

Founder-Editor: Late S. M. Ali

Dhaka, Friday, December 26, 1997

East Asian Ripple

Here is a new challenge our barely emerging economy ought to be bracing up to face sooner than later. In a somewhat shrouded sequel to the financial debacle in the South East Asian Tiger economies, the first and evidently the worst crisis to face an otherwise vaulting era of economic globalisation, our economy cannot escape the sideeffects.

The ramifications need to be understood with utmost clarity so that we don't rest on the oars of some perceived advantages in our rather peculiar financial situation. First, we do not risk any fresh flight of capital because most of the portfolio investments the foreigners had made in our bourses were withdrawn earlier on. There is nothing left to lose in that area. Secondly, Taka being not convertible in the current account we need not fear loss of capital through that route either.

So far so good. The downside begins to dawn on us when it is considered that prospective FDI flows from South Korea to the special EPZ in Chittagong do go under clouds. Relocation of industries away in another country is likely to be elusive in view of the devaluation-induced longings among SEA entrepreneurs to re-start their once uneconomic and abandoned concerns. Bangladesh looks like being a future loser there.

A drastic devaluation of currencies in the SEA economies gives their exports competitive edge over Bangladeshi products. But, in bilateral terms of trade, this wouldn't make a big difference because imports from those countries will come cheaper to us in a countervailing way.

The worry is somewhere else. Our ports are not working and a congestion surcharge has been imposed by distraught shippers on our exports. The result will be an erosion of our competitiveness in the leather and garments sectors. Hence, the first challenge is to get the ports ready for dynamic operations with mercy shown towards none of those who are proving subversive of vital national interests.

Essentially we face another litmus test to maintain stability in and hold a balance between the macro-economic fundamentals. The linchpin, of course, lies in the discipline of the financial sector with the government playing an introspectively crucial role there.

Sayedabad Den

One of the most infamous crime zones in the city, Sayedabad, of late, has been featuring in the morning press at an alarming frequency. Within three days of the killing of a veteran labour leader's son, a young bus owner was brutally hacked to death. These twin murders have added to the powerkeg situation that reigns in this area known for organised business of drug and extortion . The extortion racket thrives on near about 4000 buses that ply on 22 routes to and from this terminal. Often sparks fly from clash among stakeholders. Twenty four passengers of a nightcoach were burnt to death in 1995 when elements from the battling groups threw petrol bomb into it.

Fight over extortion or chaandabazi is not the lone cause for trouble. Drug is an equally exacerbating factor. The hub of this other evil is the nearby WASA bustee. Recently Home Minister Rafiqul Islam was on a visit there to see things for himself. Clearly his visit has not been followed by any affirmative action against the crime kingpins.

Bus terminals are always happy hunting grounds for evil syndicates because of the high stakes. But Sayedabad has left similar other places behind because of the enormously detrimental effect it has had on the law and order of the city and the insecurity it has caused in the lives of people who live around it.

We urge the Home Minister to take it up as a challenge to dismantle this evil empire. It is a tall task no doubt. The people who run the business in this area have always enjoyed the blessings of the people in power. They are enjoying still. This cannot go on. But as a person who has impressed us with his sincerity, we expect of him to launch a crusade against the criminals at Sayedabad and the fight has to begin with the reforming of the police force. Once the men in uniform mean business, people in the 'business' in this area would be on the run.

Ghastly

This weekend's delightful package of X-mas and a longish spell of holiday lost quite a bit of its mirth at the disturbing sight of the gory carrion of an elephant published in a leading vernacular daily Wednesday last. The mangled body found in a jungle in the Chittagong Hill Tracts suggests the mammoth drew the fatal attention of the poachers for its tusk and nails.

