The Baily Star

Founder-Editor: Late S. M. Ali

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Call to Session

President surprised us all by his sudden convening of the first session of the highly controversial sixth parliament. Only a day or two before he spoke of the possibility of a reference to the Supreme Court if there was a political consensus. Granted that a consensus was highly unlikely, yet for him to call the parliament into session so quickly after his announcement gives clear indication that his very timid attempt at 'independence' was nipped in the bud. We had called President's willingness to go for a 'reference' as a window of opportunity. But the 'window' was shut no sooner it was opened, giving rise to serious questions about the genuineness of his statement in the first place.

The calling of the parliament session sets the game plan of the ruling party into operation and closes all other options towards a political settlement except through the amendment route, already rejected by the opposition. This really means that the government has decided that there would be no more concessions to the opposition and that it will go the amendment route, come what may. It is obvious that opposition will take it to be a direct challenge to its demands, and as such go for more violent resistance to all sorts of government actions. The net result will be that we the public will be subjected to more harassment in the name of opposition movement, and the so-called non-cooperation will continue.

We do not know who will win out of this continued conflict. But we sure know who is losing out from all this. It is the country and its people.

What is obvious is that once again we have lost an opportunity for a peacefully negotiated solution to our political problems. We seem to have an endless capacity to prolong our conflicts, drag on our differences and increase mutual hatred. Throughout the last two and a half years of political conflict not once did we see any semblance of stepping back from the respective positions of the two sides for the sake of either the country or its people. Both sides — the ruling party and the opposition — have made plenty of mistakes over the period in question, yet it was only in her 3 March speech and afterwards, that BNP made, some genuine concessions. It was considered not enough by the opposition, and a chance for a negotiated settlement was lost. Cause for the failure are many, and no doubt both sides will have plenty of reasons to blame the other side for. But everything could have been overcome if there was even a bit of trust. Ultimately it was the deep mistrust between the two sides that did us in. We must now brace ourselves for harder times.

Missing his Leadership

Had Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman been here on his 76th birthday what would have his banner read? In 1971 it proclaimed -Ebarer sangram muktir sangram, Ebarer sangram swadhinotar sangram — electrifying the whole nation with its message of freedom and independence. His banner now would proclaim a struggle to consolidate the freedom and independence that we attained a quarter of a century

For over two decades both the quantity and quality of independence of our people have progressively been shrinking instead of travelling up to the point where civic and economic rights would have dawned and tinged the life of every individual citizen. For a turn-around and for our state vehicle to find back its right rails it was necessary that the people became united again into such invulnerable unity as they did in 1971, this time for building the nation. For such unity. to materialise the nation needs now - as it needed in '71 — a leader of unequalled boldness and sincerity of heart and having a far-seeing vision. And unwavering belief in the highest tenet of a true patriot's life — above all, the people. Sheikh Mujipur Rahman answered to these needs uniquely. Twenty-five years later we again are in urgent need of such leadership as he gave us.

It Surely was Love

Abdur Razzak, 32 and a farm hand in Shibganj, Bogra had only a very ordinary conjugal life. It was perhaps routine that his young wife Jyotsna would somehow displease him and get a good beating. At least their day started in that fashion on Saturday. And Razzak had gone as usual off to his farming chores in the fields after a morning of quarreling and beating. There a neighbour told him, just to tease him, that Jyotsna had died. What did Razzak do then?

He simply died. On the spot and at the very instant.

There was a pair in medieval Italy, or precisely in Shakespeare's early drama, both of which died as a result of misinformation. Although the newspaper report in a vernacular daily does not say anything about how Jyotsna reacted to the news of Razzak's death the episode cannot but remind one of the raw Shakespearean tragedy -Romeo and Juliet. There is so much in common and yet the two are so much dissimilar. Romeo's articulate — may be verbose — love ends up in his deliberate and protracted taking of his own life - both his living and dying having Juliet as their only point. Razzak's love had no articulation but in death which came from beyond deliberate action. But it must have been love as thick as his blood but unknown to his neighbours and maybe unknown to Jyotsna. And perhaps, perhaps unknown to himself.

