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17 August 1982

SOUTH AND EAST ASIA REPORT

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JUSUF EXPLAINS DRAFT LAWS ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 1 Jun 82 pp 1, 7

[Excerpts] Gen TNI M. Jusuf, minister of Defense and security/Indonesian Armed Forces commander, explained that for the Indonesian people war is humane, not in accordance with human dignity and not in keeping with national interests. And war will impede national development.

"Nevertheless, the Indonesian nation realizes that the world's political structure in which various ideologies are in effect is incapable in a definitive way of preventing war from breaking out. At least not for a long time."

The defense minister said this Monday morning in Senayan at the DPR [parliament] plenary session, DPR Vice Chairman Kartidjo presiding, when he was presenting four draft laws. The four draft laws concerned principles of national defense, voluntary military service, compulsory military service and the armed forces reserves.

According to General Jusuf, it is incumbent upon Indonesia to participate in all international efforts to prevent war and preserve peace. And Indonesia should always try to resolve disputes which arise between itself and other nations through peaceful means. But above all of this, the Indonesian nation still loves its independence and sovereignty even more. "For the Indonesian nation war is a last resort, which only will be waged if forced to," he said.

He said we oppose all varieties of colonialism in its various forms, but we profess a free and active foreign policy which sides with truth and justice. For that reason, externally Indonesia's national defense is actively defensive, not aggressive, not expansive, and, as long as its national interests are not threatened, Indonesia will not initiate an attack.

Conversely, internally its national defense is actively preventive. This means taking steps and actions as early as possible to avoid and prevent every possible rise of disturbances domestically in whatever form. "On the basis of this position the Indonesian nation does not allow itself to be tied to or to participate in defense associations with other countries," Jusuf stated firmly.

General Jusuf cautioned that it is unavoidable that Indonesia's interests will collide with the interests of other nations. In such a situation Indonesia places emphasis on settlement through negotiation and diplomacy.

"But because there is not a single power in the world which can guarantee that other nations will not use war as the means of settlement, Indonesia must carry out national defense efforts to defend itself against various forms of war which might be launched by other nations."

The four-star general said concern about the effects of a general war and the possibility of escalating limited wars is causing the increasing development of a new form of war, namely a revolutionary war which is impervious to the influence of the fear that a general war will break out.

This war is launched by making use of domestic elements and conditions. It is used by certain parties in the framework of their offensive to control the world or change a country's political system.

Infiltration, subversion, to the point of the turbulence of armed rebellion, he said, constitute the stages of revolutionary war. The form of this war is that it is total in nature, both its objects and subjects as well as its methods, so that not a single aspect of a nation's life is free from involvement in it.

Security against the threat of this war must be conducted not only against physical targets, but also against the people's way of thinking, because it is the people's way of thinking that becomes the chief battlefield.

In order to guarantee a stable, unimpeded national development, Jusuf said, the combat readiness, state of alert and skills of the Indonesian Armed Forces constantly need to be upgraded. At the same time society's awareness and sense of responsibility for security and order constantly need to be developed. In a state of security and peace a relatively small but efficient and effective national defense force is maintained, which in a state of emergency must be able to be developed quickly. The need for the capability to develop this force calls for the formulation of a reserve system which includes field forces and all the facilities and resources needed to support them.

These draft laws concerning the principles of national defense are intended to reform Law No 29/1954 on national defense, which no longer is in accordance with developments in Indonesia. That law was made on the basis of the Provisional Constitution of 1950, and also it is not in line with the growth of the Indonesian Armed Forces and the development of national defense requirements during these 28 years.

According to the defense minister, several of the basic matters which no longer are appropriate are the provisions concerning national defense leadership which are based on liberal democracy, namely an understanding in which the relationship between civilian and military is clearly distinguished. In actuality this is contrary to Pancasila [state ideology] democracy, which is the basis for these proposed draft laws.

It was pointed out that the basic matters concerning these national defense draft laws involve 11 issues, among them the goal and function of national defense, the overall system for people's resistance, the relationship between the armed forces and politics, military reserves and provisions on mobilization and demobilization.

Before ending the introduction to these new draft laws, the minister of defense suggested that prior to the general debate by DPR factions there be an exchange of views between DPR and government parties. "I am prepared to be called for the sake of the totality of thought and the unhampered discussion of the draft laws," said Jusuf.

General Jusuf also promised to participate directly in the sessions with the special committee and would not delegate the responsibility to his officers. This was intended to eliminate the psychological barriers for the sake of unhampered discussion.

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CSO: 4213/64

REGULATORY POLICY ON PRESS EXPLAINED

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 1 Jun 82 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] In an effort to neutralize negative effects which might arise if there is a provision to abolish the regulation for press publishing licenses [SIT] (Article 20, paragraph 1 of the Basic Press Code), the government feels it is necessary to create a regulation for authorized press publishing activities, namely the Press Publishing Enterprise License (SIUPP).

Minister of Information Ali Moertopo said this when presenting the government's explanation of the draft law on the "Revision of Law No 11, 1966, concerning the basic press provisions as revised through Law No 4, 1967" to the plenary session of the Indonesian Parliament (DPR) Monday at the DPR building in Senayan, R. Kartidjo, vice chairman of DPR/MPR [People's Deliberative Council], presiding.

Moertopo said that the draft law on the Basic Press Code changes which were presented was the realization of the GBHLN [State Course] mandate. The government's explanation consisted of four parts, namely: the government's evaluation of Law No 11, 1966, concerning the basic press provisions as revised in Law No 4, 1967; the process for review of Law No 11, 1966, regarding basic press provisions; the main changes which are found in the draft law on revision of Law No 11, 1966, concerning the basic press provisions, as revised in Law No 4, 1967; and the fourth part was a conclusion and closing.

Ali Moertopo said that in evaluating Law No 11, 1966, which was revised through Law No 4, 1967, the government said these laws represent one of the first legislative products in the period of the New Order. For that reason, Moertopo said, these laws automatically have been infused with the spirit of the New Order struggle which is grounded on a dedication to implement the Pancasila [state ideology] and the 1945 Constitution. The articles contained in the Basic Press Code essentially have reflected the aspirations of the New Order endeavor to create a national press system.

But it seems there is one chief problem which needs to receive attention, to lend substance to the GBHN, which has mandated that the Basic Press Code be reviewed.

Moertopo said that the chief problem concerns the matter of press publishing permits (SIT), as included in Article 20, paragraph (1) a, which states,

"In transitional periods the requirement to obtain the SIT is still in effect until there is a decision by the government and DPR to revoke it."

This provision constitutes a negation of Article 8 of the Basic Press Code itself, which states, "Every citizen has a press publishing right, which is collective in nature, in accordance with the truth of Pancasila democracy," and paragraph (2). A publishing license is unnecessary for this. And Article 4 states, "Censorship and revocations will not be imposed on the national press."

Thus, in the law which was presented, said Moertopo, the provision in Article 20, paragraph (1) of the Basic Press Code is abolished, so that in the draft law there no longer are articles which contradict each other.

According to Moertopo, [with] the abolishment of the SIT, the press probably will be faced with the threat of being damaged again, especially in facing competition from irresponsible elements which would infiltrate the press sector.

This observation by the government was supported by the Press Council. In order to neutralize negative effects vis-a-vis the abolishment of Article 20, paragraph (1), which eliminates the SIR, after consulting the Press Council, the government felt it necessary to create a regulation for authorized press publishing enterprises that can set requirements for certain activities which might occur in press publishing.

In the draft law which the government presented it was stated further that Article 20 of Law No 11, 1966, concerning the basic press provisions which established the existence of the SIT is abolished and is replaced by adding one paragraph to Article 13 of Law No 11, 1966 (involving press enterprises), which states, "Press enterprises need press publishing activities licenses (SIUPP), which are issued by the government (minister of information), and further provisions regarding SIUPP will be arranged through executory regulations (in this case by the government, after consulting the Press Council)."

"The provision for the press publishing enterprise license is grounded on a determination to provide more constant guidance for the press," said Ali Moertopo, "a guidance which leads to conditions established by Article 13, Law No 11, 1966, which says that press publishing must be conducted by incorporated press enterprises which emphasize the ideal and are jointly organized, based upon the spirit of brotherhood, in accordance with Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution."

Ending the government's explanation, Moertopo said that the draft law is proposed in the conviction that we need to compile press laws which are even more capable than the previous ones. The reason for this is so that the press has a more mature attitude and voice and so that it might be more successful in the management of its business, more evenly developed and more capable in fulfilling the task and function of the Pancasila and the success of national development in the interest of the welfare and prosperity of our people and nation.

ACCORD WITH SAUDI ARABIA SIGNED

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 5 Jun 82 p 12

[Text] The Indonesian government and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are in accord to promote cooperation for the development of agriculturll, livestock, industrial and technical projects, in addition to an exchange of scientific information, research and technology and increased trade between the two countries.

This accord is contained in a charter of ratification for cooperation in economic and technical fields, science and Islamic education, which was signed by Ali Said, minister of foreign affairs ad interim, and Shakh Bakr Abbas Khomais, the Saudi ambassador, at the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs Friday.

The agreement was signed previously in Riyadh on 19 May 1981 [sic] by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mochtar Kusumaatmadja and Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, Saudi minister of foreign affairs.

In the cooperation agreement, the two governments will try to develop relations in Islamic art, education and science in order to mutually recognize the history and culture of the two countries, namely through atuhoritative Islamic institutions, lectures, science and art exhibitions as well as student and teacher exchanges.

Ali Said said the agreement is clear proof of the strong desire on the part of the Saudi government and people to help in making development in Indonesia a success, both in the economic, technical and scientific fields and in Islamic education.

Ali Said was certain this cooperation will be very useful for developing education in general and Islamic education in particular in Indonesia and at the same time be a contribution to national development.

Ambassador Khomais, who will soon complete his tour of duty in Indonesia, said that actually this cooperation has been going on for a long time. He pointed out the example of the Arabic Language Center which was established in Indonesia.

Cooperation between the two countries also covers the fields of trade, construction, labor and education. There are now around 35,000 Indonesian workers and hundreds of Indonesian students in Saudi Arabia, said the ambassador.

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TRANSMIGRATION PROGRAM DISCUSSED

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 31 May 82 p 2

[Excerpts] The provisional transmigration target in the forthcoming Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1983-1988) is set at between 800,000 and 1 million families. Family placements will be directed particularly to central and eastern Indonesian regions whose populations now are still relatively small.

So stated Martono, junior minister for transmigration, at a press conference closing the Department of Manpower and Transmigration's 1982 working meeting in Jakarta this past Saturday afternoon.

The provisional target, he said, is based on the consideration and capability of the areas sending transmigrants and the areas receiving them, the availability of lands which have been and are being cleared, infrastructure capability, transport facilities, and so forth.

Nevertheless, Martono did not touch on the implementation of transmigration placements to the end of the third five-year plan, whose target was set at 500,000 families. He only said, "Definite figures for the transmigration placement target in the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan will be formulated and publicized by the minister of manpower and transmigration."

Based on previous experience, realization of transmigration placements is always smaller than the targets set.

A participant at a transmigration consultative meeting last week also estimated that realization of transmigration placements to the end of the fourth five-year plan will only be about 350,000 families or 75 percent of the target set, because the capability for land preparation is always more slow-moving than the capability for sending/locating transmigrants.

In response to KOMPAS, Martono explained that transmigration policy in the forthcoming fourth five-year plan will not change, even though national development in that period will enter the industrialization stage. The transmigration program will continue to be carried out on the basis of six new residence patterns, namely food crops agriculture, plantation farming, fisheries, animal husbandry, industry/mining and Sapta Marga villages.

The transmigration program does not automatically follow the stages of national development, because the age, capability and condition of transmigration projects which are directly linked to industrial activities, for instance near the Asahan project in North Sumatra. Nevertheless, there are also transmigration projects which are more appropriate for the development of plantations, fishery enterprises and so forth as their main activities.

In any case, at these transmigration projects there will come a time when diversified efforts will arise in addition to the main activities. This is in line with the continuing development of social conditions, which at the same time will prompt the rise of new activities, according to need.

Danang Joedonagoro, director general of Binaguna, explained that the technology transfer process or Indonesianization is continuing to run smoothly. Yet, the number of foreigners working in Indonesia is not decreasing and, on the contrary, is even growing, because development in Indonesia is continuing to increase.

At the present time the number of foreigners working in Indonesia is about 16,000 altogether.

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NEED FOR LABOR COURTS STRESSED

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpts] "Labor courts certainly must be formed immediately in light of the fact that our national development is heading in the direction of industrialization." So stated Soenarto Soerodibroto, SH, chairman of the Workman's Legal Assistance Board (BHTK), to KOMPAS yesterday afternoon.

In a brief interview in his office, the lawyer, who once was chairman of the Indonesian Association of Lawyers (Peradin), Jakarta branch, said that the Committee for the Settlement of Labor Disputes which now exists actually is not yet functioning effectively in a judicial sense, because in order to execute its decisions, it still needs the fiat (permission) of district courts. And if there are parties (generally employers) who do not want to deal with the committee, Soenarto said, the penalty is very light. "There's a fine of only 10,000 rupiahs, so there is an inclination that it is better just to pay the fine."

With the development from an agrarian to an industrial society in Indonesia, surely later there will be an increase in volume of labor dispute cases, and certainly these cases will become increasingly complex in nature. Soenarto asked, will we simply continue to rely on the labor disputes committee anyway?

The existence of the Committee for the Settlement of Labor Disputes itself, he said, no longer is in line with developments. The committee was formed on the basis of Law No 22/1957. And the foundation for that law was the Provisional Constitution, which was replaced by the 1945 Constitution through the 5 July 1959 Presidential Decree.

Law No 22/1957, according to Soenarto, only regulated disputes between labor unions or labor union federations and (verses) employers or employer federations. But that law along with its labor disputes committee now continues to be maintained merely to fill the legal vacuum, Soenarto said.

The fact is most labor cases which arise today are just between individuals or labor groups, not labor organizations versus employers or employer federations, as regulated by Law No 22/1957. That is the reason I am of the opinion that labor laws must be renewed and labor courts formed. All of

this is to anticipate labor problems which, it is speculated, will greatly increase and become more complex."

The State Administrative Courts Draft Law is in parliament for deposition. If later state administrative courts are realized, government employers who receive arbitrary treatment from supervisors can take legal action through the administrative court body.

But, asked Soenarto, what about employees of state enterprises or public corporations? Now, if these employees have disputes with their supervisors, they still cannot take the problem to the labor disputes committee. "Later they will not be able to go to the labor disputes committee or to the administrative courts. So where can they go? For this reason also we feel it is so important and urgent to form labor courts which can have jurisdiction over all sorts of labor disputes, from state enterprises, public corporations or private companies."

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OIL PRODUCTION-SHARING CONTRACTS SIGNED

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Excerpts] Pertamina [Indonesian State Oil and Natural Gas Co] signed three more production-sharing contracts in Jakarta Wednesday with Amoco (Indonesia) Lombok Petroleum Company, Indonesia Petroleum Ltd and Jackson Kutei Basin Exploration Ltd.

The contracts were signed by Pertamina's chief director, Drs Joedo Sumbono, K. K. Kauffman, Amoco's vice president for finance and administration, J. Takamizawa, president of Indonesian Petroleum Ltd, and Melvin W. Jackson, Jr. president of Jackson Kutei Basin Exploration Ltd. Prof Dr Subroto, minister of mining and energy witnessed the contract signing.

In his remarks Minister Subroto said that with the signing of the three production-sharing contracts, through June, 1982 there are nine oil contracts with foreign companies.

Oil exploration activities in Indonesia have been taking place continuously over the past 4 years, and it is apparent these activities will still go on.

If the rate of these activities can be maintained, the minister hopes that in 1982 the number of contracts signed will be higher than in 1980 and 1981.

This said Subroto, is indicative of the trust of foreign contractors in oil exploration in Indonesia.

Although the short-term outlook indicates Indonesia will decrease production in accordance with OPEC allowances (from 1.6 to 1.3 million barrels per day), the middle and long-term view I think shows the outlook will continue to be bright, he said.

The minister was of the opinion that with the signing of the three production-sharing contracts Indonesian oil exploration activities will now enter an important stage, because offshore from Lombok Amoco is exploring for oil at 650-meter depths and offshore from Aceh at depths of about 1,500 meters.

Amoco (Indonesia) Lombok Petroleum Company is operating in a 26,640 square kilometer area offshore from Lombok.

The contractor is operating in this area on the basis of the provision that it will assume all exploration, investment and production costs.

The contractor will recover all operating costs in the production-sharing venture with Indonesia at a ratio of 85:15 for crude oil and 70:30 for natural gas.

Exploration costs over 6 years will not be less than \$68.8 million.

Information bonuses paid by the contractor will be \$10 million for production levels of 50,000 BPD, \$15 million for 100,000 BPD and \$20 million for 200,000 BPD.

Pertamina has the option of selling a portion of the contractor's rightful share of oil, so that the portion of oil Pertamina sells or receives is not less than 50 percent of total production.

It is stipulated that the contractor is to be prepared to surrender 28.57 percent of its share of production for processing in Indonesia and establish oil refineries or petrochemical projects in Indonesia if no processing capacity is available, when its share of oil exceeds 175,000 BPD.

The contractor is required to set aside oil for domestic consumption on a proportionate basis at a rate of \$0.20 per barrel after the 5th year of production.

Jackson Kutei Basin Exploration Ltd operates in a 10,140 sq km mainland area in Adang, East Kalimantan.

Exploration costs for 6 years will not be less than \$40 million, while production bonuses will be \$3 million after commercial production is met, \$5 million for production levels of 25,000 BPD and \$10 million for 50,000 BPD.

Indonesian Petroleum Ltd operates in a 29,905 sq km area offshore from North Aceh.

Information bonuses paid by the contractor are \$1 million, while production bonuses are \$2 million at the first boring, \$3,818 million after commercial production is reached, \$20 million at a production of 50,000 BPD/200 million cubic feet of natural gas, \$40 million for oil production at 100,000 BPD/400 mmcf of natural gas, and \$60 million for oil production at 150,000 BPD/600 mmcf of natural gas.

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INDONESIA

FOREIGN FIRMS VIE FOR COAL CONTRACTS

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 29 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Text] Two more foreign companies, namely Enadimsa from Spain and Conoco from the United States, are interested in mining Indonesian coal.

Now they are ready to negotiate, said A. H. Szzili, public relations chief of PN Tambang Batubara [State Coal Mining Co] to ANTARA in Jakarta Friday afternoon.

It is speculated that the two companies will begin the negotiation phases with [obvious omission] around next month.

Besides these two companies, a Japanese firm, Nissau Iwai, also has long said [words missing] negotiations to develop Indonesian coal. But until now the negotiations themselves are blocking its realization.

Enadimsa is interested in developing coal near the area which is mined by Sumitomo, in South Kalimantan.

Conoco is interested in mining an area having quite a high coal potential in the north which is now being mined by Utah [sic] (the United States) at the East Kalimantan-Central Kalimantan border.

The Spanish firm once made a study in this area. On the other hand Conoco, in cooperation with AGIP [National Italian Oil Company] also once did a general study at the Indonesian-Sarawak border area.

Waiting for an Answer

Three other foreign companies which have initialed the results of negotiations for a cooperation contract for coal development in East and South Kalimantan are now waiting for governmental approval. The three companies are Tasek Cement Berhad from Malaysia, Siam Cement Company from Thailand and Hanil Cement Company from South Korea.

Tasek Cement Berhad, [sic] and Siam Cement Company will develop coal in South Kalimantan, while Hanil will be in the East Kalimantan coal development area.

Experts estimate that coal reserves total 1 billion tons in South and East Kalimantan.

BOEING-NURTANIO COOPERATION DISCUSSED

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 29 May 82 pp 1, 11

[Excerpts] W. T. Stamper, president director of Boeing Company, was very impressed with the development of PT Nurtanio's aircraft industry. He said this to reporters after meeting with President Soeharto at Cendana [the president's residence in Jakarta].

Stamper came to Indonesia at the invitation of Minister of Research and Technology Habibie in the framework of exploring possibilities for cooperation between Boeing and Nurtanio.

He said further there no longer was any doubt about Indonesia's capability for producing aircraft components.

He also conveyed to President Soeharto his desire to realize the possibility of implementing a joint program in the framework of technology transfer in manufacturing jet foils (types of ocean-going vessels propelled by jet engines), because Indonesia has very extensive territorial waters. He said he hoped that in the next few months a concrete agreement can be completed. Further, he pointed out that Boeing is going to develop a comprehensive program which will be carried out with Indonesia in the field of technology, like the manufacture of airplanes, spacecraft, communications, energy and computers.

In this regard President Soeharto, according to Stamper, very much wants to see the implementation of this work through cooperation between Indonesia and Boeing.

Meanwhile Minister of Research and Technology Habibie, who was with the president at the meeting, said Boeing believes that Nurtanio can be defined as a company which possesses the qualifications to manufacture aircraft components which would be assembled at Boeing.

As is known, Boeing Company, which has about 100,000 employees, buys its aircraft components from Japan, Italy and Spain. According to Habibie, they do not buy just anything, but the components must fulfill the requirements for quality and economy so that the prices can be competitive.

Because it is a high-level, labor-intensive technology, he said further, it can be implemented in Indonesia. Furthermore, labor costs in Indonesia are lower, so the expenses of aircraft production which utilizes components from Indonesia can be less.

That is why the groundwork is not being laid for the possibility of cooperation between Nurtanio and Boeing. And according to Habibie, that possibility will be carried out in accordance with government policy that in as brief a time as possible we can control the technology, increase job opportunities and increase the value of non-oil exports.

9792

CSO: 4213/64

BRIEFS

INFANT MORTALITY RATE--When compared to crude death rates, the infant mortality rate is a sensitive indicator for measuring society's degree of health. According to the statistics, in 1980 the infant mortality rate in Indonesia dropped, compared to figures recorded for 1961 through 1971 and 1976. The crude death rate, based on the 1980 census and various other surveys, indicates a sharp decline. Nevertheless, it must be admitted the figures are still quite high. Dr Suwardjono Suryaningrat, ministers of health, pointed this out at the opening of the fifth Indonesian Congress on Obstetrics and Gynecology Monday at the Merdeka Building, Bandung. According to the minister of health, the maternal death rate, which is linked to pregnancy and childbirth, also is still quite high. According to the statistics, between 1961 and 1971 the infant mortality rate recorded was 137 per 1,000 live births. In 1976 it dropped to 110 per 1,000 and in 1980 it reached 100 per 1,000 live births. It is hoped that with constant implementation of various long-term health programs, by the year 2000 a maximum infant mortality rate of 45 per 1,000 live births can be attained. Mortality of children under age 5 will be at most 15 per 1,000, while there will be a life expectancy of at least 60 years. The number of infants who are born with body weights of 2,500 grams or less will drop to 7 percent at the most. [Excerpt] [Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 9 Jun 82 p 9] 9792

CSO: 4213/65

PACE OF ISLAMIZATION SAID TO BE DISSATISFACTORY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Shamsul Islam Naz]

[Text]

FAISALABAD, July 16: The CII Charter for Islamisation of the National Education Policy has not only been put in the cold storage, but has also been defied and negated with impunity. This has been implored by the members of the CII in the course of a review report put up by them to President Gen Muhammad Ziaul Haq.

The Council has envisaged grave concern over incompetence of the implementing authorities and their inability to bring the new education policy in unison with the ideology of Islam.

The review report observed "that the present regime was sincere about the Islamisation process in every walk of life". According to the recommendations of the CII the Government had directed the authorities concerned to abolish the system of co-education and set up separate university for women at regional level but all that has been done so far was to pay a deaf ear to these far-reaching recommendations. The report deemed an apprehension that the element which had been fed on western ideology and inclinations was predominant and had the cheek to overrule these recommendations and create hurdles and impediments in implementation thereof.

The review reporter further observed that it appears that the recommendations for the setting up of separate universities for women had met the same fate as the —"Islamisation of banking system—".

The authors of the review report wondered as to how the name of Islam was being exploited but its dictates were being neglected.

The members of the CII, in their observation said that President Zia was asked as to what unsurmountable hurdle had impeded the implementation of their recommendation, and who are the persons impeding these as such. The report said that the assertion of bureaucrats that it would not be possible to provide requisite teaching and technical facilities in the proposed ulmatters was just frivolous.

The attitude of the bureaucrats, the report concluded, was likely to breed ultramodern trends of unrestricted intermingling of sexes among the younger generation which was prone with disastrous consequences.

It may be mentioned here that whereas, some funds had been allocated in the last year's budget for establishment of a Women University no such allocation had been made in the current Federal Budget.—

'ISLAMICRACY' ADVOCATED OVER DEMOCRACY

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 15 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by M.A.R. Shaheen]

[Text]

It is undoubtedly a historical fact that Pakistan meant and shall continue to mean 'La Illaha Illa Allah' i.e. Rule or Sovereignty of Allah or Nizam-e-Islam. But alongside this it is also a pertinent historical fact that Pakistan was not re-achieved t h r o u g h the normal Democratic procedure. For democracy as in vogue throughout the world with its secular basis, could by no stretch of imagination result in the achievement of Pakistan in a polity dominated permanently by three Hindu votes to one Muslim vote. In fact it was on the basis of the two nation theory that the Muslims of the Sub-Continent, through what was essentially a Referendum—rather a Muslim Referendum to be more precise—achieved Pakistan. The clearcut issue before the Muslims of the Sub-Continent was a choice between an undivided India or Pakistan—they chose the later. This can only be called a referendum (notwithstanding the falsely given title of a democratic election given to it at the time or since even afterwards).

It is therefore incorrect if not a patent lie to say that Pakistan was achieved through democracy. The very word comprises of 'Demo' (from Greek Demos) meaning people without distinction of religion etc.) and 'cracy' denoting authority or government. Thus democracy means 'People's Government' in which the majority group legislates. On the other hand 'La Illaha Illa

Allah' means first the denial of all (Un-godly authority and then submission to one and only Allah's rule.

Again the democratic Party system and the presentation of oneself as candidate for election, are both repugnant to the Quran and the Sunnah. Democracy's basic unit—the Constituency—essentially encourages grouping for localised territorial interests and sows the seeds of disintegration. But referendum, on the other hand strengthens national or Milli unity and integration. For this reason the referendum of 1946 for 'La Illaha Illa Allah' created such a unity among the Muslims of the sub-continent that no one considered himself a Punjabi or Sindhi or Hindi or Baluch or Pathan or a Sunni or a Shia. Nay every one was a Muslim and proud of being a Muslim only. On the contrary when after the establishment of Pakistan we tried to replace this Muslim Referendum, the basis of our state with Democratic election the essential result was that territorialism got encouragement. One of the unfortunate consequences was the separation of East Pakistan and the other is the shameful cry of four nationalities which tends to open its jaws wider and wider to swallow Pakistan itself. (Incidentally this drum-beating of four nationalities is championed by those who did not accept the two nation theory for a Hindu-dominated undivided India but are bent upon harming and disintegrating a Muslim Pakistan.) No

wonder Allama Iqbal had clearly foreseen the destructiveness of democracy and had condemned it lock, stock and barrel. The fact is that democracy has always brought disgrace and destruction to Pakistan. First the democratic elections of 1953 wiped out the Muslim League from East Pakistan reducing the majority of the first central Constituent Assembly to un-representative status and knocking the bottom out of its right to proceed with producing an Islamic Constitution.

