from three digit million dollar

figures to four digit million

dollar figures- this is from

1985 to 1990. And the indus-

trial policy of 1991, as we just

heard, and we have also stud-

ted it, the same industrial pol-

icy of this present govern-

ment, some of the situation are

as follows: (I am quoting it)

"Foreign investments has been

quite sluggish, despite nu-

merous policy pronounce-

ments earlier. There have been

some liberal policies to en-

courage some foreign joint

venture firms, including tax

holidays, repatriation of profits

spindles. We were head and shoulder above these nations like - Thailand, Korea, Indonesia, in textiles. They owe their aggressive growth on textile and textile related goods. Even today if you take the statistics, textile is the biggest foreign exchange earner. Now we had a head start. We were exporting textile. And suddenly we have this policy. across the board - nationalisation. This has, you know really took away the chance of the country, having tryst with economic destiny. Today what Thatland is - Bangladesh could have been like Thailand, if our policy makers at that consciously looked into the pros and cons. Today how can the private sector operate, the environment is not there. I fully agree with you. But how did the environment get vitiated. There is a historical reference to this, lets not forget this. The historical reference.

Rehman Sobhan : Mr. Zahiruddin, may I put a question to you? This is ancient history. There was a complete reversal of these policies from 1976, this is now 1991. A particular set of policies have been put in nation. Do you think that the current policies — ?

Zahiruddin Khan : Let us be intellectually honest, that the ancient history is costing this nation two thousand three hundred and eighty crores Taka. This is not ancient history, because it is very much predominant in today's circumstances.

Rehman Sobhan : Just a minute, before I give you the floor Mr. Tofacl Ahmed. Now, the figures you have here Mr. Minister relates to Power Development Board, cash food subsidy, the railways, post office, total autonomous bodies Now the bulk of these come Power Development cash food subsidy, deficit of the railways. As for the figures you have given two thousand, three hundred and eighty crores, only about one third of that relates to industrial losses. Are you in fact

proposing that all this was also in the private sector? Rehman Sobhan: Please let us invite others to speak on the subject. A. H. Chowdhury : "First ! should thank "The Daily Star" for inviting me for I have thought of staying this evening to absorb as much as possible. to hopefully be a slightly more effective member of Parliament in the forthcoming ses-Now, there have been various strands of this discussion. If I may very quickly go back to the consensus issue. which is very vital and as we are, as Mr. Syeduzzaman very rightly said, that at least we have conscnsus on having consensus. And we have to identify the conditions present. I think the condition present for crealing conscnsus is not that difficult - it is the unrest that is prevalent in the country today. Because the politicians have to respond and be very sensitive was a very different

to the land, the productivity ning away from that. It was certainly all centralised, the increase and the investment that would go with it. Now Bangladesh Bank knew it, there was no deregulation. It this, I know, means diversifywas, to put very bluntly crony ing agriculture, in place of the capitalism. Another point. I am mono rice culture. It needs poultry, fishery, livestock, lets leaping, from one point to another. That is, if I may very not go into this. And it means quickly give an example, you have also mentioned about land reform, related to that is

the agricultural sector. We are

still the victims of adhocism.

Let me give here an example,

some ten/twelve years ago, in

my constituency Modhupur,

the government felt that there

was a large potential for

pincapple plantation. Fantastic,

11,000 acres of land were put

under pineapple plantation.

and about 144 thousand tons of

pineapple have been produced.

What happened gradually, be-

cause the infrastructures are

not there, the poor cultivators

are finding it difficult to mar-

ket it. In Mymensingh, a dis-

tance of 10-12 km, it sells for

Tk 15. But the journey costs

more than that. So now they

are gradually getting back to

feeding it to the cattle. There

can be several hundred similar

But what I am saying is that we

have to get out of this adho-

cism mentality, if we don't do

that, I don't think we can pro-

ceed to build consensus at any

level. I fail to understand how

we can proceed to have devel-

opment. I, with great respect,

agree with what Mr. Kibria has

said, that 'beggar mentality'

has been cultivated and nur-

tured for very devious purpose

by the past regimes. But the

fact remains that in order to

develop we have to have re-

course to international lend-

ing. International lending in

very distinct affects - in the

South East Asian countries and

in South Asia it had marginal

impact on debt service ratio.

