

DOCUMENTATION

President Heng Samrin Presents the Draft Constitution to the National Assembly

President Heng Samrin, President of the Constitution Drafting Commission, presented the draft constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the first session of the Kampuchean National Assembly, first legislature, which opened in Phnom Penh on 24 June.

President Heng Samrin said: "Over the past hundred years, since the French colonialists began to invade Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people have had to wage a protracted struggle for independence and freedom. Since the founding of the revolutionary party, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the Kampuchean people's patriotic spirit has been forged, and the revolutionary unity between the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao peoples has constantly been fostered and consolidated. The glorious victories in the two struggles against the French colonialists and the U.S. aggressors, especially the success of the revolution on January 7, 1979 which toppled the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan regime, lackeys of the Chinese expansionists, gave us two historic lessons: National unity and international solidarity are the strength for victory."

On the political system of Kampuchea, President Heng Samrin said that the objective of the entire people is to build an independent, peaceful, free and happy People's Republic of Kampuchea.

President Heng Samrin went on: "The People's Republic of Kampuchea is an independent state, having its sovereignty and territorial integrity. But the Beijing expansionists, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces, are attempting to set up an alliance between the Pol Pot gang and the reactionary feudalists and compradores, and Sihanouk and the Son Sann clique, aimed at opposing the revolution and sabotaging the Kampuchean people's peaceful life and the country's independence. So, we must hold aloft the banner of patriotism and international solidarity, and consider national defence as the first and sacred task of the entire people.

"On the other hand, to win victory, the Kampuchean revolution must closely ally with the world's three revolutionary currents. The People's

Republic of Kampuchea has established a fraternal friendship and solidarity co-operation with Vietnam, Laos and the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is actively participating in the non-aligned countries' movement for defending the independence and sovereignty of nations, maintaining world peace and security, and proceeding to establish a new world economic order.

"The People's Republic of Kampuchea supports the struggle of nations against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism and hegemonism, racism and other reactionary forces, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress."

Referring to Kampuchea's economic, social and cultural policies, he said: "Defeating the genocidal regime, the Kampuchean people have wrested back their right to live and are building a new life. The entire Kampuchean people are following the road of our times, and of progressive mankind — the road of genuine socialism. Only with genuine socialism can our country maintain its independence and our people have freedom, a peaceful and happy life, and a pure cultural and spiritual life. But our country is facing difficulties which we cannot hope to solve immediately. We must have firm and appropriate policies and must advance to socialism step by step.

"Our draft constitution stipulates that the state and the entire people must pay great attention to agriculture, and must consider agricultural production as the focal task of economic rehabilitation. At the same time, we must restore and develop industry, and industry must serve agriculture. We must restore and develop handicrafts and the production of consumer goods and develop commerce, transport and communications.

"The Kampuchean state has paid attention to the development of all three sectors of the economy — state, collective and private. Together with these three economic sectors, there are state ownership, collective ownership and private ownership (Articles 13–18 of the draft constitution)."

He concluded: "The 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the first session of the Kampuchean National Assembly's first legislature mark a new stage on our country's road forward. Our entire people must unite still more closely, strive to fulfil our tasks to implement the constitution so as to ensure a plentiful and happy life for the whole nation, to firmly defend national independence and socialism on the Indochinese peninsula, and help defend peace and stability in Southeast Asia."

Hanoi, 26 June.

SOURCE: *Monitoring Digest*, No. 147/1981, 27 June 1981.

Nguyen Co Thach on Results of the Indochinese Foreign Ministers' Conference

Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, in an interview with a VNA correspondent in Phnom Penh, has expounded the purpose and new points in the proposals of the three Indochinese foreign ministers' fourth meeting which closed in the Kampuchean capital yesterday.

The following are the questions and answers:

Question 1. What is the purpose of the Indochinese foreign ministers' fourth conference?

