing his bitterness, there were others who voiced disagreement with what he had said. They said that that was not the right way to solve this problem. They think that when the problem becomes extremely serious, the government will provide help, just as the U.S. government did when it promulgated the Farm Act to help U.S. farmers. (But at this seminar, some said that the Farm Act has not helped American farmers.)

Let's begin with farmers from Sam Ngam and Pho Thale districts in Phichit Province. One middle-aged farmer talked about his problems in a calm manner, looking at the ground or straight ahead:

"There are 100 families, 492 people, living in my village. In the past, things were fine, because we had the forest and could make charcoal. But now the forest is gone. Farmers were very poor and so they went to live in the forest preserve. Later on, the government carried on land reform. We can manage to survive whenever we can sell our rice for 2,000-3,000 baht per kwian. But now, we are all in debt. I think that each family owes 20,000 to 100,000 baht. That is why people are migrating to Bangkok."

There was a severe drought in 1984. As a result, farmers borrowed from both the Bank for Agriculture and Cooperatives (BAC) and financiers. Their debt increased. During that period of abnormal weather, the farmers managed to survive by sharing their rice with each other. Now, they have large debts. Few of the farmers live in the village. Some have gone elsewhere to find work in order to support their families. They earn about 45-100 baht a day.

"Paddy yields were very good this year. But prices are very low. We can survive, but the situation is very bad. If we get sick, we die, because we don't have the money to go for treatment. In another 10 years or so, most farmers will be laborers. The financiers and BAC will have seized all the farm land."

From talking with a young farmer who had remained quiet during the seminar, it was learned that he worked as a hired farmer in Ban Tak Daet. Few farmers there own their own land. Each farmer rents land and borrows 500 baht per rai. The owners of the land charge interest of 2 tang [1 tang equals 20 liters] for each 100 baht borrowed. Farmers have to pay about 10 tang of paddy per rai. If yields are good, farmers can harvest about 50-60 tang per rai.

This young farmer from Ban Tak Daet also told us how much it costs to work 50 rai using buffalo. During the 1985/1986 production season, costs were as follows:

1. Cost of renting buffalo: 150 tang at 23 baht per tang, or 3,450 baht.
2. Cost of renting land: 8 kwian at 2,300 baht per kwian, or 18,450 baht.
3. Cost of preparing the land and transplanting the seedlings: 3,000 baht.
4. Cost of harvesting the paddy and removing the rice stalks: 7,000 baht.
5. Outstanding debts: 30,000 baht.

Altogether, costs plus outstanding debts for the 1985/1986 production season totaled 61,840 baht.

This year, paddy prices fell greatly. But the "cost of renting land increased, as did interest rates. I am thinking about going to Saudi Arabia. Otherwise, I won't be able to survive. Rents are very expensive. Farmers in Ban Tak Daet

are going deeper and deeper into debt. In another 10 years, the financiers can come work the land themselves. Today, people have credit. Most owe 100,000 baht."

In Wang Sai Phun in Wang Sai Phun District, Phichit Province, rice production costs have been increasing constantly. Much bamboo used to grow in this area, and there was abundant rain water. For a 500-baht loan, financiers used to charge 1.5 tang. But this has now increased to 2 tang. It costs 150 baht per rai to do the plowing. Harvesting costs have increased from 20-25 baht per day to 30-40 baht per day. At present, it is difficult to find workers to do the harvesting because yields are so great. It costs about 150-160 baht per rai to harvest the rice.

Many farmers have gone to work in Bangkok. This has resulted in a shortage of labor and an increase in production costs. Also, when farmers borrow money from the BAC, they are required to take fertilizer, too, even though they may not need it. Besides this, it costs the farmers 100 baht per kwian to thresh the paddy. It costs them about 300-500 baht to entertain the 30-40 people who come to see them. As for hired farmers, they are paid 50-60 baht to transplant 1 rai.

In the Wang Sai Phun area, the situation of the farmers was described as follows: "People with land are trying to sell it. More and more farmers are becoming tenant or hired farmers. Farmers owe anywhere from 30,000 to 100,000 baht. On the average, each farmer owes about 50,000-60,000 baht."

Farmers from Chainat then described the problems that they are encountering. An elderly farmer from Wat Sing in Wat Sing District said that 90 percent of the farmers in Ban Don Tan in Wat Sing Subdistrict owe money to the BAC and the cooperative. Each person owes principal and interest. The farmers have many problems. They can't earn enough from farming to pay their expenses. This is because yields are poor, and paddy prices do not cover production costs.

"I have not paid back the money I owe the bank. I borrowed 5,000 baht on one occasion and 3,000 on another. The interest has swelled the amount I owe. Today, I owe 17,000 baht."

This elderly farmer does not know where to get the money to pay his debt. He has just let it go. Some of his fellow villagers have managed to survive by taking loans and paying off their debt on installment. Some who have not been able to pay the principal or interest owed the bank have borrowed money from financiers at a high rate of interest in order to pay back the bank and have money for planting rice. They have lied to their creditors. Some of those who have not been able to pay back the money have had suits filed against them in court. On the average, farmers in this area each owe approximately 50,000-60,000 baht.

Sometimes, the only way that farmers can support their families is by going abroad to work. Even though there have been many stories of farmers being cheated, many farmers still take the chance. A thin, middle-aged farmer who had returned to Don Tan just recently said:

"You can't make any money farming. I had lost all hope, and I didn't have any land of my own. I returned from abroad just recently. Thailand's economy is terrible. I am making arrangements to go abroad again. We are hired workers there. Life is not as pleasant as it is in Thailand. But if we can make enough to live on, we have to go. I have no other choice. My wife and children sell goods at home. We make enough to support ourselves from one day to the next."

His bitter tone of voice affected everyone in the room. Everyone was quiet. Someone asked if the farmers from Nakhon Sawan wanted to say anything. A young farmer of short stature from Ban Thanthahan in Nong Bua District said that at first, they could live by relying on nature. They could get enough food from the forest. But within 10 years, that source was exhausted. Today, there isn't even enough timber to make charcoal. Farmers are experiencing a crisis. People are really poor. There are no jobs.

"This year, everyone has encountered the same problem, that is, low paddy prices. The same is true for upland field crops. People have gone deeper into debt. We expected to get 3,000 baht per kwian for our paddy and 35 baht for our corn. But that hasn't happened. We are all very disappointed."

The farmers who attended this seminar now realize that no one can help them. They all agree that they will have to rely on themselves. "There is no use in talking. That doesn't produce any results. No one can help us," shouted a farmer. And with that, those present stopped talking about their problems.

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COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

BERNAMA REPORTS SIHANOUK JAKARTA PRESS CONFERENCE

BK210613 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0534 GMT 21 Aug 86

[Report by Osman Taib]

[Text] Jakarta, 21 Aug (OANA-BERNAMA)--Kampuchean leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk is looking to Indonesia to help find a breakthrough in the process to reach a political solution to the Kampuchean conflict now that his eight-point proposal has been rejected by Hanoi.

He said Indonesia was the best country to act as a bridge between the two antagonistic camps--the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) and Vietnam--as it also enjoyed cordial relations with Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

"I appreciate very much Indonesia's dealings with Vietnam and the Soviet Union so far as the Kampuchean problem is concerned," he told a 2-hour press conference here Wednesday night [20 Aug] after meetings with President Suharto and Foreign Minister Prof Mochtar Kusumaatmadja.

Sihanouk said he believed that Indonesia, with the support of other ASEAN members, would be able to make possible a dialogue between the two camps.

"She can be very helpful in the process of bringing nearer step by step the views and stance of the two antagonistic parties," he added.

Sihanouk also expressed the hope that Vietnam would re-examine Malaysia's proposal for proximity talks so that a dialogue between the parties could take place.

He said this was the most he could expect in the near future and he welcomed such a dialogue. It could also be in the form of an international conference with the participation of Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

Sihanouk said the Kampuchean problem was a difficult one and he did not expect his country could regain its independence in his life time. However, he would continue to struggle towards this goal.

He said that this year he felt less pessimistic than in previous years "as far as the outcome of our struggle is concerned."

"But I do not want to say that we are going to win the war because Vietnam is very very strong."

He said the resistance forces had about 44,000 fighting men--35,000 Khmer Rouge, 7,000 from his faction and 2,000 from the Kampuchean People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF). The KPNLF was unable to provide more soldiers because of its internal crisis.

Sihanouk said the resistance forces were not lacking in weapons because "we are getting more and more weapons from China."

"China has also promised us to station more troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border to keep the Vietnamese at bay."

He said no one would win or lose in the Kampuchean war and that was why he proposed the establishment of quadripartite government to be called the National Reconciliation and Union Government of Kampuchea in his eight-point proposal.

"We want to be friends with Vietnam and we are prepared to sign a treaty of non-aggression with Vietnam. We want to be neutral and nonaligned," he said.

Sihanouk said the Chinese leaders accepted a non-communist, non-socialist and neutral Kampuchea and had promised him that they would not compromise on the Kampuchean issue in their negotiations with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union too would not talk with China on the question of Kampuchea. They had told China that they had nothing to do with the Kampuchean issue. If China wanted to talk about Kampuchea it could talk with Vietnam and the Heng Samrin regime.

Sihanouk said this was made known to him by Chinese leaders recently.

He said just before he left for Jakarta, he was told of a new development in the Khmer Rouge camp. A Khmer Rouge leader told him that the Khmer Rouge would never reconcile with the Heng Samrin group. But if the Vietnamese withdrew from Kampuchea they would accept the eight-point proposal.

"That is the situation today and I think it will take a long time to reach a peaceful settlement," he added.