But as we know so well that

the pricing of this interna-

tional lending is such, that

(please, forgive the crude ex-

pression I want to use it delib-

erately) it has completely

screwed up the Latin American

continent. So it has also the

East European countries and

now it has, it is not for us to

say, the historians will judge

probably, decades from today,

whether that was one of the

major reasons for what had

happened in the 1990s. What

am little afraid of, is that, I for

one believe, there should be

the exchange, there should be

the joint ventures, there

should be investments, and all

for this bureaucratic steps

must be brought down, re-

duced to a manageable level,

certainly. But in the wild rush

to do that, we should also bear

in mind, that as we fall back,

as we indeed must, to this,

prime based loans, we have to

adopt. And of course, I am very

happy to know, that most

speakers here have indicated,

that if we try to follow the

Japanese model, I mean the

Ministry of Finance in Japan,

my goodness, the control they

have, is almost the command

economy countries. And at

same time they have invest-

ment. So I think, if we seek a

balance in the economic poli-

cies, and in order to get down

and discuss and have consen-

sus on these economic poli-

cies. There must be, and this

is very attainable, the parlia-

mentary committee sittings,

there must be the conditions

for creating which I don't

Rehman Sobhan : I think we

think is beyond us. Thank you.

to a close in the next fifteen

minutes. Now we may spend

the last fifteen minutes talking

about this whole issue of ex-

ternal dependence and how to

reduce this. And the issues

here are both related to substi-

tution of aids by foreign in-

vestment if that is available and

the issue of domestic resource

mobilisation. As a form of self

financing instead of financing

you development budget 100

per cent by foreign aid. Would

Mr. Lasimont perhaps like to

say a few wards on this, and

there we will bring in some

we go on to the subject, may I

say a few words, on what I see

on the subject - "from LDC to

NIC" is an overwhelming im-

perative which perhaps, we

have not discussed quite

enough. I think it has to do

with the kind of growth that it

has to the generated for mas-

sive productive employment to

all this people, to reduce the

widespread issue of poverty

whether it is one and a half

million on two and a half mil-

lion, the figures are terrible,

and not improving very much,

and I think this overwhelming

imperative must claim imme-

diate attention. Perhaps it

would be an appropriate item,

on which if it does not exist, a

consensus can certainly be

built. I think that is extremely

important and urgent. And

here I think, increases in agri-

cultural outputs, rural in-

comes, farm and non-farm

employment are essential. We

must invest in land but share

croppers don't do this very

well. They all talk about land

reform. It is not only the mat-

ter of ceiling, it is the matter

of the relationship, the worker

Charles Lasimont : Before

others?

very careful that what sort

policies we are going to

examples which can be cited.

co-related industries. Unfortunately this type of industry, is not very much export oriented and is not very well-fitting with the model of the NIC term. Yet growth of rural economy is quite vital, for expansion of rural demand and therefore rural markets and major requirements for do mestic capital mobilisation. Of course, if at the same time we are fortunate for a while, may be for a long time, for a long period of low-cost labour. comparative advantage, for example the garment industry, well and good, will be used for the development of the necessary human base, boost for resource mobilisation for the investment that they know, in the face of NIC might require. But I don't think Bangladeshi industrial growth can be postulated purely on labour intensive, low value manufacturing. And I think that one is asking for much more detailed analysis, than I think what we have heard today, and a commitment and consensus to this resolution. Now, the transformation you think has to hap pen from LDC to NIC, therefore I think probably it would be a long drawn-out process,