Answer: The Kampuchean, Lao and Vietnamese foreign ministers met this time with a view to strengthening the militant solidarity, friendship and all-sided co-operation among the three countries, at the same time, to coordinate their activities against the policy of intervention and aggression of the Chinese authorities against the three Indochinese countries.

The conference also put forward a number of proposals in order to create favourable conditions so that the Indochinese and ASEAN countries may discuss and soon reach agreement on questions in Southeast Asia in the common interests of regional peace and stability, and the interests of each nation.

Question 2. What is new in the proposals of this conference?

Answer: The proposals made at this conference include the elaboration of some proposals made earlier and also new points indicative of the goodwill of the Indochinese countries which want to speed up the process of dialogue with a view to reaching early positive results beneficial to peace and stability, friendship and co-operation in Southeast Asia. For instance, the three foreign ministers raised the idea of a regional conference between the two groups of countries of Indochina and ASEAN, with the participation of a number of observers including the U.N. Secretary-General and some other countries to be mutually agreed upon. In order to speed up the process of dialogue, the three Indochinese countries agreed not to ask for a regional conference if the ASEAN countries are not yet ready, and agreed to continue regional consultations between two or more countries in Southeast Asia in

order to reach common agreement on various regional issues.

With regard to the relations between the Indochinese countries and China, world public opinion is deeply concerned at China's intensification of attacks and armed provocations against Vietnam and Laos and its continued supply of weapons to Khmer reactionary forces to oppose the Kampuchean people. The conference of the foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries sternly condemned this bellicose policy of Beijing. In the interests of the friendship between the two peoples, Vietnam has proposed that the two sides reach agreement on urgent measures to restore peace and stability along the Sino-Vietnamese border and promptly start the third round of talks at vice-foreign ministers' level on questions of mutual concern in order to normalise relations between the two countries. This is also an earnest desire of the people for goodwill throughout the world.

Question 3. Some people say that, in the view of the Indochinese countries, the Chinese authorities' policy of interference and aggression is the fundamental cause of the threat to peace and stability in Southeast Asia. So, if China does not attend a regional conference as proposed by the three Indochinese countries, how can that threat be removed. What is your opinion on this question?

Answer: Here, we must separate two distinct questions: one is China's threat to the security and independence of the three Indochinese countries and the other, is the relation between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries. During the past 30 years, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have conducted direct negotiations with the aggressors of the Indochinese countries, such as France and the United States. The three foreign ministers this time reiterated the proposal put forth at their previous conference, namely, each country is ready to sign with China a bilateral agreement of non-aggression and peaceful coexistence.

As for the relations between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries, they must be solved between these countries themselves.

Question 4. Those who want to convene an international conference on Kampuchea argue that the Kampuchean problem has gone beyond the framework of the region and become an international problem, therefore it is necessary to convene an international conference on Kampuchea.

What is your comment?

Answer: As a matter of fact, the policy of intervention and aggression of the Chinese authorities against the three Indochinese countries is not only a regional problem but also a problem of an international character. Realities over the past 30 years and more have proved that . . . to the independence and sovereignty of the Indochinese countries have all assumed an international character such as the French colonialist war and the U.S. war of aggression. These wars were resolved through direct negotiations.

The same is true for regional problems in Southeast Asia. They must be settled, first of all, among Southeast Asian countries which are independent and sovereign states.

Southeast Asian countries should discuss together and reach agreements on the basis of mutual respect, equality and non-imposition of views on each other, and opposition to imposition from outside. Prompted by their goodwill, the three Indochinese foreign ministers have also proposed that if the United Nations stop recognising Pol Pot and his clique, the Indochinese countries will consider the possibility of this international conference being convened by the United Nations in order to acknowledge and guarantee the agreements reached by Southeast Asian countries at their regional conference or at regional consultations.

Hanoi, 15 June.

SOURCE: *Monitoring Digest*, No. 137/1981, 16 June 1981.