We are shaken at this wanton demonstration of man's cruelty to animal. Come as it has hot on the heels of a series of planned killing in the zoo, this haunting visual calls for a renewal of our con-

sciousness in this realm. Cruelty against animal is not a typical Bangladeshi syndrome. The governments and the conscious people all over the world are grappling with it. The pressure of demographic growth which has been the biggest threat to animal safety is one factor about which hardly anything can be done. But great deal of threat to the wild life can be minimised if the unscrupulous business cycle that thrives on man's prejudices about things like tusk and animal bones being of anabolic influences, say, aphrodisiac is kept under a tight leash. Given the lucrative market reality of animal 'items' it is understood people in these business will not be reformed by goodly, pious words. For them vigilance and stern punitive measure is the only medicine. Poachers who happen to be the primary agents or the cutting edge of this international business racket have to be dealt with an iron hand. We suggest the authorities review the law of the land in this regard and if needed give it teeth so that intending 'killers' think twice before laying hand on an animal in the wild. A global stand starting with a regional approach can be mooted for exchange of

information and fixing strategy. If we want to live, the wild has to live. Simple.

Does Dream Count?

was hungry and you "I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or the self becomes too much with you, apply the formed a committee to following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you have seen and ask yourself if the investigate my hunger; I was homeless and you filed a step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. report on my plight; I was sick

> or her, the common future is a common failure.

and you held a seminar on the

underprivileged; you investi-

gated all aspects of my plight

and yet, I am still hungry,

homeless and sick". This is a

irreverent. I have respect for the

development professionals who

are committed to affirmative

action on behalf of the disad-

vantaged, an euphemism for the

"poor". But I am a little con-

fused. As confused as a forest-

dweller who is witnessing the

decimation of the resources

that he/she could draw upon, in

the name of consecration, ecol-

ogy and environment. To them

whose livelihood security is in-

tegral to the trees and the

streams, the vegetations, the

birds and beasts, these rhetoric.

are meaningless, irrelevant and

arid and quite often polite ex-

cuses for disinheriting them

from their ancestral habitat.

Or, take the case of a small

farmer. Mixed cropping that he

Monoculture is modern. But

when brown plant hoppers de-

stroy field after field of rice-

crop, he/she cannot complain.

but only turn a pauper. For him

HE Gujral government's

Prasar Bharti Board under the

Prasar Bharti Act of 1990.

which remained dormant until

all these years.

parting gift to the nation is

the constitution of the

was used to is traditional.

of conservation and ecology.

I am not being facetious nor

quote from TIV Ulbricht.

situation

What I am saying is not to denigrate the good-will of wellmeaning policy-makers and professionals, scientists and advocates of pro-poor, pro-nature, pro-women development paradigm. My only plea is for reengagement with the resource-poor farmers and disinherited forest-dwellers, the disenfranchised women and the new-poor nature as the major partners in sustainable devel-

No doubt the frontiers of science and technology are critical for increasing productivity as well as for enhancing the natural resource base. But all that has to be incorporated into the organic, intuitive and practical knowledge of the small farmers who produce, the women who nurture bio-diversity, and the forest-dwellers who conserve their habitat. We must not forget that activities of millions of hunters and gatherers in the wild forests, of farmers and curators in diverse eco-systems, of mothers and daughters putting the poisoned arrows away when men and nature were in conflict, constitute the

largest aggregate of experience and therefore a most dynamic source of knowledge. Because where do ideas come from? As Mao Ze Dong says, "They do not come from heaven nor fall from the sky. They come from social practice".

So my proposition is that

opment from the outside. through their control of science and information, can become paternalistic. The line between such doctrinaire paternalism and fascism can easily be crossed. The task, therefore, is to resurrect local knowledge. identify relevant practices and



however amorphous the connotation of sustainable development is its strength lies and will continue to lie in the emphasis on the unity of knowing and doing. Outside knowledge is, of course, important. But it must build on and coalesce with experiential wisdom of the people themselves. Otherwise, differential access to both physical and knowledge resources can perpetuate the classes of the "poor and the rich" and of the "wise and the ignorant". High priests of technology and devel-

other but also with nature.

create holistic wisdom to match our sciences.

latedness not only with each

Sustainability, thus, cannot thing would be shared fairly by be limited to the physical asall mankind under the guidance pects of nature without people. nor to the eskewed dimensions of economic efficiency that accepts deprivations of the powerless as the inevitable price for progress. It must incorporate political and technological empowerment of currently the last and the least. It must recognise human dignity and human re-