Next the democratic elections of 1970 resulted in the country's total disintegration and reduced it to half. And further the democratic turmoil of 1977 is a recent history. As such the patriotic people who love Pakistan are rightly fearful of democracy and feel greatly allergic to it. The honest fact, viewed without the coloured glasses of political interests and propaganda, is that the common man feels more secure under a Martial Law vis-a-vis the democratic holocaust. Thus the induction or restoration of Democracy in Pakistan would clearly mean knocking the bottom out of its very basis the "La Ilaha Illa Allah", as explained above, and would ruin—nay even destroy us.

Therefore Pakistan should have to adopt Islamicocracy instead of Democracy. Islamicocracy's first pillar is the Sovereignty or rule of Allah as against democracy's prostration to the so-called people's authority. The Second pillar of Islamicocracy is the Muslim self-determination and their exclusive responsibility to es-

tablish Nizam-e-Islam and promulgate Islamic laws. Thirdly, Islamicocracy in clearcut contrast to democracy forbids anyone to aspire for or offer himself/herself as candidate for an office. Fourthly, instead of Party system, there has to be co-operation for goodness and obedience to Allah and not groupings for exploitation or aggression under the high sounding plea of party discipline. Fifthly, the Chief Executive shall be installed by consent and political contract (for adherence and obedience to Allah's orders) between him and the people rather than a vote sold out for empty slogans and/or paltry sum of money. Sixthly, for conducting the state affairs the Majlis-i-Shoora's advice would be sought although the Chief Executive shall have the prerogative to accept or revise the same on the basis of the Quran and the Sunnah. Seventhly, widest possible arrangements would have to be made for spreading Islamic teachings and that Arabic shall be taught as a compulsory part of Islamiat.

This, in brief, is the structural basis of Islamicocracy. The effort, otherwise to usher in secular democracy which clearly cuts at the roots of 'La Ilaha Illa Allah' would not only lead us to suicidal self-destruction but history shall also record us as the type of hypocrites who while continuously trying to betray Allah would have perhaps perished in the abortive attempt.

ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY DEFENDED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 16 Jul 82 Magazine Supplement pp I, III

[Article by A.B. Awan]

[Text]

BUREAUCRACY is under considerable adverse comment these days. I was recruited and trained as a bureaucrat more than a decade before Independence and as such, claim some knowledge of conditions prevailing then. I continued to serve on in Pakistan for the first twenty-two years of its existence and saw the whole of the first and a little bit of the second Martial Law. After that I went into retirement and have been at the receiving end since then.

The bureaucrat has assumed the unenviable position of the 'whipping boy' and although there would be any number of people ready and happy to have a go at him, there would be few, in fact, none at all, to understand and explain his point of view. He himself has lost all credibility and all confidence in himself and is, therefore, unable and unwilling to defend himself. And yet, he must be having a point of view, however flimsy and unconvincing, and somebody must come forward to state it. With thirty-six years' experience, pre and post Partition, of one side and thirteen years of the other, I

feel I am wearing two hats simultaneously and should be able to marshal the weak and the strong points of either side. I believe this would be a profitable exercise.

I joined service during British times. I feel I picked up nothing useful during a year's stay in the Training School except how to live with three other English boys. This, by itself, would be neither here nor there. The principal of the institution took remarkably little interest in my existence beyond giving me an occasional growl. But things started taking a more positive and interesting shape once I got into the stream of things. My first Deputy Commissioner was an Indian gentleman of the I.C.S.; keen as mustard, up and about wide awake. We went out village touring together, riding out long distances, living under canvas, in the crisp Punjab winter. When he did his revenue work, he not only kept me by his side but laboriously explained everything. In the brief space of time, in the evenings, we hurriedly went out after sandgrouse or duck or snipe. At night, after dinner, we sat in front of a log fire and read. You picked up things through example; or failed to pick up, if you were unlucky.

Soon afterwards, I got posted under a Hindu superintendent of police. He was a direct competitor, about 10

years senior to me in service. The first time I saw him, I didn't like his face but he was a diligent, hardworking, keen young man who spent long hours at work. I didn't like his face because he gave me a bad posting. He posted me as at assistant clerk at a small police station. I didn't like it. Soon tale carriers arrived, backbiters. This was bigotry; this was cussedness. Has anybody ever heard of a man belonging to an all-India Service being posted in a subordinate position? This was done merely to do me down. And so on and so forth. I was considerably peeved. I was pulled out after about a month of this ignominious posting and given another one, once again in the same subordinate position at another police station. I felt more peeved. But then I was sent for and asked to comment on my posting and my work. I said I didn't like it at all. This was not the way to treat me. My boss listened to me patiently. Then he explained it like this. He said the department I had joined was a very difficult one. Even its subordinate officers had very extensive powers under the law. These powers were frequently and extensively abused. This resulted in grave injustice on the one hand and illegal gratification on the other. There was little that anybody could do about it. The only person who could set things right was the

Gazetted Officer on top and that only if he knew his job inside out. The robber's den where all the concoctions were cooked was the police station. To learn about all the trickery which went on in this place, you had first to do all the police station work yourself. You had to sit there all the time, see everything with your own eyes, do everything with your own hands. When you had mastered all the tricks of the trade, it was only then that you would know how to prevent the crookery. That was why he was putting me through the mill. It wasn't laid down in any book or instructions. He said he hoped I would rise to a very senior rank. It would be only then that I would appreciate how much I owed to the man who taught me things the way they should have been taught. You don't learn these things by merely counting your beads. I have always believed in inducting officers directly into various ranks but only at the youngest possible age limit and not after a man had, let half the number of his teeth in some other profession. This is the most damaging thing that could be done to a Service career. That is why I am dead-ly against lateral entry, but more about it later. An ad hoc induction, even of the best material, cuts right through the very roots of security in the Services, destroys faith and confidence and leads to discontent. Ad hocism in any shape or form, is downright bad.

Another story

I am getting off the point. Please permit me to relate only one more story, hurriedly. When I got my first promotion to the senior scale I was sent for by the head of the department. He was a formidable looking old boy, completely bald and with only one serviceable eye. In this interview he talked about this and that and did not at all make me feel comfortable. When I thought the agony of the interview was over, he turned his one and only serviceable eye at me and abruptly asked, "Do you believe in God?" That must have shaken me a bit, getting God so suddenly into the affairs of an already trembling young man.

Yes, I suppose I must have blurted out, fearing, at the same time, he might go further into the matter. "So do I," the old boy said, "perhaps in a slightly different way." "Do you realise," he said, "that in this job you would be dealing, entirely on your own, with the affairs of two thousand three hundred subordinates. You are but only a mortal. Before you sit in judgment on the affairs of man, first pray to your God, that he should guide you on the right path so that you don't do injustice." That was a long time ago.

We were not made to go through text books; we were made to learn by patient, persistent example. The diligence, the hard work, the burning of midnight oil, the ethics, the scruples, justice, fairplay, rubbing shoulders with your men; trying to understand the other point of view. Then distant rays of hope came filtering through; a new homeland, a homeland of our own, to build to construct, from the foundations upwards. The wonderful teachings of our religion; equality between man and man, without distinction of cast, creed or colour; equality of opportunity, to earn, to worship, to express; justice, fairplay. Yes, the promised land. What an opportunity? An opportunity which comes only to the lucky few, once, perhaps, in a thousand years. What a part we were destined to play. We were enthused; we were thrilled. We felt we were the selected few, trained and equipped specially for this onerous task.

But wait; something was going wrong, right under our very noses. This fabric, this unsteady wobbly fabric. It wasn't stabilising. The refugees. By the thousands, by the hundreds of thousands. Like locusts flying non stop over the expanses of the Indian Ocean from the east coast of Africa all the way to the hungry deserts of Tharparkar; hungry, thirsty, dead heat; keeping their sense of direction through faith alone. The old resigned to the will of God, the frightened, whimpering young, the expectant females; the sick, the wounded, the dying, the dead. They came looking in all directions, looking for shelter, any shelter. Looking for merciful God's mercy. In their own

Pakistan. The administration just simply collapsed; it was not equal to the task. I claim that the finest and the best administrative machinery in the world, anywhere, would not have been able to stand up to the strain and this one was neither the finest nor the best; it was badly depleted. The senior administrative posts were the exclusive preserve of the British; they had left. Out of the remaining up to 50% were non-Muslims. They all left. Amongst the remaining two men and a boy, there must have been some who had stout hearts. But that is about all they had. It is all very well to talk of platitudes, but it doesn't work in actual life. Some of us must have had friends and relatives amongst the uprooted. They couldn't remain unaffected, unconcerned, impartial. It was impossible not to be moved.

It would be difficult for me, or for anybody else who was present, to forget the 14th of April 1948. We, I mean the Civil Servants of the Province, had gathered in the Darbar Hall of the Government House, Peshawar, to listen to an address by the Quaid-i-Azam. This is what he said.

"You should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants of the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. I also wish to take the opportunity of impressing on your leaders and politicians ... that if they try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism ... they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan ... You may even be put to trouble not because you are doing anything wrong but because you are doing right. I appeal to you to come forward to make the sacrifice. There may be people (among you) who think of immediate advantages. All such things are a hindrance and an obstruction."

Politician's stake

It was a graceful, inspiring and dignified address. We felt we had the backing of the Head of State but having laid down these guidelines, the Quaid-i-Azam died soon after and his advice, in actual practice, turned out to be nothing but a mirage. Some of us tried to stand up; some of us made the necessary sacrifices. It was no use. It was a futile exercise. The politician, or more accurately the man in politics, was inexperienced in the affairs of the administration. All he was interested in was his public image, his votes, his constituency; the rest should look after itself. He always thought of the gallery he had to play back to.

The One Unit was one vast administrative chaos. Take the police for example. There were four integrating provinces and a number of states. Each had its own police, each with its own system of recruitment, training and promotion; different pay scales, different uniforms, different rules and regulations. Imagine lumping together about eighty thousand of such men and then trying to hammer out a logical whole out of this shapeless mass. It was complete bedlam. You got hardly a minute to scratch your head. Add to this the newly created Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, members of the Legislature and all their hangers on. Imagine this formidable army of warriors converging on to the secretariat every working day, with applications, petitions, with conflicting orders; arguing here, imploring there, threatening everybody; offering good postings, or bad, promotions or the wrath of the Government. I could quote instances. And every evening this motley crowd would converge on to the Chief Minister's House with requests or complaints. Some officials were taken to task some were even penalised, others rewarded. Touts flourished, so did some of the officials. Most lost heart in sheer disgust. I am not condemning democracy outright on this score alone. These are now the accepted norms of this system. This happens everywhere else, even in the most advanced societies and has become a part of the system. You either accept or reject the system along with its plus and

minus and weigh it, as a whole, against the other system or systems. But we were in our early stages of development and extreme attitudes under such circumstances, by either side, were inevitable. The hard-boiled bureaucrat was bound to react adversely; he was bound to say, what nonsense is this? There was, unfortunately, nobody to come in between, nobody to mediate, nobody to loosen the stiffness. If a semi-literate Minister, who had undoubtedly been through the grinding mill, jumped into a rickshaw instead of a prestigious staff car, holding aloft the Pakistan flag in his own two hands, to go and face a howling hostile mob, somebody should have understood and appreciated his point of view, rather than hold him up to bureaucratic ridicule. But each went his own way, each lost his bearings, each took the wrong turning, each got lost. This is a merciless world; it has no place for lost souls.

In a fast developing economy where: one, bureaucratic hand dispenses unlimited patronage, the hand which was dispensing to others instead started grabbing itself. Why not? It looked like a free for all and there was no accountability and even if there was, it was deliberately wrapped up in such a confusion of cobwebs that nobody could or would make out the chaff from the straw.

My venerable friend, Pir Ali Mohammad Rashidi, has written some excellent articles in the Press about the innocence of the poor politicians and the way they were victimised by the unscrupulous avaricious bureaucrats, the bureaucrats according to Pir Sahib, were in a deeply laid out conspiracy to cheat the politicians of the fruit of their struggle for Independence and to make sure that democracy does not succeed. I presume he is referring only to the period between 1947 and 1958, because this was the decade of the struggle for ascendancy between bureaucracy and democracy. After that there was a decade of Martial Law and then a dictatorial democracy in which the bureaucrats were constantly on the run and Pir Sahib himself was the beneficiary. Or was he not? So, the condemnatory period would be limited to about a decade only, out of three of the total existence of Pakistan

as an independent entity. Or about one-third of the total. It is all very well to talk of the deeply laid conspiracy on the part of the wicked bureaucrat against the poor innocent politician. I suppose this refers to what Ghulam Muhammad did and how Sikandar Mirza came into power. I may perhaps concede the point, presuming at the same time, with a long stretch of imagination that Munir belonged to the executive arm of the administration and not its judicial. Leaning heavily on this edifice of presumptions, how does all this become a conspiracy on the part of the bureaucracy as a whole, as a class? Let us not forget one or two things. The senior bureaucrats of the time are all dead now and may God bless their souls; Ch. Mohammed Ali, Mumtaz Hassan, Said Hassan, G. Ahmad, Shujaat Ali Hasnie, Pir Ahsan-ud Din, Col. Shah Ikram Ullah, Col. Rahim and many others. At the time of the Pakistan Movement particularly between 1946 and 1947, most of these gentlemen were serving in the Government of India in New Delhi, were constantly in touch with the Muslim League leadership and gave it valuable help and advice. Who denies this?

Was that a conspiracy against the interests of Pakistan? Was Ch. Mohammed Ali's book a conspiracy against Pakistan? Did Ch. Mohammed Ali gain, individually, or lose by throwing away an absolutely brilliant civil service career for a political headache? Well may one ask what were the politicians doing during this very decade? Why were they playing marbles in the Constituent Assembly instead of producing a Constitution? Did they have well-defined, clear-cut party programmes which they took to the people? What were they doing crossing the floor of the House every day and for what consideration? What didn't they do in the few elections which were held? Does anybody want instances? Was this also a conspiracy on the part of the bureaucrats? Does anybody know what part was Qaiyum Khan playing in this and how the secret letters of his right-hand man, Shams ul Haq, in Urdu and in his own handwriting, under the code name Nasreen, were intercepted by the Peshawar C. I. D., how

the handwriting was laboriously checked and rechecked by handwriting experts and how the Government was kept informed from day to day how things were developing. I hope Mushtaq Ali Shah, at that time in charge of this operation on behalf of the Peshawar C. I. D., is still alive to bear me out. But Ghulam Mohammad struck first. Then who was conspiring against whom? I could develop this further, but since I am not joining issues, I will leave it here. Well, then the bureaucrats conspired against the politicians. I am not backing the bureaucrat; what I am trying to say is that bureaucracy, as a class, failed to withstand the political and administrative pressures, generated by the politician at this stage, and either got disheartened and lost interest in public service or, worse, decided to make hay while the sun was shining. Result. The tone of administration went down. It is so very easy to splash mud, but then it smears everybody, the guilty as well as the innocent, alike. This article has not been written to splash mud; in fact, its purpose is exactly the opposite.

Well, then at this stage Ayub Khan's Martial Law arrived and inspired awe. Many people were preparing to see a lot of other people being dragged to the gallows. Nothing of the kind happened though. All that it did was to start a process of screening of civil servants. A lot of them were roped in, not on an ad hoc basis, not because the noose conveniently fitted their necks, but as the result of very careful and laborious investigations spreading over many months. The reasons for this exercise were obvious. First and foremost is the fact that a Martial Law is a negation of all normal laws; it is revolutionary, and, therefore, in its own justification, it must produce, revolutionary results, through revolutionary procedures. Second, the machinery of accountability so far had been in the hands of the bureaucrats themselves and, by and large, it had failed to produce results. Third, the bureaucrat is an unpopular creature at the best of times, because of the very nature of his job, and, therefore, to give him a whipping is always a popular pastime. Therefore, the Martial Law regime

had to resort to something sensational and that was this screening process through high-powered screening committees. First there were detailed investigations through civilian investigating teams, then charge sheets were served and the accused were given full opportunity to defend themselves. Those who were screened out were given the full benefits of leave, pension, etc. I am defending neither the philosophy nor the procedures; I am merely giving details of what happened. Many of the affected officers were provided with, or at least offered, alternative jobs, many were accommodated outside the bureaucratic structure and each, or at least the senior ones, got a personal letter from the President. The politicians were put through a somewhat similar process of screening. I was concerned with the cases of some of them, but let me relate something about two of them with whom I had nothing to do. One was the late Mr. Khuhro. He was personally disliked by Ayub Khan, for whatever reasons, and I do not know who prepared the case against him and on whose orders. But one day the President gave Khuhro's file to me and asked me for my personal opinion. I found really nothing in the case and this is exactly what I told the President. He accepted my advice and dropped the proceedings. The same thing happened about Qaiyum Khan. Some provincial organization had prepared the case against him. The President gave me the file for my advice. I found the evidence biased and exaggerated and said so. Ayub Khan did not like it but certainly dropped the proceedings, at least on this score. And what about Pir Sahib himself? I know as much about his EBDO proceedings as he does, possibly more. But this exercise is not in defence of any one particular sector. The purpose is not to apportion blame or to find fault; the purpose is to find a remedy. I claim some background knowledge and some experience of what happened up to this stage. So, let me say one or two things. There was no witch hunt against individuals or a class of individuals. Full opportunity was given to everybody to defend himself. Zafar-ul-Ansari

detended himself over a period of weeks before a committee consisting of Manzur Qadir, Khalid Sheikh, Shoaib and Ibrahim. Suhrawardy defended himself before a judge of the High Court, in public, item by item, from day to day, and full, absolutely full, coverage was permitted in the Press. And so on and so forth. But I will go beyond this. I am now a quarter of a century older and, in retrospect, I would say that the regime had over-reacted, both in the case of the politician as well as in the case of the civil servant. All this was not quite necessary, certainly not in this way. The long-range results did not justify the means.

Yahya regime

What followed was worse. The next regime, Yahya Khan's Martial Law, under the cover of screening, started settling old scores. Such witch hunts have a snowballing effect. The lesser dignitaries start raking up their private enmities. I speak with some knowledge and confidence and am prepared to back up every word I say. This regime decided to start criminal proceedings against some senior civil servants. The punishment was imprisonment and fine. The list, I think, contained ten names, but they started off with three. One of them, the former Governor of the State Bank, used to be put into an open jeep, handcuffed and surrounded by an armed guard, and was driven up and down the crowded road on which the main State Bank building was located. Having gone thus far, the trials were suddenly given up. One of the accused claimed he asked for a witness who had to testify whether it was true that a list had been prepared of about a dozen civil servants who had to be prosecuted, no matter. Out of the three civil servants being prosecuted, two rehabilitated themselves in a manner unachievable in the wildest dreams of their tormentors. What does it prove? It is a long story and a painful one. One day somebody may be in a position to relate it, at least in part.

The net result was that hundreds of civil servants were

thrown out without knowing why and without getting an opportunity to defend themselves. What would you expect under the circumstances? More rot set in. Later exercises when Bhutto took over did away even with these formalities. Mere lists were prepared and announced in the Press. It was as simple as that. How was Qamar-ul-Islam thrown out? And why was he rehabilitated soon afterwards? He was amongst the most brilliant of the old I.C.S. officers. The whole thing is sickening.

But two even more remarkable things happened. Being thrown out of service was by now an accepted procedure. A new revolutionary scheme was evolved for intake into the Services. This was called the lateral system of entry. Somebody, in his individual wisdom, decided that there was considerable hidden talent in the country which was not finding a place into the civil services through the normal procedures. This talent should, therefore, be inducted direct on an ad hoc basis. So, the search for talent started and, understandably, led to the homes of the relatives, friends and proteges of the party in power. Thus hidden talent was unearthed and inducted direct, in many cases short circuiting all procedures, even competitive examinations. An official living abroad was thus inducted into the Foreign Service. I asked him how? He said he was merely asked to make out a precis of a long rigmarole speech of a politician and this brought out all the hidden but recognisable talent in him.

The other thing was the break-up of the Service structures. Instead, three or more services, more or less similar, were grouped together and officers became interchangeable. In other words as I understand it, officers would be changing jobs frequently, hopping from one into another. How would you fix inter se seniority then? If seniority and therefore promotion, remains in a constant state of flux all the time, how would you expect the officers to get into a settled frame of mind. When the scheme was in a nebulous state many years

ago, I asked a senior civil servant, how would it work? He said it was like handing over a watch to a little boy, asking him to rip it up into all its small component parts, and then finally to put it back again with the additional proviso that it should work better. You might as well be asking for the moon.

Vilification

Simultaneously, to bulldoze public opinion a vast campaign of vilification was launched against public servants and ingenious ways were devised to maltreat, insult and intimidate them. All constitutional safeguards were withdrawn; the few administrative safeguards had already lost their meaning. At this stage the so-called revolutionary land reforms were brought in under the cover of a civilian Martial Law. These reforms set aside the civil servants, serving as well as retired, for an absolutely unheard of discriminatory treatment as a class of citizens entirely different from all others and protection was given to this law under the Constitution. Did any gentleman who had anything to do with this Constitution say a word about this for or against or understand its implications? The same set of gentlemen now shout from the nearest house-tops against the corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy. It is a callous and a vindictive law which will not stand on the statute book of any civilised society for a single day. At the same time all civilian awards for long and meritorious service were cancelled with retrospective effect. While this vast campaign of vilification and victimisation was in full swing, not one word was said by anybody—legislators, intelligentsia or the common man—in defence of public servants or public service. Which public service in which country of the world will be able to stand up to such blows? The result is before everybody. I am at the receiving end and could recount innumerable details which will make the reader sick. With all this happening the bureaucrat,

inevitably, retained full powers of patronage. One little movement of his pen could confer or deny a fortune. What would you expect under these circumstances.

This is where we stand at present. But wait a minute. This is not all. There are other things we must take notice of. On the socio-economic front, two revolutionary things have happened. First the administrators of today, those in the age group of thirty to fifty, or more accurately almost everybody are the product of an enormous socio-economic upheaval. They saw the light of day in circumstances of extreme 'destability'. It certainly wasn't their fault; it just happened to be like that. They may be the children of disappointment, bitterness, grief, anger. I hope they are not, but who can say? Their orientation into a balanced, sober, correct leadership in the domain of administration may be an awkward a difficult process. Who is going to ease them into it?

The second thing which has happened, and continues to happen right in front of our eyes even now, is that a lot of people have earned a lot of money abroad, something unthinkable in the home market. If not the whole at least a part of this earning is being sent back home, in one shape or another. Now money is a very powerful factor in regulating human affairs.

But here other human qualities have failed to keep pace, for example, education, culture, ethics, good conduct, decency. These are things which you just cannot go and buy in the market. The result is that one wheel of the cart is moving at a speed which is different from the speed at which the other wheel is moving. This creates an imbalance in mental attitudes, in social behaviour, and this lack of balance will ultimately rebound on the administration and on the administrators.

There is nothing one can do about it. These are the inevitable evolutionary processes and one has to accept them as they come. I am merely drawing attention towards this.

Bureaucracy in Pakistan has been through a very difficult process of evolution and the process continues. In fact, I see more difficult times ahead. I haven't said a word about what may happen if the Afghan freedom fighters in our midst suddenly get 'destabilised', or there is an outbreak of insurgency, or there is an upheaval in the Indian Ocean-Persian Gulf area or sparks start flying about from the global interests of the Super-Powers in this area. The dark clouds are nearer than the clear blue sky. Our bureaucracy is in a mess. It can lean back no further. Its resilience is nil. How do we put the house in order?

I make the following suggestions:-

1. All injustice done to bureaucracy, as a class, in the last Constitution should be rectified.
2. Adequate and meaningful safeguards should be provided in the Law.
3. The Public Service Commission should be strengthened to make it the effective custodian of the rights and privileges of the Services.
4. The Service cadres should be recreated.
5. Lateral entry should be abolished.
6. Age of retirement should be fixed at fifty-five.
7. Extension in service should be abolished.
8. Pay scales should be revised and 'hidden benefits' abolished.
9. Pensionary benefits should be revised.

I have deliberately refrained from commenting on the proposed institution of "Ombudsman" and the philosophy of accountability, and end this essay in the hope that it will generate some healthy discussion.

BAR COUNCIL AMENDMENT CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Jul 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text]

PESHAWAR, July 18: The Peshawar High Court Bar Association which met here today in an emergency session, with its President Ismail Qureshi in the Chair, strongly condemned the latest amendment in the Bar Council Act and demanded its immediate withdrawal.

The meeting which discussed at length the consequences of the amendment was addressed among others by Syed Iftikhar Gilani, Syed Sibtul Hassan, Latif Afridi and Masood Kausar. They described the step as negation of the basic concept of Pakistan and observed that it was an attempt to to demolish an institution which had always been the torch-bearer of the people's rights and which firmly stood for the rule of law.

While condemning the amendment the meeting resolved that in case it was not withdrawn, the lawyers would have no alternative but launch a movement. It was further resolved that all those including Attorney General Pirzada who were associated with amendment should quit their offices as they had failed to protect the dignity of the profession.

Meanwhile, Bar Council member Khan Bahadur Khan has also strongly condemned the recent amendment in the Bar Council Act and said it was unacceptable

to the lawyers as a whole and therefore demanded its immediate withdrawal.

In a statement he said the Bar Councils and the Bar Associations had always been struggling for a constitutional and legal government and the rule of law which was the basic purpose of the creation of Pakistan and was in the interest of the country. People participation in the affairs of the country he said was as important as a strong defence.

The lawyers being an intellectual section of the society could not remain aloof from the national affairs. They had played an important role in the Pakistan Movement and had also been in the forefront to safeguard the integrity and solidarity of the country and the people rights but it was a pity that through this amendment they had been debarred from taking part in the national politics.

The member has also appealed to all the Bar Associations in the country to hold their meetings immediately and convey their reactions on the adjustment to the High Court Bar Associations so that a joint meeting of the all the High Court Bar Associations and other representatives of the lawyers community could be held after Eid to decide the course of action. He has also written to the NWFP Bar Council Chairman to convene an

early meeting.

Khan Bahadur Khan said instead of indulging in such an exercise within the country, the government should concentrate on helping the Palestinians who were engaged in Jihad against Zionism. Pakistan being the citadel of Islam was duty bound to take part in the Jihad he said.

SHAMSUL ISLAM NAZ

Add from Faisalabad:

As a sequel to the recent amendments made in the legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act an emergent session of the District Bar Association Faisalabad, expressed grave concern and indignation in a resolution of condemnation. The resolution styled the amendments as 'interference in the working of the bar associations and bar councils, and a hurdle in the path of freedom of opinion and deemed it as a ghastly, and organised "conspiracy" to the curb the last "remnants" of democracy in the country.