Asked whether he believes that the Soviet Union could pressure Hanoi to go to the negotiating table, Sihanouk said he doubted the ability of Moscow to do this "as the Vietnamese are a proud people."

"They really value their independence and I don't think they will allow the Soviet Union to have influence over them on the question of Kampuchea."

For example, Sihanouk said, the Vietnamese quickly removed Pan Savan, a Communist Party leader in Phnom Penh, when they discovered that he wanted to give more influence to the Soviet Union to balance the Vietnamese influence in Kampuchea.

"It is true that Vietnam and the Soviet Union are allies in trying to occupy Kampuchea for their strategic needs. But the fact remains that the Vietnamese do not want the Soviet Union to be the co-master of Kampuchea."

On his meeting with President Suharto and Prof Mochtar, he said they exchanged views in matters relating to the Kampuchean problem and also discussed strategies in the coming nonaligned summit in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Sihanouk will spend Thursday visiting the Karakatau steel plant in Ceribon in west Java and will leave for Kuala Lumpur Friday.

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CSO: 4212/96

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VONADK REPORTS KHIEU SAMPHAN MESSAGES TO INDONESIAN LEADERS

Greets Vice President

BK170729 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea
in Cambodian 2315 GMT 16 Aug 86

[14 August message from DK Vice President Khieu Samphan to Indonesian
Vice President Umar Wirahadikusumah]

[Text] To His Excellency General Umar Wirahadikusumah, vice president
of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta:

Your Excellency, on the solemn occasion of the 41st National Day of the
Republic of Indonesia, on behalf of the Cambodian people, the CGDK, and
in my own name, I am honored and happy to express to you, and through
you, to the friendly Indonesian Government and people warmest congratulations
and best wishes for new and greater successes in the development of the
Republic of Indonesia and happiness of the Indonesian people.

On this fine occasion, I am happy to recall that the Indonesian Government
and people have always been on the side of the just cause of the Cambodian
people who are struggling for national liberation and to safeguard the
Cambodian race and to oppose foreign aggression and occupation. Recently,
the Republic of Indonesia, in cooperation with other ASEAN countries,
was among the first friendly countries to support the CGDK's 8-point proposal
for a political solution to the Cambodian problem. The Cambodian people
and the CGDK highly appreciate and express most profound gratitude for the
successive precious support and assistance of the Indonesian Government
and people.

With the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and
cooperation binding our two nonaligned governments and countries will
further develop, blossom, and be strengthened in the future, please accept
my highest consideration.

[Dated] Democratic Kampuchea, 14 August 1986

[Signed] Khieu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge
of foreign affairs.

Message to Foreign Minister

BK170747 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea
in Cambodian 2315 GMT 16 Aug 86

[14 August message from DK Vice President Khieu Samphan to Indonesian
Foreign Minister Moktar Kusumaatmaja]

[Text] To His Excellency Dr Moktar Kusumaatmaja, foreign minister of
the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta:

Your Excellency, on the solemn occasion of the 41st National Day of the
Republic of Indonesia, on behalf of the Cambodian people, the CGDK, and in
my own name, I am honored and happy to express to you, and through you,
to the friendly Indonesian Government and people warmest congratulations
and best wishes for the glory and progress of the Republic of Indonesia
and happiness of the Indonesian people.

I would like to take this fine opportunity to highly appreciate the active
assistance and support you personally and the Indonesian Government and
people have always provided to the struggle for national liberation and
safeguard of the Cambodian race of the Cambodian people and the CGDK to
oppose foreign aggression and occupation.

More recently, the Republic of Indonesia, in cooperation with other ASEAN
countries, was among the first friendly countries to declare their support
for the CGDK's 8-point proposal for a political solution to the Cambodian
problem. This assistance and support are a precious contribution to the
search for peace in Cambodia and the safeguard of peace, security, and
stability in Southeast Asia, the Asia-Pacific region, and the world. For
all this, on behalf of the Cambodian people, the CGDK, and in my own name,
I would like to express to you and the Indonesian Government and people
most profound gratitude.

I am convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation
binding our two nonaligned governments and countries will further develop,
blossom, and be strengthened in the future. Please accept my highest
consideration.

[Dated] Democratic Kampuchea, 14 August 1986

[Signed] Khieu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge
of foreign affairs.

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CSO: 4212/96

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VONADK REPORTS MUTINIES BY HENG SAMRIN SOLDIERS

BK170223 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea
in Cambodian 2315 GMT 16 Aug 86

[Text] Some 500 fraternal Khmer soldiers forcibly armed and sent for training at Phnum Daeum Phka, Kouk Banteay Commune, Rolea P'ier District, Kompong Chhnang Province, by the Vietnamese enemy mutinied on 24 July because they did not want to serve the Vietnamese and train their guns at fellow Cambodians. They killed or wounded a number of Vietnamese soldiers, destroyed a Vietnamese ammunition depot, and returned home or defected to the side of our DK National Army.

On 16 July fraternal Khmer soldiers stationed at Kampot provincial town burned 12 barrels of Vietnamese diesel oil and killed or wounded a number of Vietnamese soldiers before fleeing home, taking along with them the arms they had been equipped with by the Vietnamese enemy.

On 28 July fraternal Khmer soldiers in Kampot town burned down Vietnamese rice and paddy warehouses with 25 metric tons of rice and paddy and killed or wounded a number of Vietnamese soldiers before fleeing home, taking along the arms they had been equipped with by the Vietnamese enemy.

These are good examples set by fraternal Khmer soldiers at Phnum Daeum Phka, Kompong Chhnang Province, and those in Kampot. All fraternal Khmer soldiers in other localities are called upon to emulate the action of these fraternal Khmer soldiers at Phnum Daeum Phka, Kompong Chhnang Province, and those in Kampot Province. Hurry up and mutiny against the Vietnamese enemy or destroy his war means before returning home or defecting to our DK National Army's side to join our forces in the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors to liberate our nation and preserve our race.

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CSO: 4212/96

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VODK SAYS USSR, SRV MAJOR THREATS TO REGION

BK170330 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT
16 Aug 86

[Station commentary: "The Soviet Union and Vietnam are the Real Major Threat to Countries in the Asia-Pacific Region"]

[Text] During their Moscow talks on 12 August, Soviet leader Gorbachev and Vietnamese leader Truong Chinh said that the situation in the Asia-Pacific region is faced with great danger. They said the Soviet Union and Vietnam are opposed to such a situation and called on countries in the region to hold a conference to solve the dilemma.

Such remarks are most shameless. People would ask: Who in fact has caused the current danger and tense situation in the Asia-Pacific region?

Late in 1978, after the signing of the Soviet-Vietnamese military pact, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese troops supported by hundreds of sophisticated Soviet-made aircraft, tanks, armored cars, and artillery pieces invaded Democratic Kampuchea--an independent, peaceful, and neutral state, a member of the United Nations--most arrogantly and brutally violating the principles of international law and practice and the UN Charter. And, for the past nearly 8 years, despite the fact that countries in the region and the entire international community have earnestly demanded that the Soviet Union and Vietnam put an end to their war of aggression in Cambodia and that the United Nations has adopted seven resolutions so far demanding that Vietnam withdraw all of its aggressive forces from Cambodia, allowing the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny without outside interference, both the Soviet Union and Vietnam have remained insensitive to the call. They have instead continued to send more troops, tanks, and arms to Cambodia: escalate their war of aggression against the Cambodian people; and more frequently intrude into Thai territory, thus causing the situation in Southeast Asia as well as in the whole of the Asia-Pacific region to become permanently tense and explosive. This tension has since become more and more serious.

At the same time, the Soviets have also immensely beefed up their military strength in the Far East and at Cam Ranh Bay and other places in Vietnam. Warships, including nuclear submarines, all types of modern aircraft, and other sophisticated arms of the Soviet Union have rapidly made their presence

felt in Southeast Asia and the Far East. This can be nothing but preparation for an offensive, invasion, and expansion in the whole region. It is most evident that once Vietnam realizes its aggressive ambition in Cambodia, the Soviet Union whose forces have already been positioned both in the Far East and at Cam Ranh Bay and Vietnam, which counts some 2 million men under arms, will jointly launch the offensive in implementations of their aggressive and expansionist strategy in the Asia-Pacific region without delay. They will not be afraid of international law and practice or world opinion. They will do that as they did in invading Cambodia and Afghanistan at the end of 1978 and 1979.

Such is a real danger that is seriously threatening the countries in the Asia-Pacific region. This danger is a real one that Gorbachev and Truong Chinh cannot cover up. If Gorbachev and Truong Chinh sincerely want to see peace in this region, the key to the problem is already in the hands of the Soviets and Vietnamese. They can solve the problem any time they want. There is no need to call for any conference of Asian-Pacific countries. The key is so simple for the Soviet Union and Vietnam: Put an end to the war of aggression in Cambodia by withdrawing all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, allow the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny in accordance with the resolutions of the past seven UN General Assembly sessions, accept the CGDK's 8-point proposal for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem, and observe the five-point principles of peaceful coexistence, namely respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality, and mutual benefit. If the Soviet Union and Vietnam respect these principles, peace and stability will surely be restored in the region, and all countries in the region, including Vietnam and the Soviet Union, will be able to establish contact, trade, and cooperate in economic construction with each other in total harmony.