True, bills for ecological deficits and wasteful practices of the past are falling due. We have mistaken our life tenancy on earth with a full repairing base as a free-hold. The point is that the tenancy must be secured for those whose livelihood security depends on earth's bounty. But we have stripped the earth of its beauty, nature of its bounty, and people of their dignity. And that, I believe, what sustainable development is all about. What is "natural" is never merely so. It is a tryst with divine mercy for enowing each individual human being to a life with dignity. As the religious teaching goes: "God destined the earth and all it contains for all men and all peoples, so that all created

of justice tempered by charity." The underlying ethos of all the above is to respect the divinity in every human being and recognise the potentials of the extraordinary in ordinary people. That will presuppose a certain humility from the professionals, the experts and even the activists. Unfortunately, like national or international

servants, very few of them take the role of servant with grace. It is a rare engineer or an agronomist who enjoy professional discussions with "ignorant farmers" Mahatma Gandhi says: "There go my people. I follow them, because I am their leader." Perhaps that is a dream and I recall the poignant words of Arundhati Roy in her epic novel, The God of Small Things: "If you are happy in a dream does that count? Esthat asked. Does what count?

The happiness - does it count?

She knew exactly what he meant..... Because the truth is that only what 'counts' counts...... If you eat fish in a dream does it count?"

Yet, like my mother, I dream. I dream of the talisman that Mahatma Gandhi gave: "I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control of his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to self-reliance for the hungry and spiritually starving millions? Then you will find your doubts and your-

Media: Autonomy and After

GS Bhargava writes from New Delhi

Incidentally, autonomy for the government-owned electronic media is no longer a contentious issues as it was when Lal Krishan Advani as Information and Broadcasting Minister in 1978 established the Verghese Committee to go into the matter.

revived through notification by the same government. In the words of the Act, 'the general tion from limbo. Then the quessuperintendence, direction and tion arose whether the law management of the Prasar should be amended to meet the Bharti Corporation shall vest requirements of functional and in the Board'. It has replaced the financial autonomy before minister of broadcasting and bringing into force the corporathe government department tion or whether it could be done running the electronic media as the corporation began to function, exercising the re-Unavoidably perhaps, the quired autonomy irrespective formal launching of the corpoof the constraints of the law.

ration and the constitution of Opinion was divided. Some the board have taken time, givcritics thought, amending the ing rise to speculation even law would mean going back to about the government's profesparliament for endorsement of sions to liberate Akashvani the changes even before the corand Doordarshan from deporation is in being and may partmental rules and regulaamount to opening a veritable tions and constant oversight by Pandora's box. Such scepticism the bureaucracy and its political masters. The outgoing minis born of the experience of the last twenty years in making ister, Jaipal Reddy had vindi-Doordarshan and Akashvani cated himself, dispelling doubts autonomous. It seemed the efto the contrary: If Sardar Patel fort was star-crossed, with the was free India's first minister of first bill on the subject lapsing information and broadcasting. with the dissolution of the then Reddy's the last to hold charge of the broadcasting segment of Lok Sabha in 1979 and the idea his ministerial responsibility. of media autonomy given up until 1989. After the present legis-In retrospect, the governlation was voted by the two ment's reasons for going slow in Houses of Parliament and ascompleting the formalities of establishing the Prasar Bharti sented to by the President, the Corporation by vesting it with law remained on the shelf until an executive fall into place.

a few months ago. Further, since the proposed amendments included elimina-

lam Women's College, was es-

college are hampered due to

scarcity of classrooms and

want of hostel accommodation.

There are many education-

based projects in the country.

There are also projects run for

the development of female edu-

cation. Yet this college has not

received any government

amination 1996/1997 of the

students of this college are quite

satisfactory. The teaching staff

and other persons related with

the college have been rendering

their services without any

tion of the Education Minister

to take necessary steps to help

our college staff get enlisted in

MPO and get aid for the devel-

Khademul Islam Women's

OIC basic services

Tehran (all members attending

for the first time to cement the

cracking unity) came up with a

pool of Observations and Rec-

ommendations to make it ap-

pear to be a turning point in the

Islamic world facing the 21st

century. There is a realisation

to patch up the cosmetic differ-

ences and to present a united

front to face the greatest chal-

lenge: the continued aggressive

western domination through

trade, information and arms

one of the most powerful

weapons, sued directly or indi-

rectly. The OIC members,

mass media comprising —

Control of information is

Sir, The recent OIC meet in

So we draw the kind atten-

The results of the HSC ex-

grant/aid for a long time.

salary for about 4 years.

opment of the college.