Thermidorians and Girondists of the World Unite

The moderates of the world should unite to secure peace in the Middle-East — a comprehensive and

URING the reign of Darius II. early 5th century BC, a Jewish colony was established in Elephantine, in Egypt. The Egyptians deeply resented the exclusiveness of the Jewish religion. According to historians some priests of Khnum bribed the Persian commender to allow the entry of the Egyptian troops into the colony; and in 410 BC the

Jewish temple. About two and a half millennium later, 29 world leaders met at Sharm El-Sheikh, the Egyptian resort town on March 13, and discussed not the destruction of the Jewish 'colony', but the security-guarantee of the country inhabited by the children of Abraham.

intruders destroyed the

The Palestinians and the Jews, both scions of Abraham, both Semites, have made great strides in co-habiting side by side, in the Promised Land. thus holding the prospect of ending the diaspora of Abraham's children. The autonomy and self-rule given to the Palestinians, following the Madrid conference and 1993 September-13 handshake in the White House, needs further amplification and greater resonance : some Palestinians in the present territory and still others outside the territory, do not feel satisfied with the present pace of peace movement as well as the dimension of the freedom the Palestinians are supposed to enjoy. Nobody really believed that the centuries-old mistrust and lack of confidence between the Jews and the Palestinians will be over in such a short time. While the peaceloving people around the world were waiting with bated breath for the peace process to con-

lasting peace. Saudi Arabia and the other ACC countries did well by attending the summit since on the specifics of the solution the Jury is still out. tinue and consolidate, the disby the detractors because of its gruntled forces wanted to put demand for self-determination in their own land. King Hos-

spanner in the works. While the Yahya Ayash murder was ill-timed, it did not justify the suicide bombings which not only killed scores of Israeli civilians but it was aimed at killing the peace process itself. But that is not to be.

Sharm El-Sheikh, the scene of some of the bitterest Arab-Israelf conflicts, this time sent a message of peace. The leaders, who assembled there, sometime foes, sometime friends, resolved in unison that the peace process must go on since this process is at the very heart of the comprehensive Middle-East peace as envisaged in UN resolution 242. Both president Arafat and Prime Minister Shimon Peres left Sharm El-Sheikh fired up in their determination to go ahead to realise the dreams of peace-loving peoples all over the world.

The word terrorism is deeply emotive and it evokes as many visions in as many minds and climes for the way it is used and for the case it is abused. The world has not yet forgotten the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on July 22, 1946 by the Zionist extremists with a tally of 91 deaths. The British used this hotel as its headquarters and they issued a warrant of arrest against one Menachem Begin, the 'terrorist', who later became the prime minister of independent Israel. President Arafat's Fatah was also branded as a 'terrorist group'

monitoring of the Ganges wa-

ter at Farakka and at Hardinge

Bridge without any formal wa-

ter sharing agreement. The

Indian proposal also suggested

that sharing will be deter-

mined on the basis of water

resources now, available at

ter in his meeting with For-

eign Minister of Bangladesh on

20 December, 1995, again

raised the water sharing issue

along with other bilateral is-

discharge of the Ganges at

Farakka in India and at the

Hardinge - Bridge in

Farakka will be shared without

any agreement but based on

25,000 cusecs of Ganges Water

at Farakka in the lean period

main structures through which

water can flow. The Barrage,

the Feeder Canal Regulator and

the Navigation Lock. The water

released in all three structures.

has to be monitored jointly.

How does it help is not very

clear if there is no agreement

on water sharing, and the wa-

ter as available at Farakka is

shared. Since 1975 agree-

ment, India has started exten-

sive withdrawal of water in the

upper reaches of the Ganges

above Farakka. That was the

reason India while signing the

MOU on water sharing deleted

the guarantee clause of 1977

agreement and introduced the

concept of sharing water as

Ganges water agreement of

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see the Indian game. That was

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While negotiating the

available at Farakka.

The Farakka Barrage has 3

b) Water of the Ganges at

c) India is willing to release

been raised by India:

the present availability.

pending agreement.

The following issues have

a) Joint monitoring of the

The Indian Foreign Minis-

Farakka.