Japan, or Korea, or barely a foreign investment in the traditional line. Both seems quite blurred now. But the fact remains that these industries are moving. Moving to take advantage of cheap labour. You see, there is no other explanation for it, and they themselves are moving into more sophisticated, more complicated, more technologically difficult processes. Bangladesh to my mind is an ideal place for this. The rapid growth of the garment industry, that the distinguished professor did not think it to be very importantwould think it is very important. It is symptomatic, that given the objective conditions, the relocation of industries will take place here. These industries, I know, from Bangkok, some of these garment industries and other smaller manufacturing industries had started to go to Sri Lanka. But Srt Lanka started having the civil war and it somehow slowed down. Bangladesh is in her ideal position if we can create the other objective conditions. The other objective conditions I have spoken about earlier. The objectives conditions are, for example, stable framework for economic policies. We have talked a lot about it. There must be stability of economic policies. Then there must be

don't feel confident that they will get a fair return or that their investments are safe in this country. So, this is the thing, the sense of confidence is very vital, very crucial for investors whether they are domestic or foreign. I believe that if we are determined, and if we ourselves convince that we can do it, this sense of con-

fidence will gradually spread. About Vietnam, honourable minister, I can tell you, that Vietnam has had other difficulties. They had to dismantle some of their earlier regimentation and earlier control. But as regards industrial peace, as regards stability of policies they are all right now. And as a result, in the last six months to a year, Vietnam's prospects are looking up so much of course they have found offshore oil, and the investment level in this is increasing. But Vietnam is definitely poised for very rapid growth now, and it is largely due to the influx of

foreign capital. That is the doubt . How we can share in this, you have to think about and you have to create the right climate. Thank you

Tofael Ahmed: 'As the Industries Minister has mentioned quite clearly that there is a scope for foreign investment and all that. And after a change and an establishment of a democratic government in this country, when we are interested to prove that there is

Shamoul Islam Rhan : There may be some internal dissatisfaction; because for our government it is the transition period. After nine years of autocratic rule, the administrative and management set up was different. It takes time to take some actions. But I would like to mention that we have declared our industrial policy in June, that is last June. Within this three four months, we have already sanctioned 21 foreign investment joint ventures. Many have opened letter of credit, and some have relocated and their machines have already arrived in Bangladesh. This is number one. And number two is- including these 21, we have sanctioned 1,576 industry within this six months time. And out of that 1,062 from small industry sector BSCIC, and the others, around five to six hundred for other sectors, example-Sonali Bank, Shilpa Bank others. About 693 crore taka projects we have already sanctioned. We expect that 70% of the project will come. And in the pipeline, another 1,000 applications are with us. And we are still searching for foreign investment. And as Mr Kibria said, I am now very relieved to hear that. We have a

That is my question.

We may dream of a lot of things. But, at the present moment everything depends on the law and order situation of the country, as the two cabinet ministers are here. they will report this to the cabinet and also to the Prime Minister and we are also trying to improve the law and order situation. Syeduzzaman: I want to

make brief comments on what

Mr. Kibria and the honourable

Minister for Industries had to

say. I don't want to sound pes-

simistic but, I recently saw

the whole region, the Asian

low income countries and NICs

the proportion for population

growth rate is largest for

Bangladesh except Pakistan.

So, we have to be very careful

about that. We have to be very

our population growth. But un-

less we can answer to that

problem, then only it can

rect foreign investment, again

the figures I have seen, in the

last five years, whatever for-

eign investment has done to

Asia, 95% of this has come to

NIC, and South East Asian

countries including China.

Now, the remaining 5% has

gone to other countries. Now,

with the new policies being

adopted by India, considering

the social and economic envi-

ronment in India and large

domestic market, the avail-

ability of skill and pool of

manpower, I have an appre-

hension that unless we can

improve our situation, which

has deteriorated mainly to the

governments reckless wage

policies and politicised labour

policy. There is a great danger

and apprehension that any

private investment which will

be left out by East Asia and

South East Asia well be sucked

think this brings us to the

Shamsul Islam Khan :

just want to say one thing- I

We have declared 1992, as

fully agree about productivity.

the year of productivity.