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CSO: 4212/96

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

VODK COMMENTARY ON PROMISED SOVIET SUPPORT FOR SRV

BK190710 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT
18 Aug 86

[Station commentary: "The Soviet Union Does Not Change Its Aggressive and Expansionist Stand in the Asia-Pacific Region"]

[Text] Gorbachev, Soviet leader, met with Truong Chinh, the Hanoi leader, in Moscow on 12 August. During the talks, Gorbachev energetically affirmed that the Soviet Union will continue to give all-round assistance to Vietnam. This promise of firm support for Hanoi completely belies Gorbachev's statement in Vladivostok where he said that the Soviet Union wants peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. The remark about continuing all-round assistance to Vietnam means that the Soviet Union will continue to provide Vietnam with all kinds of arms, ammunition, and financial and material support and will unreservedly cooperate with Vietnam to enable it to realize its ambition of swallowing Cambodia and setting up an Indochinese Federation so that the Soviet Union can use this Indochinese Federation as a springboard for its southward push, especially for the capture of the Malacca Strait which is an important transportation lane linking the Pacific with the Indian Ocean.

Therefore, the Soviet Union's aggressive and expansionist stand in the Asia-Pacific region has not changed at all. As for the few honeyed words and deceptive promises uttered by Gorbachev in Vladivostok on 28 July, they are merely a propaganda ploy aimed at making countries in the region lower their guard against Soviet activities in the area so that it would be easy for the Soviet Union to implement its aggressive and expansionist strategy in the Asia-Pacific region. However, countries in the region as well as the entire international community are not taken in by the Soviets' deceptive song of peace. They will believe that the Soviets love peace only when the latter have proved it with concrete actions.

Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia under all-round Soviet support is the hottest question in the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world. If this question is not settled and the Soviet Union continues to support Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia, the Asia-Pacific region can never enjoy peace and stability again. On the contrary, the region will continue to be overshadowed by a permanent and increasingly serious danger. Therefore, in

order to cope with the immediate, concrete, and real danger, all must unite to oppose the aggressive and expansionist ambition and strategy of the Soviet Union and Vietnam in the region in a continuous and more vigorous manner by:

1. Continuing to support the Cambodian people and the CGDK even more resolutely and enthusiastically to enable them to unite in a more powerful and increasingly energetic struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors right on the battlefield;
2. Continuing to isolate Vietnam diplomatically and to deprive it of all kinds of aid so as to cause Vietnam more serious military, political, economic, and diplomatic difficulties until it can no longer bear them and is forced to sit at the negotiating table to settle the Cambodian problem politically, particularly to accept the CGDK's latest 8-point peace proposal.

Only by having the Cambodian problem settled in a fair and lasting manner by forcing Vietnam to withdraw all its aggressive troops from Cambodia can Cambodia enjoy peace again and can peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region be restored.

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CSO: 4212/96

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

KHIEU SAMPHAN GREETES NEW MALAYSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER .

BK170658 (Clandestine) Voice of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2330 GMT
16 Aug 86

[12 August message from DK Vice President Khieu Samphan to new Malaysian Foreign Minister Datuk Rais Yatim]

[Text] To His Excellency Datuk Rais Yatim, foreign minister of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur:

Your Excellency, I have received with joy the news that you have been appointed to the high post of foreign minister of Malaysia. On this fine occasion, on behalf of the Cambodian people, the CGDK, and in my own name, I am honored to express to you warmest congratulations and best wishes for your happiness and success in your lofty mission.

Your appointment represents the worthy recognition of your goodness as an eminent Malaysian leader who has actively contributed to the task of developing the country in every field. On the same occasion, I am happy to recall the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and governments which have been further strengthened by the appointment of the new Malaysian ambassador to Democratic Kampuchea on 10 August 1986.

From the beginning, the friendly Malaysian Government and people have unswervingly and resolutely stood on the side of the just cause to struggle for national liberation and safeguard of the Cambodian race of the Cambodian people and the CGDK against foreign aggression and occupation. More recently, Malaysia, in cooperation with other ASEAN members, was among the first friendly countries to voice support for the CGDK's 8-point proposal to resolve the Cambodian issue politically.

The Cambodian people and the CGDK highly appreciate the precious contribution of the Malaysian Government, in cooperation with other friendly ASEAN countries, in the search for peace in Cambodia through the withdrawal of all foreign aggressor forces from the country and respect for the Cambodian people's right to self-determination. For all this, on behalf of the

Cambodian people, the CGDK, and in my own name, I would like to once again movingly express most profound gratitude to you, and through you, to the friendly Malaysian Government and people.

With the conviction that the fine relations of friendship and cooperation binding our two nonaligned people and countries will further develop, blossom, and be strengthened, please accept my highest consideration.

[Dated] Democratic Kampuchea, 12 August 1986

[Signed] Khieu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs.

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CSO: 4212/96

MISUSE OF NITRATE FERTILIZER DISCUSSED

Haiphong HAI PHONG in Vietnamese 12 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Manh Tuong: "About Management, Distribution, Use of Nitrate Fertilizer"]

[Text] Each year, our city has two main sources of nitrate fertilizer. The first source includes allocations by the central government shipped to the districts in exchange for paddy; the other source consists of foreign imports. Nitrate fertilizer for intensive rice cultivation is still in short supply; however, that shortage is not critical as we now see in agricultural cooperatives where, to nurse their crops, peasants must buy fertilizer illicitly on the nonorganized market. This is caused, first of all, by flaws in the management, distribution, and organization and guidance of implementation of two-way contracts. Still widespread is the practice of using and distributing nitrate fertilizer inappropriately, trading in it to pocket price differentials, or setting up slush funds.

Nitrate Fertilizer "Runs Off"

In 1985, paddy purchases from the districts in exchange for nitrate fertilizer fell to a new low during the 10th-month crop and the entire year. Allocations by the central government to the city for grain exchanges, totaling 15,700 tons--not including nitrate fertilizer imported by the city for the same main purpose--should have been matched by at least 12,500 tons of paddy, but only 4,000 tons were collected. A major reason is lax guidance by district echelons and their failure to understand fully the correlation between peasant and state interests. Sectors in charge of management and the distribution of supplies still focus heavily on technicalities, paying scant attention to state investment policy--to help peasant develop production and improve living standards while collecting products for the state. As a result, the state incurs staggering losses. And each year, tens of thousands of tons of paddy remain unsold, immobilizing great amounts of capital.

A current fact is that, of all nitrate and sulfate fertilizer shipped to districts and villages, only small amounts reach the peasants' hands while the bulk is lost en route. On 29 May 1986, Nguyen Dan, deputy secretary of the municipal CPV committee and chairman of the municipal people's committee, during an inspection tour of production facilities and grain purchases in

Thuy Nguyen District, arrived in Tam Hung Village amid complaints about the fertilizer shortage. Four peasants told him: "Nitrate fertilizer allocated by the state did reach our village, but most of it was sold by leading cooperative officials to the outside. Our peasants have received scarcely anything!" Initial figures show that, during the last season, Tam Hung Cooperative sold 9 tons of nitrate fertilizer to outside buyers. The chairman of the municipal people's committee then instructed Tran Toan, chairman of Thuy Nguyen District people's committee, to investigate and punish promptly those cooperative cadres involved in the illicit transaction. But the Tam Hung case is not unique. During this year's 5th-month crop, the municipal market transformation and management committee gathered full evidence on fertilizer sales to the outside--Tan Dan Village (Kien An), 5 tons; Ngu Phuc Village (Do Son), 5 tons; and Le Thien Village (An Hai), 10 tons. The Level-II Agricultural Supply Corp., a receiving and supply center for nitrate fertilizer, also set it aside for sale to the outside. It did so by allocating an estimated 45-55 tons of fertilizer to its bureau on living standards to defray the costs of festivities on the occasion of the Tet Festival of the Year of the Tiger. However, as the 10th ton was about to change hands, the municipal market management forces discovered the trick and seized the shipment. The Level-I Fertilizer Corp. also sold "outside the plan" 20 tons of nitrate fertilizer to a military unit while its sale documents referred to the Animal Husbandry Corp. of Quynh Phu District (Thai Binh) as the buyer.

Below is another story. As the 5th-month rice began to boot, requiring a large amount of nitrate fertilizer for additional application, the secretary of the An Hai District CPV committee at a meeting in the city earnestly requested municipal authorities to allocate more fertilizer to his district where, at about the same time, Le Thien Cooperative cadres sold 10 tons to another province without district and municipal authorization. The shipment consisted of prime nitrate fertilizer allocated to the cooperative for trial use in its high-yield rice areas. But the cooperative deemed it fit to sell the quota to Kim Hung Cooperative in Kim Mon District, Hai Hung Province. If the deal turned out well, the cooperative would have illegally collected--in addition to cash--1.1 kg of paddy per kg of fertilizer sold. But luck was on the side of Le Thien ricefields, because at 12 noon on 7 April 1986, the Quan Toan intra-sector control station conducted a spot check and stopped a shipment of fertilizer being hauled to another province. The incident took place more than 2 months ago, but no notice has yet been issued by An Hai District on how Le Thien Cooperative leading cadres were punished.

Nitrate Fertilizer "Runs" Around

Taking advantage of the so-called need to "increase production" and "improve living standards," some enterprises and military units have applied for allocations of nitrate fertilizer, which they later sold and resold among themselves and to the outside, setting up slush funds with the profit so earned or splitting it among themselves and buying "presents" for those who supplied and delivered the fertilizer to them "in priority." In many instances, hundreds of tons of fertilizer moved around that way. We mention below only a couple of instances recently uncovered, investigated, and concluded by municipal economic police.