The resolution demanded from government in unequivocal terms the withdrawal of the said amendments, failing which black flag would be hoisted over the building of the District Bar Association, till such time as the withdrawal is not effected.

The resolution further pledged a one hour boycott of local courts daily as a mark of protest.

BAR ASSOCIATION CRITICIZES AMENDMENTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Jul 82 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, July 19: The General House of the Lahore High Court Bar Association, in an emergency meeting here today has decided to hoist black flag on its premises and a full day boycott of the courts on July 21, protesting against the current amendments enacted into Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act.

The resolution stated these amendments as extremely unwise.

The meeting also suggested to put these unjust amendments into the All Pakistan Lawyers Convention, likely to be held in the last week of September this year. The House appealed to the lawyers to accelerate their struggle for the people's rights.

The resolution called for the immediate withdrawal of the amendments, which according to them, permitted non-members of the Bar to have a right of legal practice and restriction of Bar Associations to ~~indulge in politics~~.

PESHAWAR BUREAU ADDS: The defunct PML (Pagara Group) Vice President Syed Sibtul Hassan has condemned the amendments in the Legal Practitioners Act and the Bar Council Act whereby the government, he said, had tried to cripple the Bar as a whole.

The lawyers, he said, in a statement firmly believed in the rule of law and the restoration of democratic norms in the country without having any ambition for power. Every lawyer whether he was member of the Federal Shoorā or not, he added, was political minded and no statute could deprive him of this right.

The amendment, he remarked, aimed at saving the members of the Bar who had been nominated to the Shoorā and had been ousted from the Bar Association on that account and were hence not in a position to practice. He appealed to the lawyers community to stand like a rock against such tendencies and protect their autonomy and dignity. (Another story on Page 6).

CSO: 4220/276

REACTIONS TO BAR ACT AMENDMENT REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Jul 82 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, July 21: Eminent Jurist and former Attorney General of Pakistan, Sh. Ghiaz Muhammad has said mere expression of opinion by Bar Association on political issue bearing a legal and constitutional aspect, will not be hit by the prohibitive provision of section 59 which has been added in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act, 1973.

In a statement issued to the Press analysing the amendments made through an Ordinance in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act, he said "In fact the newly added section, 59-A may well serve to avoid disunity in bar" "by preventing political activity, understood in the restricted sense, organising or canvassing in favour of a political party".

He, however, suggested that the expression 'political activity' may be defined in the legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act, in order to place the matter beyond the anvil and to set at rest misgivings.

He reminded that there is no precedent or practice in any other country permitting political activity in a Bar Association. About other amendments, He said, the same have not evoked any mentionable

reaction in bar. He, however, proposed a dialogue between the Government and the accredited representatives of the bar may help in sorting out matters.

He said in the statement: A question that is agitating the minds of members of the Bar is whether the newly-added clause will prohibit "the expression of views, by a bar association through a resolution on political issues bearing a legal or constitutional aspect".

The comments that have appeared in Press on the subject do not reveal a uniform conception as to the meaning of the said section 59-A. A critical examination of the section seems necessary to restore the perspective. The expression 'political activity' is not defined in the said Ordinance. The expression, however, finds mention in M.L.R. 24 which prohibits 'political activity' as a general law in the country". He said.

The explanation appended to para 2, therefore, defines 'political activity' as organising a political party or canvassing or campaigning in respect thereof, etc. According to para 40F M.L.R. 24 a Press conference an interview to the Press

or a Press statement are not included in the expression 'political activity, made punishable views does not fall within the purview of political activity. Considering that M.L.R. 24 and the said section-59A are in pari materia it is permissible, according to established canons

of interpretation of statutes, to understand the expression 'political activity' as used in section 59/A in the same sense as is assigned to it in M.R.L. 24. That being so it readily maintainable that mere expression of opinion of Bar Association on political issues bearing a legal and constitutional aspect will not be hit by the prohibitive provision of section 59A.

In fact the newly added section 59-A may well serve to avoid disunity in bar by preventing 'political activity' (understood in the restricted sense of organising and lobbying) as may be intended to cater to the interests of political party or other. For membership of a Bar association is likely to represent different heads of political opinion and affiliation to different political parties and to allow therein political activity understood in the above mentioned sense is bound to spell disturbance of unity of Bar.—APP

CSO: 4220/277

SENIOR OFFICERS GROUP STRUCTURE TO CHANGE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Saeed Qureshi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 18: The new structure of the Superior Services now in the offing, offers a different setup for the Office, Management Group (OMG) and the Pakistan Information Service, it was learned here today.

According to sources reliable the OMG would be disbanded and its officers dispersed to other groups, the Pakistan Information Group will be remodelled and the selection of the officers to be inducted into the service done on a different pattern.

While the prevailing method of selecting officers through an examination will be done away with, new staff will be taken from among the CSP officers as well as the professionals drawn from media and the Press.

The OMG is likely to be replaced with the former system of Under-Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries. The number of those to be affected in the OMG group is reported to be a few hundred.

It has not known as to how their seniority and other terms of service will be decided after they take up their new assignments with new establishments.

The new changes are being termed as 'radical' and according to competent observers, will give ascendancy to the District Management Group (formerly the CSP) over officers of other services.

These Journalist Officers will be able to make horizontal movements from one service to another, and will be linked with a special pool which will be created to facilitate their mobility.

A few meetings at the level of Secretaries have already been held to consider the dissolution of the OMG group.

These sources say that the Information Group's fate was also being considered and the decisions about both the groups will be announced simultaneously.

The committee to evolve a viable mechanism to enact the changes is reportedly faced with certain procedural bottlenecks, which it is trying to overcome.

CSO: 4220/276

CIVIL SERVICE BUREAUCRACY DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM Magazine in English 22 Jul 82 pp A, B

[Article by M. Bashir]

[Text]

THE Civil Service in Pakistan has been a much misunderstood and at times a much maligned institution. There are many questions which agitate the public mind about this institution some of which have even been the subject of dissertations by well known personalities. The aim of this article is to analyse some of the most common notions amongst a host of others about bureaucracy, as distinct from the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP), which have troubled the public mind during the last three decades.

These notions include its homogeneity and power-oriented attitude, its passion for secrecy methods of working, its self professed morality accountability, its rather doubtful self-acclaimed general managerial expertise and ability, its arrogance, its aloofness from society and its ability to survive.

To an outsider the civil service may appear to be a homogeneous organisation, but in fact it is not so. The foundation stone of the indigenous civil service cadre was laid in continuation of the old Indian Civil Service (ICS) through the creation of the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) in 1950. Although many of the civil servants who were inducted into the CSP during the fifties believed that they were the progeny of the ICS, but this was not true as the old ICS officers considered themselves more blue blooded than their successors. A major reason was that while entry into the Indian Civil Service (ICS) was partly through an All India competitive

examination and partly through nominations of the scions of the landed aristocracy and urban notables, the entry to the Civil Service of Pakistan was open for everybody. The examination, however, had a tucked in high marks carrying viva voce which offered an area of manipulation and was also regulated through the provincial quota system. Those who were at the top in the examination got into the Civil or Foreign Service whereas the remainder went off into such cadres as taxation, postal etc, which were considered to be inferior. There is no doubt that upto the mid sixties it was the ambition of every young educated Pakistani to qualify the competitive examination and to head for the elite services. However the withdrawal of the constitutional protection of service security and the first screening carried out by Ayub Khan soon after his take-over of 1958 served as the beginning of many jolts that the bureaucracy was to suffer. The disdainful attitude of the CSPs towards colleagues of other services resulted in an environment of bitterness within the service structure and later on towards the polarisation of hostility towards them. The situation was made worse through their manipulation because of which all prize posts went to their own members and their future promotions were safeguarded. This resulted in street demonstrations against the Civil Service at a time when the political agitation which toppled Ayub Khan was also in full swing. A few years later Yahya Khan sent home some 303 senior Government officials including some CSPs on charges of inefficiency and corruption. This was the second jolt which bureaucracy was to suffer and

which lowered its former image of being an attractive and prestigious occupation. The final was provided by Bhutto's sacking of 1300 officers on an all Pakistan basis and the implementation of the Administrative Reforms of 1973.

These Reforms although well conceived and based on earlier impartial studies conducted by local and foreign experts, including Justice Cornelius, were poorly implemented and tended to convey the impression and may in fact have been politically motivated. An essential element of these reforms was to break the hegemony of the superior generalist service viz the CSP by such means as having a unified cadre on All Pakistan basis. The Reforms provided for the infusion of fresh blood into an otherwise stagnant bureaucracy by induction of professionals from whichever quarter available. The net result was that the period 1973-77 saw accelerated promotions of existing Government servants of cadres other than CSP who qualified through the lateral entry scheme and the induction of a few highly qualified professionals who entered the corridors of power carrying the erroneous impression of serving the nation and enjoying the power and prestige which the services carried earlier. The overall image of the lateral entrant became synonymous with a political appointee, who in many cases was sandwiched between a superior belonging to a constituted service and a subordinate who felt that his promotion had been robbed from him. Another upshot of this period was that the former Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was temporarily successful in restoring itself to the exercise of power. Virtually every Ministry, department and autonomous corporation is today manned by a member of this service.

It is obvious that the only real way for any kind of a Government of come closer to the people lies in the elimination of any organised group which performs the job of acting as a go between for the regime in power and which laces its advice wholly with the intent of furthering its own longevity and interest. Again if the history of three decades of Pakistan can be taken as a guide for the future, no amount of security that a group may create for itself can shield it from the effects of the country's turbulent future.

One of the ways of bringing the Government closer to the people lies in the introduction of the corporate concept to the public

services. No civil servant regardless of his ability, knowledge, wisdom or expertise should be permitted to hold a public office for more than 25 years and should be retired honourably if other things are right after this tenure. Such a system would assure fresh blood and ideas to come into the main stream from within bureaucracy itself, and would automatically arrange removal of dead wood and provide hope for the younger generation in the Government. A public office should mean all commissions, group, or any other temporary body which is set up with Government interest as retired bureaucrats have a way of weaving their way into such organisations. At the same time there should be complete freedom to retired Government servants to engage in business or seek employment in the private sector, except in foreign missions.

Despite the passage of time and the general change in the situation all around what has kept the CSP together? The answer probably lies somewhere between their self opinionation of being an elite group and an identification with bureaucrats of the bygone days when the British raj was all supreme, and the association with their alma mater the "CSP Academy" where probably a batch rode their horses and spent a couple of years of their early youth together. To a CSP the Academy is the cornerstone on which the whole edifice of his character has been built. The esprit de corps for those who passed through the portals of the CSP Academy means virtually in to co-operation with a batch mate and a junior and blind obedience to an unwritten code of respect, for the superior.

As regards power orientation there are valid reasons for this outlook considering that a freshman started his career in a district where the basic power in public administration lies. As an Assistant or Deputy Commissioner and thereafter as Commissioner the public in the district or division is virtually at the mercy of these officials and their counter parts in the police. It is not very difficult therefore to develop contacts for the future through dispensation of favours which they could repay in later years when they enter public life. This contact base provides the security of the individual during the rest of his working life.

It is not fair to accuse the bureaucracy of power orientation for it cannot be blamed for the powers

with which they have been invested. Furthermore there is no system of public or internal accountability, the latter because the

superiors themselves are usually the protectors, prepared to overlook its misdemeanours just as theirs were overlooked years back by their seniors. The initial power orientation remains with a bureaucrat for most of his life even though he may move into different kinds of jobs in the corridors of power. A field officer (a privilege formerly reserved for CSP officers alone) carries on in the trauma of being a divisional or district head until such time as he is jolted into the realities of the situation of being exposed to do file work or preparing summaries, all of which require a clerical bent of mind rather than that for which the famous CSP Academy had trained them.

For reforming bureaucracy it is therefore necessary to change the traditional pattern of division of real power. Obviously no commission or committee comprising of new or old bureaucrats will ever divest itself of power voluntarily. Changes can only be brought about through a two dimensional process involving a major shifting of powers vested in the field officers to local bodies, and through the streamlining and simplification of procedures to ensure least possible contact between the bureaucracy and the public. This would require reduction in the massive amount of paper work and by making the Government working revenue oriented, with papers being routed through banks and post offices against certain fees. Only an outside agency such as an international consultant can be expected to give an impartial opinion as to how the system can be reformed, provided its report is implemented and not put into cold storage as in the past.

The Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) has traditionally considered itself to comprise of the best brains in the country. This may have been partially true some decades ago, but from the late sixties to the present time and in the future only second rate material can be expected to enter Government service. Firstly because the salaries and requisites offered, except for the top three tiers, are incomparable with relatively minor jobs in the private or public sectors or in comparison to a low level job in the oil rich countries. Secondly Government service today offers neither security nor the prestige of the past and unless one has outright intentions of misusing the office even a hand to mouth existence is virtually impossible. The

brilliance of the CSP stands exposed as the country today faces the wisdom of their economic foresight and planning. The brilliant young men inducted in the early years, with the usual exceptions, appear in retrospect to have been of average intelligence, who had the knack of doing well in examinations. Today they appear to be unimaginative souls incapable of being classified as progressive managers no matter what criteria is used. The top level bureaucracy's statements on the national economy indicate that this institution is detached from the actual state of affairs, and a Pakistani feels the truthfulness of the statement "that the brown sahib" when partition took place.

The Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) had prided itself on its moral and material integrity. The actual situation is that with the exception of perhaps a handful, it is difficult to find anybody who is not looking for an opportunity to be obliged. The vast tracts of agricultural lands and plots in the choicest urban areas of Pakistan and the beautiful houses belonging to these bureaucrats bear testimony to the integrity of the civil service. Islamabad, the habitat of bureaucrats in which plots were provided by CDA along with soft term loans for development is another example of bureaucratic honesty and the property thus built rented out at fantastic rates to Government owned corporations and autonomous bodies. If the family tree of the CSP is drawn up, many linkages particularly through marriage will be found. This system is necessary for keeping the Mafia restricted, as it provides the requisite backing for career as well as other benefits such as loans, land, foreign trips etc. readily. One way of establishing the accountability of bureaucracy could be by the publication on yearly basis of the declared assets of Government officers. This year book would let the public know how

honest the bureaucracy that serves them is supposed to be.

It is claimed that the CSPs have general all round exceptional managerial ability. In fact the only management training the CSP officers have is in the control of law and order situation such as ordering lathi charges, imposing Section 144 etc. The CSP considers this management training far superior to any other kind of training and experience such as that in the field of business or industry. The CSP hard core has tried very hard to acquire managerial experience in other fields by sending its younger generation abroad for continuous exposure and training. As a matter of fact career planning in the Government is restricted to those belonging to the CSP only while the remaining services are expected to fend for themselves.

The reasons for the propagation and survival of the CSP lie in their ability for adjustment to a change in the situation, and being able to be on the right side of people who matter. This is further established through personal loyalty and service to the chair. Those who do not or cannot follow this policy guideline find themselves either under fire from the top or as Officers on Special Duty with the Establishment Division. The toll this type of service takes out of an individual would be reflected in the bulk of officers being unable to clear a standard psychiatric test today. It is suggested that at least the top three or four levels of the civilian bureaucracy be subjected to an annual psychiatric examination, since decision making at this level affects the entire country. The main reason for supposing these psychiatric disorders lie in power orientation which leads to alienation from even close family members and obliviousness to the total environment except colleagues, superiors, files and subordinates. The only disturbing factors, to this otherwise steady state of a bureaucrat's life

are premature retirement or dismissal when all the privileges of position evaporate rather suddenly. When this happens the individual comes face to face with the realities of life such as standing in a long queue to fulfil the bureaucratic requirements of existence. Being without the paraphernalia such as a peon, a desk and people hankering around him and shorn of power and glitter the bureaucrat becomes a victim of the same treatment he had given to the public when he was in the chair. At the same time his family members undergo a trauma for having got used to leading a protected life in Islamabad or the GOR's of the major cities adjustment to the real Pakistani environment becomes impossible. This "status shock" causes deterioration in physical and mental health and this last period passes in reminiscing about the past which can come no more. This is the main reason why bureaucrats who have honourably retired from service never call it a day but hang around power holders hankering for any kind of an office which may even remotely bring back a phantasy of the past.

To conclude it can be said that no matter how much any organised group in bureaucracy may try to propagate itself, its numbers must deplete with the passage of time, and such a future existence is only possible if it is prepared to shed its inhibitions and integrate people belonging to other services or groups with it. Furthermore the shape and attitudes of bureaucracy will also change with time as the public becomes more aware of its rights. To achieve this every Government in power will perforce have to bring about structural changes within itself through administrative reforms. The temporary resurgence of the CSP is therefore likely to be the last flicker before the Mafia quits the national scene in Pakistan at least in the form in which it has so far been known to exist.

PAKISTAN AMONG BIGGEST WORLD BANK BORROWERS

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 p 12

[Text]

WASHINGTON, July 27: Pakistan and Bangladesh were the biggest borrowers after India of loans that are almost grants from the World Bank in the 12 months ending June 30, this year.

The total amount of loans under this category, worth 2,686,000,000 dollars went to 43 countries, including Pakistan, where the average income was 730 dollars and below. They run for 50 years and pay virtually no interest.

These loans are made by the International Development Association (IDA) also known as the Bank's "soft loan window".

Last year, loans of this type reached 3,482,000,000 dollars and went to 50 countries. This lending comes from contributions by 33 countries. It was cut sharply because the US Congress refused to appropriate the contribution promised by former President Jimmy Carter. Some of the other donors followed suit.

RECORD LENDING

Meanwhile, the World Bank, which is the biggest source of international aid for raising living standards, lent a record 13,016,000,000 dollars to 85 poor countries during the 12 months ending June 30 this year.

This was 725 million dollars more than the year before. But the increase was considerably smaller than the US inflation for the period, so that in real terms there was an actual decline in lending.

Interest on the Bank's new loans rose to 11.6 per cent annually at the end of the period, considerably less than such countries could get from private banks.

Upt to the end of June, the interest rate to be paid during the life of the long-term World Bank loan was fixed in advance. Now, new loans will have variable rates, readjusted every six months and beginning at 11.4 per cent.

Borrowing by the Bank itself amounted to 8,521,000,000 dollars for the 12 months. It borrows in the United States, West Germany, Japan, and other more prosperous countries — as well as in Switzerland, which is not one of the 143 members.PPL.

CSO: 4220/274

PHASING OUT DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN LOANS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Jul 82 pp 4, 5

[Article by Jawaid Bokhari]

[Text]

The surging tide of economic self-reliance, rooted in the historical currents that brought about the rapid decline of the colonial era after the Second World War, is now prompting economic planners in Pakistan to abandon their policy of 'heavy' reliance on external borrowings.

External credit and loans which helped stimulate economic activity are beginning to be counter-productive.

Despite the fact that Pakistan has been selected by Washington as one of the ten developing states for quickening the pace of economic development through private investment and bilateral economic assistance influencing IBRD, IMF and other Western nations to follow suit, Islamabad is faced with a growing and critical problem of finding foreign exchange to service its debts.

To quote the deputy chairman of the planning commission Dr. Mahbubul Haq, 1.2 billion dollars out of 1.5 billion dollars gross 'aid' expected in 1982-83 would be spent on repayments and debt servicing. Net flow of external assistance would further decline sharply in next two to three years if the consortium members do not provide long term debt relief.

Pakistan's repayment and debt liabilities of 1.2 billion dollars constitute 50 per cent of export earnings of 2.4 billion attained in 1981-82, an abnormally high ratio much beyond the prescribed safe limit.

Neither the heavy subsidies nor the creeping depreciation of the rupee by some 20 per cent against the US dollar since January delinking decision, are expected to restore the export earnings to the level of 2.93 billion dollars achieved in

1980-81. The current year's target has been fixed at 2.8 billion dollars.

The sharp decline in the net flow of external assistance caused by high debt servicing liability, rampant international inflation and abnormal interest rates is limiting the capacity of the recipient country to borrow and dampening the enthusiasm of the donors to risk their capital with countries already heavily mortgaged.

The policy of donor states based on immediate temporary and transitional interests run counter to those of recipient countries evoking strong resistance of the South against the North and spur the Third World to adopt measures aimed at self-reliance. Immediate losses are helping develop a framework of policies for protection of long term interests of newly independent nations.

Recession and the accompanying protectionism in industrially advanced countries tend to restrict export from developing states and thus their capacity to service their debts and buy foreign plants and machinery. International inflation hinders imports from affluent markets of the West into the developing countries. Imports are increasing value-wise, though not quantity-wise in the same proportion. The great instability of the international monetary markets affects

adversely the growth in world trade that slumped in 1980, for the first time in several years.

By restricting imports of the products of the third world, recession and protectionism in the affluent West are forcing the developing countries to rely increasingly on their own national markets. Protectionism cannot stem the surging tide of economic self-reliance

Despite the three times increase since 1977, exports have stagnated around 50 per cent of the annual import bill. Export earnings have primarily created congenial climate for external borrowings rather than move the country towards self-reliance. As stated by Finance Minister, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan at a recent meeting of the Asian Development Bank at Manila export-led growth has ceased to be a realistic option.

Exports are supposed to finance imports of foreign technology, raw materials, skills and service external debts. The restriction on imports of manufactured goods into affluent markets from developing states reduce export earnings of the third world and also its capacity to buy foreign goods and services. And hence avenues are opened up for development of local technology, raw materials and expertise and indigenous capital accumulation.

Protectionism in affluent markets of the West is therefore a mixed blessing. It restricts exports and expansion of domestic manufacturing capacity based on foreign technology and in the process stimulates development of national capital goods industry. So is the case of devaluation which serves as a double-edged weapon in international environment specially marked by inflation.

Devaluation makes goods cheaper for the foreign buyer and imports costlier for the domestic purchaser and causes a greater outflow of net resources from a country whose currency has been devalued to a country which has maintained a stable exchange rate.

Though devaluation may cause a temporary set back through loss of net resources in foreign trade, it spurs the development of import substitutes. In a country like Pakistan where 85 per cent of the total imports are on account of capital goods and raw materials, devaluation inflates cost of production and restricts exports badly needed to finance imports, that could help fight recession in developed states.

The industrially advanced states which persuade developing states through IMF, IBRD and other lending institutions to devalue their currencies are able to make short term gains at the cost of long term interests.

Perhaps, in case of Pakistan, the greatest impetus to the development of the local technology was provided by the 1965 and 1971 wars when external assistance from the West was suspended. Pakistan today boasts of engineering goods industry capable of fabricating 70 per cent of the country's requirements of plants and

machinery. The scarcity of the foreign exchange and the chronic balance of payments problem have forced it to abandon the concept of turn-key projects in favour of increasing patronage to domestically fabricated machinery.

External credits help donor states finance costly exports made expensive through high interest rates, tied nature of loans and mounting inflation. Maximization of profits by donors restricts the capacity of the borrowing countries to service their debts.

All devices of the developed world to exploit the markets of the developing countries are of temporary and transitional nature, which because of their ill-effects, are compelling the developing states to take to the path of economic self-reliance.

The "crisis-ridden" developed world has ceased to be a model of economic growth for the developing states. Stagflation, a phenomenon, unknown to the "free" world till the early 1970s which combined inflation with recession, has shaken the economic foundations of the industrially advanced countries. And exchange rate upheavals with volatile behaviour of the dollar, whose exchange rate have been propped up much above its intrinsic worth, have liberated most of the currencies of the developing states from the hegemony of the once mighty and stable U.S. currency.

Countries like Pakistan have been forced to delink the rupee's fortune from the fluctuating dollar and fix its exchange rate according to the dictates of their own foreign trade. The illusion of stability apparent in the rupee enjoying a fixed parity with the U.S. dollar, has been shaken off. The unstable international monetary order, though hurting the interests of the developing countries, is illuminating the path of self-reliance.

Whereas liberalised imports at the instance of IMF have raised Pakistan's import bill, they have helped to increase the production of an imported-oriented industrial complex and farms fed on imported inputs like fertilizer. The average 6 per cent growth rate achieved for the past five years has made the country self-sufficient in major crops like wheat, rice, cotton and sugarcane. Pakistan has in fact emerged as a net exporter of food-grain. Rice and cotton are substantial foreign exchange earners. And steps are now being taken to initiate sales of sugar in foreign markets. self-sufficiency in cement and fertiliser is round the corner.

Whatever steps the developed world takes to promote its self-interest counter to the interests of the developing states, brings temporary and transitional gains at the cost of their long-term benefits. The historical currents are against them. Political Independence of the third world has paved the way for the economic self-reliance.

And the dictates of self-reliance are expressed in many ways and specially through the high indebtedness of the borrowing states causing the net flow of external assistance to fall rapidly on the one hand and the limited capacity of the crisis-ridden donor states to extend credit to an increased number of countries at a much higher risk.

And if the inflation continues unabated, the rich dividend yielding credit may be repaid at a much debased amount in real terms. Erosion of capital caused by galloping inflation, is also undermining, the hegemony of the affluent states over the developing countries specially in the field of economic planning and development.

Faced with an unfavourable international environment, Pakistan is laying stress on development of engineering goods industry, facilitated by the coming into operation of the Karachi Steel Mill. Increased domestic fabrication of machinery and plants would help undertake mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture and provide fillip to further industrialisation at less cost than a foreign assisted programme. Emphasis on development agriculture would also increase reliance on domestic efforts and resources.

Economic planners are now more conscious of the need to encourage labour-intensive small scale industries financed invariably by indigenous capital and based on local technology, materials and expertise.

Besides, regional district-wise planning is now being developed to foster economic growth based on specific features and characteristics of various areas and their requirements instead of just transplanting foreign technology on domestic soil that had led to the development of an imported oriented industrial complex based on foreign technology, raw materials and skills.

Officials of the Sind Government led by the Additional Chief Secretary Mr. R.A. Akhund are now supervising and guiding a team of experts to collect relevant economic data on each district which would be needed in formulation of regional development plans.

District-wise industrial development plans are also being formulated so as to initiate small scale

industries based on local technology and raw materials followed later by medium and big-sized industries in which foreign technology may be required.

Recently, the federal government has also undertaken a series of steps to induce self-financing at various levels. With the exception of the Karachi Steel Mills, state industrial enterprises can no longer depend upon the national exchequer for the finances needed for expansion of existing industries or creation of new capacity. Provincial governments have been persuaded to find a greater proportion of funds from their own resources to finance their annual development plans. Cost of utility services are being raised to generate funds for financing new projects and repay external credits. Subsidies on consumer goods and production are being phased out whereas they are being retained on exports. Measures for self-reliance is thus initiated at various levels.

Notwithstanding the fact that the volume of imports have stabilised for the past three years, a five per cent surcharge has been im-

posed to restrict imports. In the current year's budget tariff protection has been extended to a number of domestic industries.

The liberal import policy is restricted within the framework of an import regime heavily oriented towards capital goods and industrial raw materials.