Rehman Sobhan: Well I

in by India.

conclusion'

Finally one point about di-

accentuate our problem.

some studies conducted by etc., but the foreign investors some outside agencies about have not responded to these, the industrial situation in because the overall environ-Bangladesh. It says that during ment was not conductve and the last decade, real wages of they had no confidence in the industrial workers went up by policy pronouncements." 33%, and productivity of And, therefore, I think it workers went down by 18%, has to be very seriously conand the same report mentions sidered that what are those that it is probably that the conditions which are to be Bangladesh labour situation is met. And I just want to menfast becoming uncompetitive tion or briefly point out that, in this region. There may be even if you and I believe this, truth in this, there may not be even if there is a consensus on truth in this. But I think it economic issues, there is pomay be useful if the governlittical stability, there is law ment and the private sector and order, there is better injointly undertakes a study, on frastructure and communicathis situation of real productivtion system, perhaps by the ity of labour, and now the utilisation of ODA flow into the same report also mentions country and therefore, I want about the public sector enterto bring out the point that perprise, which was closed for haps Bangladesh should be a six months. In those six little more active in participatmonths the workers were not ing in the mainstream activionly paid their wages but also ties in the region with our their overtime. So this is the Executive Secretary's effort to labour situation. I would repromote regional co-operation quest the Minister of Industry on this matter and particularly to really take up a study inter-regional flow of trade and jointly with private sector and investment in which Banglamay be the BIDS to see the desh should participate. I want real productivity of labour. Beto mention that ESCAP is now cause, we may be very organising a very important euphoric about the low cost of event in early March next year. our labour, the reality may be It is a meeting of Industry and different, Mr. Chairman. Sec-Technology Ministers and it ondly, it is the education will be held in Iran. It will also Mr. Kibria has attract foreign investors, primentioned and it deserves to vate sector representatives, be discussed at length. The government officials and meinvestment in education, the dia. On behalf of ESCAP, I ask quality of education, the the Industries Minister to parimparting of skill— to really ticipate in the meeting where make our labour competitive. promotion of regional co-oper-Thirdly, the item which has ation on industrial developcompletely gone ment would be the issue and unmentioned is the demowhere the private sector graphic transition and the should also participate. demographic structure of Rehman Sobhan : I think Bangladesh and other low insome important lessons have come countries and the NiCs. come out both about method-Here we have not been able ology of discussion and also of to make any dent. I think in

the implications of the discussion. Now I think methodologically obviously when you put Bangalees together in a room if you you obviously than budget 3 hours it would be safer to allow 9 hours. If everyone had their say and I think the lesson careful about what we do about of the issue is we are not going to change our cultural habits, So that what you now need is ongoing process of dialogue in which rather than merely taking up broad factors, subjects of this nature which are useful as a starter, you take issues by issues and have extended dialogue on these so that a detailed exchange on particular aspects of a problem can take place. I think this is going to be a very useful beginning where such an interchange of such a diverse group has taken place and now we should really be in a position to take up specific sector issues. We have some thoughts on these, in fact the Task Force reports are about to be launched tomorrow and they will in fact be providing the scope for discussion on 29 major development policy issues and if we are receptive to ideas and we want to inject debating to this, this may be a useful point of departure for future discussion in which all such groups .can effectively participate. Now with regard to the issues which have been raised over here obviously the issues could not be discussed in a very comprehensive manner and the discussion tended to be a bit episodic, and we were pretty undemocratic in the actual distribution of time available to different people sitting around the table. So that here I must blame myself for not being able to exercise enough democratic opportunity here and perhaps we can all learn a bit more from this

> we can seriously address what lies ahead of us. Now, the future is pretty bleak under the present circumstances. Now, I think the industrial minister may perhaps be a bit cautious when he has given figures for his ministry about industrial sanctions. Because herein lies one of the problems. The last survey See Page 2