Mawduda Hossain

Lecturer

College

control.

Rajshahi.

The normal activities of the

tablished in 1994.

mittee of members of Parliament to oversee the working of the corporation, it was feared that it might not be as widely favoured as necessary for the amendments to pass muster. This is despite the fact that with a standing committee of parliament on communications set up in 1993, a separate parliamentary committee under the Prasar Bharti Act may become redundant. Instead, it was thought that if the corporation started functioning exercising autonomy with due responsibility and public accountability Parliament may fall in line with reality. But the government opted for prior amendment, which was widely acclaimed as a Divali gift to the nation because the ordinance effecting the changes was promulgated on the eve of the festival of lights.

The amending law is to be voted by Parliament during the present winter session. If it is not done for obvious reasons like possible dissolution of the house, it will have to be moved afresh in the next Lok Sabha. But, meanwhile, it should not affect the working of the board or the operation of the corpora-

Iran, ME, Egypt, Nigeria, Pak-

istan, Algeria, Palestine, In-

donesia, Bangladesh, Malaysia

and others):

fulfil its ordained functions. In effect, it amounts to bringing the corporation into being without prior amendment of the law. When it comes to the crunch, it is the operating culture of the corporation as its inception, more than the letter of the law which will shape the contours of media autonomy.

The personnel of the Board sustain optimism. They are including the distinguished historian Mrs Romila Thapar, of impeccable credentials both in intellectual integrity and excellence in their respective disciplines. Nikhil Chakravartty who is Nikhilda to many of us in the profession of journalism - is a doyen. His journalistic career now running into the fiftieth year is a saga of undimmed vision and unmatched independence. S S Gill, a former secretary of the information and broadcasting ministry is as much a scholar as an administrator. Abid Hussain, a former ambassador to the US is a noted educationist associated with the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. U R Rao, a renowned space scientist was formerly head of the Indian Space Research Organisation. tion of a provision for a com- tion as effectively as it needs to Considering that space scien-

tists like the late Dr Vikram Sarabhai were pioneers in our country in spelling out the technical spin-off for the media from the satellites, Mr Rao's inclusion in the board is appropriate. Among others are the established Hindi litterateur Rajendra Yadav and B G Verghese who was a member of the UN-ESCO-sponsored International Commission on Communication Problems headed by the Nobel laureate Sean Mac Bride. He also headed the working group on autonomy for the electric media set up in 1978. He has written both extensively and incisively on the media.

Among the important amendments to the law, now in the shadow of doubt, is one vesting the corporation with the perpetual lease of the assets of Doordarshan and Akashvani for a nominal annual rent. They include the extensive transmission system of the computed value of over Rs: 55,000 crore. It should only be a matter of time before the change is effected because the amendment will only be a formality in the wake of the government's policy decision which is widely supported by

This is despite the jarring note struck by the BJP leader. Jaswant Singh, who was intemperately dubbed the board members as 'Guiral's cronies' He is apparently peeved by the inclusion in the board of the

renowned historian, Mrs Romila Thapar who has convincingly repudiated the 'Hindutva' interpretation of our early history. But, not long ago. Mrs Sushma Swaraj, who was information minister in the 13day Atal Behari Vajpayee government, has endorsed the Gujral government's action. She told me that if the BJP government had continued she would have also notified the Act and brought it into operation.

Incidentally, autonomy for

the government-owned electronic media is no longer a contentious issues as it was when Lal Krishan Advani as Information and Broadcasting Minister in 1978 established the Verghese Committee to go into the matter. With the lapse of the 1979 legislation also ended the controversy about the misuse of the government media — actually only Akashvani - during the emergency and the need for an institutional prophylactic against its repetition. With the result that even Rajiv Gandhi, despite his oft-repeated aversion for letting go of government stranglehold on Doordarshan and Akashvani, had been prevailed upon to go along with PlUpendra's version of the law in 1990. A more radical one like that mooted by Jaipal Reddy now would have been anathema to the majority Congress party then. Now, as the board starts functioning dispelling the apprehensions of conservatives and bringing radicals round, hopefully there will be a consensus among the parties by the time the next Lok Sabha is in place or earlier. -Mandira

The writer is a well known

Letters for publication in these columns should be addressed to the Editor and legibly written or typed with double space. For reasons of space, short letters are preferred, and all are subject to editing and cuts. Pseudonyms are accepted. However, all communications must bear the writer's real name, signature and address.