Bangladesh.

sain of Jordan expelled the, Palestinians in Black September 1972 in which over 10,000 Palestinians were re-

portedly killed. The United Nations has spent considerable time and energy to contain terrorism. Many have not agreed with the modality of the containment process. Detractors have very often taken a different view by

World Trade Centre by some Islamic militants is a grim reminder of the fact - how fragile the civil-urban peace can

A little back in history one clearly remembers the terrorism let loose by Robespierre and his cohorts in the name of Revolution; although the moderates - Thermidorians and Girondist suffered temporary defeats, good sense prevailed in the long run. Leaders like Condorcet, Madame Roland

Waliur Rahman

dubbing some state action in the name of law and order as state terrorism. But there is a gradual, though, slow, acceptance of a common decideratum of what is terrorism and state terrorism. Almost everybody today agrees that NIHIL VIDENTUM DURABILE thing that is violent will never

In the recent past we have witnessed acts of terrorism. collective or individual, in Japan, Ireland, London, India, Pakistan and the United States. In recent memory the blowing up of a Federal Building in Oklahoma by a reportedly ultra-righist elements and the attempt to destroy the world's tallest twin towers -

and Petion will always be remembered for their contribution, sometimes at the cost of their precious lives, in eliminating the Facobin thugs and in steadying the course of French Revolution. Without their sacrifices the call of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity would have sounded hollow and meaningless. Czar Nicholas II is more remembered today because of his moderation and moderate approach towards the problems of the Russian Empire. Stalin and his Gulags will become in time foot-note of history : Czar Nicholas II will remain the his-

The Sharm El-Sheikh Summit was a symbolic gathering, but an important one. The absence of Hafez al-Assad of Syria and the Lebanese president was hugely felt. Syria, and to a smaller extent Lebanon are both important actors. The Syrian president is engaged with Israel in peace negotia-

tions under American auspices. The Hamas bombings have only postponed the Syria-Israel parleys: negotiations have not been cancelled. Palestinian leader of extreme fringe Hawatema residing in Damascus, may be used as a bargaining chip by Syria in its eventual negotiations on the Golan Heights.

It is interesting to note that during the Anglo-Frenchbacked Israeli attack on Egypt on October 29, 1956, Shukri Kuwatli, Syrian president, was in Moscow. Shukri Kuwatli played an important role in securing Russian support for Egypt. Earlier during the Khruschev-Bulgarin visit to Cairo the world looked aghast at the remarks of Khruschev to Pakistan ambassador Akhtar Hussain in Cairo: "So far we have been talking to the imperialists, said Khruschev, "now let us have a word with their lackeys". To a shocked and bewildered Pakistan ambassador, Bulgarian stepped in and said, "Let us drink or toast to the people of Pakistan". Khruschev very reluctantly said. "All right, but I will only drink half-aglass. I will keep the second-

half until the people of Pak-

istan have secured their gov-

ernment's withdrawal from all

military pacts!" On March 1,

the same year. King Hussam of Jordan summarily dismissed the British commander of the Jordanian Army -- Glubb Pasha, thus incurring the wrath of both Anthony Eden and Foreign Secretary Salwyn Lloyd.

The twists and turns of these dramatic developments in the Middle Eastern politics are but the gust in the mill of strategists and diplomats of today. President Clinton's oneday visit to Israel was a symbol but he and his advisors were still aware of the fact that the Middle East peace process, if derailed on the treacherous quicks and of Arab politics. could not only hurt the peace, but would hurt his November election as well. President Clinton was statesman like when he said in no unmistak-- able terms, "It will be wrong to equate Islam with terrorism". His \$100-million-dollar security offer to Israel is also symbolic, but symbols are important. Yesterday's terrorists are today's peace makers. Both Shimon Peres and Yasser Arafat are moderates. Both want peace because they honestly believe the Ecclesiastes that 'the time for peace has come'. Clinton's visit to the cemetery of the slain Israeli Prime Minister Rabin was a clear signal to the extremists in both Israel and Palestine. Both Hamas and Islamic Jehad as well as Likud and followers of Meer Kaham could ill afford to misread the gesture.

The moderates of the world should unité to secure peace in the Middle-East - a comprehensive and lasting peace. Saudi Arabia and the other ACC countries did well by attending the summit since on the specifics of the solution the Jury is still out.

The Ganges Water Issue — on the Record

by Amjad Hossain Khan

While negotiating the Ganges water agreement of 1977, Bangladesh could foresee the Indian game. That was the reason Bangladesh insisted on the long term data of the Ganges at Farakka as the basis for sharing.