In December 1985, the Agricultural Mechanical Enterprise applied with the agricultural service for 10 tons of nitrate fertilizer to increase production. Nguyen Van Muon, its deputy administrative bureau chief, was charged with picking up the fertilizer. But right after delivery Muon sold it to Division 350 and Military Group 363. The fertilizer, purchased at the state-regulated price of 5.8 dong per kg, was sold for 9 dong, bringing a 31,352-dong profit to the enterprise. Realizing that trading in fertilizer is both lucrative and effortless, in January 1986 the enterprise sent to the agricultural service Official Request No 83 for 10 more tons of nitrate fertilizer, also to "increase production." The agricultural service allocated only 5 tons at 5.8 dong per kg. Since it was short of cash, the enterprise instructed Nguyen Van Duong to borrow it from outside sources. And the new allocation, like the previous one, was not shipped to the enterprise. Instead, it was promptly sold by Duong to Phu Luu Cooperative (Kien An) for 15 dong, netting 9.2 dong per kg. Of the total profit of 44,000 dong, the enterprise put 29,000 dong in a common fund, paid 15,000 dong for loading and unloading and 3,000 dong for festivities, and allowed Nguyen Van Duong to "keep" the remaining amount of 12,000 dong (!?).

Also in January 1986, the Forestry and Beekeeping Corp., which was authorized by the agricultural service to purchase 10 tons of prime nitrate fertilizer at the regulated price of 5.8 dong per kg to increase production, sold the purchase coupon to the Agricultural Mechanical Enterprise, earning 2 dong on each kg. The transaction, in which only saliva was used, gave the corporation a 20,000-dong profit. But the enterprise lost no time in reselling the fertilizer to Division 350, earning 15,000 dong. Thus, in 2 months, and after three illegal nitrate fertilizer transactions, the Agricultural Enterprise reaped 90,352 dong.

The agricultural service authorized the Cau Re Duck Rearing Enterprise to purchase, from January to April 1986, 40 tons of nitrate fertilizer in exchange for duck feed. It bartered 23 tons of fertilizer for 47 tons of paddy in accordance with the service's guidance, contributing to maintaining and developing the duck population, but sold the remaining 14.6 tons to contract duck breeders at prices of 20-25 dong per kg, making a profit of 14.20-19.20 dong per kg.

The Agricultural Mechanical Enterprise and the Forestry and Beekeeping Corp. were authorized three times by the agricultural service to purchase prime fertilizer to increase production. But all these allocations were sold to outside buyers for a profit. This is completely wrong since these enterprises are not allowed to engage in trade. However, their superior echelons must be made to share part of the blame. As a strategic material in agriculture production, nitrate fertilizer is placed under state unified management to foster intensive rice cultivation, and thereby enable the state to seize control of the grain market. So, why do people practice "internal distribution" at will like that? Management of the economy, supplies, and commodities would be seriously flawed if superior echelons continued to allocate nitrate fertilizer in a bureaucratic fashion, fail to keep track of lower echelons' compliance, and let them conduct disorderly trade, disturb the marketplace, foment internal doubts, and incur unprincipled expenses.

It should be added that Phu Luu Cooperative leading cadres sold 15 tons of nitrate fertilizer previously bought from the Agricultural Mechanical Enterprise, to their own members for 17-18 dong per kg, pocketing 7,244 dong in the process. Hence, the price of nitrate fertilizer has tripled after only two illegal transactions.

Similarly, Division 350, which twice bought nitrate fertilizer from the Agricultural Mechanical Enterprise to increase production, ended up selling it twice to the outside.

Recently, the military inspection committee of Military Region III sent an official letter to the city notifying it that, during this year's 5th-month crop, the staff organ of Division 350 was twice authorized by the agricultural bureau of the municipal planning committee to buy a total of 9,881 kg of prime nitrate fertilizer at the regulated price of 5.8 dong per kg. The allocation, delivered by the Level-II Agricultural Supply Corp., was designed to help the unit increase production in support of higher living standards. But cadres at the staff organ sold the entire quota to the outside, netting 167,823 dong in price differentials. They split most of the profit among themselves while using the remainder to buy "presents" for those places noted for the "exploits" of allocating and delivering fertilizer to their unit. Through investigation, the Military Region III Command has appropriately punished those cadres who have misused military authority to effect the illegal transactions.

A Few Suggestions

The above situation stems from flaws in the management, distribution, and use of nitrate fertilizer. The municipal planning committee has allocated fertilizer to the right beneficiaries; by contrast, related sectors, districts, and recipient places have displayed lax management, practicing "internal distribution" at will and misusing and illegally selling fertilizer to pocket price differentials, dislocating the marketplace, and causing the masses to lose their confidence.

We suggest that the city and sectors concerned hold discussions, exercise guidance, and take unified steps to manage and distribute nitrate fertilizer in order to meet intensive rice farming schedules and collect corresponding amounts of paddy at harvest time. Sectors and districts must control the use of nitrate fertilizer in basic installations, promptly redress errors, and strictly prosecute instances of misusing and selling fertilizer to the outside. Intrasector control stations at five city gates must strictly control the outflow of goods to prevent nitrate fertilizer from being shipped out of the city without the authorization of the municipal people's committee chairman.

The nitrate fertilizer-grain barter during this 5th-month crop must adhere to fixed principles. The districts must meticulously guide the distribution process in keeping with two-way contracts. Agricultural cooperatives which have signed no contracts to purchase nitrate fertilizer in exchange for paddy at prices set by the city are not eligible for allocations. Last season,

thousands of tons of paddy remained unsold in each district, causing a capital idleness problem. In light of that experience, this season one must comply with municipal guidelines not to advance nitrate fertilizer. Anyone desiring to buy 1 kg of nitrate fertilizer at 5.8 dong per kg is bound to sell to the state 2 kg of Class-1 nonglutinous paddy at 2.8 dong per kg.

To thwart the practice of arbitrarily distributing, misusing, and selling nitrate fertilizer to outside buyers, it is suggested that the city promptly issue unified regulations and procedures for the management and distribution of nitrate fertilizer. It is also suggested that sectors, districts, and judicial organs severely prosecute individuals and collectives found guilty of capitalizing on the need to "increase production" to trade in nitrate fertilizer and disorganize the marketplace. Violations of regulations on nitrate fertilizer which the economic police and the municipal market transformation and management committees have investigated and passed judgment on, and which newspapers have published, must be addressed in the spirit of respecting people's opinion, giving public answers to grievances, translating words into deeds, and strictly enforcing the law.

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CSO: 4209/685

IMPORTS FROM 1976 TO 1985 REVIEWED

Hanoi NGOAI THUONG in Vietnamese Mar 86 pp 8-10

[Article: "Some Features About Imports from 1976 to 1985"]

[Text] Ever since our nation was reunified, our entire country has entered the era of socialist construction. Economic construction and development and the defense of the fatherland have placed an ever greater demand on importation. The resolution of the Fifth National CPV Congress stated: "It is necessary to use exports to import technology, equipment, machines, spare parts, and materials to conduct the scientific-technological revolution and to industrialize our country along socialist lines."

"The utmost strictness must be exercised in importation. The equipment available in our country--such as machine tools, automobiles, and tractors--must be fully used. We must firmly transfer equipment from places having a surplus to areas which lack it; we must import only essential equipment and materials that cannot be produced domestically. We must use imports economically and effectively and must always think about our payment abilities."

Our party and government have promulgated specific policies on the importation of each category of goods.

Concerning complete sets of equipment for projects, we must focus on promoting the capital investment strategy and must make arrangements for each planned period in order to build material and technical bases for socialism and to increase the possibilities of exporting goods and strengthening national defense.

Concerning the importation of separate categories of goods, we must concentrate more on technical materials and a very limited number of consumer goods essential to production, construction, and daily life.

It is necessary to distribute and use imports in strict accordance with the planned targets and to reserve a sufficient portion to develop the production of export goods according to plan.

In pursuance of these guidelines and tasks, importation over the past years has noticeably contributed to building the material and technical bases for socialism, to introducing scientific and technological advances into production, to solving problems related to harmonious production and daily life, and to creating sources of export goods.

Concerning imports destined for projects involving complete sets of equipment, materials, planning, foreign specialists, "know-how licenses," and other invisible services, we have brought into our country hundreds of small- and large-scale projects to serve key sectors and areas of the national economy. Among these projects are those which can last a century and which include the Hoa Binh hydroelectric plant, the Tri An hydroelectric project, and the Pha Lai thermoelectric plant. Along with projects of such importance, imports have promoted the building of projects designed to serve agriculture, industry, communications, transport, and other branches of the national economy--such as the building of the Dau Tieng water conservancy project, the transformation of the Nam Dinh textile mill, the building of the Dong Nam, the Thang Loi and Nha Trang textile mills, and the Bai Bang paper mill. At the same time, equipment has been provided for cooperation projects to produce rubber and coffee and to process vegetables and fruits to promote exports. To date, many of these projects have been put into operation, such as the Bim Son and Hoang Thach cement factories, the Cao Son, Na Duong, Vang Danh, and Mong Duong coal mines, the Cam Pha machine works, many textile mills, the Thang Long bridge, the Workers' Cultural Palace, the "Lotus" earth signal stations, and the reunified railroad.

Concerning the importation of separate categories of merchandise, attention has been paid to the important need for materials and goods used in daily life and in promoting production, primarily agricultural production and the industrial production of consumer goods. Gasoline, oil, fertilizer, insecticide, iron, steel, and cotton have been imported ever more quickly. Though difficulties with foreign currency have been encountered in importing some of these goods, every way has been sought to import them ultimately to meet economic requirements.

During the 1976-85 period, the total import value increased continuously. Assuming that the index of total import value in 1976 was set at 100, it rose to 152 in 1984. These figures include the portion represented by separate kinds of goods whose index rose from 100 in 1976 to 148 in 1984 (figures compiled without taking the price adjustment into account).