What Pakistan needs is to raise the yield per acre in agriculture which can be doubled or trebled without much difficulty if the small farmers or tenants find official policies do not tend to encourage monopolisation of the benefits of the increased production by the landed aristocracy or the privileged.

With no major dam or projects except the Chasma barrage proposed to be undertaken in the field of agriculture, Pakistan might as well turn its attention to the exploitation of mineral resources so far neglected because of the high cost and sophisticated technology involved. With the industrialisation programme almost entirely entrusted to the private sector, the government should be able to find resources to undertake such projects as the Saindak copper mines or processing of the Kalabagh iron ore.

CSO: 4220/277

FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ASKED FOR MOBILE MEDICAL UNITS FOR REFUGEES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Saeed Qureshi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, July 21: Pakistan has approached the Governments of Japan, South Korea, Norway and France as well as Rotary International, for 210 mobile medical units for Afghan refugees, whose number according to latest available figures has swelled to 27,17,727, it was reliably learnt here today.

While a fleet of 64 Mercedes Benz trucks purchased with West German Grant of five million marks, has arrived at Karachi Port another shipment of 240 trucks is due to reach Pakistan some time in September, which according to concerned quarters will help facilitate movement of foodgrains and other commodity aid from Karachi to the Refugee camps.

The government was reported to be seriously handicapped due to inadequate logistic arrangements to carry donated commodities to the camps and the latest measures steadily form part of government's efforts to overcome the problem. While according to reliable sources more financial and commodity aid

was pouring into Pakistan, the consortium countries have announced assistance of Rs. 230 crore for the year 1982-83 for the welfare of the Afghan refugees.

This is said to be in addition to 190690650 dollars given by the World Food Programme so far. The aid is equivalent to 522,366 tonnes of wheat, 36216 tonnes of edible oil, 22,613 tonnes of D.S.M. and 3,000 tonnes of dates.

Meanwhile, it is learned that the government has declined to accept a commodity assistance worth five million from the U.S. Government and has instead suggested for the cash grant.

The Government it is further learned has approached the German Government to convert the loans given for drinking water supply schemes for refugees in the NWFP, into grants.

Meanwhile, the government has accepted a French Government offer of 12,000 tons of wheat for

the Afghan refugees.

The French Government will reportedly also bear the cost of transportation from the Karachi port to the camps.

To beef-up the package of measures aimed at improving transportation of relief goods to the Afghan refugee camps, the President is said to have directed to place all the donated trucks under the control of the National Logistic Cell (NLC).

As for the operational control, the Commissioner Afghan refugees would maintain a close liaison with the NLC. According to a competent source funds will be placed at the disposal of the Commissioners Afghan refugees of Baluchistan and NWFP who will make payments to the NLC.

It is also learned that the tankers for moving kerosene oil to the camps will too be handed over by the Afghan Refugee Commissioner to the NLC.

An NLC source disclosed that they would be able to finalise the administrative arrangements latest by Sept. 15 provided they are not faced with funds' constraints.

CSO: 4220/277

NDP LEADER WELCOMES ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE MOVE

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 pp 1, 12

[Text] Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, President of the defunct NDP, yesterday welcomed Maulana Shah Anmad Noorani's move to convene a round table conference of all parties, but cautioned the people against having high hopes about its outcome.

During an informal talk with newsmen at his residence, he said the Maulana's approach seemed "quite flexible," and he (Mr Mazari) was "impressed by the genuineness of the offer."

Mr Mazari said if and when an invitation for the RTC was received by the MRD it would be duly considered. However, it would be ascertained there had been a "perceptible change" in the attitude of some parties, one of whose leaders talked repeatedly of his "link with the GHq," while the leaders of another party sought to "create confusion by harping on extra-constitutional subterfuges in league with the Government."

He said the MRD would not accept any deviation from the basic provisions of the 1973 Constitution.

Asked about the agenda of the proposed RTC, he said it could not be other than holding of elections expeditiously on the basis of the 1973 Constitution--a moot point on which there was agreement among all parties.

Mr Mazari did not seem hopeful about elections but he said that the situation was such that only a popularly elected government could tackle it effectively.

Mr Maifaj Mohammad Khan, chief of the defunct Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, answering the newsmen's questions, said the MRD had established itself as a "people's movement," because it reflected their urge for a return to democratic rule. Parties outside the MRD's fold were welcome to join or cooperate with it on the basis of the latter's four-point programme, foremost being the holding of nationwide polls under the 1973 Constitution, he added.

Present at the informal Press talk were other MRD leaders including Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Khwaja Khairuddin, Mr Zainul Abedin, Mr Fatehyab Ali Khan, Mr Abid Zuberi and Mr Iqal Haider.

The leaders and the journalists were invited by Mr Mazari to see a BBC television film shot in Lebanon. The film, showing moving scenes of Israeli atrocities in west Lebanon carried interviews with Mr Yasser Arafat, Mr George Habbash, Mr Saib Salam, an Israeli commander as well as Lebanese, PLO and Phalangist representatives.

CSO: 4220/274

PLAN TO SET UP WORLD MUSLIM WOMEN'S BODY

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 p 8

[Text]

A move was afoot to form an international Muslim Women's organisation on the pattern of Christian Women's Association, Begum Salima Ahmad, Secretary, Women's Division, Government of Pakistan, said in Karachi yesterday.

At a radio news conference, she said that working papers for the proposed organisation had been prepared and sent to President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq as well as the Foreign Office.

Need for formation of such an organisation was being felt for a long time to solve various problems faced by women in a concerted way. Pakistan, Begum Salima said, had been made the convenor of the organisation.

The project would, however, take some time to materialise, she added.

Emancipation programmes

Listing the women's emancipation programmes, she said about 5,000 adult literacy centres and a large number of training centres had been set up across the country, and up to Rs 70 million were earned by the women folk who had received training in sericulture, wood works, interior decorations, tailoring etc.

Five women's polytechnics had been sanctioned and work on some was underway. Hostels for working women were also being set up and there was a programme to set up model villages on self-help basis.

About the Family Laws Ordinance, she said that President Zia-ul-Haq had held out an assurance that it had constitutional protection.

To another question, she said that the Women's Division was preparing a programme for cooperative marketing. Its object is that the women folk could sell the products prepared by them at a proper price.—APP

CABINET TO REVIEW SAINDAK PROJECT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Jawaid Bokhari]

[Text]

KARACHI, July 19: Pakistan is likely to seek financial assistance from lending institutions in Muslim States for 400 million dollar Saindak Copper Mining Project following its disappointment with the consortium of French-Canadian and Yugoslav firms, it was learnt here today.

The Islamic Development Bank based in Saudi Arabia and some Arab financing agencies are believed to have been founded on the need for finances for Baluchistan's most important project. Initial response is reported to have been positive.

The spade work in this connection is being done by the Bankers Equity chief D.M. Qureshi. Incidentally BEL is the leading investment bank which has already lined up the required local resources of Rs. 150 crore through a syndicate of credit institutions.

The Saindak project would be financed to the extent of some 250 million dollars from external sources.

The final proposal of the French-Canadian and Yugoslav firms which were to supply plant and equipments and provide foreign exchange component of the project to the tune of 235 million dollars is not finding favour with the concerned officials because of the reluctance of these companies to provide funds for token equity

participation. Pakistan wants these companies to have stakes in the mining project to ensure smooth operations.

Officials concerned with the project financing feel that they would not face any difficulty in mobilisation of external resources once the government gives a go-ahead signal for mobilisation of required funds. The Federal Cabinet is expected to take up the consideration of the Saindak Project soon.

Apart from the French-Canadian-Yugoslav Consortium, Rumanians and Norwegians have evinced keen interest in the project. The Norwegians are reported to have offered machinery and equipment under a credit whose terms and conditions are relatively more favourable.

The Rumanians are understood to have offered credits ranging between 100 to 150 million dollars.

Saindak in Chagai district of Baluchistan is estimated to have 412 million tons of minerals mainly copper and including gold, silver, steel etc.

Charter-CBJ-Services Ltd of the U.K. who were engaged by Bankers Equity and the Pakistan Banking Council to have a fresh look at the feasibility and suggest locations for the metallurgical complex and transport facilities have submitted their report. These recommendations are expected to be placed before the Cabinet shortly.

PAKISTAN RAILWAYS' INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION SAID TO BE POSITIVE

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 p 8

[Text]

Pakistan Railways' entry in the field of international collaboration has yielded positive results and plans are afoot for increased cooperation with a number of countries including Saudi Arabia, Iran, Bangladesh, and Zimbabwe, an official spokesman said here.

Contract worth 104 million dollars was currently being executed in Saudi Arabia. It pertained to laying of 100 km track. Pakistan was also assisting Saudi Railways engineers.

With Iran, the spokesman said, Pakistan Railways would collaborate in the field of operation and maintenance of diesel electric locomotives. Discussions in this regard were held during the visit of Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Federal Finance Minister, to Tehran recently.

He said there would be large scale movement of goods to Iran in the coming months by rail route. For this purpose operation on the Quetta-Zahidan section is being augmented.

The spokesman said 50,000 tonnes of wheat and the same quantity of fertiliser exported soon from Quetta to Zahidan. Besides sizeable quantity of coke and barley will be sent. Pakistan Railways moved 20,000 tonnes of fertiliser from Karachi to Zahidan via Quetta last month.

He said a delegation will shortly visit Bangladesh to identify more areas of collaboration, as Pakistan Railways has already manufactured passenger coaches for Bangladesh and could sell more coaches and wagons to that country.

He said a team of railway officials left for Dacca on July 24 to participate in an international pre-qualification tender for the setting up of a diesel electric repair and maintenance workshop.

On the other hand, a team of technicians of Pakistan Railways was already in Zimbabwe to assist in the repairs and maintenance of diesel locomotives there.—PPL

CSO: 4220/274

TARBELA POWER PLANT TO START BEFORE SCHEDULE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Asaf Sheikh]

[Text]

LAHORE, July 18: Units No. 5 to 8 of Tarbela Hydro-power extension project will be commissioned ahead of schedule, an authoritative source told The Muslim here yesterday.

According to the previous schedule these units were due to be commissioned between October 1982 to March 1983 but according to the revised programme these would be put into operation between August-December this year.

The project was approved in 1975 by the Government of Pakistan to raise the existing electrical power supply at Tarbela from 700 MW units on Tunnel No2. The construction activity at the site commenced with the award of civil works in June 1978.

The project is being managed by WAPDA and the consultancy services are being provided by NESPAK in association with Acres International of Canada. The civil works costs are estimated at Rs.650 million.

The source said early commissioning of these units would not only reduce pressure on the existing power system in the country but would also make considerable savings in thermal generation.

In June 1981 WAPDA had

decided to add two more units No.9 and 10 to the present extension project, thus increasing the total installed capacity to 1750 M.W. The two units are scheduled for completion in December 1981 and April 30, 1985. Construction of civil works for this second extension has already commenced.

CONTRACT

Messrs National Engineering Services of Pakistan (NESPAK) have won a prestigious contract in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia valuing 70 million dollars.

The project envisages construction management services of Al-Jawf Irrigation Improvement and Drainage Project in the Saudi Kingdom, about 200 Km south-east of the Jordanian border.

The scope of NESPAK services includes review of design of the project, construction and contract management and overall cost control.

The project comprises of a system of tube-well with water storage reservoirs, pumping stations for supply of irrigation water through a network of pipelines, and a network of sub-surface drains and ditches for efficient drainage of the irrigated area. The irrigation is proposed to be eventually based on the latest technology - the Drip Irrigation System. It is likely to take 24 months for completion.

VIABILITY OF SOLAR WATER PUMPS DISCUSSED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 17 Jul 82 p 7

[Article by Ejaz Naqvi]

[Text] The solar water pump provides an alternative source of irrigation in areas served by non-perennial canals and where water level is from 10 to 15 feet deep. It can produce water at a much lesser recurring cost than other mechanical devices as it harnesses the free inexhaustible energy of the sun through photovoltaic cells requiring little maintenance and no fuel at all. It functions automatically and fluently in dazzling sunshine. It has already been introduced successfully in several countries.

The sun's radiant energy is estimated at 1 353 kw per square mile in space at the mean distance of Earth from the sun. The absorption and scattering process in the atmosphere reduces it to 1 kw per sq M when it reaches the Earth. Pakistan's total share is about 1,000 times more than its current rate of energy consumption. The solar power may be transformed into heat and electricity by specific interactions with matter like photovoltaic cells. The mechanisation of agriculture has not made much impact on farms below 25 acres in spite of the fact that they constitute 59 percent of the cultivated land in the country. Over 30 percent of 3.8 million farmers in the country are holding farms up to 12.50 acres fed only by non-perennial canals. They need a permanent supply of irrigation water to optimise crop production. Under the 2 million acres cultivated by these farmers fresh ground water exists at a depth of 10 feet or less.

In late 1980 Intermediate Technology Industrial Services (ITIS) of the U.K. provided 14 solar energy pumps made by Solar Electric International (SEI) to the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan for demonstration, testing and evaluation at small farms under different field conditions in the country. These were installed at ADBP loanes' selected small farms in 13 regions during March 1981. But later in May 1981, the pumps were shifted to the places where the water table did not exceed 15 feet. The areas where the pumps are now proposed to be concentrated are Sukkur, Muzaffargarh, Gujranwala and Swabi.

The SEI units which were tested consisted of a photovoltaic array rated at 250 peak watts connected through an electronic maximum power controller with a submersible motor directly attached to a single stage pump. The output

measured at various sites was 2 to 2.5 litres per sec. from water table depth of 8 to 12 ft. at peak hours of sunshine. The area being irrigated was $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre per day. Depending on the system of irrigation and nature of crops, it was found that 2.5 to 4 acres could be commanded with these solar pumps provided: (i) the total lift was less than 3.5 metre (about 11 ft); (ii) the well was centrally placed to the land requiring water; (iii) field distribution channels were of reasonable size and in good condition; (iv) a mixed cropping was carried out so that the peak water requirement of crops grown do not coincide, and; (v) full use was made of the solar pump, i.e. it was used for 10 hours a day.

Out of 15 solar energy pumps installed by the ADBP, 7 units went out of order owing to faults in pump sets which had to be replaced. In two sets defects occurred in the electrical connectors and these were repaired. Defects also occurred in maximum power controllers which were also replaced.

The capacity of 2.5 litres per second at 4 metres lift of the SEI pumps already tested is too low. To be acceptable to our farmers a solar pump should discharge 4 to 5 litres per second at 4 to 5 metres lift, giving a total output of not less than 80 cubic metres per day.

The ADBP therefore, proposes to import higher-capacity units for distribution to farmers to demonstrate the economic and technical viability of this technology. The pilot project is aimed at stimulating the widespread adoption of the technology and laying the basis for the establishment of a local licensed manufacturing capability.

But the current price of the pump is too heavy for the small farmer to bear. It comes to about Rs. 42,000. But according to the Bank, the price is falling at the international level and will come down to Rs. 17,500 in 1985-86. The farmer will have to pay Rs. 20,000 out of which he could make a down payment of Rs. 4,000. The Bank can lend to him the remaining Rs. 16,000 repayable in seven years.

The Federal Government has agreed to a short-term subsidy programme drawn up by the Bank. But the shortage of available funds does not allow a full-fledged dissemination of the technology. There is however, a possibility of the provision of sizable funds by some Canadian sources.

CSO: 4220/275

CRISIS IN CARPET INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 17 Jul 82 p 17

[Editorial: "The Carpet Crisis"]

[Text]

Carpet manufacture, occupying third place as a foreign exchange earner, was first hit by recession in the importing countries; now it is threatened with large-scale insolvency and closure in the wake of the banks' drive for recovery of loans in the industry. It is estimated that about half a million workers all over Pakistan will face unemployment as export closes down and the loans have to be repaid in respect of goods not sold. Contracts worth Rs. 25 crore have not fructified and enterprising exporters still willing to run the gauntlet of a fast-shrinking foreign market are faced with new difficulties because of the rupee's eroding value vis-a-vis the dollar. Pakistan's income from carpets during 1980-81 was Rs. 225 crore; during 1981-82, it has already

come down to about Rs. 160 crore. When the banks foreclose on their loans, the weaving units may be forced to close down.

The method of doing business on loans was devised by the entrepreneur who did not own his own factory. He relied on the output of the cottage industry scattered all over the country, mainly in the districts. The carpet boom in the West bestowed sudden prosperity on the carpet-makers, gave sustenance to the workers engaged on looms in the countryside and buttressed the balance of payments. But the base of this nascent industry was flimsy. Carpet-making was not concentrated in factories where quality could be standardised and maintained. When the buyer in the West became niggardly with his money he began to dictate terms and pat-

tern and quality instead of picking and choosing from stocks accumulated by the manufacturers in Pakistan. As no factories exist, bulk orders for quick delivery cannot be executed; hence, the competitive edge of India and China. Business has shied away from setting up factories as they attract the income tax and labour laws. One way to promote the troubled industry is to allow it to set up factories waiving income tax at the production level and clamping it only on export income. Immediately, the banks must sympathise with the plight of the exporters and relax their conditions of recovery of loans. Unless these concessions are made, the carpet industry cannot remain a leading foreign exchange earner it has developed into over the last few years.

BRIEFS

EXPORTS TO RCD COUNTRIES--Karachi, July 16--Pakistan's exports to RCD countries totalled Rs. 825.4 million during the first 11 months of the fiscal 1981-82 forming 3.8 percent of the country's total exports which aggregated 21,837.7 million. According to State Bank of Pakistan sources export to RCD countries during the same period last year amounted to Rs. 1,894.1 million. The main items of exports to RCD countries during the period were articles of textile materials (Rs. 173.9 million), rice (Rs. 171.6 m), cotton fabrics (Rs. 144.6m), non-cotton woven textiles (Rs. 83.1 m), untiled Barley (Rs. 53.5 m), leathers (Rs. 35.7 m), paper and paper boards (Rs. 19.4 m), wool and animal hair (Rs. 18.4 m), textile yarn and thread (Rs. 16 m), other organic chemicals (Rs. 14.6 m), ships and boats (Rs. 12.3 m), and medicinal and pharmaceutical products (Rs. 12.3 m). Under the commodity exchange agreements, Pakistan's exports stood at Rs. 852.6 million or 3.9 percent of the total export proceeds during the first 11 months of 1981-82. Barter exports decreased to Rs. 73 million from Rs. 92 million in April. The principal trading partners during the month were Sweden, Rs. 24.7 million, USSR Rs. 20.9 m, People's Republic of China Rs. 13.9 m, Hungary Rs. 7.9 m, Czechoslovakia Rs. 2.1 m, North Korea Rs. 1.6 m, Poland Rs. 1.6m and Bulgaria Rs. 0.3 million.--APP [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Jul 82 p 8]

TUFAIL CRITICAL OF AMENDMENT--Lahore, July 18--Mian Tufail Mohammed, Amir of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami has criticised the recent restrictions imposed on Bar Councils and Bar Associations. In a Press statement issued here today the Jamaat leader appealed that instead of imposing restriction the government should take steps to generate self-confidence and sense of responsibility in the nation. Mian Tufail Mohammad said after more than five years of Martial Law it was expected that these restrictions would be gradually removed but all the nationalists and well-wishers of Pakistan were surprised to see that Bar Councils and Bar Associations were debarred from taking part in political activities. He said by doing so the government had opened a vast venue for self-seekers and opportunists in those bodies.

Interest-Free Loans: Punjab Co-operative Department has so far distributed a sum of over Rs. 100.8 million as interest-free loan among farmers of the Province through Agricultural Co-operative Societies to grow rice, sugarcane, cotton and gram during the current kharif season. Meanwhile, the Co-operative Department has recovered a sum of Rs. 77 million from farmers. Grant: The Provincial Irrigation Department will grant a sum of Rs. 11 million to

WAPDA for the maintenance and operation of over 300 tube-wells functioning under the Mona Experimental Project during the current fiscal year. These tubewells will irrigate over 1.7 acres of land in the Sargodha Division. Another sum of about Rs. 4.9 million was earmarked as a grant to Mona Reclamation Project under which about 140 tubewells are functioning. This sum will be utilised for the maintenance and operation of the tubewells during the current fiscal year.--PPI [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Jul 82 p 8]

MRD CONDEMNS AMENDMENT--Lahore, July 18--MRD Punjab condemned the amendment enacted into Legal Practitioners Act, barring the Bar Associations from politics. The Provincial Committee of the MRD in its meeting demanded release of all political prisoners and detainees before Eid and praised Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan, Miss Benazir Bhutto, Nawabzadah Nasarullah Khan and Sheikh Mohammed Rashid for sticking to their principles despite their continuous detentions. The MRD felt that the amendment in BAR laws would not affect the just struggle of the lawyers, aiming at supremacy of law and restoration of democracy in the country. The meeting was chaired by Malik Hamid Sarfraz, the current MRD Convener, whereas other participants were Sh. Rafiq Ahmad, Mansoor Malik, (PPP), Rao Mehroz Akhtar, (NDP), Riaz Loan, (QMA), Maj. (Retd) Ijaz Ahmad, Sheikh Rashid, (Muslim League) Sulaman Khokhar, Zafar Gondal, Mian Arshad Waheed, (Tehrik-e-Istiqlal), and representatives of the local MRD Committee. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Jul 82 p 8]

CONCRETE POLITICAL STRUCTURE PROPOSALS--Rawalpindi, July 15--President Zia-ul-Haq said here today that the report of the Council of Islamic Ideology was being referred back to the Council with the advice to make concrete practicable suggestions regarding future political structure. He was talking to journalists at an Iftar party hosted by him at the State Guest House. The President said the report had enunciated certain principles but not proposed any mechanism.--APP [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 16 Jul 82 p 1]

'P.T. POINT' INFORMATION COMPLEX--July 15--The Zero Point, the gateway to Islamabad would come to be known as P.T. Point when 'The Pakistan Times' shifts to its new premises there. This was disclosed by President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq on Thursday evening while talking to this reporter at an Iftar party hosted by him at the President's Guest House, Rawalpindi. The President said it is going to be a prestigious building. The Federal Information and Broadcasting Secretary, Lt-Gen Mujib-ur-Rehman, who was standing close by said that the Press Information offices and Information Ministry would also be located in its vicinity. The site would thus be turned into "Information Complex." The PID is at present housed in rented buildings. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 16 Jul 82 p 1]

REAGAN'S GREETINGS TO ZIA--Islamabad, July 27--President Gen Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq received a message of greetings from U.S. President Ronald Reagan on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr. In his message, President Reagan conveyed his best wishes to the President, the members of his family and the people of Pakistan. The U.S. President also stated that the thoughts of the people of the United States, on this holy occasion, were with those Afghans who were struggling to regain their freedom and those who have sought refuge in Pakistan. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 p 1]

DOCTORS' SERVICE STRUCTURE REPORT SOON--Islamabad, July 27--A comprehensive report regarding the young doctors' service structure will be formulated shortly. Informed sources told Dawn the report will be based on fresh recommendations given recently by the provincial Governments. It may be recalled that the recommendations made earlier by a high-powered committee headed by the Deputy Chairman Planning Commission, Dr Mahboobul Haq were rejected by the doctors. The committee after re-examining the nature and magnitude of the doctors' demands had reportedly invited fresh comments from all the provincial Governments. The committee which has received a number of recommendations from the provinces is reviewing the financial implications of the recommendations. The revised report would be examined by Dr Haq on his return from abroad. Dr Haq on his return to Pakistan, it is reported, would submit the final report to President Zia-ul-Haq. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 p 1]

QUOTA SYSTEM DEMANDED--Rawalpindi, July 21--The Pakistan Minorities Welfare Council has appealed to the Government for the restoration of the quota system for the minorities and its earliest implementation in all professions and at all levels. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Jul 82 p 3]

BAR COUNCIL RESTRICTIONS CRITICIZED--Islamabad, July 21--An emergency meeting of Islamabad Bar Association was held here today under the presidentship of Raja Zahoor Ahmed, Advocate. A resolution condemning the recent amendment in the Bar Councils Act was moved by S.P. Raza. The meeting deplored the restrictions imposed on the lawyers and termed them as 'uncivilised' and 'unsocial.' The meeting demanded the restoration of political rights and approved the resolution by a vast majority. S.P. Raza advised all the advocates serving with Majlis-e-Shoora and Ministries to resign from their jobs and join hands with the lawyers and legal practitioners protect the rights of the lawyers. Meanwhile, an emergency meeting of the Rawalpindi District Bar Association was called on the requisition of Mohammad Akram Choudhry, advocate, signed by 108 lawyers on July 20. A resolution was passed unanimously wherein the lawyers community condemned the recent amendment incorporated in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act. It was asserted in the resolution that the lawyers all over the world act as guardian of the civil rights of people and are most competent to speak as a body and also participate in political activities. It further said that in Pakistan when there is a complete ban on all political parties this was the only forum available for the protection of liberties and civil rights of the masses. The amendments have demanded to be withdrawn immediately. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Jul 82 p 3]

PLANTING 27 MILLION SAPLINGS--Islamabad, July 21--During the monsoon tree plantation campaign, beginning throughout the country on August 4, 27 million saplings will be planted, official sources said here today. These sources further said that the government has decided to launch massive efforts this year instead of holding normal ceremonial plantations done in the past with a view to motivating the people for participation on larger scale. In the Federal Capital, Horticultural Directorate of the Capital Development Authority will plant about two lakh saplings during the coming season. Special programmes are being finalised for the participation in the campaign by government servants and people. Special areas will be earmarked for the ministries in Islamabad. Sales centres for the convenience

of public will be set up by the C.D.A. and Forest Department. The President has ordered institution of a prize of Rs. 1,00,000 to the University in the country for the best plantation while Rs. 20,000 would be awarded to the best college or school in each division.--PPI

COMMERCE BODY OPPOSES PROPOSAL--The Managing Committee of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry in an informal meeting held here on Monday opposed the proposal of the Government for appointment of an Administrator to run the affairs of the Federation. The Vice President of the Federation, Umar Haji Karim, presided. In a reply sent to the Ministry of Commerce, the Managing Committee pointed out that they were running the affairs of the Federation to the best of their ability and there is no justification to take over the Federation under the Trade Organisations Ordinance of 1961. The term of the Managing Committee has expired on June 30 last. The President of the Federation was unseated by the Supreme Court orders on Jan 27 last and since then no elections were held.--APP [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 p 8]

US INVESTORS DUE--An investment mission of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation of the United States will visit Pakistan in November next. Local investors have been advised to keep ready the feasibility reports of the projects so that these could be placed before the US investors. The fields selected by US investors so far are: agricultural implements manufacturing, meat processing, dairy products, sports goods, medical instruments, vegetable oil seed growing, mining exploration, telecommunications, railways (modernisation) and electrification, downstream projects of the steel mill products, fertilisers, and shrimping. In addition, more projects may be placed before the mission.--APP [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Jul 82 p 10]

CSO: 4220/274

DETAILS ON DISSIDENT PRIESTS SOUGHT

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 28 Jul 82 pp 1, 12

[Text]

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile said yesterday that he has ordered investigators to ask Northern Samar Bishop Angel Hobayan for particulars on eight priests reported to have joined the New People's Army (NPA).