RIOR to the 8th SAARC Summit meeting in New Delhi in May. 1995, Pronab Mukherjee. External Affairs Minister of India underscored the need for regional cooperation among meeting in September at the member countries. Salman Dhaka as August was not con-Khurshid, Minister of State for venient to them. Since then External Affairs in an exclusive political compulsions in both interview to the Bangladesh the countries have accelerated Observer, admitted that with political turmoil in both Farakka and Transit. were the countries. working as pinpricks and irri-During the lull in any fortants between the two counward movement in holding the tries. On sharing of the Ganges JRC meeting, a news item was water he said that the issue published in the Independent may come up in matter of on 26 December, 1995 that hours or weeks. He admitted India declines to enter into a that technically there is no formal agreement. The news reason why both countries item said that India has procould not come to a conclusion posed an agreement on joint

After the summit, P V Narashima Rao, Prime Minister of India had a meeting with Begum Khaleda Zia, Prime Minister of Bangladesh on the Ganges water issue. This was followed by Foreign Minister level meeting between the two countries and two rounds of meetings were held by the two Foreign Secretaries of

on the issue.

Bangladesh and India. Pronab Mukherjee, the External Affairs Minister in press briefing after the summit described the relation between Bangladesh and India as excellent. On the Ganges water issue he said that India wanted to find a solution and referred to the ongoing Foreign Secre-

tary level meeting. Mukherjee in another press interview with PTI said that the Farakka issue is a complex problem and that India would take initiative for a solution of the Ganges water

sharing issue. Pronab Mukherjee in another interview with The Times of India said that there are a number of important issues between the two sides and the priorities and outlook

of India and Bangladesh differ. The third meeting of the Foreign Secretaries between Bangladesh and India was held in the last week of June, 1995 in Dhaka. The meeting did not produce anything except that they decided to refer the water sharing issue to the minister level Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission to suggest specific recommendations for permanent sharing of the

Eight months have passed with no forward movement in deciding a date for a meeting of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission. As reported India took some move initially to have an early meeting in August, 1995 in New Delhi. Bangladesh proposed

Ganges water issue.

Ganges at Farakka as the basis for sharing. It was agreed to share the Ganges water at · Parakka based on the discharge data at Farakka between 1948 to 1973. The share of both countries were calculated after intensive discussions. Bangladesh was concerned about the availability of water at Farakka due to extensive irrigation developments upstream. Hence, Bangladesh insisted on 80 per cent guarantee of Bangladesh share. The

one decade only. The third suggestion by India of unilateral release of 25,000 cusec during the lean period pending agreement is preposterous. Since 1989, there is no agreement on sharing of the Ganges water between the two countries.

apprehension of Bangladesh

has come true within a span of

The unilateral release of Ganges water by India below Farakka has gradually declined and in 1993, only 13,000 cusec was available at Hardinge Bridge till last week of March.

A new controversy has been raised by some experts about the future water sharing of the Ganges as India is going' to construct another Barrage on the Ganges at Kanpur. What should be basis of water sharing based on which data? They have suggested average availability of water at different point's at the Ganges including Kanpur and Farakka. The suggestion is negative and impractical. India do not agree to any joint visit of the Ganges above Farakka. They refused to supply any data on availability

above Farakka. It took more than two decades to agree on the availability of data of the discharge of the Ganges at Farakka for the period 1948 to 1973. Any data after 1973 will be different after upstream uses and can not be any basis for shar-

India may construct any number of Barrages as they want, but permanent sharing of the Ganges at Farakka must be made based on the agreed data on availability of the Ganges water at Farakka between 1948 and 1973 with 100 per cent guarantee.

The third suggestion of unilateral release of 25,000 cusec in lean months pending agreement is ominous. Such hints were widely published after last Foreign Secretary level meeting. They did a wonderful job after three rounds of talks to refer the matter to the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission.

The dry season has started in Bangladesh. The political parties are not at all concerned about water problem which is a life and death issue for 120 million people. The worst affected areas are northern part and south western part of Bangladesh.