Below are the indexes showing the development of the composition of import goods:

<u>Merchandise Group</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1984</u>
Complete equipment	100	243	241	177
Separate goods	100	100	102	148
Separate equipment	100	168	143	140
Tools and spare parts	100	125	152	172
Raw materials and fuel	100	67	89	161
Consumer goods	100	158	105	108
Grain	100	206	124	91
Food products	100	29	24	71
Medicines	100	79	140	109
Other consumer goods	100	222	126	192

A glance at imports over the past 10 years will show the following developments:

Concerning the scale of importation (according to the central-level plan), during the 1976-85 period, the import value in 1984 would be 1.5 times larger than than in 1976 if the price rise factor was not excluded. But basically the importation scale would not have changed even if the price hike factor was partially excluded. Nevertheless, because our national economy was still based mainly on small-scale production and because the gross social product obtained was still small, such a volume and value of imports over the past years were considered highly significant. Yet importation on such a scale was far from meeting the urgent requirements of economic life and still failed to supply enough raw materials and fuel to various sectors and production installations (for lack of raw materials and energy, many factories reached only 40 to 50 percent of the design output); importation also failed to provide enough consumer goods or raw materials necessary to the production of goods to meet domestic demands. The volume of gasoline and oil imported each year did not meet the needs of national economy. Though the importation of fertilizer and insecticide was better, it met only 70 to 80 percent of the needs of the agricultural sector even during the years when the largest amount was imported. Many kinds of raw materials and consumer goods were in a similar situation. Therefore, only by expanding the scale of importation of separate goods can we meet the urgent requirements of our economy, use the existing machines and equipment effectively, stabilize the people's lives, and help basically eliminate disproportions within our economy.

The importation tempo was unsteady, tended to stagnate, and, worse still, declined in some years. The cause of this state of affairs was the instability of the source of capital used to pay for imports. Among nine kinds of raw materials and fuel essential to many economic sectors--such as iron and steel, gasoline and oil, nitrate fertilizer, insecticide, caustic soda, plastic, industrial chemicals, natural cotton, and silk and textile yarns--only the volume of nitrate fertilizer, insecticide, and cotton increased while that of the other decreased.

Another group of merchandise including tools and spare parts was also in a similar situation.

The limited and inconsistent importation of some separate but important kinds of goods affected the rate of growth of many sectors and production installations, especially those which still had to rely on imported technical equipment and materials. Limitations on imports also restricted both the growth of economy and the rate of increase in gross social product and national income.

If we looked only at ratios, the composition of imports seemed to conform to economic requirements and socioeconomic targets during the first transitional stage, but if we compared this composition to the line and policy on economic construction and development in each stage, it would prove incompatible in many respects.

According to the 5-year (1976-80) plan, the basic task should be highly to concentrate the forces of the whole country to bring about an outstanding agricultural development, to step up forestry and fishing, and to expand light industry and the food industry. But in practice, some imports designed to promote agriculture did not conform to the agricultural development policy. The ratio of imports for agriculture, forestry, and fishing was still low--only below 10 percent of the import value in the years from 1976 to 1981--but it rose a bit during the 1982-84 period but still did not exceed 10 percent. For many years, due importance was not attached to the importation of fertilizer and insecticide.

In some cases, the importation of raw materials to produce consumer goods did not reflect the policy of making every effort to step up their production. While the importation of raw materials was reduced, that of finished consumer goods was also very limited. Consumer goods represented 85 percent of the export value but accounted only for 15 percent of the total import value; the latter figure included 10 percent for grain and food products and only 5 percent for other staple commodities. This contributed to intensifying the disproportion of consumer goods destined for domestic use, limited the source of state income, and affected the collection of income to make up for foreign trade imbalance.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that importation has not properly played its role as the prerequisite for exportation. Import projects--such as the anise essential oil factory, a few refrigeration installations, the wool and jute spinning factories, and the dressed lumber plant--which have been built to promote exportation are all small projects of little value; they represent only about 1.5 percent of the import-export value of complete equipment and have exercised a very limited effect on any increase in export value. The importation of materials and goods to form a stock to promote exportation has also been restricted. It can thus be said that in the composition of imports, the ratio of goods imported to develop the production of export goods is still irrational, which has consequently limited the rate of export increase and failed to create conditions to exploit effectively the export potential of our economy.

Over the years, the principal effect of importation is that it has contributed to providing technical equipment for many economic sectors--especially those related to energy and building materials--to increasing their productive capacities, and to building material and technical bases for socialism. Projects which had been and are being built will form a new economic structure and help shape some key economic and technical sectors of the economy as well as some important industrial zones. On the other hand, imports have partially met the requirements of production and daily life and contributed to solving problems concerning proportions among energy, raw materials, grain, food products, and staple commodities.

The fact that achievements have been registered in some areas and not in others accounts for the little effect exercised by imports on the economy. The importation of complete equipment does not yet correspond to economic potentials in the present stage, especially concerning capital, materials, and construction. Projects which have been put into use represent only a low

ratio while, on the contrary, those which are under construction or whose construction has been suspended or delayed represent a rather high percentage. Imports destined for some projects have proven incompatible with the construction speed, which has led to great waste. More separate sets of equipment and machines than necessary have been imported, especially between 1976 and 1980, and the importation of separate equipment has had very little effect. Despite the great increase in imported equipment, labor productivity has not increased, the effect of fixed assets has diminished, and the output of equipment put into use has generally been low--only between 40 and 50 percent of their capacities. The importation of raw materials and fuel has failed to meet requirements; in some instances, they have been irrationally distributed and used and have not been concentrated on key targets, nor has an appropriate quantity been allocated to develop the production of export goods. As a result, the importation of raw materials and fuel has had a limited effect and has not helped expand the import-export cycle.

Generally speaking, there has been a failure to control imports tightly and to use them economically and effectively. On the contrary, there have been numerous irrationalities and substantial waste during the process of importing, distributing, and using goods--which has made it impossible to import more of them.

Based on actual facts about importation over the past 10 years, we can draw the following conclusions and experiences:

First, during the initial transitional stage in our country, imports must play an extremely important role in the economy and also regarding all sectors, localities, production installations, and the attainment of socioeconomic targets.

Second, because the importation rate is related to the rate of economic development and the rate of increase in gross social products and national income, it is necessary to increase imports rapidly to have the conditions to develop the economy at a high tempo.

Third, considering the economic conditions of our country, if imports are to be increased, it will be necessary to intensify exportation and, at the same time, to try to obtain foreign capital under all forms, including credit capital, but the payment of debts must be ensured.

To increase exports, importation must really play the conditional role toward exportation. Therefore, enough import goods must be set aside to develop the production of export goods and the import-export-import (-export) cycle must be effected steadily on an increasingly large scale.

Fourth, a rational composition of imports must be devised to implement exactly the line and policy of economic construction and development in each stage. During the first transitional stage, separate sets of equipment will be imported only if necessary; meanwhile, the importation of raw materials and fuel must be stepped up (as much as possible) in order to ensure the normal activities of all sectors and production installations.

Fifth, in view of the limited source of foreign currency used to pay for imports, importation must be controlled tightly, taking into consideration the effectiveness of each service or merchandise imported. Importation must be coordinated with exportation. A suitable management apparatus must be set up and units which need to import goods must assume the responsibility to export goods (except when not in a position to do so).

DISTRICT PARTY COMMITTEE TAKES ACTION TO CORRECT SHORTCOMINGS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 16 Jun 86 pp 3,4

[Article by Hoang Trung: "Party Building: Results of Criticism: Quoc Oai District Corrects Shortcomings Connected With Strengthening Party Discipline"]

[Text] Immediately Correct a Number of Wrongdoings in Quality

We arrived in Quoc Oai right at the time the district party committee, after self-criticism and criticism, had decided to suspend the party activities of Do Hau, the secretary of the party chapter and head of the district's pharmaceutical store, for acts of corruption of state property and unlawful conduct of business. The people were receptive and confident. This store had just been decentralized to the district for management. The party chapter of this store had attained the strong title for several years. The pater familias, autocratic, and dogmatic attitude of the person leading the unit, coupled with management laxity in party activities, made virtually all the cadres and personnel here not dare to criticize and afraid of abuse, even though they were aware that the person in charge was taking advantage of authority and intentionally wronging policies and economic management principles.

Meanwhile, the standing committee of the district party committee and the standing committee of the district people's committee, including members of the party committee echelon in charge of distribution and circulation, were not staying close to the situation because of concealment by every trick possible. The district party committee urgently conducted an inspection and quickly reached the conclusion to discipline the head of this store and force material restitution. For the district marketing cooperative, where there were many prolonged shortcomings and negative occurrences which caused not few losses of state property and damaged cadres and personnel, the district party committee decided to suspend party activities and recommended that the administration terminate the duties of the director, Nguyen Tran Giap, who was concurrently secretary of the party chapter. Mr. Binh, chief of the business operation bureau who colluded with merchants and profiteers and siphoned off goods for them to get the price difference, was turned over to the public security

sector to be dealt with according to law. In this unit, not only must there be a strengthening of cadres and change in management work, there must also be a review of business functions, tasks and procedures, and an end to the loophole situation in economic associations. Mainly because of deficient capabilities, failure to firmly grasp the principles of the financial management system, and no business sense, Nguyen Tran Giap let a number of people take advantage of and intentionally violate policies and, after that, the very people leading this unit also sympathetically leaked out goods to merchants.

The district party committee held an inspection immediately and quickly concluded that in the case of the director of the district combined materials corporation, Don Van Tra, who sold 17 tons of cement at a cheap price, he would be compelled to repay the difference in price to the state in this month of June.

The district party committee requested that the trade bureau conduct a review and examination immediately and report the results of the inspection of the cases of market management cadres who have bribery accusations and who frequently eat and drink at private restaurants.

For Thach Than Village, the district party committee decided to suspend the work of comrade Luc, deputy secretary of the village party committee, because of actions which caused internal disunity.