BOOK REVIEWS

Malaysian Politics and the 1978 Election, edited by Harold Crouch, Lee Kam Hing, and Michael Ong. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1980. Pp. xiv, 330 pp., Appendix, Index.

Because politics is a never-ending process, reporting and analysis must also be a continuous academic endeavour. This book covers the Malaysian political scene in the period centred around the 1978 election campaign. It presents no comprehensive survey or interpretation of Malaysian political developments, but in its fairly detailed description and focus on the political process of one election, it provides an excellent case study and a supplement to those volumes which have a broader time span and attempt a more comprehensive interpretation of Malaysian politics. Although the volume is a product of ten scholars, it is not a pot-pourri of unrelated papers assembled for convenience in a single binding. The papers fit together remarkably well, and they are enclosed between introductory and concluding essays providing sufficient overview to enable the casual reader to place the more detailed papers in an appropriate perspective. A common index and supplementary appendices add to the utility and coherence of the work as a whole.

The volume begins with Harold Crouch's introduction, surveying the Malaysian political scene from the 1969 era through 1978. Subsequent chapters are devoted to the internal politics of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) from 1975 to 1977; three papers concentrate on the contest for Malay support between UMNO and PAS (Parti Islam Sa-Malaysia) in Kelantan, Kedah, and in the federal election campaign. The Sarawak scene is surveyed in a paper by Michael Leigh, while two chapters examine the campaign from the vantage point of ethnic electoral constituencies — the urban Malay voter and the rural Chinese in a former resettled "new village". A description and analysis of the electoral system and electoral administration provides valuable insight into the effects of the institutional-legal requirements for election on the character of political competition and the representational bias inherent in the electoral structure. The volume ends with a chapter by Harold Crouch presenting the electoral results along with a rather brief analysis interpreting party electoral performances.

This book reflects both the strengths and limitations of contemporary political studies in Malaysia. The overall quality of the papers are excellent, but the variety of the perspectives and the analysis is limited by the research methods employed and data which was available. A number of the contributors observed the campaign in the field, and their accounts, while impressionistic, present valuable insights into campaign appeals and public responses at the grassroots level. Because public meetings were prohibited during the campaign, much of the party campaigning involved individual canvassing and the staging of *ceramah* (dialogue sessions) between party spokesmen and small groups of voters meeting in private residences. The decentralized character of the campaign proved to be an added burden on the smaller and less organized parties. This campaign style also made press coverage and research activities more difficult. Understandably, the campaign activities and the election results receive major attention in many of the papers in the book. However, the papers offer only impressionistic accounts of voter responses to party campaign efforts and appeals. The book presents no electoral survey data, since, to my knowledge, none was collected. Furthermore, election statistics by polling stations are not available, and demographic census data is not organized by electoral constituency boundaries, so that analysis of voting behaviour can only be crudely inferred from aggregate voting statistics. In anticipation of a subsequent volume covering Malaysia's next general election, it should be possible to plan the collection of more comprehensive voting data, including opinion surveys, to enhance the reliability and validity of the analysis of public response to party appeals.

The main focus of the book is on the UMNO-PAS-DAP contest at the federal level and in certain key states such as Kelantan, Kedah, and especially around the Kuala Lumpur area. Some interesting and important states were largely ignored, most notably Penang and Sabah, each of which has a distinctive political environment and which deserve to be included in the collection. However, considering how difficult it is to co-ordinate the efforts of ten scholars, it is amazing how well the articles do fit together, and how few gaps exist in their coverage.

The volume deserves to be widely read among the general public in Southeast Asia, and it should also prove to be a valuable source book for Southeast Asian scholars and libraries throughout the world. I would hope that this volume will become the first in a series covering subsequent elections having as an objective the collection of comparable time-series data and analyses of the Malaysian electoral process.