What have we done...?

First, the Act as it was enacted

seven years ago was notified.

Sir, Your article titled "What have we done with our victory?" published in the DS on the 15th of December was a very commendable piece. I believe just as you do that the joy of being free is something which every patriotic citizen can experience within himself. We really don't have to speak of the father of the nation every time we talk about our Liberation War. It is true that his powerful leadership inspired the common masses, but we also have to realise that by idolising him, we are forgetting the concept of the Liberation War itself.

Personally, I believe that we must recover our spirit only to take us forward, into the next millenium. We do not need to waste time trying the Razakaars. By forgiving them, just as Bangabandhu did, we would not be harmed much. We need to solve the existing problems like poverty, over-population, destructive student politics etc. We need to plan appropriately and every time we do, we need to look forward, because a monument would certainly be of no use if half the population is

starved to death. Bangabanhu had dreamt of a Sonar Bangla. The ruling party too, is dreaming of a Sonar Bangla. I believe we would see the dream materialised if and only if our policy makers stop dreaming and start to listen and think of ways to make that dream true. And what better way could there be to begin, than by calling ourselves Bangladeshis?

Sadia (By e-mail)

The only Mohila College in Rajshahi

Sir, The need for female education in the overall development of the country can hardly be over-emphasised. So the present government has put much stress on female education. But Rajshahi divisional town is lagging behind in this context. The only non-government women's college, Khademul Isii) A global broadcast service

(news, documentaries and programmes) on the lines of BBC. VOA, and CNN, using the satellites. The global correspondents are simply not there to feed the news. "Asiavision" was started by the ABU, but technology overtook it. Now the private media moghuls have taken

iii) A strong presence in the Internet. The private electronic media cannot be ignored, as its individuals penetrative power is very high and deep (and cheap - which is 'dangerous'!); and iv) Later, a global newsprint

supplement in English, to be inserted in the local dailies once a month, to start with. The OIC members have the

money and the talent, but not the will and the organisation, and the practical set-up. The UN has been 'retired' by the world's lone superpower, for obvious reasons (the veto rules the globe). This is the time to wedge

A Husnain Dhaka

The omissions of Commissions!

Sir, Just read in the papers that respected chairmen of two vital Commissions are resigning. The Chairman of the admin reforms commission got fed up with bureaucratic redtape, delays and non-cooperation; and the other for 'health reasons'. It is sad, sad, sad; but not surprising, in this country, where the citizens are familiar with the environment of good governance.

This latter mysterious entity (good governance) is both sides of the coin, depending on which side is shown or is visible. The administrative reforms appear to be exercises in futility. There is infidelity from some quarters, and family planning is subtly enforced from some other quarters, with the result the people do not see any offspring after decades of good intentions and vigorous effort, loyally publicised.

through the OIC secretariat. There is one ironic solution: may consider practical steps to do it, and then appoint a qualset up, immediately: A global ity control experts' panel to information service using the tron out the teething troubles. This is what the autocrats and i) An international news dictators do. The present demoagency for global feeding, to cratic regime also indulged in compete with Reuters, AFP, AP. such hasty exercises as the At present most of the news Farakka treaty, the CHT pact or distributed about the Islamic peace, and the 5-day week. countries are not generated by the Muslims (CIS, Turkey, Iraq. Where there is a will, there is a

way, however sublime or torturous. But the chamchas have to be fed, before the spoon can feed the patient or the gourmet.

the division of administrative assets after the UP election is over and the UP start functioning. How the bureaucrats could surrender the power in the CHT is a mystery. Something is cooking, but the list of guests is restricted to VVIPs, may be. We voters are getting wiser and wiser — that is, top heavy!

A Zabr

Banning is not enough

Sir, At last, the DCC with the backing of the government has banned the holding of public meetings on public roads. The people are no longer held hostage on streets and public thoroughfares for hours together due to public meetings.

We would, however, like to draw the kind attention of the authorities concerned, especially the DCC and DMP, to the fact that only banning holding of public meetings on public roads is not enough to ameliorate the sufferings of the people.