particular experience. Now, I

think the issues which have

emerged out of the discussion

suggest that in fact actually

there is consensus at least

round this table on some of the

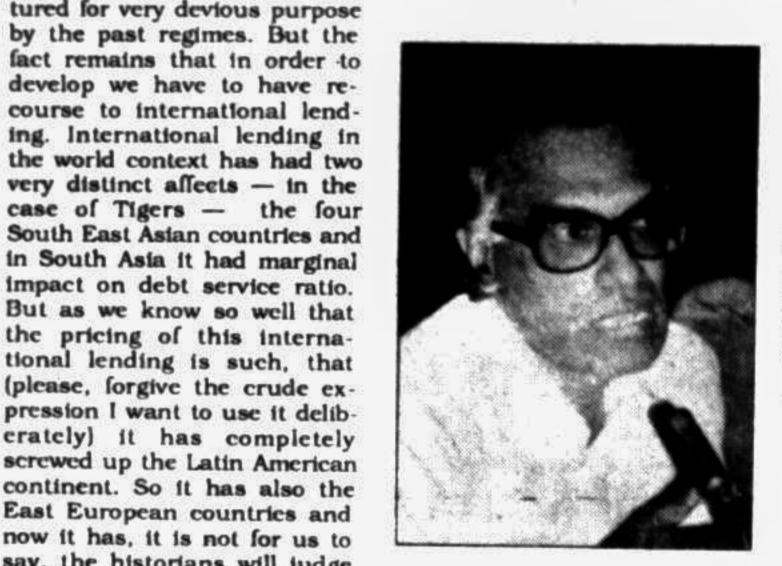
key issues. If in fact there

seems to be definite differ-

ences of opinions on the rele-

vant interpretations and rele-

vance of history about particu-



We must first build import substitution industries and then go for export oriented ones.'

industrial peace. The unrest is

a kind of very frightening

proposition for any kind of for-

Wahiduddin Mahmood

'Only country in Asia where foreign investment declined last year.'

Kazi Farhad Jalal



diamond cutting factory in

Bangladesh. We have said that

we have expert labour in our

country. Diamond cutting has

started for the last six months.

and I think it will go by two track strategy, practical agenda - which must deal with the overwhelming imperative which I already mentioned. And then the strategic reason which we should not loose track of, which will be made of formation of manpower, infrastructure, institutions and so on. And on any event training manpower might be required. I was anxious to refer to em ployment generation, poverty alleviation which I have not perhaps mentioned, which felt was necessary. Thank you.

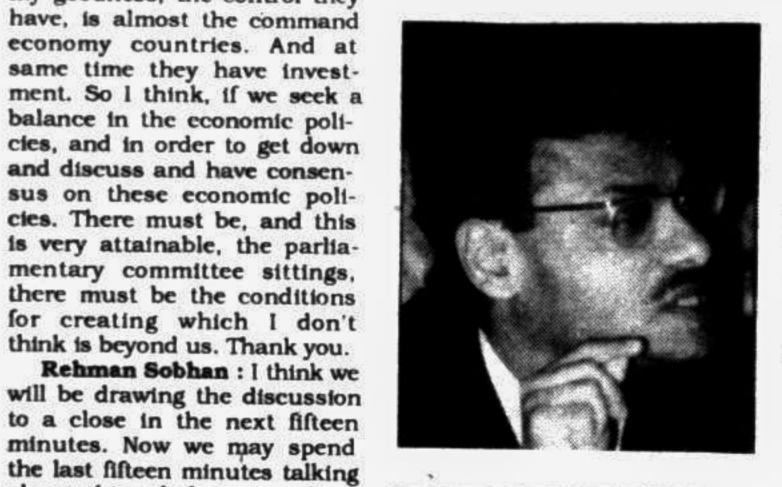
Kibria : I have been listening with great deal of interest and fascination infact. Well on the very specific question of the prospects for industrial development and foreign

eign investment or relocation of labour. There must be steady effort for the upgradation of our skilled labour. You see all these South East Asian countries, certainly the East Asian countries, had first carried out a campaign for literacy. I mean it is a very remarkable thing. almost an uncanny thing. Whether it is in Japan, or in Korea or in Indonesia; Indonesia is a very very poor country. But even though they were poor, they had carried out a mass literacy campaign, beginning from the time of Sukarno, right uptill now. As a result, despite the very high level of poverty in the country, literacy rate was high. As a result they have achieved greater success

in their family planning pro-

congental atmosphere for industrialisation, our honourable members of the Chambers, they are totally dissatisfied. and from their version what we could gather that during last eight months nothing has happened in the economic sector. Actually, I would like to ask a question to the industry Minister, that when you were in Singapore you had a meeting with the industries ministers there. I saw it in the paper that you said that conditions in Bangladesh are stable and it is an ideal place for foreign investments. Now, what is the difference? When all the people of the multi-nationals come to us and say that there are lot of bottlenecks in the administration. Even we know