Interviewed over Channel 4's "Network Line" program, Enrile took exception to a reported statement of Jaime Cardinal Sin disputing allegations about the priests and nuns.

Commenting on the cardinal's reported comment on the priests that "we all make mistakes," Enrile said the priests are "supposed to be well-trained intellectually and morally, yet they opted to embrace or support Marxism which is antithetical to the tenets of the Christian church."

The revelations were reportedly made by Bishop Hobayan to foreign editor Peter Hastings of the Sydney Morning Herald in

Catarman last June. Hobayan was quoted as saying that he had lost eight of the 27 priests of his diocese apparently to the dissidents.

The interview appeared in the Australian newspaper's issue of June 29, entitled "Christ's Guerillas Plot Violent Revolution."

The defense chief also said Bishop Hobayan provided Hastings a copy of the agenda for a meeting in Calbayog city among radical priests and nuns.

"In the meeting, the priests wore batik-type shirts but not the small cross on the collar and the sisters were informally dressed, with one nun wearing jeans, a tee shirt, no bra and wrap-around dark glasses, according to Hastings," Enrile recalled.

The article, added Enrile, also quoted the priests and nuns as saying that they want

to destroy our society because it is an anti-Christ society and that even the church itself must be destroyed because it is part of the society. They were not talking of reformation but of nihilistic destruction, he stressed.

"Now if this is a mistake," Enrile said, "this is a mistake no one of us should commit because it is a very destructive mistake."

Enrile also disclosed that he had sent two teams recently to barangay Somoroy, Lope de Vega, Northern Samar, to investigate rumors that 210 persons were massacred by the military and the teams confirmed earlier findings that no such massacre took place.

Enrile said the teams were sent separately, each not knowing about the other's mission. Both had the same findings, according to the defense chief.

COLUMNIST EXPLAINS DEFECTION OF PRIESTS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 28 Jul 82 p 6

[Text]

A priest who signs his name as Father Bel San Luis, S.V.D. and who gives his address as the Divine Word College at Urdaneta, Pangasinan, expresses deep concern over the "mass defection" of eight priests of the Diocese of Calbayog (Samar) to the New People's Army. His letter is reproduced here without comment:

"Ordinarily, men of the cloth do not jump on the gun. Could it be that they have despaired of all peaceful means in solving prevailing social maladies, thus opted for armed struggle? Is it to dramatize the sad state of socio-economic and political affairs in their place?"

* * *

"What ever the reason is, the

government should exert efforts to attract these churchmen back and have a dialog over their complaints and grievances, thus finding the deeper roots of the problem. A "cat-and-mouse" approach will only drive them farther away or harden their resolve to rebel.

* * *

"It must be noted that where there is acute poverty, government neglect and apathy, social injustice and unabated graft and corruption, there is discontent. Discontent breeds unrest and eventually, rebellion. That is why President Marcos once rightly put it: 'The real fight in this country is the fight against poverty, disease, ignorance and injustice. Security is not the only concern, but development.'"

CSO: 4220/280

PHILIPPINES

NPA RECRUITMENT BY PRIESTS, NUNS

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Six rebels captured recently in Kalinga-Apayao said they were recruited for the New People's Army by a Catholic priest and a nun, reports reaching Camp Aguinaldo said yesterday.

The dissidents were identified as Miguel Lazaro, Francisco Licudo, Pedro Torres and a certain Ka Pedro and another known only as De los Reyes.

They were captured July 20 by three composite PC and police teams at barangay Dilag, Tabuk, Kalinga-Apayao.

The six told investigators they were recruited on the night of May 16 by a certain Fr. Eddie Balicao, a parish priest in the area and a nun identified as Sister Aurea at Poblacion Tabuk.

They also said Balicao and Aurea were accompanied by a certain Commander Ringma and one Doming Buscay, said to be affiliated with the NPA.

Last Monday Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile took exception to the statement of Jaime Cardinal Sin on the involvement of some priests and nuns with the NPA.

Sin was earlier quoted by a foreign news agency as saying that he cannot say there are no priests who have joined the NPA "because we all make mistakes."

Enrile described Sin's reaction as "too naive."

"These priests," Enrile said, "are supposed to be well-trained intellectually and morally and yet they have opted to embrace or support Marxism which is contrary to the tenets of the Christian Church."

Julio Cardinal Rosales denied yesterday that eight of their parish priests in Samar had defected to the New People's Army, the Agence France-Presse reported yesterday.

Cardinal Rosales was reacting to a reported order by Minister Enrile for an investigation into reports that eight priests had joined the NPA and were now actively espousing revolution.

The cardinal told reporters in his home archdiocese in Cebu City that some time ago Samar Bishop Angel Hobayan called a meeting of 27 provincial priests regarding a plan to reshuffle their posts and eight priests walked out of the meeting in protest.

"They did not walk out to join the NPA or for other political or ideological reasons, but merely to protest the internal reshuffle," the Cardinal said. He added that five of the eight priests have since abandoned their boycott and taken up their new diocese posts.

CSO: 4220/279

NPA PLANS TO FREE DETAINEES

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 29 Jul 82 p 32

[Text]

Military authorities of Region II comprising Cagayan Valley have tightened their security on 13 subversion suspects detained in their stockade early this month, it was reported yesterday.

Col. Thomas Manglongat, deputy commander of Region II, said that guards had to be doubled in the wake of intelligence reports that a "suicide squad" of the New People's Army had plans to spring the detainees from the stockade.

The detainees included a woman doctor in Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya, a professor and three students of the Nueva Vizcaya Institute of Technology (NVIT) in Bayombong, and nine others described by the military

as "officers" of the group.

The 13 detainees were identified as Dr. Aurora Parong, alleged head of the organization's communication center in Region II; Prof. Eufroanio Ortiz, Jr., of the NVIT; Tito Tanguiling, Juanito Gravado, and Bienvenido Garcia, all students of NVIT.

Sabino Padilla, Norberto Portuguese, Francis Divinagracia, Benjamin Pineda, Mariano Soriano, Rosalina Reyes, Letty Ballogan, and Imelda Santos, described by the military as officers of the group.

The arrest of the 13 came last July 6 when the clinic of Dr. Parong was raided.

CSO: 4220/280

DISSIDENTS SLAIN IN DAVAO

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 29 Jul 82 p 32

[Text]

DIGOS, Davao del Sur, July 28—Eight guerrillas, two of them believed to be responsible for the fatal shooting of Mayor Nonito Llanos, Jr. of this town, were killed in a six-hour gunbattle with Constabulary and police patrol in barangay Ihan, Kidlawan, yesterday.

Brig. Gen. Pedrito de Guzman, 11th PC regional commander, said that witnesses identified two of the slain rebels as a certain Kumander Ben Hur and Ka Victor.

The two were reported to have participated in the killing of Mayor Llanos and barangay captain Kasuki Mamac of barangay Aplaya, Digos, last June 26.

De Guzman said that nine firearms, including a Browning automatic rifle, one Armalite, one Belgium-made FAL rifle, one carbine,

and assorted ammunition were recovered from the slain guerrillas.

The guerrillas retreated to a more strategic point when two of their companions were felled in the initial encounter started at 9 a.m.

Six hours later, six more rebels fell as more PC soldiers were moved by helicopter to the area. No casualty was reported on the government side.

The family of Mayor Llanos sent congratulatory message to De Guzman for having accounted two of the suspected killers of the mayor.

Llanos, 45, was fatally shot while attending the coronation of a beauty queen in barangay Aplaya. His wife Gavina was hit in the thigh and is still recuperating in the hospital. (RCC)

PHILIPPINES

COLUMNIST QUESTIONS TIES WITH USA

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 27 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Teodoro F. Valencia]

[Text] President Marcos told his KBL top men the other day that the United States wants to impose its will on the Philippines by restricting Philippine exports unless the Philippines relented and gave Americans something like the parity rights that they used to enjoy here. Prime Minister Virata confirmed this by saying that the United States has not even implemented agreements in the "Tokyo Round" where the Americans promised to treat ASEAN exporters more fairly.

The way it sounded, the President was hinting to KBL leaders that unless something of a better trade and financial arrangement between the Philippines and the United States is reached soon, his trip to Washington in September had better not happen. If he were to go on this trip, he would be ridiculed by the local opposition and the US-based opposition could take credit for preventing a better treatment for the Philippines by the US. What for should he go?

Notes: Prime Minister Virata told the KBL caucus that some countries other than the United States would be willing to lend us \$1.3 billion to finance our development projects. The United States has liberalized its policy on the general system of preference vis-a-vis other countries but not insofar as the Philippines is concerned. This will have implications in ASEAN. Other ASEAN nations are watching how the US treats an "ally" and "friend"... It is neither fair nor just to impound a public utility vehicle that just happened to carry marijuana or other prohibited drugs. Supposing the buses and jeepneys used did not know of the presence of the cargo? That would be undemocratic and extremely cruel.

CSO: 4220/279

SUPREME COURT OPENS TORTURE HEARINGS

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Supreme Court has for the first time taken a direct hand in the controversy over the alleged torture of subversion suspects by appointing a special commissioner to investigate the charges.

The move came amid complaints by opposition lawyers that the court's former hands-off policy encouraged the alleged abuses by the Philippines' military authorities.

It was the first time the Supreme Court had responded to a novel defense motion to make the right to counsel "unwaivable" because of the alleged torture. The justices had previously ruled this a matter for lower courts.

Quezon City's prosecuting fiscal, Sergio Apostol, was appointed special commissioner and given 30 days to look over evidence on the alleged torture of former government technocrat Horacio Morales Jr.

Morales was arrested in April, almost five years after he publicly announced that he was defecting to the underground.

In a habeas corpus hearing before the Supreme Court last week, 73-year-old opposition lawyer Lorenzo Tanada charged that the justices' refusal to deal with the torture charges had resulted in "worsening of human rights violations in the country."

Morales, 38, former executive vice president of the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP), had charged that he was electrocuted in various parts of his body and given the "water cure" while undergoing questioning.

He said a subsequent statement which bears his signature was taken under duress although he said he bore no physical signs of torture.

On the other hand, Solicitor General Estelito Mendoza said that the charge of maltreatment was "Standard Operating Procedure" among communist-linked prisoners "because they know they can get attention and publicity."

Mendoza added that there were indications that prisoners with communist ties "even invite maltreatment." He did not elaborate.

He said opposition charges that the number of human rights violations cases was on the rise simply reflected the increased number of arrests due to successful operations by the government and its eagerness to bring complaints to court. (AFP)

CSO: 4220/279

NATIONAL BUDGET SUBMITTED TO BATASAN

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 28 Jul 82 pp 1, 12

[Article by C. Valmoria, Jr.]

[Text]

Prime Minister Cesar E. A. Virata submitted yesterday to the Batasang Pambansa for approval a P61.8-billion national budget for 1983.

Although the total expenditure program for 1983 would amount to P65 billion, the budget which was presented as Cabinet Bill No. 50 authorized the appropriation of only P61.8 billion.

Expenditures not appropriated in the budget, Virata said, are programmed as part of continuing appropriations in existing laws.

In his budget message, President Marcos said

that an obligation budget program of P65 billion in 1983 is both feasible and imperative—"feasible because it is consistent with expected resources and imperative because we must achieve the goals of the development plan."

The money bill which the President called "A Budget for Productivity and Equity" and "an instrument for effecting economic turnaround," is expected to grow by 8.8 per cent over that of 1982.

"The ratio of the budget to the gross national product (GNP) will decrease from 16.9 per cent in 1982 to 15.9 per cent in 1983," the President added.

As presented, the budget sets aside 26.4 percent for economic services, 32.2 percent for social services, 10.4 percent for defense, 10 percent for general public services, 12.9 percent for debt service, and 8.1 percent multisectoral.

"Because of our aggressive capital investment program in the seventies and the consequent physical build-up, maintenance and operating requirements will necessarily expand," the President said.

According to him, the resource generation policy will aim at further reducing dependence on revenues from foreign trade transactions and on external borrowings.

The economic and social services sectors, consistent with national priorities, will jointly account for P38 billion or 58.6 per cent of the total obligation budget for 1983, the President said.

The following amounts were allotted to various ministries, agencies, and services:

Office of the President, P1.3 billion;

prime minister, P122.2 million; executive committee, P8 million; Batasang Pambansa, P125.4 million; National Economic and Development Authority, P547.1 million;

Ministries of Agrarian Reform, P369.5 million; Agriculture, P1.1 billion; Education, Culture, and Sports, P5.4 billion; state colleges and universities, P1.7 billion; Energy, P1.8 billion; Finance, P761.4 million; Foreign Affairs, P473.4 million; Health, P2.6 billion; Human Settlements, P2.5 billion; Justice, P442.1 million.

Labor, P133.4 million; Local Governments, P244.4 million; National Defense, P8.8 billion; Natural Resources, P1.2 billion; Public Works and Highways, P4 billion;

Social Services and Development, P414.6 million; Tourism, P96.3 million; Trade and Industry, P1.2 billion; Transportation and Communications, P1.2 billion; Judiciary, P402.5 million; constitutional offices, P517.9 million;

Tanodbayan, P11.4 million; autonomous regions, P600 million; corporate equity investments fund, P2.6 billion; international commitment, P700 million; national assistance to local government units, P7.6 billion; national priorities support fund, P7.9 billion; personnel benefits fund, P1.9 billion; property insurance fund, P200 million; social pricing and development adjustment fund, P683.6 million; general funds adjustments, P600 million.

CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR NOT PESSIMISTIC

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 27 Jul 82 p 9

[Text]

Governor Jaime C. Laya of the Central Bank said yesterday that despite a huge balance-of-payments deficit of \$675 million during the first semester, the prospects of the Philippine economy was not all that bleak.

Blaming the deterioration of the payments position on the worldwide recession, Laya said that measures already in effect should improve the country's balance of payments picture over the long haul.

He referred to the structural adjustment program under which a series of measures are now being undertaken in energy, industry and the financial system which are all intended to improve the country's external accounts.

These measures require huge amount of financing and foreign loans, Laya said, which explains the increase in the external debts and the payments deficit.

Eventually, he said, these measures would help the economy bring down its dependence on imported energy, improve the export competitiveness of domestic industries and increase the amount of savings that are generated internally, thereby correspondingly cutting down the dependence on foreign savings to fund domestic development projects.

Speaking before the Management association of the Philippines, Laya pointed out that the CB will maintain its policy of letting the exchange rate of the peso determined solely by market forces.

This meant that the peso would be allowed to "freely" seek its own value in relation to other foreign currencies, particularly the strong US dollar.

During the first semester, the peso registered a depreciation of 7.5 per cent. Laya attributed this depreciation not so much to

the weakness of the Philippine currency as to the strength of the American dollar which gained heavily on the high interest rates in the United States.

Laya said that the bright spots in the economy have been the performance of the non-traditional exports, whose prices were holding on in the face of a general decline in the prices of traditional exports like sugar, coconut oil, mineral and forestry products.

Another bright spot, he said, had been the increase in the flow of invisible receipts, mostly remittances from Filipino workers overseas.

He said that the CB was ready to extend further incentives to Filipino workers abroad. For one, he disclosed, the CB was considering to extend its rediscount window to loans extended by banks to cover the expenses covering the departure of workers abroad.

GOVERNMENT TO BORROW SOCIAL SECURITY FUNDS

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 27 Jul 82 p 16

[Article by George T. Nervez]

[Text]

THE national government will borrow P1 billion from the Social Security System (SSS) through a new issue of Treasury Notes.

SSS Administrator Gilberto Teodoro said yesterday that a new series of T-notes worth P1 billion will be issued by the national government to be exclusively subscribed by the SSS.

He said that the SSS already has substantial holdings of the T-notes worth P600 million, but the government decided on a new issue for its exclusive subscription to generate non-inflationary funds.

The new T-notes issue will have a yield of 14.25 percent, he said.

T-NOTES are direct, unconditional and fully guaranteed obligations of the national government. They have five-year maturities with nine percent coupon payable semi-annually.

Last week, the Central Bank, acting as fiscal agent of the national government, auctioned off P300-million worth of the T-notes. Accepted bids for the notes had an average yield of 14.139 from a high of 14.1 percent.

It was the 12th auction of the new series of T-notes which was initially sold in August 1981. Total sales of the new notes now amount to P2.527 billion.

THE latest auction, according to the CB,

was oversubscribed as total tenders received which reached P483.8 million, P189.8 million more than the authorized issue.

Teodoro said that SSS funds are presently invested in the Philippine National Bank, the Development Bank of the Phils. and the Union Bank of the Phils.

The PNB, he said, has about P3-billion worth of SSS funds, while about P500 million has been committed to the Union Bank, which the SSS jointly owns with the Land Bank of the Phils.

The SSS head also said that SSS collections from members' contributions slowed down last year because of labor strikes and lay-offs.

NEW TAX MEASURES REVEALED

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 12

[Article by C. Valmoria, Jr.]

[Text]

The government will tap all possible sources of revenue, including the imposition of five new tax measures, to support the 1983 budget and attain the goal of the development program.

This was revealed by Prime Minister Cesar Virata in his sponsorship speech of the money measure, in which he said the government proposes to:

1. Reduce tax incentives of sectors which failed to expand due to excessive protection and the absence of effective competition.

2. Impose five new tax measures.

Virata said the 1983 revenue program is expected to raise about P900 million from the five new tax measures. He said these proposals were formulated with the ability-to-pay principle as the overriding concern.

He said the government has explored areas where new revenue sources will have the lightest effect and in line with the equity consideration.

Among the principal measures being reviewed for the consideration of the Batasang Pambansa, are:

1. Imposition of the value-added tax on the second sale of articles listed under Section 194 (percentage tax on the sale of non-essential articles) and Section 196 (percentage tax on the sale of certain semi-essential articles) of the National Revenue Code.

2. Adoption of a uniform five per cent franchise tax, except for electric utilities.

3. Upward revision of the percentage tax on certain services.

4. Restructuring of the present tax scheme for cigarettes, liquors, and petroleum products from fixed rates to ad valorem rates, or a mixture of both.

5. Updating of fees and charges being collected by government agencies.

Virata noted that the proposed adjustment of fees and

charges is one of the measures which would have a substantial impact on revenue collections.

Virata said although the final estimate is still being firmed up, he expected the government to collect as much as P400 million from the upgrading of service fees and charges in 1983.

Virata said, the increase in rates will be undertaken to enable government agencies to reflect their current costs so that they can expand and deliver better services to the public.

"We will minimize the increase of existing fees or charges of agencies primarily providing services to the low income group," he said.

In addition to these

proposals, the prime minister said, concrete measures are being identified to further rationalize the present fiscal incentive scheme.

The primary objective, he said, is to promote production efficiency by ensuring the most economic allocation of the economy's scarce resources.

He added that the incentive package will be maintained or broadened in areas with high growth potentials and in which the government has substantial comparative advantage.

Meanwhile, an opposition assemblyman urged that the Philippines should assert its sovereignty and refuse to accept unreasonable condi-

tions set by International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Assemblyman Jesus Villegas admitted that the IMF has the right to set certain conditions to ensure repayment of loans. However, he stressed, if the IMF condition should erode the country's sovereignty, it should be rejected, no matter how badly the country needs the money.

He reminded the Batasan of the need to preserve the sovereignty and independence that the Philippines as a nation has struggled hard to earn.

Villegas questioned the proposition that the IMF condition was only imposed by the American-controlled financial institution to set the economy right.

CSO: 4220/281

WAGE ISSUE SPLITS LABOR RANKS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 28 Jul 82 pp 1, 11

[Article by Chito Parazol]

[Text]

Labor organizations affiliated with the Pagkakaisa ng Manggagawang Pilipino (PMP) said yesterday that any wage increase, at the moment, must be sought through collective bargaining agreement (CBA) rather than through indiscriminate legislation.

Other labor groups, headed by Pelagio Vil-

legas Jr., national president of the Pangkalahatang Kilusan Ukol Sa Paggawa (Pakiusap) and executive officer of the PLUM Federation of Industrial and Agrarian Workers, also agreed that any unrealistic wage hike would only worsen the country's economy further.

The Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP) urged the Labor Ministry last night to convene soonest a tripartite conference on employment and productivity.

ECOP said that any wage hike at this time is sure to trigger a vicious spiral of costs and wages and cause the closure of more business firms, throwing more people out of work.

The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCI) had earlier proposed that workers be given a ₱3 across-the-board wage increase to allow them to cope with the increasing cost of living.

The President, however, rejected this demand in his State of the Nation address at the Batasan.

Labor sources said yesterday that the wage issue has apparently split organized labor into two groups.

TUCP has been asking for a substantial wage hike while PMP and other labor federations are in favor of freezing wages for the time being, if only to protect the present employment of workers.

Pakiusap President Villegas said yesterday that instead of asking for an unreasonable and unrealistic wage increase, labor leaders should appeal to Labor Ministry officials to resolve all pending labor

disputes to give justice to workers who have been booted out without cause.

He said that his 123 unions lauded the move of the President in rejecting the demand of TUCP, to protect the present employment of hundreds of thousands of workers.

The PMP, which is led by the Kilusang Mayo Uno of Felixberto Olalia and the Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied Services (TUPAS) headed by Bonifacio Tupaz, said it would abide by the decision of the President in order not to de-stabilize the economy of the country.

Former Deputy Labor Minister Amado "Gat" Inciong, whose Solidarity union is affiliated with KMU, said that an across-the-

board-wage increase, no matter how much, would push many companies under and aggravate the country's unemployment problem.

Considering the present economic crisis, Inciong said, the President really had no choice but to reject TUCP's demand for a P3 across-the-board wage increase.

Tupaz said that before the government looks into wages, it should first resolve the freedom of workers as defined in their collective bargaining.

He claimed that workers are now being terminated even without justifiable cause.

Inciong proposed the lifting of repressive barriers to the exercise of the right to strike under Batas Pambansa 130 and 227.

He said this would

enable unions to demand effectively wage increases against financially able companies without necessarily hurting distressed employers.

Inciong also proposed that the government roll back the prices of rice, sugar, and power which have been jacked up at a time when, based on world market conditions, their prices should have gone down.

The ECOP said it would meet to discuss the implications of President Marcos' pronouncements before the Batasan recently.

ECOP proposed that organized labor and employers place more stress on productivity and cooperate as social partners equally struggling for economic survival in these hard times.

LABOR DROPS WAGE DEMAND

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 29 Jul 82 pp 1, 6

[Article by Jaime S. Reyes]

[Text]

THE TRADE Union Congress of the Philippines yesterday had a change of heart on its demand for a wage increase.

It is dropping for the time being its proposal for a P3 daily across-the-board pay increase, but is pressing for the integration of allowances into the worker's basic salary and the lifting of exemptions (from payment of allowances) granted to distressed industries.

TUCP president Democrito T. Mendoza said the labor group is also seeking a freeze in the prices of basic commodities to enable workers to cope with the increasing costs of living.

The new TUCP position is expected to be presented during a national tripartite conference on employment and productivity to be convened by the Ministry of Labor and Employment next month or early September.

* * *

MENDOZA said the change in the lands.

* * *

TO GIVE the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran and the social forestry programs to identify potential areas for viable resource-based enterprises for kaingineros, the President also

declared all remaining unsurveyed and unclassified lands of public domain as forestlands.

He issued another LOI for the sub-classification of lands for various uses. To make sure that they are productively used, the President ordered a restudy of all special areas such as tourism sites, military and civil reservations and national parks.

On the development of aquatic resources, the President directed the channeling of about P100 million subsidy to the Biyayang Dagat program to help municipal fishermen meet the high cost of fuel.

He also directed the MNR to identify areas that could be proclaimed as communal fishing grounds for the exclusive use of small fishermen.

To promote employment and the forest conservation program, the President also ordered the implementation of decrees requiring all timber leaseholders to own processing plants or have equity in corporations operating wood processing plants.

As another conservation measure, the President ordered the ratification of the Convention of the International Trade in Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna.

TUCP wage increase proposal was made in deference to President Marcos' request. He added that the P3 wage hike "might not be attained for now."

The President had rejected the TUCP's P3 wage hike proposal on the ground that it was "unrealistic"

considering the present economic situation.

TUCP figures show that industrial workers in Metro Manila will get a basic minimum daily wage of P29.95 if all allowances are integrated into the basic pay while those outside the area will receive P28.95.

Minus the allowances, non-agricultural workers in Metro Manila now get an P18 minimum daily wage and P17 for those outside the region.

The integration of allowances into the basic salary would mean a higher base for the computation of overtime pay, 13th month pay and other benefits.

Quoting statistics, Mendoza said the earnings of skilled workers increased by 140 percent from 1957 to 1980 while those of unskilled workers rose by 152 percent as compared to the 324-percent increase in the consumer prices for the same period.

He said the share of labor in the total cost of production averages only from 8 to 12 percent. The share of the cost of materials is 27 percent and that of the cost of money is from 24 to 25 percent.

MENDOZA said the TUCP will decide today whether to push its planned one-day nationwide rally to press its demands as decided on last Sunday by its 2,000 labor leaders and union officials.

Sources said the proposed rally will definitely be pushed by the TUCP and the only remaining problem is the date and the form of mass action the TUCP will hold.

ANOTHER labor leader, Bonifacio V. Tupaz of the Pagkakaisang ng Manggawang Pilipino, said the labor group is batting for wage increases through collective bargaining negotiations and not through government intervention.

Tupaz branded as "unjustifiable" the P3 wage increase proposal of the TUCP because this may lead to the closure of many small business and service establishments.

CSO: 4220/279

MALNUTRITION, INFECTION THREATEN CHILDREN

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 27 Jul 82 p 12

[Text]

Toto, an eight-month old baby boy, has been in and out of hospital since he was three-and-a-half months because of chronic coughing and hoarseness.

He and his family live in a congested area in Sta. Cruz, Manila. His parents, both vegetable vendors, earn 20 pesos a day.

Nene, his two-year old sister, also has had frequent coughs and colds.

While their parents are at work, the two children are left in the care of their grandmother, who herself has had a history of pulmonary tuberculosis.

Toto and Nene are underweight and are suffering from "moderate" malnutrition. Both have probably contracted TB.

Their condition is commonplace, a mute, painful reminder that today, midway through the Decade of the Filipino Child (1977-1987), the fight against malnutrition and disease among Filipino

children remains an urgent national concern.

In 1979, speaking before the 16th annual convention of the Philippine Pediatric Society, then Health Minister Clemente S. Gatmaitan pointed out that "from the public health standpoint, infections and malnutrition are the two leading causes of mortality and morbidity of children in our country."

Statistics from the Disease Intelligence Center show that, of the 10 leading causes of death among infants, eight are due to various infections and nutritional deficiencies like avitaminosis (a disease caused by lack of vitamins).

Infant deaths due to avitaminosis and other nutritional deficiencies rose sharply during the first half of the 1970s. From six percent in 1970-1974, infant deaths due to these causes went up to 12.6 percent of all infant deaths in 1975.

These statistics are born out by equally

grim findings on the prevalence of malnutrition, particularly among the young.