The number of rickshaws is increasing at an alarming rate in the city day by day, more hawkers and vendors are occupying more streets and roads, shopkeepers are encroaching upon public roads to store and display their goods and commodities, bus drivers are parking their buses on the public roads in a disorderly and haphazard manner every now and then, moreover bus repair works, vulcanising, body manufacturing and painting works are done in some of the most crowded and busiest areas in the city especially on Folder Street-Joikali Mandir-Captan Bazar-Old Nawabpur Railway Crossing of Dhaka-Narayanganj bus route causing untold sufferings to the people of old and new Dhaka.

We would once again request the DCC to kindly attend to sufferings and complaints of the city-dwellers with a view to fulfilling and discharging DCC's civic and official duties and responsibilities.

O H Kabir 6. Hare Street, **Wari, Dhaka-120**3 Towhid Islam

While there has been some minor incidents and accidents. mostly involving Biman's domestic aircraft fleet, for quite some time now, the December 22 crash-landing of Sylhetbound flight, brings to the fore. following questions/issues, in the minds of many people, I am

Why did not the pilot of the Dhaka-Sylhet F28 flight turn back to Dhaka, or head for an alternate airfield where visibility was not a problem? Why did he continue to try to approach/sight Osmani Airport? And when he finally tried to land, did he visually sight the runway? Was he attempting to perform a normal landing or a crash-landing? If so, did he inform the passengers and cabin crews and, request them to prepare for crash-landing?

If I can recall correctly, there was a similar incident involving an ATP aircraft trying to land at Chittagong in bad weather. Why the insistence on trying to land at a destination, if visibility is an issue? Should we not err on the side of safety as opposed to any other priorities (e.g., cost of putting up passengers in hotels, etc.)? Or is it that these flights do not carry sufficient amount of fuel that would enable a pilot to make a few approaches, and upon failure, head to an alternate airfield/return to home base?

2) Now that Chittagong and Sylhet airports have been opened up for night time operations, have their runways been equipped with Instrument Landing System (ILS)? Are there any other better navigational facilities (NAVAIDS) between waypoints, enabling pilots to position themselves between airports or locate an airport? If the answer is yes. then the related question is, are these ILS/NAVAIDS in 100 per cent operational condition. that is, do they work fine, 97 per cent of the time? On the other side of the coin, was the ILS inside that ill-fated F28 function-

ing, and, was the pilot using it? The news of this crash, as reported by ABC news (on its website ABCNEWS.COM) says, "Witnesses said hundreds of villagers, paramilitray soldiers

and army troops joined rescue efforts as dawn broke today. 'Floods of people started pouring in as soon as the sun came up,' the police officer said".

Am I to understand that if the plane went down at 10:40 pm in the night, all the survivors, some injured, had to wait out the whole night, before being rescued at sun up? If that is indeed the fact, then it is wholly deporable, and exposes the callousness of the local authorities, and Bangladesh gov-

ernment. Thus the question: Does Bangladesh government have any Emergency Response Team. consisting of law enforcement personnel, fire suppression units, medical units, and the military, capable of air, land and water rescue operation? If not, then that answers why the crash survivors had to wait out the night. But if there such a team, then how come it was not mobilised the moment the plane went down?

The Internet edition of a Dhaka English daily reported that no air traffic controller(s) was present in the Osmani airport control tower, during the accident. This is as good as a soldier abandoning his post. cannot imagine how casually these people take their jobs when a lot of people's lives may depend on them! Is there no sense of professionalism or seriousness among the government employees in the country?

And finally, my mini-commentary on Biman Bangladesh Airlines. What begun with much pride and joy with the birth of the nation, has now turned into butts of jokes in international travelling community. It is indeed a very badlyrun airline. To my mind, it has been kept afloat by old "old hands", the senior pilots, engineers, technicians, who cannot last forever. On the administrative side, nobody cares! They are all in it for the money, so to speak. My suggestion to the government: disinvest and privatise Biman. Not only it shall save the airline, but also it shall rid the government of a top heavy and corrupt organisa-

OPINION as the case may be. The separation of the judi-Miracle Still Happens, but... ciary is like cutting the umbilical cord of the civil service (administration). Watch out for