The Quoc Oai District Party Committee rigorously reviewed its own shortcomings in allowing the aforementioned negative instances to persist and set forth a number of corrective measures ideologically, organizationally and managerially.

For petitions and letters of accusations against cadres and party members with shortcomings, responsible sectors are organizing prompt inspections, clarifications, conclusions, and handling and public announcement to the masses. Immediately, the standing committee of the district party committee and the standing committee of the district people's committee are meeting with leadership cadres of the Quoc Oai hospital to examine criticism about instances of dissatisfaction and trouble caused patients.

The District and Primary Level Together Correct Shortcomings, Develop Strengths

Through the opinion of numerous cadres, party members and people in villages, the feature that surfaces about the quality of the Quoc Oai District Party Committee is the sense of drive, acceptance of responsibility, and concept of organizing discipline in carrying out the resolutions and policies of the party. Generally, many district party committee members firmly maintain revolutionary virtues and have a wholesome way of life. This has created favorable conditions for the district party committee to lead acceleration of the water conservancy and intensive cultiva-

tion of rice movement and satisfactorily organize the movement of the masses to go build new economic zones. In many party organizations there still remain many deficient aspects and declining revolutionary will under many different forms. The leadership style of the district party committee has many shortcomings, adversely affecting the ranks of primary level cadres. Excessive memoranda, paperwork and meetings, and estrangement from the masses are still widespread. A number of district party committee members, though having gone down to villages, are still far from reality and not close to the masses because of a superficial and a "once-over" work style. The standing committee of the district party committee and the standing committee of the district people's committee seldom work directly with mass organizations, hospitals, public health stations, schools, and business units, and do not organize get-togethers with the people to hear about their aspirations. Putting the motto "the state and people work together" into use, still not systematized and stipulated specifically, is leading to a situation in which the people complain and gripe excessively about contributing.

Discovering, selecting and training cadres is not timely, use is illogical, the indirect administrative management structure is still too cumbersome, and cadre planning efforts remain patchy.

Correcting the aforementioned shortcomings, the district party committee is determined to correctly carry out the principles of collective leadership, individuals in charge, strengthen discipline, ensure internal democracy, and correctly define the provisions of the party committee echelon and administration from the district to the primary level for doing work which is tailored to reality. There are villages which have nearly 30 percent of the party members who have either not been assigned tasks or have not accepted specific tasks. There are many villages which, at the least, have 15 percent of the party members who have not been allocated tasks. As a result, primary level cadres seldom are close to reality and are not closely attached to the masses. To overcome this shortcoming, the resolution of the district party committee emphasizes: all party members at the primary level are to accept specific tasks and have division of labor and inspection by the party committee echelon and control by the masses. Party members must operate in party chapters on schedule and, depending on capability, health, and circumstances, accept specific tasks and satisfactorily perform assigned responsibilities. The party organization must reexamine the status of party members who rely on implausible reasons, do not accept work that has been assigned, and do not participate in party chapter activities reliably. Cadres and party members who have property of large value must clearly report the source of income to the party chapter. Anyone who does not do so, organize the conducting of an inspection; violation of policy and virtue means a review of the status of the party member and dealing with properly.

Sectors and units that are associated with student enrollment, labor recruitment, market management, taxation, banking, finance,

public security should strengthen inspection efforts and examine carefully and strictly deal with instances of siphoning off goods and bribery. The district people's committee is to inspect and fill out a report dealing with cases of usurping public land. Strictly forbid villages, cooperatives, and state farms from arbitrarily issuing land to organizations or individuals. Party members must set the example in carrying out and mobilizing the masses to reclaim land that has been usurped and used illegally.

Strictly forbid gambling under any form. Party members, cadres, workers, and state personnel who are in violation must be expelled from the party and dismissed from the organization. Put an end to the lottery and playing electronic games. Forbid villages from issuing construction lottery tickets without authority. Cadres and party members must set the example in fulfilling the new way of life and actively get rid of outmoded traditions, wasteful funerals and weddings, and superstitions.

The district party committee decided to put an end to giving gifts which look like bribes. Strictly forbid organizations and enterprises from buying grain and food at cheap prices in agricultural cooperatives. Henceforth, abolish issuance of state and collective grain to use for excessive and improper celebration in the conferences of various levels and sectors from the district to the primary level.

The district set forth regulations for reducing conferences, paperwork, and directives, and reserving time to go down to help the primary level. Sectors and levels organizing conferences must carefully prepare the agenda, reserve considerable time for discussion, reach conclusions, assign responsibility clearly, and monitor organization for implementation. The district party committee unanimously stipulated that district party committee members must each month set aside one-third of the time to directly go down to villages to solve difficulties at the primary level. Setting aside a day monthly (from the 1st to the 3rd), district party committee members and chiefs and deputies of the district's sections, bureaus, and mass organizations are to go down to villages to meet with the laboring people and workers directly engaged in production to hear their thoughts and aspirations and to explain the new positions and policies of the party and state.

6915

CSO: 4209/678

REORGANIZATION OF MINH HAI MARKETING COOPERATIVES DESCRIBED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 27 May 86 p 2

[Article by Trong Dat: "Marketing Cooperative Sector in Minh Hai Province Consolidates Organization and Improves Business Performance To Serve Nation's Interests"]

[Text] Recently, the marketing cooperative sector in Minh Hai Province has made headway in its effort to serve agriculture. In the past, its managerial work was flawed. For 3 years in a row, from 1983 to 1985, 28 installations in the sector defaulted on their debts and incurred losses, totaling more than 20,000 dong (new currency). In 1984 and the first 9 months of 1985, the sector addressed 152 cases of misusing capital and embezzling sale proceeds and punished 199 individuals, including 14 party members, 22 cooperative directors and deputy directors, and 17 store accountants. By September 1985, marketing cooperatives still owed trade corporations more than 13 million dong. Tens of them were unable to meet their debt obligations and have become credit risks, deterring state commercial corporations from choosing them as agents and banks from granting them business loans. Cooperative members have lost confidence as a result of misuse of capital, embezzlement of sale proceeds and goods, the practice of doing business by waiting lazily for goods supplied by superior echelons to organize sales, and the moral retrogression and deterioration of some cadres and personnel in the sector.

Since the beginning of 1985, the marketing cooperative sector in Minh Hai has resolutely concentrated on solving its backlog, reinforcing and perfecting the trade apparatus of 106 basic units, and helping weak units to catch up. It has delved into each case, solving nearly 242 instances of corruption, illegal business, and abuse of capital in 77 marketing cooperatives, recovering more than 2 million dong, and clearing up 10 cases involving 13 litigants. In a disciplinary move, it has dismissed 131 cadres and personnel from marketing cooperatives, including 26 party members, 27 directors and deputy directors, and 19 store accountants. Along with purifying its ranks, the sector has strengthened and improved the performances of its installations, especially those in distant rural areas while reinforcing weak cooperatives with trained cadres. In 1985, the sector trained an additional 85 marketing cooperative directors and deputy directors and 250 accountants in keeping with official standards

and sent them to basic installations. Treasurers and warehouse custodians have received short-term training on the principles of management, commodity storage, and other duties, and also on the need to protect social property and fight waste, losses, and the embezzlement of sale proceeds.

Throughout Minh Hai Province there are, at present, 240 marketing cooperatives with 1,737 purchasing and selling centers--1,697 of which are located at the basic level. A new factor is that they have strived to improve their performance and expand association with other units in doing business and serving customer interest. Under contract with agricultural and small-industry and handicraft cooperatives, they have bent over backward to purchase goods at their places of origin for sale to production installations to meet the latter's seasonal and other needs. The province has also authorized marketing cooperatives to sign contracts with state economic units to sell them goods acquired from private sources and purchase merchandise produced by them, particularly hand tools, building materials, and crop varieties, for resale to villagers. To help agricultural production get industrial goods on schedule and expand the scope of their activities--and also to make large profits and promptly recover their investments--marketing cooperatives have begun to refine their technique of buying as many goods as possible while keeping production units and collectives posted on the availability of goods for sale.

However, the apparatus of cadres and personnel of the Minh Hai marketing cooperative sector is now not yet truly neat, lean, and fit, especially in terms of economic management and work quality. The sector employs 3,096 cadres and civil servants, including 352 CPV members and 577 Communist Youth Union members. Since its creation, the provincial vocational school has trained nearly 700 marketing cooperative directors and deputy directors, and 730 store accountants. Nevertheless, because of lax management, irrational utilization, and continuous confusion, the sector still lacks 135 trained directors and deputy directors, and 43 installations have no accountants. For that reason, 85 installations are listed as weak, including 6 where operations were discontinued.

The commercial network, composed of selling and purchasing centers, also requires a more rational arrangement and distribution.

These centers are inordinately concentrated in towns and cities. Of 1,200 hamlets in the province, 480 have no marketing cooperative stores. Although rural inhabitants account for 82 percent of the provincial population, retail sales of marketing cooperatives in the countryside represent only 20 percent of total revenue. Due to an imbalance between sales and purchases, goods of marketing cooperatives have not reached consumer hands in some distant areas; conversely, no local cooperative installations are at hand to buy commodities turned out by peasants. As a result, competitive buying and selling often take place in these areas, especially those sandwiched between two localities, creating opportunities for private merchants to raise selling prices arbitrarily, lower purchasing prices, and disrupt the marketplace.

Also worth mentioning is the expansion of the eating and drinking business and service trades. In 1985, the Minh Hai marketing cooperative sector had 62 cooperatives engaged in the eating and drinking business with a revenue attaining 266 percent of plan--a seven-fold increase over 1984--and 12 cooperatives providing services--dress making, hair dressing, utensil repairs, hotel business, etc. but at prices 100 to 200 percent higher than those in Ho chi Minh City and Hau Giang, despite the fact that agricultural products, foodstuffs, and forestry products cost 50 percent less in Minh Hai than in other areas.