Surveys made by the Food and Nutrition Research Institute (FNRI) in the mid-1970s showed that the average food intake of Filipinos is seriously deficient in such basic nutrients as calories, protein, vitamin A, thiamine, riboflavin, calcium, iron, and ascorbic acid.

The deficiency among children and pregnant and nursing mothers is even worse, other FNRI studies showed. They are the ones hardest hit by the most widespread forms of malnutrition.

The most serious form of nutritional deficiency in the Philippines is called protein-energy-malnutrition (PEM). It is caused by the deficient intake of protein and calories, resulting in poor growth, loss of weight, low resistance to infection, and in its extreme, *marasmus* (the gradual wasting away of the body) or *kwashiorkor*.

(severe malnutrition marked by anemia, potbelly, and loss of hair).

Weight is the most telling single indicator of PEM. According to estimates based on results of the weight survey done under "Operation Timbang" in the mid-1970s, as many as three million (out of 10 million) preschoolers suffer from moderate to severe protein-energy-malnutrition.

Vitamin A deficiency (which leads to eye damage or even blindness) and anemia are other widespread forms of nutritional deficiencies. FNRI dietary

surveys show that as many as 40 percent of preschoolers are afflicted by these.

Malnutrition and infection feed on each other, in a manner of speaking. Malnutrition renders its victim vulnerable to infection. Illness, on the other hand, usually restricts the diet of the sick.

"There is therefore a need to break the vicious cycle of malnutrition and infection in childhood," Gatmaitan stressed. Children early in life, he added, should receive a diet that will insure healthy growth and development and effective immune response to infection." -- PCF Media Service

CSO: 4220/279

IMPROVED NUTRITION LEVEL REPORTED

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 28 Jul 82 pp 1, 6

[Text]

THE FIRST LADY, Imelda R. Marcos, dismissed yesterday as "ridiculous" claims by some quarters, especially the Western press, that 70 percent of Filipino children are malnourished.

Mrs. Marcos said that some people who wish to denigrate the country were deliberately being "fast and loose" with their statistics.

The fact is the Philippines has one of the most organized, efficient and viable nutrition programs in the world, the First Lady said in an interview with newsmen.

SHE EXPLAINED that a 1978 survey conducted by the Food and Nutrition Research Institute under the National Science and Technology Authority showed that only 1.6 percent of pre-schoolers were suffering from malnutrition.

The 1982 survey currently under way is expected to show an even lower percentage, she said.

"No Filipino dies of starvation,"

she said, and cited statistics gathered from the 1978 survey that the country has overcome the "protein gap" and is only 11 percent shy of attaining a 100 percent adequacy in energy intake (fats and carbohydrates.)

THE FIRST LADY said that these statistics show that the people have achieved 88.6 percent adequacy in energy, 102.9 percent in protein; 91.7 percent in iron and 68.6 percent in vitamin A.

She attributed these strides to the integrated nutrition program launched in 1975 and the spread of education and information among the citizens.

THE FIRST LADY said the Nutrition Center of the Philippines has been affiliated as college of the World University of the United Nations for the last three years.

She added that the Philippines has been cited by the World Bank as one of three countries, along with Brazil and Colombia, that has a model nutrition program.

In the face of these statistics, Mrs.

Marcos said, "it is sad that some people were bent on making us look like a nation of malnourished people."

SOME REPORTS appearing in the Western press lumped the Philippines with Bangladesh, Senegal and countries in the Sahel, as having a similar malnutrition rate.

She said that with the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK) gaining momentum in both urban and rural areas, the nutrition level among Filipino families would increase further as per capita intake of nutrients increases.

Mrs. Marcos said that "we should look at it (nutrition problem) in a broader perspective," saying that the country has many problems as many other countries do have problems.

She cited the stress on food production to feed the growing population and to ensure that nobody dies of hunger in this country.

She said the emphasis would remain with the children who are most vulnerable to the adverse effects of malnutrition, especially those below six years old.

She also said that malnutrition can also come from low food intake in some pregnant and lactating mothers resulting in lower birth weight in some babies.

But all these, Mrs. Marcos said, are being overcome by an information and educational campaign among children and parents.

MUSLIM HOUSING PROGRAM TO BE LAUNCHED

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 13

[Text]

A massive low-cost housing program will soon be launched in the Moslem provinces of Zamboanga, Davao, Cotabato, and Lanao, with the support of Arab funders.

The program, intended to alleviate the acute housing problem of the Muslim population in Mindanao, will make use of wooden pre-fabricated components to be manufactured by the rehabilitated facilities of Sta. Clara Lumber Co.

An initial 3,000 houses will be built under the program, it was learned.

The manufacturing and logging facilities of Sta. Clara, which ceased operation last year, are scheduled to be reopened by the Sta. Clara Housing Industries, Inc. (SCHI), a consortium organized with the support of the

Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP) and under the leadership of lawyer-businessman Nurdy P. Diploma, chairman of Buenavista Timber Corp.

After it ceased operations, Sta. Clara was taken over by the DBP which had P180 million in the firm. The DBP and the Diploma group are now starting to settle the unpaid claims of some 3,000 displaced workers and their 15,000 dependents.

Many of the 18,000 workers and their dependents are Muslim Filipinos residing in Zamboanga, Davao, and Sultan Kudarat.

Under the rehabilitation plan for Sta. Clara, according to Diploma, his group is bringing in fresh capital to provide funds for the repair of manufacturing and logging machinery and equip-

ment, and for the eventual payment of all unpaid obligations.

As an initial step, SCHI is selling to Japan \$3 million worth of logs from the unutilized log export quota of Sta. Clara.

Proceeds from the log export will be applied against Sta. Clara's debt to DBP and to partially settle the wage claims of its workers. Yesterday, President Marcos approved Sta. Clara's application for extension to use its remaining log export quota on the recommendations of DBP.

Diploma lauded the President for acting immediately to assist the distressed logging firm and to defuse the labor tension in the areas of Davao, Zamboanga, and Sultan Kudarat where Sta. Clara has been operating.

INCREASED RELIANCE ON DOMESTIC ENERGY SOURCE

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 28 Jul 82 p 19

[Text]

Domestic energy sources increased their contribution, from about 24 per cent or one-fourth of total energy consumed to about one-third or 30 per cent for the period January to May.

The bureau of energy utilization said domestic oil production increased by 288 per cent with the entry of Cadlao oil as addition to Nido oilfield production.

Similarly, increased contributions came from geothermal energy and hydropower sources as a result of higher output levels from old and newly installed power-generation units.

Coal usage on the

other hand, remained at last year's level pending the conversion of cement plants from oil to coal use slated later this year.

As a result of higher domestic energy contribution, the usage of imported oil dropped by 9 per cent, from 28.8 million barrels last year to only 26.2 million barrels as of May this year, resulting in foreign exchange savings estimated at \$85.8 million.

The utilization of indigenous sources totalling 11.2 million barrels (about 30 per cent of total energy demand) also enabled the country to save foreign exchange estimated at \$336 million.

CSO: 4220/280

LEYTE POWER TO BE LINKED TO LUZON GRID

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 28 Jul 82 p 19

[Text]

The National Power Corporation (NPC) is reviving its plan to link the vast geothermal reserves of Leyte to the power requirements of the Luzon grid.

Gabriel Y. Itchon, NPC president, disclosed in an interview yesterday that the P2.9 billion submarine cable project is being pursued by the government as an alternative to the coal thermal plant in Isabela whose establishment has been eyed earlier.

Initially, Itchon said NPC is asking the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) of Japan for a financial assistance of \$2 million to support the cable's final engineering study.

The amount is actually a surplus from the eighth yen credit program provided by OECF for the construction of the first geothermal plant in Tongonan, Leyte.

The submarine cable project has been envisioned owing to Leyte's proven geothermal reserves of which 552.5 megawatts are being tapped by 1986. Moreover, the reserves cannot be fully utilized since there is no large industrial market in the province.

Leyte's resources could not also be linked to the Visayan grid owing to the region's geography.

Itchon said the submarine cable project will include the infrastructures needed in transmitting the power to Sorsogon and Naga through the island of Samar.

Itchon said the project is being placed on the drawing table should a study on the lignite coal reserves of Isabela prove that putting up a coal thermal plant there is not viable.

If, however, the study proves otherwise, Itchon said priority will be given to the establishment of the Isabela coal thermal plant.

Dames and Moore, the British consultant assigned to do a study on the viability of putting up coal thermal plant, has already submitted its findings to NPC. NPC, according to Itchon, is still evaluating the results of the study.

The country's second thermal plant is being eyed in Isabela after PNOC Exploration Corp. confirmed last year the huge reserves of lignite coal in the area.

Lignite coal is suited best for power generating plants.

MARCOS LIFTS LOG EXPORT BAN

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 29 Jul 82 pp 1, 6

[Text]

PRESIDENT MARCOS authorized yesterday the continued exportation of logs until the end of this year, but warned that only exporters who follow the guidelines would be granted licenses after that cut-off date.

The guidelines are:

- That the log processing program of exporters must be resumed and continued.

- That for every tree cut, three seeds of the same species must be planted for reforestation.

THE PRESIDENT said that exporters without contracts for machineries to process logs cannot be licensed to export.

He directed the Ministry of Natural Resources to organize inspection teams to make periodic surveys of logging concessions to see that these conditions are met.

Keynoting the eighth anniversary celebration of the MNR at Malacanang, the President also announced that the government

would continue its financial support to the copper industry.

He said the support was to prevent the lay-off of some 40,000 workers of copper companies.

IN THIS connection, he appealed to the labor sector not to ask for wage increases "because these are very sensitive times."

"Let us be sober and cautious because these are very sensitive times. There are some investors watching from the sidelines and they keep telling me that they cannot afford to come in if labor becomes restive," he said.

To enhance the right of access of the rural folk to the country's natural resource, the President also signed a Letter of Instruction transforming the Program for Forest Ecosystem Management (PROFEM) into an integrated forestry program to be known as PROFEM II.

The President said that this program is aimed at winning over the kaingineros as effective agents for food production and the rehabilitation of denuded forest

PHILIPPINES

RESULT OF LOG EXPORT BAN LIFTING

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Government decision to continue allowing the export of logs until December would prevent a dislocation in the wood industry and the consequent lay-off of roughly 35,000 workers, industry sources said yesterday.

The lifting of the log export ban, ordered by the President the other day, would also help generate more foreign exchange earnings, they added.

For the first half of the year the country's trade deficit reached \$1.3 billion which the Central Bank traced to the softening in the prices of Philippine exports in the world markets.

With the lifting of the export ban, the local wood industry can still export some 700,000 cubic meters of logs which at the current price of \$210 per cubic meter could generate roughly \$83.5 million this year.

From January to June the industry shipped 100,000 cubic meters of logs worth \$12.5 million.

Last year log export sales totalled \$76 million for a volume shipment of 416,673 cubic meters.

Of the 279 logging firms throughout the country, only 21 will be initially allowed to export logs.

These log exporters are: Pagdanan Timber, Kalilid Wood Industries, Surigao Development, Taggat Industries, Western Palawan, San Jose Timber, Paper Industries Corporation of the Philippines, Rustan's, Pamplona Redwood, Veterans' Woodworks, Acme Plywood, Southern Plywood, Southern Agusan Timber, Liberty Forest, Timber Industries, El Salvador, Sierra Madre Wood, Sta Ines Melale Forest, and Cellophil Resources Corp., Dolores Timber and a person named Amelil Malaquoik.

Industry sources said that these exporters will have to "keep their hands clean" if they want to continue exporting logs.

The Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) has formed a team to see to it that the log exporters follow the guidelines:

1. The exporters must resume their log processing and not engage only in exportation.
2. They must plant three seeds for every tree they cut. Those planted must be of the same species as those cut.

The Ministry has also issued two new measures to curb log smuggling.

The first measure designated 15 ports in the seven regions of the country where log shipment may be loaded.

All loadings in these ports will be made only in the presence of a team composed of representatives from the Bureau of Forest Development, the Bureau of Customs and the ministry.

The exporters also have to show a clearance from the composite team. Failure to show clearance will be a ground for the confiscation of the shipment and impounding of the vessel.

The second MNR regulation allows the export of logs of no less than 5,000 cubic meters per shipment.--RP

CSO: 4220/279

JAPAN FUNDS MINERAL EXPLORATION PROJECT

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 27 Jul 82 p 15

[Text]

Japan extended to the Philippines a grant amounting US\$9-million (P2,140,000,000) for the off-shore mineral exploration project. The notes were signed by Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo and Japanese Ambassador Hideho Tanaka, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs last week.

The grant includes a gross tonnage (GRT) vessel and equipments necessary for the survey of potential mineral resources in the continental shelf and shallow waters surrounding the Philippines. The survey will be conducted by the Bureau of Mines and Geo-

Sciences (BMGS) which is under the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR).

The natural resources, most especially mineral resources, are vital and indispensable to the industrial growth of all countries.

The objective of this project is to explore rapidly and systematically the off-shore regions of the Philippines in order to locate and delimit the economic mineral-bearing areas and, to acquire up-to-date information on the mineral potential and geology of off-shore areas. This project will also study structures favorable to

commercial concentrations of essential minerals. To realize the above objectives, the Bureau of Mines and Geo-Sciences will undertake the marine seismic survey using the air-gun system, marine magnetic survey, core and bottom samples gathering, and data compilation, processing and interpretation.

At present, the export of copper, nickel and other mineral resources serves as a major dollar-earner for the Philippines. Therefore, as a result, this project will generate more sources of foreign currency for the potential development of the Philippines in the industrial field.

CSO: 4220/280

PHILIPPINES

GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN NPA CONTROLLED AREA

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 27 Jul 82 p 14

[Article by Ruben C. Guevarra]

[Text] Iloilo City--The Iloilo District Fishery office in this city under OIC Landrico Danas has dispersed some 173,500 tilapia fingerlings from January to July this year to all towns in Iloilo province.

Danas told OIC Hermenegildo Magsuci of the bureau of fisheries and aquatic resources (BFAR) for Western Visayas that it will be easy to produce the target of 850,000 fingerlings for 1982. For 1981, the Iloilo district of BFAR dispersed more than 1.8 million fingerlings.

He said the Western Visayas Demonstration Fish farm (WVDFF), where the fingerlings were produced, was able to service the towns of Cabatuan, Igaras, Leon, Calinog, Lambunao, Maasin, Passi, Tubungan, Pototan, Dingle and Alimodian, all in Iloilo province.

Most of the towns mentioned are NPA-controlled or threatened areas.

CSO: 4220/280

PHILIPPINES

BRIEFS

PAMPANGA DISSIDENTS SLAIN--Camp Olivas, Pampanga, July 27--Five dissidents, including a commander were killed this morning during an encounter with PC troopers in barangay Villa Foresca, San Jose City, Nueva Ecija. Col Isidoro de Guzman, deputy commander for operations of Recom III and concurrent Cabanatuan (Nueva Ecija) task force chief said that of the five slain dissidents only one had been identified. He was one Commander Pepeng. Another dissident, identified as Ka Amed, escaped during the 45-minute gunbattle, de Guzman said. [Text] [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 28 Jul 82 p 7]

MNLF MEMBERS SURRENDER--Some 120 members of the Moro National Liberation Front under two commanders in Luuk and Patikul, Sulu, surrendered yesterday in Camp Asturias, Jolo. The mass surrender capped this year's Hari-Raya Puasa (thanksgiving) celebration in Julo. The surrenderers made their pledge of allegiance to the government with the left hands of their commanders placed on top of the Koran, the Muslim bible. The surrenderers were led by their commanders during the rites, identified as Commander Maas Asab of Luuk and Mahajiri Sal of Patikul. Their pledge of loyalty was made before top local and military officials led by Lt Gen Fidel V. Ramos, AFP vice chief of staff and PC chief. [Text] [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 29 Jul 82 p 2]

VALUE OF MINERAL OUTPUT DIPS--The value of domestic mineral production dropped 11.96 percent during the first half of the year but the bureau of mines predicted copper and gold prices would be at firmer levels at the end of 1982. The bureau's first-half year report said the downtrend was due to high fuel costs and generally depressed market prices in both metallic and non-metallic sectors. Copper production dropped to 143,483 tons or 3.65 percent below the January to June 1981 output with value falling to P1.6 billion from P1.9 billion, it said. Gold output rose to 11,765 kg this year from 11,414 due to slightly higher mill recovery but production value continued lower. Copper and gold prices are expected to end the year at firmer levels, following the anticipated recovery in economic condition worldwide, the bureau said. As a result, a slow development in the local copper industry may be expected to persist until year-end, it added. The bureau said a mild recovery towards the end of 1982 would largely depend on whether world economic conditions ease up. [Text] [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 29 Jul 82 p 11]

CSO: 4220/279

LARGE INCREASE REPORTED IN OVERSEAS REMITTANCES

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Mallika Waniga Sundara]

[Text] Remittances of Sri Lankan expatriates have become the nation's largest foreign exchange earner next to tea. No wonder then that the Government has decided to take the exodus in stride. And never mind the brawn and brain drain.

It is made of the stuff that the young dream of. For Munchi, the servant girl from Colombo, that dream came true. She went to the Middle East as a housemaid and before long she married her employer, a Swedish engineer.

Munchi doesn't speak English or any other language except Sinhala. But "body language"--as someone put it, not unkindly, and the blessing of the gods--took her on a honeymoon to Kashmir.

Now she is back on a holiday in Sri Lanka looking for land which her husband hopes to buy for her.

But for 19-year-old Seethi Yassin, the prospects are bleak both at home and abroad. She is married and pregnant. A religious court in Abu Dhabi has sentenced her to 100 lashes for fornication. Her lover, a 23-year-old Indian named Abdul Ahmed Kouti and a much married man, faces an untimely death by stoning according to the court order.

Gomes worked in a Colombo firm as a workshop supervisor. He went to the Middle East, brought back savings to keep his family in comfort. He hopes to buy a house

and property. And rather surprisingly, he has taken back his old job in his old firm.

Mallika's mother sold onions at the public market. Mallika went off to the United Arab Emirates as a housemaid. She has now returned and with her savings she bought a minibus. This she plies as a private coach carrying passengers in transport-starved Colombo.

Justin, an artificer in the navy, was borken-hearted when he came from the Middle East. His family went on a spending spree and frittered away all the money he had remitted. Even their house is in a bad state of disrepair.

So the tale goes on -- of

men and women who spend their riyals and dinars wisely and profitably. But there are those who spend well but not too wisely. Others come back alive but empty-handed; still others return tragically for the last time to be buried in the land of their birth.

But the figures seem to justify an earlier announcement of President Jayewardene that the country should plan to send 100,000 Sri Lankans to the Middle East. And never mind the brain and brawn drain.

For remittances from Sri Lankans working abroad have become the largest foreign exchange earner next to tea. In 1981, the

country earned Rs.4,400 million (US\$219 million) from earnings sent home by expatriates. This improves the 1980 performance at least thrice. In 1980 Sri Lanka earned Rs.1,518 million (US\$76 million) from foreign employment.

This dramatic rise in foreign exchange earnings from Sri Lankan expatriates pushes two of Sri Lanka's plantation crops -- coconut and rubber -- further down the line. Next to tea (Rs.6,444 million or US\$321 million) came foreign employment, petroleum products (Rs.3,390 million or US\$169 million) and tourism (Rs. 2,270 million or US\$113 million). Rubber and coconut followed.

No wonder the Government has decided to take the exodus in stride and actually encourage it. Estimates are that between 40,000 and 50,000 Sri Lankans are working abroad, mainly in the Middle East.

High-powered ministerial teams have been sounding out Arab nations on the possibility of em-

ploying more Sri Lankans. The responses, so far, have been encouraging. For instance, Saudi Arabia has told Colombo that it is prepared to employ 12,000 Sri Lankans this year.

The Government is even considering advertising to lure the Arabs to employ more Sri Lankans. There is also a plan to use Sri Lankan embassies in the Middle East to keep tabs on available jobs there.

The salaries of expatriate workers are very high by Sri Lankan standards. Nevertheless, there have been many instances when employers pay less than the agreed amount once the Sri Lankan arrives in the Middle East. The most common victims are housemaids and nannies.

As a result, the Labour Department now requires employment agencies to make sure that the women are paid a minimum of US\$250 a month. A survey by the Sri Lanka Ministry of Plan Implementation has revealed that housemaids and nannies in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait receive between Rs.2,000 (US\$98) and Rs.5,000 (US\$249) a month.

A stenographer, particularly in Saudi Arabia, can earn as much as Rs.13,000 (US\$660) a month. The price for typists goes up from Rs.7,000 (US\$348), clerks, receptionists and secretaries can draw as much as Rs.20,000 (US\$997) a month, the bottom level being Rs.4,000 (US\$199).

A doctor gets anything between Rs.26,000 and Rs.35,000 (US\$1,295 - US\$1,745) while an engineer gets between Rs.15,000 and Rs.28,000 (US\$748 - US\$1,395). Pharmacists, nurses, medical technicians can get as much as Rs. 29,000 (US\$1,445) a month, the bottom limit being Rs.4,000.

Transport Minister M.H.Mohamed who recently toured the Middle East, has urged that work contracts should be more systematised to protect new labour recruits. He had suggested that employment contracts should be signed in Sri Lanka and countersigned by the Labour Minister. Without the Labour Minister's signature, no passport would be issued. (Depthnews Asia)

FOOD STAMP USERS INCREASE

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 21 Jul 82 p 1

[Text] A government decision on whether the food stamps scheme, now costing the economy over Rs. 1,500 million annually, will continue, must be taken shortly, authoritative official sources said yesterday.

These sources said that a detailed survey had been done countrywide and the figures available up to now indicates that while a large number of ineligible persons are enjoying food stamps, a much larger number of eligible people entitled to the benefit are not getting the stamps.

'We have only got results of the survey from 18 administrative districts of the 24. From the figures compiled by special services officers, cutting off the ineligible and servicing the eligibles will mean adding over half a million names to the food stamp lists, these sources said.

Very preliminary estimates suggest that if the government acts on the basis of the presently available figures, a total of around 8 million people will be entitled to food stamps.

Right now, in addition to regular food stamp issues, special food stamps are being issued as drought relief. According to the social service authorities, drought relief payments must continue because those affected need this assistance until a new crop is in.

According to Food Department figures there were over 13 million rice ration book holders in 1978 when rice was issued on the ration. Following the decision to give the benefit of the rice subsidy only to the neediest sector of the population (computed on the basis of a cut-off point of a family income of Rs. 300 monthly), the number fell to somewhere near 8 million.

The number benefiting from food stamps introduced in 1979 has now grown from the original 7.3 million and the present indications are that the figures will even surpass 8 million if eligibles now not on the lists are accommodated.

The big question is: can the economy carry the burden?

While the recent Aid Consortium meeting in Tokyo stressed that the country must try to mobilise more resources locally, some donors, notably the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands stressed that social welfare must not take a back seat and that Sri Lanka must continue to give priority to the physical quality of life or its people.

CSO: 4220/281

EDITORIAL CAUTIONS ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

Criticism, often mistaken for irreverence by minor barons, generally affords a more constructive contribution to the welfare of any society, than vain flattery.

For that reason, it is not surprising that the World Bank and the donor community, while generally appreciative of Sri Lanka's performance, have gone on to point to certain laxities threatening to grow upon the scenes of our economic build-up.

The gains under the present Government are writ large upon the landscape. The progress with the Mahaveli Scheme, the employment generated, the targets achieved in food production, the output of trained men, the preservation of fundamental human rights, the repeated salary adjustments — all speak of a nation on the march.

But we have been clearly told that our expenditure could be running too high; that the Government expenditure must be scaled down to reasonable proportions.

The point ought to be well taken. World inflation is one matter: the costly luxuries of petty potentates quite another. One of the most serious drawbacks to productivity, one of the most tragic reasons for rising costs has been the farming of contracts and jobs, the duplication of staff and the extensions granted to

persons with little claim to justify their continuance in a organisation. All this means money down the drain.

This has been particularly true in State projects, and in State-controlled establishments. When a party is returned to power, everyone claims to have supported it. Everyone is a loyalist — even if he once reviled the leader of the UNP himself. Sadly, such pretenders get away with it too often.

That is because one of the weaknesses of democratic rule is that it throws up, into positions of responsibility, a number of mediocrities. The latter then set out to enlarge their own image by building up their own following of unquestioning puppets. Basically, this amounts to no more than the satisfaction of private pleasures at public expense: a luxury we can ill afford.

The breakdown that often results is personal not institutional.

The truth is, that the tendency for idling parasites and henchmen, to harbour old buddies and plain suckers, has grown with time. Collectively, they are a drag on the best of plans; a heavy drain on scarce funds and a threat to national efficiency and morale.

The wastage of petrol in State departments could offer another pointer to the laxity that is

infecting the public sector.

Sadly for the country, all this is laid at the door of the ruling party. Others, in their day, could have done all that and much worse, but the question at issue is different. It is the record of the present Government that will come up for review shortly.

That reality ought to stir the-UNP's high command to make some effort to identify quislings, interlopers in its ranks, and its own Judases as well, throughout its far-flung network of operations.

We have heard already of smear campaigns. But there are clearly other intrigues that could be going on under cover of communal and religious labels. Are there not trusted lieutenants signing a separate peace here and there?

When such forces are allowed a free hand, it is not merely laxity but wholesale licence, corruption and anarchy that emerge — all at public expense!

The caution sounded by our donors might, if followed, lead to more — to some timely discovery of a dangerous canker. It is competence and integrity at all levels, not the hollow howls of jackals or jackbooting of double-dealings satraps, that will see the nation through.

It is time the Yellow Card were shown to some fancied players for foul tackles and boorish behaviour.

CSO: 4220/281

BRIEFS

FISH MEAL PLANT PLANNED--The Ministry of Fisheries has decided to set up its first fish-meal plant at Karanaigar. The Rs. 10 million factory will process a variety of small fish not popular among consumers particularly in the Karainagar area. The Secretary to the Ministry Mr Anura Weeraratne finalised arrangements with his officials for constructing and equipping the factory a few days ago. The preliminary work is already in hand. In its initial stages the factory will be able to process 50 tons of silver-belly (Karala) and other small fish. Large quantities of this fish, it is stated, now go to waste daily. The processing factory will buy the raw material it wants from fishermen of the area. [Text] [Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 21 Jul 82 p 11]

CSO: 4220/281

GEN HAN EXPRESSES VIEWS ON ANTI-CPT EFFORT, DICTATORSHIP

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 1 Jul 82 pp 18-21

[Speech by Lieutenant General Han Linanon, the Commanding General of the Fourth Army Area, at the Auditorium of the Army Club on 20 June: "The Things That Have Given Rise to Dictators and Black Powers Lie With Us and Not With Others"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Han Linanon, the commanding general of the Fourth Army Area, attended the debat at the auditorium of the Army Club on 20 June. The debate was sponsored by the Thai Defense Foundation. Many interesting things were said during the discussion. LAK THAI feels that it would be very beneficial for readers to learn about events and the way to defeat the communists. It is thus printing this speech that was tape recorded.