In the northern part of Bangladesh, most of the rivers like Atrai, Punarbhaba, Ichhamati, Mohananda, Tangon, Fuithor, Nagar, Pathraj, Padma, Jamuna, Manash, Dudhkumar, Gojoria, Chikhai, Baral, Baneshwai, Brahmaputra. Nilkunja, Hal Halia, Bangoli, Jinjiram, Rulkumari, Buriteests, Sona Bhair, etc (about 40 rivers) have dried up.

Due to reduced water flows, about, 6000 km of navigation routes in 43 rivers have been completely closed and another 20 are partially closed. Due to abrupt reduction of water, shoals and chars have formed in most of the rivers. reducing the depth of water even for normal movement of traffic. The rail communication with north Bengal was disrupted due to low depth of water in the Jamuna (Teesta Mukh-Bahadurabad ferry). The Bhuapur-Sirajganj ferry service was also disrupted on several occasions. In fact, ferry services in all the routes had to be suspended leading to enormous suffering of the people and difficulty in movement of goods.

The situation in south western region is also similar. The Gorai river dried up in January, 1996. The salinity has increased in Khulna area and there is acute shortage of water for irrigation and drinking purposes. The environmenta damage is much more than

expected. In this connection it is interesting to note the recommendation of J N Dixit, ex-Foreign Secretary of India that India should release the Ganges water unilaterally. He has also suggested that technical discussion on long-term water sharing should continue. In an article in the Indian Express, he suggested that India should try to help Bangladesh in solving the economic, prob lems. Without creating a con troversy on the issue, India should try to create an atmosphere of confidence to remove the mistrust and misunderstanding with Bangladesh.

Without political will the water sharing problem cannot be solved. So far, this was lacking from the Indian side. Without any clear directions from the political masters. Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission will not be able to submit any concrete proposal. The augmentation issue must be delinked from sharing.

The permanent sharing of the Ganges and the Teesta and other border rivers should not pose any serious problem for the two countries. The agreement of 1977 on Ganges water and respective shares of

Bangladesh and India can be made as permanent sharing of the Ganges water between Bangladesh and India with guarantee clause that the share of Bangladesh under the agreement shall not be reduced. There was an understanding of percentage sharing of the Teesta water: 39 percentage for India, 36 percent for Bangladesh and 25 percentage unallocated. This could be the basis of permas nent water sharing with 50:50 of Bangladesh and India.

The past failure of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission need not guide them - let them look forward to the future. Given the good will and understanding, it is possible for the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission to find a permanent solution to sharing of the Ganges. Teesta and all other rivers at an early date.

OPINION

Innocent Victims Mùnira Khan

Many years have passed since we heard the speech of Nawab Sirejuddowla in the famous drama "Sirejuddowla," "Bangler Akashe aaj durjoger ghonoghata ke tader asha debe, ke tader bhorosha debe "That was a depiction of the time when Bengal lost its independence to the British. These days every moment we are feeling the same way. desperately asking for something to happen to dissolve the terrible crisis the nation is passing through, and anxiously waiting to be salvaged from this stagnancy to

freedom Every moment is precious. every move should be cautious and thoughtful. But how to do it and who would do it? Nobody knows apparently except urging all the politicians to resolve the crisis through negotiations. But who bothers about our agony and economic hardship? Who would compensate the losses incurred by the people individually, nationally and internationally?

Who would give back our children the time they are passing idly when they should have been vibrating in schools. colleges and universities learning and acquiring knowl edge and achieving for themselves and for the nation. Who could console a son or a daughter when God forbid, he/she could not see the burial of his/her beloved parent let alone to be at his/her death bed because of the transport strike? I am not mentioning about the killings and deaths of the political activists as it has, sadly, become a standard feature of the political movement. You cannot progress in the movement until and unless

you have corpses! Nobody knows the answer to these questions but realising that this can not go on we do not deserve this. We are all unhappy, depressed and helpless We are all hostages in the hands of the politicians and caught in the dream of attaining democracy! But if democracy cannot guarantee us our unalienable rights like , liberty of living and pursuit of happia ness then what is its use for? Successful democracy breeds literate people and economic development. How can we achieve these keeping pawn our, own economy and education. Certainly we do not want to go back to the period when we were called a bottomless basket! We do not understand how the politicians could think that they would be able to run the country once its

economic structure is broken beyond repair? Now that the garment-factory workers have seen good