9213/9190

CSO: 4209/644

AUTONOMY FOR SMALL INDUSTRY, HANDICRAFTS URGED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 27 May 86 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Ensure Production and Business Autonomy for Small Industry and Handicrafts"]

[Text] Along with fully developing agriculture--a leading task--it is extremely important to strive to develop light industry, which is composed of small industry and handicrafts. The latter play a notable role in producing consumer goods and processing agricultural, forestry, and marine products to meet the people's and export needs. With these rich production capabilities, small industry and handicrafts contribute to stabilizing living standards, prices, finances, the marketplace, and money.

The (draft) resolution of the Political Bureau of the CPV Central Committee on granting production and business autonomy to basic economic units once again affirms the very important and continued role of small-industry and handicraft production and clearly delineates the responsibilities and prerogatives of collective economic units of small industry and handicrafts (commonly referred to as cooperatives). Party and state policies are aimed at encouraging small-industry and handicraft production units to exploit actively all potentials under their control to develop production, ensure regular employment for cooperative members, pull more social labor toward production, and strive to raise production capabilities in line with the motto that "small industry must be modern and handicrafts must be refined."

From now on, small-industry and handicraft economic units are entitled to choose production and business methods and schemes in accordance with the master plans of the economic and technical sectors and of the localities to which they belong and with the guidelines of superior organs concerned. They are entitled to choose management and business forms, scales, arrangements, and formulas: receive supplies as stipulated by economic contracts; and enjoy equality before the law regarding implementation of economic contracts. Hence, small-industry and handicraft production planning will be partly renovated to fit in with production characteristics, supply of provisions, and product consumption. Planning is designed to ensure equality before the law of both cooperatives and state-run economic units in implementing economic contracts for selling raw materials and

purchasing products (or contracts for making some staple products from state-supplied raw materials) and in making the most of economic policies-- credit, pricing, taxation, opening of vocational courses, etc.

Collective economic units, after paying their taxes and delivering adequate quantities of products to state economic units and others according to contracts, are allowed to sell their remaining stocks to state economic organizations at agreed-upon prices; pay wages to cooperative members in proportion to labor input and on the basis of an expanded and perfected product contracting system; and use bank deposits flexibly to step up production and business and ameliorate living standards. In raising and using capital, collective economic installations should intensify production; make a profit; practice thriftiness; distribute revenue rationally; unceasingly multiply funds, especially those not subject to distribution; develop material and technical bases and collective welfare; strengthen collective socialist ownership; and strive to set up reserve and retirement funds for cooperative members. Collective economic units are entitled to apply for bank loans, stimulate cooperative members to buy shares (with no limitations), and borrow from cooperative members at appropriate interest rates under state bank guidance in order to develop production. Apart from these prerogatives, collective economic units are bound to carry out fully and strictly all state procedures and policies on production and business; heighten socialist consciousness of laborers; foster the sense of collective mastery and enthusiasm about the labor of cooperative members; discharge their obligations to pay taxes to the state and sell products to state economic units according to economic contracts; unremittingly consolidate and refine collective production relationships; properly organize material and cultural life; raise vocational skills of cooperative members; mobilize and stimulate the latter to comply with state policies and laws; and struggle against negative manifestations in production and business.

Various echelons and sectors should mindfully strengthen guidance to help collective economic units work in the right direction and achieve association and cooperation in keeping with state-regulated procedures, exploiting properly and fully the potential of labor, equipment, skills, supplies, and raw materials in the country to step up production and improve product quality. It is extremely indispensable to renovate contract production with state supplies and product purchases and to reinforce and modify necessary points in the policies on prices, taxes, credit, investments, compensation for outstanding artisans, the status of managerial cadres in small industry and handicrafts, and artistic, literary, and trade copyrights.

The potential of small industry and handicrafts is still great. To ensure production and business autonomy for small-industry and handicraft basic units is tantamount to exploiting that potential vigorously to turn out large quantities of products for society and play an important role in stabilizing the economic and social situation.

9213/9190
CSO: 4209/644

BRIEFS

CEMENT PRODUCTION--Since the beginning of the year, the cement factory has taken steps to overcome difficulties in supplies and equipment in order to maintain and develop production. With a smaller peat supply--compared with the same period last year--the factory still produced 103,000 tons of cement and 93,000 tons of clinker in the first 5 months. In April and May, it diligently repaired, assembled, and installed equipment in its shops. It completed major repairs on coal dryer no 6 and assembled and installed coal crusher no 6 in time to meet production schedules. During the emulation campaign to mark Chairman Ho Chi Minh's 90th birthday, factory cadres and workers turned out 2,000 tons of P-600 cement to supply to the Ho Chi Minh Museum building project. [Text] [Haiphong HAI PHONG in Vietnamese 13 Jun 86 p 1] 9213/12859

CSO: 4209/685

ROLE, ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRESS DISCUSSED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 18 Jun 86 p 2

[Article by Hien Le: "The Proper Direction for the Press"]

[Text] As the atmosphere in our city becomes more and more enthusiastic as we approach the time of the 6th Party Congress, it is clear that the press is making active contributions. The newspapers, particularly SAIGON GIAI PHONG and TUOI TRE, have attracted the attention of many people to broad political activities prior to the congress, with the primary task being self-criticism and criticism in the party and state organizations. The number of readers has increased greatly. Readership has increased not just among cadres, workers, and civil servants but among people of all classes. The number of copies published is sometimes insufficient to satisfy demand (many people want to subscribe to SAIGON GIAI PHONG but can't).

The attraction exerted by a number of newspapers is definitely not the result of their form. The paper used by a few newspapers is still very bad, and the print is sometimes difficult to read. And nothing has been done to improve the appearance of these newspapers. And the newspapers have not strengthened their entertainment or advertising sections or started publishing "sensational" serial articles. Rather, what must be given attention is their political contents. As the organs of speech of the party organizations, municipal unions, and mass organizations, recently, the press in our city has closely monitored the pressing problems, strengthened its combat and mass spirit, and, through this, strengthened its effectiveness in guiding and educating people. Using many rich and active forms, the newspapers and magazines have given praise and made criticisms, attacked the problems and negative phenomena, and discussed the problems and concerns of the people frankly. By making clear criticisms, asking pointed questions, and "pursuing" cases in a thorough manner, a number of newspapers have exerted real influence on public opinion. Through the forum "Contribute to the Party Congress," people of different classes have had a chance to express their ideas. As a result, the newspapers and magazines have become close "friends" of the masses and gotten the masses interested in political problems. They have clarified the viewpoints and attitudes of the party in solving the problems. Thus, the people have greater confidence in the party and system. This welcome phenomenon proves that the readers of our newspapers and magazines are informed people with a political concept that is constantly being improved. They need more complete, timely,

and varied news. Not only do they receive information from the press, but they also regard the press as a place to express opinions and ideas, make suggestions to the party and state organizations, and exert their ownership rights in a concrete manner. The achievements of the press are not unidirectional: party-masses. The press also contributes to helping the party and state make adjustments, correct the specific shortcomings in the policies and positions, and struggle to overcome bureaucratic centralism.

The lines and policies are the result of our collective intelligence, and, therefore, they are usually correct. But there are always other aspects that are not in accord with objective reality and that are usually exposed during implementation. A vital requirement of the leading party is to understand these contrary news signals in order to make timely adjustments. The desire for achievements, the lack of reports on the loyalty of the cadres, and the bureaucratization of the state apparatus are the reasons why the state has been slow to see and correct the mistakes in the policies and in their implementation. Bureaucratism is a disease that can affect any state organization. When states exploit their rule, that becomes a chronic disease that can never be cured. But in our socialist state, which is of the people, by the people, and for the people, the best way of eliminating the possibility of infection or curing that disease is to strengthen democracy, give great attention to the ideas of the masses, and have the masses supervise the organizations of the party and regime. President Ho taught that "putting democracy into practice is the key to overcoming every difficulty." With the aim of effecting a new and powerful change in Soviet society, the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regarded speaking the truth as the leading lesson and confirmed that the system of public notices is a principle, the essence of which is to strengthen democracy.

There are many ways of doing this, but the press is the notable spearhead. All classes of people greatly appreciate the fact that the press in the city has made efforts in this direction.

Based on the above, I would like to make a few suggestions:

The press should continue to make criticisms and give praise. It should reflect the ideas of the people toward the party and regime on a regular basis and not just during this self-criticism and criticism campaign.

In certain situations, if necessary, the press should publish opposing ideas if that will help clarify a viewpoint or problem. This will have a good educational effect and also help to prevent authoritarianism and dogmatism on the part of the press.

In the coming period, along with continuing to publish short articles as in the past, the press should make it possible for cadres, specialists, intellectuals, and others to discuss topics and contribute ideas to the party in a more meticulous and thorough manner (in a more planned way) through the press. For example, supplements could be published occasionally.

11943
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EDITORS OF SAIGON GIAI PHONG MAKE SELF-CRITICISM

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 19 Jun 86 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "On the Occasion of Vietnam Press Day on 21 June, We Would Like to Make Self-Criticism"]

[Text] This year, people in the publishing business are celebrating the birthday of their circle at a time when the entire party is engaging in self-criticism and criticism in preparation for the 6th Party Congress. This coincidence is of significance for two reasons. First, this clearly defines the combat nature of the press during the party's self-criticism and criticism campaign. Second, this reminds people of the glorious traditions of our revolutionary press and reminds those of us in this business that in order to advance constantly, we must engage in serious self-criticism. As for that first task, we are already doing that and will continue to do so with even greater quality and better results. The second is the theme of today's editorial.