During our meeting today, I will express some opinions of mine in a combative way to help enable our beloved country to maintain its free and democratic system with the king at the head.

I would like to discuss the fact that, at present, the world is divided into two camps, that is, the free world and the socialist world. The socialist world is trying to destroy the free world and transform [the world] into a communist world in the end. Thus, they want to break up the free world and then destroy the free world piece by piece. In brief, that is what things are like.

In order to transform the free world into a socialist world, they must promote internal wars, or people's wars or revolutionary wars as they are called. Here, I want to point out that a revolutionary, an internal or a people's war can break out because of political, economic and social decay. Since there is political, economic and social rot in our country at a time when the government is incapable of reaching the goals, the communists have stepped in to solve the problems for the country. Thus, they are competing with the government.

Thus, at present, the Communist Party of Thailand is trying to solve the national problems in competition with the government. The government has a rival. Whichever side can solve the problems first will win. Thus, the thing that I would like to call to your attention is that, at present, the communists are trying to solve the national problems in competition with the government.

Concerning the matter of internal wars, a country that has lost the internal war and that has become communist will not have a chance to liberate the country because the free nation will have been destroyed. In the history of war, no country that has become communist has ever been able to liberate itself as King Raresuan and King Taksin once liberated our country in ancient times. Things have changed completely because of the political, economic and social changes. Thus, in our present fight, this is a fight of all the people. In the fight to defeat the communists, by itself, the Thai military, which is composed of the army, the navy and the air force, cannot defeat the communists. I want to stress this.

Because this is a matter of a revolutionary war, or a people's war, this has stimulated thinking about the national army. To fight the communists, we must use the national army in the fight. The national army is composed of a regular military force and paramilitary forces, various volunteer groups and the people. Please remember this. But concerning the various forces that I have mentioned, they must all have the same ideals.

What are the ideals of the national army? I would like to point out that the ideals of the national army are based on democracy and on protecting the interests of the majority and maintaining and implementing Policy No 66/1980. As for the south, the Tai Rom Yen Policy must be adhered to. These are the ideals of our national army.

The reason that we must have a democratic foundation is that only democracy can defeat the communists. In democratic countries, communists cannot carry on movements. They have no chance. Only in undeveloped countries can communists carry on movements. Please remember this! Only in countries that do not have a perfect democracy or that have a dictatorship can the communists win. This is something that we must understand.

Speaking about democracy again, is Lieutenant General Han a Democratic Soldier? Regardless, we must accept the truth. We must accept the fact that only democracy can defeat the communists. I am not a Democratic Soldier. I have said this before. But the newspapers have printed stories saying that I am a leader of the Democratic Soldiers. Let them print such stories. I want to disclaim this here because I know that this is being broadcast over the radio of the Public Relations Department. Thais throughout the country probably know that we definitely have something to hold fast to and that is the national army. The ideals of the national army are democracy and the preservation of the interests of the majority. This is most important. Whatever forms the interests

of the majority must be protected. But those things that are in the interest of only certain groups or individuals must be destroyed and eliminated since that is dictatorship.

Any country that is a dictatorship will be defeated by the communists. The communists will take over these countries. You can see this for yourselves. I want to stress this.

As we constantly say, we love the nation, religion and monarchy. We will fight to the death for them. But we do not know what to do to defend the nation. If we die, we will not have a chance to defend [these things]. Thus, what can we do to defend the nation, religion and monarchy and keep them from being changed? As long as Thailand exists, these things will not change.

We do not want Thailand to turn socialist. Since we do not want this, we definitely have defense measures and modes of operation. That is, we must act in accord with Policy No 66/1980. This is our "bible" in our nation's struggle to defeat the communists. The Prem government announced this policy on 23 April 1980.

These are the ideals of the national army. Now, what are the duties of the national army? I will tell you that the first duty of the national army is to eliminate the dictators, influential people and dark powers. Its second duty is to struggle against injustice in order to have justice. Third, it must promote the democratic movement and oppose dictatorship in any form.

You can see that I did not mention using the national army to fight the communists in the jungles and mountains. Why didn't I mention killing their forces and destroying their bases? Because eliminating the influential people and dark powers will in fact destroy their forces. Since 1980, our national army, with the Royal Thai Army at the center, has been fighting against the communist terrorists in the jungles and mountains. Here, I am speaking of major military offensives. The army knew that the communists would make a stand in 1980 as they had announced. Thus, a policy was promulgated and the regional armies were ordered to attack their bases. This has been underway since 1980. And have we defeated the communists? Have we won the people's war? If we have won, why were they recently able to set off bombs at the Chieu Lan Dam? And before that they set off bombs at the Surat Thani provincial civil administration headquarters building. And we say we have won!

But today you must understand how we can defeat the communists. What I will explain to you now is most important.

Why did I mention eliminating the dictators, influential people and dark powers? Because we have gone into the jungle and mountains and sent soldiers to kill and to seize bases. And recently the Fourth Army Area launched the Chong Chang Operation. We have seized and destroyed [bases] and the CPT has lost a great deal. But have they been defeated? The answer is in the hearts of each one of us.

Why haven't the communists given up? Take Sirorap, for example. He is still active and is still burning down police stations and district administrative offices. This is because the factors that cause people to flee into the jungle are still in existence. These are the "war factors." The war factors are the most important factors since they cause pure villagers and students to flee into the jungle and fight the officials. We have destroyed their center and forced them to disperse into small units. At present, they do not have any bases. But the communist terrorists will probably continue to fight by carrying out acts of terrorism. This is the weakest type of fighting. Later, they will build new guerrilla bases.

You probably know that there are three stages in their fighting. If you understand this, you will know at what point we have defeated the communists. Originally, they were in the stage of fighting a guerrilla war against us. But they announced that they were entering the stage of confrontation, which meant the end of the guerrilla war, and that they would move into the stage of a regular war. The army was aware of this and so it ordered that major offensives be launched beginning in 1980. And in 1982, the third, fourth and second army areas have carried on major offensives. In particular, the Fourth Army Area, which I command, has been able to destroy their bases. These were the strongest bases of the Surat Thani provincial committee. Thus, the terrorists have downgraded the level of fighting to the stage of terrorism. Do you see. They are still in the stage of fighting a people's war against us. They are kidnapping important people, demanding protection money, setting off explosions and assassinating people. Such things will happen even though they do not have any bases. If we cannot defeat them completely, they will gradually build new bases. Take Camp 508, for example. It may take them 10 or 20 years to rebuild this base. This is because the aims of the revolution are on a long and winding path.

Because of these war factors, people have been forced to take up arms. The war factors are the dictators, influential people and dark powers, who spring from among us. Administrative, military and police officials, capitalists and hoodlums who use their influence have helped give rise to these things. To explain things fully would take too long. I would like to summarize things by saying that the things that have given rise to dictators, influential people and dark powers lie with us and not with others.

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CSO: 4207/124

GEN SOM DISCUSSES MILITARY EFFORTS, COALITION POTENTIAL

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 23 Jun 82 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Som Khattaphan, the Director of the Information Office, Supreme Command Headquarters; date and place not specified"]

[Text] [Question] During the period in which the tripartite Khmer coalition government was being formed in Kuala Lumpur, did Vietnam do anything unusual or noteworthy?

[Answer] Yes. But they did not do anything in Kampuchea. They took action in Laos instead. The MROU affair was such an action.

They are clever. They did not take any direct action but took indirect action instead.

The mass media warned [people] to be careful after we released the prisoners who were captured when their airplane crashed.

Since you have put the question to me this way, I will say, as for Kampuchea, there has not been any reaction. But concerning Laos, why does something happen almost every time Asean holds discussions? Concerning this hypothesis of mine, can it be true? This is worth noting.

[Question] Concerning the fact that they have initiated this violence, what effect will this have on the discussions between the Asean countries and on the formation of the tripartite Khmer coalition government?

[Answer] If we want to make ourselves the most important figure, we must destroy those who are more important, isn't this true? If our enemy is important, how can we be important? The same thing applies in this case.

For example, if they can succeed in having the [Heng Samrin] government recognized by the United Nations, what will the situation be like for Asean, which recognizes the Khieu Samphan government?

Those who oppose Vietnam will all be like bandits, won't they?

[Question] Since the three Khmer factions have now united, do you think there will be any changes in the political movements or in the military pressure that is being applied?

[Answer] At present, we see that they are spreading public relations propaganda. They say that they want to solve the problems and that if the United States and China do not support our side, or Thailand, in getting involved in Kampuchea, they will withdraw their forces from Kampuchea.

They are spreading such public relations propaganda. You probably understand.

When the Vietnamese minister of foreign affairs went to New York, he said something similar. [He said] they would look at Thailand's attitude first.

Thailand does not have any duties. Our soldiers are only maintaining our sovereignty. At the same time, we are still giving humanitarian aid to large numbers of people.

I want to tell you that, since the fighting started, Thailand has given aid to people who have fled. We have let them pass through Thailand on their way to third countries so they can start a new life.

[Question] Concerning the present fighting between the Heng Samrin and Khmer Rouge forces, there is the feeling that even though the Khmer Rouge can establish bases, it cannot hold them. Why is this?

[Answer] Because they have not joined their armed forces. If they can link their forces at various points, they may be able to score many achievements.

At present, various people are fighting to protect their own economic interests. There is limited time for combat and combat support.

[Question] What military action is Vietnam taking at present in order to wipe out the Khmer Rouge?

[Answer] Recently, there has been little military action because of the geographical and weather conditions. It is the rainy season. The roads are flooded and so it is difficult to send in reinforcements and supplies. More and more soldiers are deserting.

At the end of May, they withdrew their forces 4 kilometers from their former positions along the Thai border. But then in June they sent in North Vietnamese troops to replace those who had been withdrawn. Just as in Battambang, the replacements sent in were North Vietnamese troops.

At the same time, they tried to build up the forces of Heng Samrin but little was achieved.

There was also air activity. They sent in supplies and war materials in order to replace those used since the roads are not convenient during the rainy season.

[Question] Concerning the points where they are conducting heavy military operations, they are still operating along the southern border, aren't they?

[Answer] They are operating all along the border. It is understood that they will have to make changes because more and more soldiers are deserting. Recently, it seems that the mobilization activities of the Khmer Rouge have improved.

The latest reports that I have received show that the villagers are becoming more and more dissatisfied with the Vietnamese and they have begun to fight back more.

This is only natural. They do not look alike or speak the same way and they do not belong to the same race. But they are under the other's control. At first, they may not have felt anything. But for a long time, they have not been treated fairly.

[Question] Some political observers in Indochina have said that now that the tripartite Khmer coalition government has been formed, it will take 10 years to defeat the Vietnamese forces. Is this your view?

[Answer] We cannot comment on this. However, at present, each side is fighting. And sometimes there is fighting between the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Seri forces. They have been able to oppose Vietnam for 3-4 years now.

If they join together, they will be able to reoccupy [territory] because each person and group is trying to win freedom.

I do not want to comment on this but I think that it will be faster than that. Don't forget, in this war, what are Vietnam's reasons for fighting? They constantly claim that they were asked to come fight by the Heng Samrin government.

If the three Khmer factions unite and the Heng Samrin government collapses, what excuse will Vietnam have for fighting?

[Question] Concerning the matter of Prince Norodom Sihanouk saying that he will establish his combat headquarters against Vietnam along the Thai border, where is he likely to do this?

[Answer] That is up to him. Sihanouk is a politician.

At present, the three factions have united and we think this is good. The Asean resolution feels this is good and so do we.

[Question] Later on, won't the fighting affect the Thai border since this combat headquarters will be located near the border?

[Answer] If they are really united, why do they have to come to the Thai border?

The war will spread throughout Kampuchea. In addition to the border area, there are resistance groups in the heart of Kampuchea too in Kracho District, Kampong Thom.

If these forces all rise up together, things will be difficult for Vietnam. But if Vietnam launches heavy attacks, things will be difficult along the border and things will be difficult for us too. Conversely, if the three Khmer groups launch heavy attacks, the difficulties will be in Kampuchea.

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CSO: 4207/124

THAILAND

SAMAK DISCUSSES ELECTORAL STRATEGY, DENIES DICTATORIAL CONTROL OVER PARTY

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 1 Jul 82 pp 22-25

[Interview with Samak Sunthonwet, the leader of the Thai Citizens' Party, by Charan Phongchin: "The Samak-Athit Relationship, Why Is There Such an Uproar?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What were your standards in establishing and running the party? I have watched the Thai Citizens' Party since it was founded and the party members have very few problems among themselves.

[Answer] I have my own standards. We are like a family. They know how to look for votes. Since we are like a family, there is no grumbling among us. I can say that our Thai Citizens' Party is a democratic party. During conferences, I give everyone the right to propose motions. I have very broad principles, although I do not know how good this is.

[Question] But some people say that the Thai Citizens' Party is rather dictatorial and that only the party leader has power.

[Answer] Who has said this? Tell me. They are just interfering. Did these people ever attend a meeting with me? Tell me. If anyone says that the Thai Citizens' Party is dictatorial, I must say "its none of your business." How could they know anything about our internal affairs. When did they ever attend a meeting with me. I have never acted dictatorial with the party members.

[Question] It seems that everyone in the party has equal rights just as in other political parties.

[Answer] Certainly. There are no problems. I can attest to this. Others meddle in the affairs of our party because we are not as they think.

[Question] Concerning the policy of the Thai Citizens' Party, to date, I have not seen any emphasis placed on solving the economic problems.

[Answer] Who has said this. We do stress this. This is part of our policy. But we are an opposition political party. We cannot show off our policies. Concerning economic and foreign policies, to show off your policies, you have to be in a

position to implement things. You have to be in the government. As the opposition, the only thing we could do would be to engage in various sorts of corruption. We could do this while serving as the opposition. Several elements of our policy, for example, price controls, can be carried out. Proof of this is Thai Citizens' rice and Thai Citizens' fish sauce. We have been able to do some things. But we have not been able to implement our entire policy because we are not in power. We have done some things. I have made several good suggestions. But no one has spread these ideas. Take the police car matter, for example. I suggested that we purchase cars by lifting the tax on such purchases. When the cars are sold, they can be sold at the full price. After using them for 2 years, they can be sold at the full price. For example, if a car cost 300,000 and we purchased it for 80,000, after using it for 2 years, we could sell it for around 200,000. We would make a profit of around 100,000. We could then use this money for something else. We could use it to purchase engine oil. This is what foreign countries do. I have gone and observed this. I suggested that we do this but no one agreed. If we followed my system, we would gain. We would have modern cars. Concerning these ideas of mine, no one has implemented them. Or take the matter of the government area of the city. If things were done as I have suggested.... Like Bang Prachao City, if I were in charge, I would have the largest public park in Thailand. There are 3,000 rai for a residential area and 2,000 rai along the river for a commercial zone. This could be done. This is my idea and the idea of the Thai Citizens' Party.

[Question] And crop price guarantees?

[Answer] Concerning this, I have already said that it is not necessary to guarantee such prices. We can do so in some cases where it is necessary to set prices and purchase things. For example, rice can be purchased for 3,200 or 3,400 baht. The owners do not have to purchase it if they do not want to. We have 3,500 rice mills. They will have a chance to work. Or take cigarettes, for example. The government produces cigarettes and sells them to private merchants. Thus, the same thing can be done with rice. The government must establish a distribution system similar to the system for selling cigarettes. There will be profits and the profits can be returned to the farmers. Profits will reach approximately 6 billion baht a year since 2 million tons must be exported and 9 million tons will be sold on domestic markets. The government can return 300 baht per kwian [1 kwian equals 2,000 liters] to the farmers and there will still be money left over.

Or another thing that can be done concerns seed. By increasing investments by 20 percent and investing 3,100 baht, 1,200 kilograms can be obtained, which will earn about 4,000 baht. Or another thing is to purchase fertilizer and insecticides and to buy and sell shares for the farmers. Nothing will be lost. In purchasing fertilizer, usually 4,000 baht is invested and it is sold for 4,000 baht. Of the production principal of the farmers, 2,600 or 2,500 baht will remain. There will be a profit of 20 percent. This is doing things by oneself. Profits can be made to pay compensation. Or the money can be used to reduce the production principal. There is proof that things would be all right if my system were used.

[Question] Concerning the election in 1983, what steps have you taken so far?

[Answer] I have my own plan. For the 30 to 40 provinces around Bangkok, plans have already been made. According to the law, there must be 161 candidates but we now have approximately 140 people. And we must select convenient communications points such as Udorn Thani, Khon Kaen, Songkhla and Chiang Mai. We will add people and have the necessary 161 people.

[Question] This means that you will field candidates in all regions.

[Answer] Yes!

[Question] How will you select the candidates?

[Answer] The committee will be the group that discusses this. We will keep the names of those who want to run on file. As for how many will be elected, I will say that I will field 161 candidates. We are confident that 50 percent will win but we are unsure about the other 80.

[Question] In Bangkok, do you think you will win all the seats like the last time?

[Answer] I do not know. I cannot say what will happen. This depends on what the people of Bangkok decide. While the votes are being cast, we cannot say anything. It is wrong not to be able to say anything. We cannot tell anyone to vote for the Thai Citizens' Party. The voters must be allowed to decide for themselves. The people in the country are the ones who will decide which party to vote for.

[Question] Do you think there will be greater interest in this election than in previous elections?

[Answer] However much interest politics can generate among people will determine how many people will turn out to vote. The government should give the party leaders a chance to express their views and discuss their policies on radio and television. I have suggested that politicians should give their views over the radio. People will be interested in seeing which politicians do not have a good manner. The people will have a chance to choose. The mass media must be used to advantage so that, when the country has problems, the opposition will have a chance to take responsibility too.

[Question] Recently, Seni Pramot said that if Chinese are allowed to vote, the party of Mr Samak will lose.

[Answer] He should not talk like that. There is no reason to talk like that. At present, some Chinese can vote. Chinese voted in the past two by-elections. In the first by-election, I defeated the Democrat Party candidate by 10,000 votes. The second time, I won by more than 20,000 votes. There is no truth in what he said. Why wouldn't the Chinese support me? What reason would they

have for not supporting me? I am the one who helped revise the law that enabled the Chinese to vote. But people do not know who helped promulgate this law. We helped revise this law and so why wouldn't they vote for me? What he said is not the proper thing to say.

[Question] Concerning the matter of national housing and the issue with Mr Damrong that you brought up in parliament, how will matters proceed?

[Answer] I won't do anything. He can do what he wants. I will ask the minister of interior why he allowed politicians to use government units as campaign tools. And the provincial governor sought votes too. Mr Prem is not embarrassed and neither is Mr Sitthi. They have not done anything. They have only worked to win votes. I do not like this. I am embarrassed for the government. They should be using the time to work for the people. But they have done things in order to gain votes. I do not think that this is proper. If I were prime minister, I would be embarrassed. If I were the minister of interior, I would be embarrassed over the fact that the deputy minister has engaged in such activities. Billions of baht of government money has been used to gain votes so that their party can win. But they are not sorry. The people will be the ones to decide. If the people feel that they have acted properly, they will vote for them. Conversely, if the people think that they have acted improperly and embezzled large sums of money and that they are not sincere, they may not vote for them.

[Question] During the period when the other political parties experienced problems, did MPs from other parties ask to join the Thai Citizens' Party?

[Answer] Yes, many. But I cannot reveal anything now. We must wait until after the law is promulgated. We must wait for the decision. But after the 25th, within 90 days, there will be many. We do not want to say anything. The people would be surprised. But I can say that the people who asked to join are good people and people will not have any objections to them. If we add another 18 people, we will have approximately 50 MPs. If another 20 join, we will have almost 60 people. Based on our discussions, we will have about 60 people but no decision has been made. But based on our decisions, people have been approached. If this law is promulgated, they will probably not want to establish a new party but will join the Thai Citizens' Party.

[Question] If they join, aren't you afraid that there will be problems just as there were in the other parties?

[Answer] Oh! We have selected them carefully. These are people in parliament. From the more than 300 people in parliament, only about 20-30 have joined with us. We have selected only people with good dispositions who have been in parliament more than 3 years. We have selected people who are not troublemakers, who do not need a lot and who do not want to go to the trouble of forming their own party. Some do not want to cause any trouble. Some who join with us do not want to be handicapped. Some who join are given positions in the party but there is no haggling. We have worked together frequently in parliament and so there are no problems.

[Question] Are you sure that the present government will change again?

[Answer] I am not absolutely certain. The prime minister will decide.

[Question] If the Thai Citizens' Party is asked to join, will it do so?

[Answer] Definitely not. There is no reason for me to do that. The election is approaching. Thus, whoever thinks that the Democrat Party will be expelled and the Thai Citizens' Party brought in is stupid. And whoever says that Athit (General Athit Kamlangek) is behind the Thai Citizens' Party and that he is working to have the Democrat Party removed and the Thai Citizens' Party brought in is stupid. That is not proper. Why struggle to do this? The election is approaching. Those who say such things are not politically knowledgeable. Thus, why would I want to join [the government]? I am carrying out my duty as the opposition.

[Question] How strong is the relationship between you and General Athit? There are rumors that it is very strong.

[Answer] We know each other. I am the leader of a political party. He is the assistant commander in chief of the army. Why wouldn't we know each other? Whenever we meet, we have a chat. This is a personal matter. Why should I discuss it. I do not see anything wrong with that. I have talks with others. I have talked for hours with Soem (General Soem Na Nakhon) and with Prime Minister Prem but that never gets into the news. Why is it news when I talk with General Athit? Why isn't it news when I talk with Prime Minister Prem? They want me to deny the truth of this. Why should I have to deny anything? They can think what they want. Why do they think that I have relations with certain people but not with Kukrit or Praman? Why don't they say that? I do have relations with him. But when I meet with Athit, why is there such an uproar!

[Question] Do you think that the military has too great a political role?

[Answer] We have given them the opportunity to get involved. We have given them an opening. I myself do not really care. Let them get involved. If civilians can oversee them, then I think they can play a role. But if the military thinks that it must oversee things, I will not object since I believe that a half glass of water is better than no water at all. I am doing what I have to do. I have instigated three debates of no confidence in the government. I have carried out my duties fully and nothing has been lost.

[Question] Concerning the latest no-confidence debate, there have been sarcastic comments to the effect that you were trying to fool General Kriangsak Chamanan.

[Answer] Who said this? Whoever said that is stupid. How could I fool him? Look. Participating in the debate was not up to me. He is the originator. How could I fool him? When parliament convened, I said that this would be difficult. I said that we should wait until there were 61 votes in parliament. But

when parliament convened, the originator was not Kriangsak. The originators were Piyanat and Pancha, who are opposition members who have dealings with each other.. We joined our six groups. Thus, it is not possible that I could have fooled anyone. Did anyone have more rights than anyone else? There were six groups. As for Kriangsak's group and the other groups, we arranged the names. Who fooled who? We agreed that the party leaders could speak for an unlimited amount of time. Kriangsak spoke for as long as he wanted. And so did Chaisiri. Both spoke before I did. Who could fool who? Everyone had the same right as I did to express their views. Everyone showed their abilities. Where did the matter of selling tapes come from? I have been selling my tapes for 3 years. I sell the tapes of the no-confidence debates. I sell tapes of debates on insane matters. Who did I need to fool this time? I joined with them and used my rights just as always. Who could say such a thing? Tell me. There is no reason to talk like that. Politicians work together in parliament. How could we fool each other? For example, Pancha has been an MP since I was a child. How could I fool him or Piyanat? Such talk shows a lack of political knowledge.

[Question] Concerning the revision of the constitution, on the third reading, if a majority do not vote for it, do you think the government should resign?

[Answer] No! That is not necessary. When the matter was in the subcommittee, the vote was 12, or a ratio of almost three-to-five. When it reached parliament, the vote was 147 to 262, or almost three-to-five. If the vote exceeds 264, it will have passed. There is no problem. That day, 190 senators voted the same way as the representatives. Even though the Senate is split, we have many. And the matter is not the affair of all the senators. It is the affair of only three senators, Sanon, Rien and Thammanun. By chance, these people are talkative and they changed the motion. And people went and said that this was a Senate affair. It was not up to Khun Rien. The senators do not have to get involved in everything. The vote was favorable. The numbers prove this.

[Question] I have asked for your views because, at present, the administrative system used for 50 years is being changed. Do you think there has been any progress?

[Answer] I would be glad [to give you my views]. Some will say that this is inappropriate but I would be glad to do so. Although [a democratic system] has come into being, it is still like a child. If it is nurtured, it will grow. There are several types of democracy in the world. The type of democracy found in England has been in existence for more than 400 years. Democracy has existed in the United States for 200 years. Here, democracy still exists after 50 years because this form of government fits the Thai character. With half democracy, there is no problem, just as I said that half a glass of water is better than no water at all. If you run about, you get thirsty. If there is only half a glass of water, you will drink it. Isn't that better. It can quench the thirst. As at present, if we are given a little more time, we can improve the constitution. But if by chance we do not succeed in time,

we can discuss it again. We have set course. There is no problem. If it does not reach parliament this time, it can be brought up again. Once it has been revised, things will be up-to-date. There are no problems. We are expressing ideas and those who have been elected can express objections. We explain things to those in power so they understand what is correct in various situations and what should be done. Everything in parliament is a matter of reasons. People can make any criticism they want and they have criticized the constitution. But those who criticized things are now ministers. Aren't those who criticized the constitution but who then became ministers embarrassed? I said that I did not want to play. Mr Uthai (Phimchaichon) tried to persuade me. I said that it was better to protest. I said no. I said I would not play. This is because I am not thirsty. But you have to take it when its there. When I played, I appointed 32 people. I made budgets three times. I solved many problems for the people. Is my thinking right or wrong? Those who do not play do not play any role for the people and they do not do anything to benefit the people. I am satisfied with what I have done. It won't be long. We have established principles.

[Question] Would you comment on the annual promotion of officers?

[Answer] I am not involved in this. Whether things are handled well or not is a military matter. It is not my affair. I do not know, but I don't see any problems. It seems like they have already made the plans. If there are any problems, they can handle them themselves. If an MP is afraid about who is suited to what position, he should go and ask the minister of defense. He shouldn't ask me. I do not have any views. Go ask Prayut. I do not have any knowledge about the various groups and I do not know anything about how people are promoted.

[Question] As for General Prem, do you think the time has come for him to throw himself fully into the game of politics?

[Answer] That is up to him. He is the one who must decide. We cannot decide for him. If he wants to continue playing politics and play like General Kriangsak, he should do like Kriangsak. If the constitution gives him a way, he does not have to play. That is his right. He can use his rights. But if he does what General Kriangsak did, he will win more votes. But if doing so is risky, he doesn't have to do this.

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THAILAND

PAHR QUOTED AS SAYING SIHANOUK, SANN KHMER ROUGE FRONT GROUPS

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 1 Jul 82 p 9

[News Analysis column: "The Khmer Coalition Government, the Light Is Still Shining Dimly"]

[Excerpts] The fact that the three Khmer groups that oppose Vietnam succeeded in establishing the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has not immediately given the Khmer coalition government a bright image.