A Belgium firm came in with their diamonds for cutting and took them back to their country for marketing. Another one or two are coming here. We had a discussion with them, we told them we would extend all possible facilities, to bring more firms here, to market here. One or two diamond cutting units cannot create market. So they went to Vietnam, but they did not return. I was very much concerned, whether Vietnam was giving more facilities to these diamond firms. That is why I asked questions to our ESCAP chief, who is an expert on this East Asian Region, especially on the economic affairs. The last nine years were for the



'Bangladesh Bank knew all about the mess in the banking sector.

A. H. Chowdhury

'Industrial growth here cannot be based purely on labour intensive, low value manufacturing.'

Charles Larsimont



investment. I would like to say a few words. First I believe. that the honourable minister here, the industries minister, has put his, finger on exactly the point which we should discuss. And that is, to take advantage of the wage differential. This is historically what Hong Kong had done, Korea did, all these countries have taken advantage of the wage differential that gives special benefit to industrial development. Bangladesh has one of the lowest wage rates in the world, much lower than the South East Asian countries, and certainly the East Asian countries. How can we take advantage of this historical situation? If we do develop after ten years, the wage differential advantage may disappear. Then we have to depend more and more on our skills and inventiveness and innovativeness. But right now, we need not. We can depend on the wage differential and achieve quite spectacular growth, as some other countries had done in the very early stages of development. Perhaps, when we were in the university, Hong Kong was simply a textile precessing place. It had very little else in there. The wages were very low, but from there they moved very rapidly. Now, in the Asia Pacific Region, Mr. Sobhan I am sure you know very well there is a wave of dynamism. The foreign invest-

ments and relocation of indus-

tries have become merged. It

is very difficult to say today

whether an investment deci-

sion in Indonesia is, simple re-

location of an industry by

gramme. As a result their industrialisation effort is proving to be more successful, because the pool of labour that comes into the market, they are slightly more literate, slightly more intelligent, slightly more adjusted to technological culture. And certainly it is true in Thailand and Malaysia, where the overall literacy is nearly 90%, and in some cases the male literacy rate is 100%. So if we can give that kind of a stability, create the right kind of a climate, we can join in the very rapid pace of investments, spreading from the East Asian sides, that is from Japan and other that countries along the Pacific ring. Mr Chowdhury mentioned about foreign debts, well I don't know about the foreign debt question, I think if we are able to invite foreign investment properly and take advantage, we do not really have to go into the kind of external debt trap that Latin Americans had. In any case, we can take advantage from the lessons that we have in this matter. So I am not at all pessimistic about the prospects of foreign direct investments. Bangladesh, because of the over population, because of the past political agitations, because of the industrial unrest and certain other difficulty in our policy framework, some how has not been able to attract foreign investment, or gain the confidence. I have spoken to the Chambers of Commerce in Japan. I asked them - 'why don't you go to Bangladesh?" Well their arguments are well-known- they don't feel confident. They

when a foreign investor visits China, the Chinese government receive them as state guest and honour them - for the investment and all that But whenever the people coming from abroad, goes to our different ministries and wants to do business - why are they dissatisfied and what are the reasons? So my submission, want to know as the Industries Minister and the Planning Minister are here, as they are planning the whole thing, after the changeover of 1975, as you have mentioned, we thought that people started talking about industrialisation. But it is as it was, nothing has been improving. But we can criticise the past government, as "the autocratic regime", as they all said; but we shall have to prove and prove to the nation, people shall have to understand that the present government is better than the previous one. Otherwise the previous government will be popular than the present government. So, as the two cabinet ministers are here and they are mentioning, so would like to ask a question when our Chamber members return from their foreign trips and mention that our image is very bad internationally for doing business over here. And the Japanese businessmen and entrepreneurs are talking that there are lot of problems in Bangladesh, they are not interested to come. And the Industries Minister is also trying to influence the foreign investors to come over here, but they don't find anything. Why? What are the reasons? and are becoming very diffi-

ple - the interest, capital, from loan they created a lot. For genuine unfortunate people the opportunity was absent. That is why, you know Mr.