days, thousands of boys and

girls have started earning. somebody will have to provide them more the opportunity to earn. But the scenario is otherwise, and once the garment factories are closed down(some are already closed) no government who would come to power in near future would be able to provide the jobs and bring economic and social stability in the country We shudder to think of that si tuation and perhaps the politicians too. They are the leaders supposedly more intelligent more knowledgeable and should know the answers. May be they have the solution and have kept it under their sleeves.. If so they should as sure us that nothing would happen to us if the ports and economic institutions are closed for an indefinite period, and if the factories and industries are closed down. They would solve all our problems whenever they are in power. They would return the cars broken or burnt without any fault of the owners, they would give back the investment fund of a poor hawker, which they have lost due to hartal or

strike. Most of us, I assume, are not concerned about constitution as we do not understand its legal implications. Most people vote for the symbol without understanding the efficacy of their voting power. What they really want is that their leaders should be worthy of public trust and responsibil ity, and behave rationally, reasonably keeping public interest above their own ego.

Now time has come for the politicians to understand and undertake programme to provide economic security to ease suffering, to develop human potential. And such programmes should include, among other things, civil rights laws, minimum standard of living, medical care for all and, above all, education. Unless we have educated citizens who can think for themselves. democracy would be useless.

I am afraid, whatever the politicians are sure of achieving from this political tug of war; whatever good intention they have of giving us back a free and fair election atmosphere, one thing they can never give us back, our children's valuable time which they have snatched from them, which the children could have used properly for learning. taking training, for achieving for themselves and for the nation. Our children are weeping in anguish - and along with them the whole country. Can't the politicians feel it and spare the innocent victims these hartals and non-

cooperation?

Doctrine of irrationality?

Sir, I am an ordinary citizen of the country. Obviously I am neither a politician nor an 'intellectual' (!) but I hope, I am neither sick nor I lack common sense. So long we have been told by the political scientists to believe that the Constitution of any country is always sacrosanct and it is highly undesirable to bring any fundamental changes in it at whim. This does not mean that it cannot be altered in the greatest interest of the people. By our experience, we have seen changes brought by the successive regimes; although the most crucial amendment was brought by a democratically elected Prime Minister, which ushered an era of one-party totalitarianism on the freshly-dug graveyard of democracy. But were these changes accepted by the peo-

Coming to the present context of our sick politics, I simply feel awed when I see our politico-social thinkers

viewing the country's Constitution merely as a scrap of paper! Some of them are trying to invoke the doctrine of necessity to bring even fundamental changes in it. I do not understand how they define the term 'necessity'. Is Bangladesh at war with any country? Is there a devastating earthquake which has obliterated the capital city of Dhaka? No, nothing of this sort. May, ity can perhaps make one be, we have a bunch of sick and greedy politicians who are ruining the country's polity and economy for the sake of their selfish motives.

The story of the last two years of Bangladesh politics is nothing but a tale of irrationality, and now, some people are trying to sanctify this irrationality even at the cost of our cherished Constitution. When our politicians try to out-power and not out-wit their opponents, it can be anything but a rational act. Unfortunately, this type of irrationality is gaining an upper hand in our bodypolitics, leading to a situation when we may have to say

'good-bye' to our nascent democracy and welcome intervention from extra-constitutional quarters to save the country from total ruination. As such, my appeal to our

political leaders and the intelligentsia would be not to encourage the present trend of irrationality in our political arena. Any 'doctrine of necessity incubated out of irrationalparty or the other the winner, but our country, our people and our democratic process will be the ultimate losers. We will be all dead in the long run!

Ahmed Ghani Dhaka

A boring situation

Sir. It is a tiring thing to be sitting at home doing nothing every day because of hartal and non-cooperation. I can't see my friends or play with them. We miss out so much in studies at school and the teachers are afraid that we can't finish

our syllabus. It seems the month of March is nothing but hartal and non-cooperation. have done all my homework and I make my parents' life crazy about what am I going to do next and do not let them do their own work. Today I would have fainted when I heard this situation would carry on. At least I was hopeful that this holidaying would stop but I was unlucky. When I was young loved holidays and hated school but now I realize how painful the holidays can become. As every one in my family wrote about this situation I thought it was high time should write about my feelings. even being the youngest. I just keep my fingers crossed and pray hard that these crises will be over and when school will

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