

There Never is a Point of No Return

We are relieved that both Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party have shown some maturity in handling a situation that had every potential of slipping into a fatally expansive confrontation. Given the build-up of country's two political behemoths around Thursday's BNP-called hartal what happened through dawn to dusk of the day itself was largely a very welcome anticlimax.

Like that mythical character Cassandra, this newspaper has been trying for the last six years to impress the futility of strikes and the necessity of political stability based on consensus upon the political parties though not without success. And the last week or so saw this exhortative effort heighten almost into a crescendo as both the ruling party and the opposition preferred trial of brute strength to political acumen.

Nothing of this would have been required if only the ruling party did not become so intolerant and decided to bludgeon the opposition to conformity. For that matter, the BNP could have contributed so much to the process of normalising the situation if it could find an alternative of strike as a tool for lodging complaints against government.

Now that the President of the republic has volunteered to help resume a meaningful communication between the two parties by virtue of his neutral perspective, neither side should be foolish to fritter this chance away. The BNP has reportedly expressed its willingness to sit for a dialogue. We urge the ruling party to respond to this sincerely and work in harness to blow away the crisis.

There is nothing as point of no return in politics. Thursday's experience has driven this message home for the umpteenth time. This country is thankful to its politicians for realising this reality and their banking on this to avoid a major and what could have been a destructive showdown.

Please, build on your good work. Use the gains of Thursday in future efforts of improving your strained and embittered relationship and give that vital space and time to our emaciated economy so that it meets with some success in making a recovery from the shocks of the past. This country has seen enough of vain display of egos and acrimony. No more.

Highway Robbery?

It's not true that nothing is improving in Bangladesh. Roads are persistently proliferating and improving all over the country. Consequently, there has been a radical rise in public transportation although a matching rise in the quality of the vehicles and services has so far been missing. Land borne trading and labour mobility now form the backbone of our national economic activity.

Like a spanner thrown into this nice and heartening picture comes the news that in 1996 alone 500 dacoities were committed on night buses and trucks only in the south-western districts of Jessore, Khulna, Bagerhat, Satkhira, Narail, Meherpur, Chuadanga and Kishoreganj. Only eight in a nation of 64 districts. This is inconceivable. By yardsticks of modern civilisation, five hold-ups in a year in a small nation like Bangladesh could have been an acceptable quota. The beginning of the truly modern times had much to do with making the highways safe. That was making movement of men and goods and of all dispositions of economic, social and political nature safe and fetching. We are yet to become civilised by this yardstick. Safety rather than the mileage of roads and number of vehicles is surer sign of civilisation.

Incidence of bus and truck hold-up, overwhelmingly during the night, is going up fast because there is no effective deterring mechanism. Frequent police patrolling of the highways is a long-standing demand failing to get any response from the government. And there seems to be no punishment at all here for the crime of highway hold-ups. How many road dacoities have occurred over the whole country so far? Ten thousand at least. How many involved in these came to be punished? Nothing happens to deter these dacoits.

Highways must be safe before this nation can negotiate a mile of progress. This cannot be as long as cognition of the crime remains a thana affair. There must be a national set-up to fight dacoity on the night runs and to prosecute, nationally, the criminals. If need be special trial courts may be introduced to deal with the piling cases, with expeditiousness. So that these can yield result.

Build on It

Nawaz Sharif did not try to sugarcoat it. Talking to the press immediately after the meeting with his Indian counterpart I K Gujral, the Pakistani PM is reported to have said "We are poles apart". With the frontier guards of the two countries caught in daily and resonant trial of strength, there possibly could not have been a truer reflection of the prevailing scenario in the Indo-Pak relationship.

What really people, particularly in South Asia, look for whenever there is a summit level contact between leaders of the two historically hostile neighbours, is a new tack of optimism for a peaceful, friendly coexistence between them.

As in the past, Kashmir proved to be the stumbling block this time also with neither deeming other's thoughts and observations on the disputed valley acceptable. But the outcome is not as sterile as it may look. The mood is upbeat and if ploughed into the future dialogue at the Secretaries' level, the experience of this meeting can still prove to be productive.

One proposal that did not figure in the New York meeting yet which remains very much on the map is the non-aggression pact between the two countries. Pessimists and cynics might be inclined to play it down but this could very well be a good trust-building first act. After all, it is mutual distrust and retaliatory impulse that put the spanner in the works so far.

The 'tomorrow syndrome' in all initiatives of improving bilateral relations between India and Pakistan has to see an end. Leaders of the day simply cannot leave the job for posterity because the people of South Asia have been poorer for the escalating tension and the unabated arms race between these two countries of immense potential.