Gordon P. Means
McMaster University
Canada

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

- Baark, E. and J. Sigurdson, eds. *Indo-China Comparative Research: Technology and Science for Development*. London: Curson Press, 1980. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, No. 3).
- Bautista, Lilia R. *Transfer of technology regulations in the Philippines*. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Study prepared at the request of UNCTAD Secretariat.
- Chamni Phimphisan et al. *The Siam Chronicle 1979-80*. Bangkok: Siam P.B.J. Co. Ltd., 1980.
- Cheung, Ka-hing. *Kampuchea: Historical and Global Context of the Conflict*. Hong Kong: Plough Pubs., 1981.
- Couillard, Marie-Andrée. *Tradition in tension: carving in a Jah Hut community*. Penang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia for School of Comparative Social Sciences, USM, 1980.
- Hodge, Peter, ed. *Community Problems and Social Work in Southeast Asia*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1980.
- Institut Masyarakat Bhd. and Consumers Association of Penang, *Kuala Juru: a people's cooperative*. 1981.
- Japan Center for International Exchange. *The Pacific Community Concept: Views from Eight Nations*. Collection of papers originally presented at a January 1980 Symposium on Pan-Pacific Cooperation held in Oiso, Japan, as part of Asian Dialogue Program. Tokyo, c 1980.
- Kenzo Horii. *Rice Economy and Land Tenure in West Malaysia: A Comparative Study of Eight Villages*; I.D.E. Occasional Papers Series No. 18. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1981.
- Kiernan, Ben and Chanthon Bona, eds. and trans. *Peasants and Communists in Kampuchea 1942-79*. London: ZED Press, 1981.
- MacAndrews, Colin and Rahardjo. *Pemukiman di Asia Tenggara dan Transmigrasi di Indonesia: Suatu Perbandingan*. Bulaksumur, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press (1980).
- Morell, David and Chai-anan Samudavanija. *Political Conflict in Thailand: Reform, Reaction, Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, Pubs., Inc., forthcoming.
- Motha, Philip. *The Singapore Property Market in the 80s*. Singapore: DPCS, 1981.
- National Federation of Unesco Associations in Japan. *Kampuchean Chronicles: narrated by refugee children in words and pictures*. Tokyo, c. 1980.

- National Media Production Center. *The Marcos Revolution: A Progress Report on the New Society of the Philippines*. Manila, 1980.
- Pringle, Robert. *Indonesia and the Philippines: American Interests in Island Southeast Asia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Rosaldo, Michelle Z. *Knowledge and Passion: Illongot notions of self and social life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980 (Cambridge Studies in Cultural System Series No. 4).
- Stone, Scott C.S. and John E. McGowan. *Wrapped in the Wind's Shawl: refugees of Southeast Asia and the Western World*. San Rafael, California: Presidio Press, 1981.
- World Council of Churches, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. *Iron hand, velvet glove: studies on militarization in five critical areas in the Philippines*. (1981).

SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS 1981

1981 361pp. casebound S\$37.50/US\$18.75

Southeast Asian Affairs, of which there are now eight in the series, is a review of significant developments and trends in the region, with particular emphasis on ASEAN countries. The publication aims primarily at giving the enquiring reader a broad grasp of current regional affairs. Readable and easily understood analyses are made of major political, economic, social and strategic developments within Southeast Asia.

The contributions can be divided into two broad categories. There are articles which review and comment upon major developments during 1980 in individual Southeast Asian countries and in the region generally. Then, there are the articles of more specialized current interest which deal with topical problems of concern in the individual Southeast Asian countries or the region as a whole. Specialists on Southeast Asian matters, the contributors to this volume represent a broad spectrum of interests including economics, history, political science, international relations, law, demography and sociology. Although the subject matter is extensive in range, most of the articles in this volume relate in various ways either to the changing circumstances of international politics or to economic development in the region.

This volume contains twenty-one articles, dealing with such major themes as international conflict and co-operation, political stability, economic growth and developments.

Send orders to: **INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES**
Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Singapore 0511