Some people think that those in the newspaper business don't have power and that they just sweat and toil to publish newspapers to serve the public. And so they wonder how this profession could have the disease of bureaucratism. But in preparing for the criticism and self-criticism campaign to illuminate our profession, we have found that the answer does not follow that formal logic.

During the 11 years that SAIGON GIAI PHONG has been serving readers, although we have made a great effort, frankly, we have never been able to bridge the rather large gap between our subjective efforts and the legitimate needs of readers. This is evident from the way that the newspaper has carried out its most basic task, which is to report the news.

The news as presented by the newspaper is usually monotonous and limited to a number of specific topics. Each day, many incidents both large and small occur on many fronts. These incidents attract the attention of the masses and concern the interests of the masses, but the newspaper does not try to analyze these incidents or shape public opinion. The "battlefield" has been abandoned to harmful rumors, which have given rise to groundless and usually damaging discussion. We have not satisfied the people's need for news in a responsible or timely manner.

The newspaper still prints many articles that are devoid of information. For example, in reporting on a meeting, such as a meeting of the People's Council, the article just tells who attended the meeting and what the agenda was and gives the names of those who read reports or participated in discussions. The articles conclude by saying that the "meeting adjourned on a successful note." But the article does not mention what the people at the meeting did, whether they were enthusiastic or bored, what they discussed, what topics related to the interests of the people were debated, or how the role of a democratic organization was manifested. Sometimes, about a week or 10 days later, the newspaper publishes a communique on the meeting of the People's Council, but the contents are virtually the same as the previous dull report.

On the other hand, for a rather long period of time, the newspaper has been fond of publishing front-page stories and photographs of people welcoming guests and on the activities of leading cadres at various echelons and their trips here and there. But nowhere in these articles have readers been able to find anything of direct interest to them. Thus, the reports in the newspaper are both "too little and too much." There is a shortage of news vital to readers. The articles do not contain enough useful information. On the other hand, there is too much information that readers don't need. There are too many unnecessary details. For example, there is a "wealth" of information on names, ages, and positions of leading cadres, and there is frequent use of formulistic introductions, such as "under the leadership of the X Party Committee echelon or the Y People's Committee."

Our society today is a society in change. It is being transformed and built. The new is growing up alongside the old, which is withering away but which is still causing problems. The newspaper must reflect the realities of those two aspects in order to encourage the people to participate in stimulating the growth of the new and eliminating the remnants of the old. This is a very difficult task, but people in the newspaper business cannot refuse to do this. Many readers have criticized the paper for "painting too rosy a picture." That is true to a certain degree, but it does not clarify everything. What is the truth? We are concerned about reflecting what is new and positive. But as compared with the realities of life, we have not done nearly enough. This is the result of shortcomings and weaknesses in our vision, capabilities, and work style. The things that we have presented have lacked depth. We have not contributed to explaining the rise of things and the process of growth, and we have not pointed out the weaknesses in these things. There are things that are totally new, but because of our superficial way of looking at things and our lack of skill in representing them, they have appeared in the newspaper "stark naked." And at times they seem like complete fabrications.

It is essential to praise the achievements in order to have the masses affirm their labor and combat results. But in a number of cases, the "completely planned" type achievements presented in the newspaper have been lies. This has created illusions and led to a loss of confidence. This is without mentioning the fact that a number of stories and articles praising good people and good work have contained many inaccuracies or been totally wrong. These have generated a justified reaction among readers.

And then there is the opposite of what is new and positive. That is, there are difficulties, obstacles, and negative phenomena in economic and social life. We have rarely dared to present these things clearly, such as introducing the obstacles in an objective manner so that the masses see them clearly and concentrate their efforts on overcoming them on the path forward. This is where the newspaper's lack of a revolutionary and scientific spirit manifests itself. Criticism and self-criticism in the newspaper should be a regular task. This is a natural combat requirement of a revolutionary newspaper. The times that we have neglected this are the times that we have been far wide of our target.

The party has entrusted us with the task of carrying the words of the party, through the policies and lines, to our readers. But we have not done a very good job. In many cases, this has been done in an administrative manner as if publishing an official report. There has been a lack of analysis, and little attention has been given to persuading people. Thus, the results have often been unclear. But what is even worse is that we have not given the proper amount of attention to presenting the reaction by the masses after they have been informed of the party's words. This is a major shortcoming in carrying out our task of presenting two-way information.

There are many reasons for the above shortcomings, including objective reasons that need to be discussed (and that will be discussed on some other occasion). But the principal reasons are subjective reasons concerning understanding, viewpoints, and combat spirit and behavior in our specific position.

Clearly, those things regarded as the special characteristics of the press cannot provide immunity against the disease of bureaucratic centralism when bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies engulfs all of economic and social life. There must be revolutionary offensive will power and independent thought in order to enable the newspaper to breathe on its own, filled with the vitality of practice and the revolutionary masses. We still lack this and so we often rely on incorrect interpretations concerning the responsibility of the press. In many instances, these interpretations are completely at odds with the party's viewpoint on the press. Thus, not only does the newspaper have the disease of bureaucratic centralism in its general form, but it also has a variety of specific forms: being remote from the masses and from reality and being formalistic and authoritarian and sometimes even overbearing.

We are the voice of the laboring people, but we don't really understand the laborers. We don't understand what motivates the people or what they want. As for the genuine lessons of the revolutionary press, which have a mass nature, we are still on the basic lessons, because we have not yet learned the lessons or studied them deeply. These lessons continue to be a constant source of discovery for all of us in the newspaper business even though we are of different ages. Several decades ago, President Ho asked newspapermen, "For whom are you writing." That is still a very burning question. And our answer in many articles and stories is still hesitant and confused.

We still have many shortcomings on many fronts, such as in receiving and listening to readers and in responding to and satisfying the legitimate needs

of readers. These shortcomings just serve to highlight the various manifestations of bureaucratic centralism in regulating the newspaper, which we regard as the main element to be gained from this self-criticism campaign.

To be fair, during the 11 years that our newspaper has served readers, it has made a number of positive contributions as a result of our efforts on a number of fronts. We have frequently been stimulated and encouraged by readers both near and far. But these strengths cannot conceal the major weaknesses mentioned above, weaknesses that worry all of us.

It is difficult to find the exact cause of the disease. Curing the disease is even more difficult. For a newspaper to acquire the "breath of practice" poses serious demands on many fronts. Above all is the strength of the ranks. This is one of our major difficulties. This difficulty can be overcome in part with the cooperation of readers and cooperators. We are always trying to expand this. Finally, we wish to tell readers that with each small step forward taken by the newspaper, besides our subjective efforts, it is essential that we receive frank criticism from readers. Not only must readers provide criticism about the contents and form of the newspaper, they must also criticize the training we provide in an effort to improve the skills, qualifications, quality, and morals of revolutionary newspapermen.

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CSO: 4209/782

READERS EXPRESS VIEWS ON TRADE, FARM IMPLEMENTS, DECADENT MUSIC

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 16 Jun 86 p 3

[Series of letters in the column "Through Readers' Letters"]

[Text] State Enterprises Chase Free Style of Business
Tran Phan (Military Region 4)

Construction Corporation No 6 does not closely manage directly subordinate enterprises which let many units chase profits like merchants on the free market. This is clearly evident when an enterprise sells lime at higher prices than the state stipulates, and when the price is raised when numerous customers try to buy something. There is no need to attempt to lower costs to get a substantial profit. According to the principle of enterprise management, the sale of goods higher than the stipulated price is a breach of price discipline and, when reviewing completion of the plan, must be removed from the business production results, the state collecting the difference in price. The enterprise "ignoring" that principle has gotten all the profit itself.

In March 1986, an enterprise rushed to buy springs from another unit and take them to an organization in the city of Vinh to exchange for 3 tons of steel 6 millimeters in diameter. Actually, when exchanging for the steel, the enterprise figured into the cost both the circulation fee and the enterprise's profit, then stored it in the warehouse for issuance to the construction sites of the corporation. But the enterprise took this steel and sold it on the outside and reaped a fairly large profit, even though the aforementioned construction sites lacked steel in April 1986, and had to run around many places to borrow it.

The Mountain Region Lacks Farm Implements
Ha Thanh Son (Ha Son Binh)

The mountain region districts of Ha Son Binh are used to using the type of plowshare and plow produced by the Luong Son Farm Implement Factory. For the past several years we have not seen this type of farm implement for sale. Many cooperative member families in Kim Boi District have run to the town store and over to Luong Son District looking for them, only to find the 51 type of plowshare and plow being sold exclusively. This type of plow is



okay for soil work in delta districts but not for mountainous regions. Because the Luong Son Farm Implement Factory does not assign production norms, many types of farm implements needed for use in the mountain region have become scarce.

We recommend that the production of farm implement factories be reorganized more reasonably in order to fully and expeditiously meet the farmers' and entire province's requirement but still give due consideration to the farming habits of each region.

Forbid Decadent Tapes

Van Think (Army)

From early in the morning to pitch dark at a repair site belonging to the Hoa Binh market, several machines with speakers attached compete with each other to blast out all types of music. Families living around there are miserable because they regularly have to put up with the excessive noise from the speakers. If you want to carry on a conversation, many times you have to shout to hear. Most intolerable, however, is having to constantly listen to tapes of decadent music and the dreadful singing!

The spread of decadent cultural goods is an infraction of the law. We hope that responsible organizations take steps to silence the noise from this repair site and seek out spots specializing in illegally collecting and circulating the aforementioned decadent tapes.

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END