Tofael, you have been struggling for the last nine years and we are trying to bring back discipline in the economy, but there may be some mistake. Our intention is very clear to serve the people and we will remain with the people. And this government, during this transition period, you can not judge a government and we think if we can have the support of Mr. Tofael Ahmed, to keep the country in a peaceful condition, assure you that this is the best place where the Siberian ducks are coming and finding water-ways where there are small fish. I tell you, that this is the place for the foreign investors. Any good foreign businessman who finds that, a labour cost per day is something around one dollar- they are bound to come rushing , as the Siberian ducks. But we have to know how to keep these foreign investors. If we can keep them, I assure you that within ten years the whole economy and economic situation will totally change for the

we talk to the foreign investors, or even donors they are also worried about the law and order situation in the country. This also prevails in my mind that until and unless we improve the law and order

benefit of some fortunate peo-

Kazi F. Jaial : "Thank you Mr. Rehman Sobhan. I will be very brief in putting the last word. The only reason that I am putting the last word is because I didn't get a chance before. Prof. Sobhan, I would like to refer to the honourable Industries Minister's statement when he started the speech- saying Bangladesh has now a clear and well defined industrial policy, greatly acclaimed by the national clites, thinkers and also by people abroad. And his hope that if foreign direct investment will float vigorously in Bangladesh in the improvement, on the any

case of Malaysta and Thatland

lar matter. I think for a counnear future, with conscnsus on try in the 1990s it would do the economic issues. All of us itself a great disservice if it would like to believe that and conducted its debate on its wish to see that happen. But I affairs of the 60s and the early wanted to put some facts, that 70s. This is a sure sign of will take only a couple of minbankruptcy and deception if utes. The available evidence we are not in a position to look of foreign direct investment into 21st century and we conflow, as Mr. Sycduzzaman has duct our debate on the basis of pointed out, does not show the past. I think this is a universal proposition in our contrary, and we have figures politics and the sooner we here from the IMF, not going look to the future, the more better. into details I will just mention Tofael Ahmed : I just have that the only country, that is one more question. Now, when only Asian country, where foreign investment has gone down between the period 1985 to 1990 is Bangladesh; Indonesia has shown some ups and down. And this is going down from one figure in mil lion dollars, single digit figure situation things will become for Bangladesh whereas in the

to the scenario in the country. Whilst we are discussing the economic issues, we cannot help to be distracted if there is a problem in the campus, we have to be distracted from the discussions of these issues. Now, coming to the honorable ministers assertion I, Sir happen to agree with what Prof. Sobhan pointed out, - that for more than a decade, there has been a reversal on the much talked about nationalisation policies which had accompanted the first few years of Bangladesh. Like today privatisation is in the air, in the early world. We also had to react to historical realities as it stood at that time. So now we want to take the debate forward. As a past banker of course, before coming into politics, I was very intrigued, that whilst that for last so many years we have been talking about privatisation, we have been talking about decentralising the banking sector, in effect what had happened was, that it was only in name because the Bangladesh Bank had almost a stifling control over the whole banking sector and it was only towards the very end of the 80s, that the private banks, or banks X, Y and Z banks, were given a little room for maneuver. So I know, and it would be absolutely silly to accuse the present government for many of the ills that they are burdened with, I am not going to do that. But the fact remains that the government is continuous and to that extent it is very difficult for the central bank - Bangladesh Bank, to say, that we were not on notice on what was going around in the country. Because every three months, even on certain times every week, as you will know Sir, being the planning minister, as a banker, the bankers have to give very comprehensive lists to the Bangladesh Bank about the var-

The central banks were very much in the knowledge. The government participated in this loot, there is no run-

ious misdeeds, doings or undo-

ings about X, Y, Z companies,

so I have had the burden, the

headache, of dealing with cus-

tomers, whilst there is no way

one can evade the responsi-