This is because there have been negative criticisms to the effect that the Khmer Seri and the Moulinaka will both be dominated by the Khmer Rouge.

The most important of these criticisms is that by Mr Willibald Pahr, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs and the presiding officer at the United Nations conference on the Kampuchean problem. In an interview on Austrian radio, he said that he does not have a very favorable view of the formation of the Khmer coalition government since the two noncommunist factions in the government, that is, the Khmer Seri and Sihanouk's Moulinaka faction, will just be front groups for the Khmer Rouge.

Since a person of such importance as Willibald Pahr has said that he does not have a good opinion of the formation of this government, the formation of this Khmer coalition government provides only a very dim hope.

However, in the view of Mr Willibald Pahr, the only chance of Vietnam negotiating with the Khmer coalition government is if the noncommunist factions become the leaders in the coalition government.

But from what has been seen so far, it will be difficult for the noncommunist factions to take control. This looks even more hopeless if we look at the forces. The Khmer Rouge has approximately 30,000 combatants. Mr Son Sann claims to have 9,000 men but it is believed that this is just a boast. It has been estimated that the Khmer Seri forces number around 5,000 men at most. As for Sihanouk's Moulinaka faction, it has around 1,000 men.

Mr Pahr, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, was interviewed after his meeting with Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila and Tun Ghazali Shafie, the Malaysian minister of foreign affairs. Mr Pahr's itinerary also calls for him to visit Vietnam in order to meet with the leaders of Vietnam and discuss ways to solve the Kampuchean problem.

Looking at the views of Mr Pahr, these reflect the great uneasiness of Asean. This can be seen from the interview given by Prince Sihanouk at the end of his visit to Singapore last Tuesday just prior to his leaving to go visit Indonesia.

At a news conference, Prince Sihanouk revealed that he had agreed to join forces with Son Sann. He said that "it seems that I must help Mr Son Sann in order to create a united front. I am ready to disband the Moulinaka and join the Khmer Seri of Mr Son Sann. But I must first persuade my colleagues and my forces in order to get them to accept the Khmer Seri."

And if the Khmer Seri and the Moulinaka unite, Mr Son Sann, the prime minister of the coalition government, will become the commander of the United Kampuchean Nationalist Forces, which will be composed of the Khmer Seri and Moulinaka forces.

However, Prince Sihanouk gave his assurance that joining the forces of the two groups does not conflict in any way with the principles of the formation of the coalition government, which was formed on 22 June.

It can be said that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea must prove itself much longer and there is still a long road ahead.

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THAILAND

COMMENTARY CRITICIZES INSTITUTIONAL BIAS TO PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIY

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 30 Jun 82 p 4

[An Ordinary Reporter column: "The Political Crisis and the Conclusion"]

[Text] The government's draft act to revise the constitution was rejected by parliament last Friday, 25 June. This has again led to political instability since it is uncertain what the government's reaction will be to this rejection of the draft act.

Will it resign in order to give parliament a chance to choose a new government to administer the country?

Will it dissolve parliament in order to allow the people to exercise their democratic right to elect a new leader?

Or will it view this as an unimportant matter and carry on as usual?

During the past 4 days since that meeting of parliament, this matter has become a political issue that has been argued widely on an unprecedented scale in Thai society.

The thing worth noting is that, in these political arguments, different groups have emerged and there is a very clear difference of opinion.

One group is composed of members of the mass media, most of whom are not under the control of the government, and some elected politicians both in and out of the government. This group feels that the government must take responsibility for this political crisis. Most feel that the government should resign in order to give parliament a chance to elect a new group of leaders.

The other group feels the opposite of the first group. It has somewhat of an advantage in that it can rely on the mass media, for example, the radio and television stations which are under the control of the government, in spreading its views. It is also composed of politicians of party-leader rank who have joined the government. This group does not feel that the government has to take any responsibility for the matter of the draft act to revise the constitution being rejected. This group has relied on communications

means in which it does not have to give any attention to the reaction of the listeners and express such views in order to win the public over to its way of thinking.

In this situation in which different groups hold different views, the institution that has been a factor in determining the course of democracy in Thailand for the past 50 years, that is, the military, has clearly shown that it supports the present government.

Concerning this attitude of the military toward this political crisis, it can be said that the clear meaning of this is that the government will continue in office and the present head of the government, General Prem Tinsulanon, will continue on in his position.

It can be said that this is the end of the matter and that it is not necessary to ask any questions. This can be done.

However, concerning this political crisis, there are still some repercussions from these political events in Thailand that can cause some excitement.

This includes the matter of MPs from several parties charging that Mr Thawee Kraikhup, the deputy minister of commerce, bribed some MPs to vote against this draft act.

Another matter is the confusion that has arisen in the Democrat Party, a party that has joined the government. There are frequently stories about the conflicts in this party. These conflicts have at times reached the point where there have been splits and the party has almost been destroyed.

As for the excitement that will result from these two cases, it seems that the events in the Democrat Party will subside in the end after Mr Phichai Rattakun, the new party leader, meets with the head of the government. And the matter will end with the six party members who are ministers in the government probably remaining in the government.

As for the conflicts in the Democrat Party, it is said that Mr Chalimphan Siriwikon played an important role in causing these conflicts. It is entirely conceivable that he will remain in the party in order to create news that will again make the headlines of the newspapers.

As for the excitement in the other case, Kraikhup is a star performer who was entrusted with the role of speaking up in parliament, as has happened. He did this in the past, he is doing this now and he will probably continue to do so in the future. This is probably so exciting that he will certainly continue on in this role until the end.

The final act will bring this political crisis in Thailand to a close and it will show whether this government is able to give some answers to the people.

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EDITORIAL NOTES DP PUBLIC APPEAL, SAYS OTHERS LACK PUBLIC TRUST

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 30 Jun 82 p 4

[Editorial: "The Democrat Party, Only a Shadow of Its Former Self"]

[Text] The Democrat Party has gone a long way and how much farther it must go in order to reach the final goal is not known since the aims of the Democrat Party from the very beginning have concerned putting an end to dictatorship and [working] for the nation, for democracy and for principles that are correct and just.

During those periods when the people have lived under a dictatorship the Democrats have lived as general members of the populous by leaving the [political] stage and engaging in trade to earn a living. Or they have compromised with the dictators in order to survive. But when the time has been right and they have had a chance, the Democrats have used that time and chance to immediately strike at the dictators.

This long history of the Democrat Party is the history of an opposition party that has unfailingly carried out its duties and it should serve as an example for all the opposition parties.

But when the Democrat Party joined the government, it quietly accepted many of the things that it once vigorously opposed.

In addition to the Democrat Party, other parties that have joined the government include the Social Action Party and the Thai Nation Party. As for these latter parties, the party leaders are in charge of the committee for drafting an act to revise the constitution. But no one has demanded that the Social Action Party or the Thai Nation Party show such an attitude or such manners. This is because no one has ever had such hopes for either of these parties, particularly the latter party, in such matters. Hopes have rested with the Democrat Party since it has a long history as has been mentioned. Since the Democrat Party has encountered new data and new facts, it has now changed its attitude. Thus, there should not be a fuss about why people have been abandoning this political party and why people have been criticizing this party, which is a party of the people and a party whose members have followed the path of democracy. This is because the things that the Democrat Party is thinking and doing these days are opposite to those things that the people associate

with the Democrat Party. Stated directly, the things that the Democrat Party is doing now are things that Democrats one vigorously condemned.

The Democrat Party has gone a long way, but it has not reached its goals. But the goals that were formulated in the past have now been changed. From heading toward democracy, the party is now walking blindly. And that means that it is really heading toward its own grave.

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COLUMNIST ASSAILS ELECTORAL PROCESS, CITES CORRUPTION, SENATE

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 30 Jun 82 p 4

[A Stubborn Reporter column]

[Text] We have had joint-zone type elections in the past and there have been separate-zone type elections. But in each election, some of the candidates have belonged to a party while others have not and all have had numbers.

This is different from the election that will be held in 1983 after the present constitution, which has been in use for 4 years, and the temporary provisions expire. This will be a joint-zone type election in which all of the candidates must belong to a party, all of whose candidates will have the same number.

If a province has nine MPs, a political party that fields candidates there must field nine candidates. And the voters who vote for the single number will elect all nine candidates.

The nine candidates used as an example here are people who are chosen by the political party.

Voters cannot elect two from this party, three from that party and four from another party. The constitution does not allow this.

It does not allow this because the people who drafted the constitution felt that, if this was not done, the political parties would not be strong and the election would not result in a clear-cut winner. This would necessitate the formation of a coalition government, which would result in the government being unstable again.

In past elections, no political party has fielded the full number of candidates. There may be a complete number of MPs for only a province. For example, a province may be allowed to have nine MPs. But [a party] may be able to select only six candidates to run in the election and so it fields only six candidates. But according to the [new] constitution, when there is an election, the parties must field a full slate of candidates in accord with the number of MPs allowed for the province. But whether a party can field the full number of candidates in all the provinces depends on the resources of the political party.

As for some political parties that have problems in fielding candidates in some provinces, if nine MPs are to be elected but the party has only four or five qualified candidates whose ideals are in harmony with those of the party, the party will probably have to draft various relatives of the candidates to complete the slate. Since there is only one number, if this number wins, the entire family will be elected.

In some provinces where the older candidates are well known people who are loved by the people, it is not possible to find people to join the party. Whichever way these people turn, there will be others who are trying to use their name and good reputation to get elected. But this is at least better than bringing in strangers from other areas to join the party.

Previously, when money was thrown into an election, such as in Maha Sarakham, Roi Et and Ubon Ratchathani, [a party] may have won three seats or at least one seat. This time, when money is poured into Maha Sarakham, Roi Et, Ubon Ratchathani or some other province, [if the party wins], it will win all the seats.

It is no longer necessary to spend large sums on each person as in the past. Those who could spend large sums had to be very wealthy.

The law stipulated that candidates were to spend approximately 300,000 baht on the election. But in fact, people spent 1 or 2 million baht and some spent as much as 30-40 million. I haven't seen anybody do anything.

Previously, 1 or 2 million was spent to elect one candidate. But this time, by spending another 1 or 2 million, the whole slate can be elected.

Senators, you can think for yourselves what the future of Thai politics will be like.

Let us talk about the political parties.

Are there any political parties that the people can place their hopes in and trust completely?

What does each party or each group have that the people can trust?

Since the political parties were revived after the fall of the Thanom-Praphat dictatorship, we have had the Democrat Party, the Social Action Party, the Thai Nation Party and almost 100 other small parties.

At that time, we said that there were too many political parties. There were so many that [no one] could have any faith in them.

The governments that came to power during that period were coalition governments composed of various parties.

During the Thanin period, dictatorial power was used again. The political parties disappeared and were only reborn when a constitution was promulgated.

In these 3-4 years, have the political parties developed into perfect parties? The answer is no.

This answer is not without reason. Everyone knows that the Social Action Party has internal problems, the Democrat Party has many problems and the Thai Nation Party too has problems, although it may not seem like it. Party members have been allowed to accept 4,000 to 5,000 baht from the "black sheep" minister, Thawee Kraikhup. This is well known throughout the country.

Since this is well known, why are the senators insisting that the people again choose among the political parties?

The answer is that the senators have their own dreams. They have never been involved in elections and they have never been in close contact with the people. They do not know what the people think and feel.

It is not known when the people will be free from the troubles caused by those with power who make the laws. If people wait until 2200 hours, it will be too late.

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LARGE SCALE TURNOVER IN POLICE RANKS EXPECTED

Possible Replacements Profiled

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 1 Jul 82 pp 11-14

[Article: "The Thai Police: Major Changes At the Department Level"]

[Text] On 30 October 1982, at the Police Department, 17 police officials from the rank of police major general to police general will retire. And two others, Police Major General Wichit Traisuwan, the deputy commissioner of the provincial 1, and Police Major General Sombun Ayuyo, the commander of the border patrol police, will resign before the age of retirement. Thus, 19 general's positions will be vacant. This is, therefore, a matter concerning which basic data should be analyzed and presented to readers in accord with the duty of LAK THAI.

The Director-General of the Police Department In Accord With the Chain of Command

When Police General Suraphon Chunlaphram retires from the position of director-general of the Police Department this year, the person who, by rank, should step into this position is Police Lieutenant General Narong Mahanon, the deputy director-general of the Police Department for suppression and the most senior of the three deputy directors-general. Police Lieutenant General Charat Phengcharoen, the deputy director-general for administration, will also retire this year and so two director-general positions will be vacant. The problem is who will step into these positions.

Who Will Be the New Deputy Directors-General of the Police Department?

Of the six assistant directors-general of the Police Department, it is well known that the person who will easily step into the position of deputy director-general this year is Police Lieutenant General Prasong Saksupha, the assistant director-general for suppression 1. He graduated from the Police Officer Academy, Class 8, or the Army Academy, Class 4. He is more skilled in administration than in suppression since he once served as the head duty officer for the director-general. It is thought that his chance of replacing Police Lieutenant General Charat Phengcharoen in administration is very good. Police Lieutenant

General Suwan Rattanachun, who is the more senior person and who is more skilled in suppression work, will probably step into the position of deputy director-general for suppression so that he can coordinate things well just as he did when he was with the Metropolitan Police and work with the new director-general of the Police Department. As for the assistant director-general who will become the deputy director-general for special activities, it is the turn of Police Lieutenant General Udom Latphli, the assistant director-general for administration 1. But he is retiring this year too. And so it will be the turn of Police Lieutenant General Suthat Sukhumwat, the assistant director-general for special activities 1. But he probably cannot compete with a fellow member of Class 1 at the Police Academy, or Class 5 at the Army Academy. This is Police Lieutenant General Banthoeng Kampanatsaenyakon, the assistant director-general for administration 2. It is known that, at present, he is forging unity between the military and the police. He will certainly be promoted to the position of deputy director-general for special activities. Thus, three assistant director-general positions will be vacant since two of the present directors-general will be promoted and one will retire.

Are There Five Or Six Positions Vacant?

There are 12 police commanders with the rank of police lieutenant general and some of them will have to be promoted to the position of assistant director-general of the Police Department. This is a very difficult matter. Concerning seniority, Police Lieutenant General Amphon Chitpatima, the police inspector general who was removed from the position of commissioner of the provincial 4, is the most senior. But the reason for his transfer is still unclear. It is thought that he was transferred because of the surname "Chitpatima." And actually, it was "Inspector General Amphon's" turn to become an assistant director-general last October. This October, it is expected that it will be his turn to rise in position. Another one will probably be Police Lieutenant General Prakop Wiraphan, the commissioner of central investigation. The final person will probably be Police Lieutenant General Wasit Detkunchon, the commander assigned to the Police Department (a temporary position). Concerning these two latter men, there are problems that are being discussed within the Police Department. But as for salary levels, these three commanders are at the level of assistant, deputy and even director-general. As for the reasons for the discussion, it is not known whether the first person has sufficient qualifications to be commissioner of central investigation. As for the second person, he needs to learn more about police activities at the Police Education Bureau. If these two fail to gain the positions, it will probably be the turn of Police Lieutenant General Narong Anphat, the commissioner of the provincial 4, or Police Lieutenant General Chai Suwannason. This is because they are the senior personnel after the three mentioned above. Thus, since these commanders will be promoted, three positions will be vacant. And in addition, Police Lieutenant General Det Khattaphan, the commissioner of the provincial 3, Police Lieutenant General Charoenrit Chamratomaran, the commissioner of the border patrol police, and Police Lieutenant General Soem Yakhasen, the head of the Police Operations Center, are ready to retire this year. Thus, concerning police

commander positions this year, if Police Lieutenant General Wisit Detkunchon is transferred, five positions will be open. If he isn't, then there will be six positions vacant.

Who Will Be the New Inspector General?

Since Police Lieutenant General Amphon Chitpatima, the inspector general, really has a chance to move up since he is the most senior person at present, there are six deputy inspectors general who are in line to become inspector general. But Police Major General Chan Sirisuk and Police Major General Chat Samutsing, the two most senior men, will retire this year. Then there is Police Major General Chumphon Kanchanaphanang. But his health is not good. He had a heart attack. The other three men all come from combat support units, including the finance and quartermaster divisions. They will probably have to wait awhile longer to step into these positions. Besides these, Police Major General Phon Platraksa, the deputy commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, has a chance to be promoted. But he is not as suitable a replacement as Police Lieutenant General Chai Suwannason, the commissioner of education, who is trying to have himself promoted. It is Police Major General Phao Sarasin who is the most knowledgeable about police work and who is most qualified to be promoted from the position of deputy commissioner of central investigation.

The Chief Medical Doctor of the Police Department, a Long Time Yet

The position of chief medical doctor in the Police Department is equal in rank to a commander's position. Police Lieutenant General Somsak Subsanguan took this position just last October and he does not retire until 1989 since "Dr Somsak" was born on 20 March 1928. Also, this position calls for special qualifications. Thus, it will be a long time yet [before he is promoted].

When the commissioner of education is transferred, who will replace him?

There have been reports that Police Lieutenant General Chai Suwannason, the commissioner of education, will become the commissioner of central investigation. But well informed people in police circles have said that this is probably just a stratagem and that "Commissioner Chai" will really be moved to the position of inspector general or even higher. It is time for this. The rivals in the Police Education Bureau are Police Major General Prasop Tangsiriphat, who is a graduate of the Police Academy, Class 6, and who recently changed his date of birth from 30 May 1922 to 30 November 1922 in order to extend his government career 1 last year with the hope of becoming a commissioner and making the rank of "police lieutenant general." His rival is Police Major General Chai Sewikun, a graduate of Thammasat University. He was promoted to deputy commissioner of education on 2 October 1979. He will not retire until October 1986. But the rumors are that both should be careful of a younger man from Class 3 of the Police Academy who has the prestige of having been the commandant of the Police Academy. This is Police Major General Phat Prathipasen, a man who is in the same chain of command.

The Commissioner of the Central Investigation Bureau Will Definitely Be Moved

Police Lieutenant General Prakop Wiraphan, the commissioner of central investigation, has such seniority that he will have to be promoted to the third position. There were reports that Police General Suraphon Chunlaphram, the director-general of the Police Department, once received a recommendation from subordinates stating that "Commissioner Prakop" should be promoted immediately and that "Commissioner Chai" from the Police Education Bureau should replace him at the Central Investigation Bureau. Because of the strictness in this sector, there are several senior men. This is an important position and the person who occupies this position must be well qualified. The man holding this position now will almost certainly be transferred. High-ranking sources in administration say that, if he should be passed over, the person to be promoted to this position will come from the provincial 4 or the Metropolitan Police.

What Are Things Like At the Commissioner's Office of the Metropolitan Police?

Looking at things at the department level, it seems that Police Lieutenant General Chamrat Chanthrakhachon, the man who became commissioner of the Metropolitan Police last October, has a chance to rise higher this coming October. And if he is moved without being promoted, he is more qualified for the position of commissioner of central investigation than anyone else. As for within the Metropolitan Police, the position of commissioner will go to either Police Major General Phichit Mepricha or Police Major General Chalit Bunsuwan. Both are now deputy commissioners of the Metropolitan Police and both graduated from the Police Academy, Class 1, or Class 5 of the Army Academy. They are rivals in this second round from last year. "Deputy Commissioner Phichit" is given a 60-40 or 70-30 chance of getting the position. If this is wrong, this pair have the right to be promoted to some other position this year. The fear is that the son-in-law of the director-general, whose name is Police Major General Phon Platraksa, will be in line first even before October.

The Commissioner's Office of the Provincial 1

Police Lieutenant General Choncharoen Sombatsiri, the commissioner of the provincial 1 who will retire next year, will probably be transferred to another position at the end of this year. As for the five deputy commissioners of the provincial 1, only four will be left since Police Major General Wichit Traisuwan, a senior man, is unhappy and is resigning. Next in line is Police major General Ongat Phutphat, a younger man who will not retire until 1987. He was once a soldier who left the military and joined the police. In addition, he is a member of the Capital Defense Committee, which adds to his qualifications. Having close ties with high-ranking people in the 1st Division is considered a necessity in order to coordinate activities in this position. For these reasons, Police Major General Kiet Tiraphaet, the third deputy commissioner, does not have any chance of stepping into this position.

The Commissioner's Office of the Provincial 2

Police Lieutenant General Rut Kantharat, the man who became the commissioner of the provincial 2 last October, will probably not be promoted at this time. If he is transferred, it will probably be to another position at the same level. There are four deputy commissioners of the provincial 4. This October, someone will be transferred in to replace Police Major General Sitthisak Suphanphesak, a deputy commissioner who is retiring in accord with regulations without problem. The remaining three will probably spar with each other now since each has 1 or 2 years left.

The Commissioner's Office of the Provincial 3

There are four deputy commissioners of the provincial 3. When Police Lieutenant General Det Khattaphan, the commissioner of the provincial 3, retires, the rivals for this position will be Police Major General Charoen Watchanakhup and Police Major General Somwang Phensut. The first graduated from the Police Academy, Class 7. He was born on 9 May 1923 and will retire in 1983. So many rules and regulations! He was in the old metropolitan section known as the administrative section. The second graduated from the Police Academy, Class 3. He was born on 3 June 1925 and will retire in 1985. He once served in an important position as a suppression commander. He is skilled in suppression work, which is known as the combat sector, and has become well known. However, it will be between him and the other person or someone from central intelligence.

The Commissioner's Office of the Provincial 4

There are four deputy commissioners of the provincial 4. Police Lieutenant General Narong Anphat is the commissioner of the provincial 4. Even though he is number four in seniority, his chance of being promoted to a higher position is not very good this year. He is still involved in suppression activities with colleagues from the same class. Maybe he should come work in administration. No one would say anything if he is transferred to this position. There is also Police Major General Chuan Siriprasit, who graduated from Thammasat University and who once served as the chief duty officer, Police Major General Sangat Rotphirom, who came from S.H. and was transferred to the suppression section, and Police Major General Linphit Satchaphan, who graduated from the Police Academy, Class 3, or the Army Academy, Class 7. He is a former deputy commander of the Special Branch Division who showed sufficient skill at suppression work. Because of his background, "Deputy Chuan" should have the advantage over the others since he has been in line for the position since last year. But this year, his chance of being promoted is 50-50, but it will have to be somewhere else.

The Commissioner's Office of the Border Patrol Police

The Police Department allowed Police Lieutenant General Charoenrit Chamratomaran to be the commissioner of the border patrol police for 1 year and this October he will retire. There are three deputy commissioners. Police Major General Mano

Smitaphinthu is the most senior and he is suited to the position. Last year, he was ordered to wait patiently. He will retire in 1986. Police Major General Prawit Wongwiset and Police Major General Prachong Sitthichai, the two younger deputy commissioners, can afford to wait if they are not promoted this year.

A Special Position

As for who will replace Police Lieutenant General Soem Yakasem, who will retire as head of the Police Operations Center at the end of September, it depends on whom the director-general of the Police Department selects to fill the second highest police position. This is such an important position because this person must handle tasks in place of the director-general and give advice. Thus, it must be a person whom the director-general has faith in and trusts.

A Temporary Position

Because of the confusion in the promotion of high-ranking personnel in the Police Department at the end of 1981, the cabinet gave permission to establish the position of "Commissioner attached to the Police Department." This was done so that Police Lieutenant General Wisit Detkunchon would have a position. It was stipulated that this position would be abolished when Police Lieutenant General Wisit Detkunchon leaves the position.

But this September, the appropriateness of this will again be discussed. The reason for this is that he has not been engaged directly in police work for a long time. When he returns, he should first study the work in other sectors. For example, he could serve as the commissioner of police education or stay in this position in order to study things continually. This would also give another general a chance to be promoted to the level of commissioner. But the criticism has exerted pressure and it is believed that, this September, there will not be enough strength to do this and Police Lieutenant General Wisit will definitely not be promoted. And when he is promoted or transferred from this position, this temporary position will be abolished. As for the hope that there will be six commissioners' spots, there will definitely be only five.

Colonel's Biography

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 1 Jul 82 pp 14, 15

[Biography of Police Colonel Phat Duangrit by Suchit Parichattrakan]

[Text] Name: Police Colonel Phat Duangrit.

Original name or nickname: "Sua Tai."

Date of birth: 1 April 1930. Ron Phibun District, Nakhon Sithammarat Province.

Physical features and characteristics: About 6 feet tall. Short hair. Light moustache. Dark complexion. No sense of humor. Seems older than he is. Stresses certain words.

Lifestyle: Constantly alert. Dresses meticulously. Simple eating habits.

Tastes: High. Interested in all fields of learning.

Work position: Deputy Commander, Crime Suppression Division.

Schooling: Graduated from the Zone 8 Police Academy on 1 October 1951. Graduated from the Pathumwan Police Sergeants' Academy, Class 2, in 1953. Received a B.A. in law from Thammasat University in 1961. Attended the International Police College in Washington D.C. in 1968 (took part in the first general competitive examination).

Past positions: Police private at the Muang District police station in Nakhon Sithammarat Province. English interpreter, Border Patrol Police, at the Dararatsami Camp in Mae Rim District, Chiang Mai Province. Instructor with the Region 2 Border Patrol Police, Aranyaprathet. Instructor with the Region 6 Border Patrol Police in Mae Sot District. Served on battlefields, cannot remember where. Police officer stationed at the provincial police headquarters. Commander of the Sirimahapho District Police Station in Prachinburi Province. Commander of the Ban Na San District Police Station in Surat Thani Province. Deputy police superintendent in Surat Thani Province and acting commander of the Ban Na San District Police Station. Police superintendent in Surat Thani Province. Police superintendent in Phatthalung Province. Police superintendent in Surat Thani Province.

Past activities: Hunted down "Sua Son Phalama," one of the three most wanted bandits in the country at that time. Spent 2 years and 4 months tracking him down. Using skill, he succeeded in 1964. He resisted seven attacks by communist terrorists at Ban Na San in Phru Phri Commune in 1970, 1971 and 1972. He creatively trained Village Scouts in Surat Thani Province. In 1975, many communist terrorists gathered in front of the Surat Thani provincial civil administration headquarters building. He was the man who had the Village Scouts oppose them.

Expert in mobilizing people to compete against the communist terrorists. He has fought against the communist terrorists throughout Surat Thani Province.

Weapons carried: Smith .38 2 inches long. Carries an M16 in the jungle.

Feeling toward work: Does his duty as well as possible.

Commissioned: When he was serving in the jungle in 1962 (did not state where).

Received B.A.: Left jungle and received degree in 1961.

Work method: Mentally and physically capable. Skilled in combat.

Special Duty: Once for certain.

Sports: Exercises regularly each day.

Evidence: Communist terrorists have stated that they made little progress in mobilizing the masses in Ban Na San because of this man.

Reason for working in this field: Loves the words "guardian of the peace for the people."

Free Time: Raises peafowls and many other types of birds.

Future: After retirement, will live quietly.

Hope: To return to the provincial 4 before retiring on 30 September 1990.

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END