Closed China Opens its Doors

Chinese agriculture is gradually becoming hooked on to international market. Whether in terms of exports or imports, Chinese influence can hardly be bypassed.

TWO major convulsions swept China's agriculture and policy changes since 1980s and both succeeded in drawing world attention. A fundamental reform policy was enunciated in the first half of 1980s whereby a rigid, inefficient collective base production system yielded place to farmer's household-based production system. The transformation is reported to have mammoth production benefits in consecutive years. According to Chinese economist Ke Bingsheng, "just in few years, the face of China's agriculture had changed completely and great achievements had been accomplished. One of the greatest symbolic achievements of the reform policy was that for the first time in New China's history a surplus supply situation of agricultural products occurred in the mid-1980s. At the same time, farmers' income and living conditions were improved remarkably."

The whole world was amazed by the wonder. China's agriculture soon became a topic of vast academic interests to researchers who sought to replicate Chinese ways in planned and developing economies. But now China's enviable success imposes a different kind of concern: China's agriculture is growing fabulously, being integrated with world market but seemingly posing a threat to the world market stability. China registered a net grain export of 8 million tons in 1993, and then recorded a net import of 18 million tons in 1995. Is there sufficient space in the world market to accommodate the big player?

The recent agricultural policies and institutional change in China is poised to ensure food security in the 21st century. The market reforms entail: abolition of the grain ration system, direct government controls of markets and stabilisation, decentralisation of decision-making to provincial and municipal levels, removing bans or inter-provincial movement of foodgrains, provision of preferential treatment in transportation arrangements and subsidised loans to selected agricultural products.

Under the Household Responsibility System, the government has lengthened the tenure of contracted-out public land to individual farmers from 15 to 30 years. The extended tenure that extended security of ownership, reportedly triggered rapid growth in agricultural productivity in early 1980s. On the external trade front, reform measures included the abolition of a two-tier foreign exchange system, elimination of export subsidies and reduction in import duties.

China had already liberalised markets for almost all non-grain agricultural products and the gap between the state-set quota procurement price and the market price has been substantially reduced. However, the international trade in grains is still controlled by the central government.

The enviable performance of China in the realm of food and agriculture is reflected by the fact that China is able to feed one-fifth of world population with only one-fifteenth of world's

arable land in possession. China had a consistent surplus in food trade since 1984. Even the huge imports of 18 million tons that we mentioned earlier include wheat and corn but inclusion of exports of meat, eggs and poultry could speak of a net surplus.

The Chinese government foresees only a moderate growth in the demand for grains: Grain yields by 1.0 per cent per year in the 1996-2010 period and 0.7 per cent in the 2010-2030 period, to match the growing demand. The target is not daunting given the Chinese record of a growth rate of 3.0 per cent plus over the past four decades.

Like in other growing societies, per capita consumption of grain has waned, albeit marginally. It is not surprising that more deceleration is in the offing with prosperity on the horizon. Per capita grain consumption as direct human food is 30 per cent higher than Korea and 54 per cent higher than Japan. The present level of vegetable consumption in China is one-third lower than that in Korea implying that China would have to lay more lands to increase vegetables production, otherwise the erstwhile exporter might turn out to be an importer. Per capita consumption of meat and fish has been surging at 9 per cent per year since early 1980s but the present level is still 53 per cent lower compared to Japan and 45 per cent lower compared to Korea. So the future pressure would spring from

supply side of the products. China's share of global production is reported to be 34 per cent for rice, 20 per cent for maize and 19 per cent for wheat. According to Dr Mahabub Hossain, "if China decides to procure 10 per cent of its consumption requirements for each of these grains from the world market, the import demand will increase by 67 per cent for rice and 11 per cent for wheat and maize which is expected to put substantial upward pressure on prices."

The rural-urban income disparity that has been widening over the years has become a major source of 'sour' for Chinese policy makers. For example, in 1995, the per capita income for urban areas was 120 per cent higher than for rural areas and during 1985-95 period, urban real income grew at staggering 78 per cent compared to 35 per cent for rural households. The rural-urban income disparity is much higher than Bangladesh. To the critics, the discriminatory growth of Chinese agricultural affluence is throwing the whole reform agenda into serious question.

By and large, Chinese agriculture is gradually becoming hooked on to international market. Whether in terms of exports or imports, Chinese influence can hardly be bypassed. Chinese economists are of the view that domestic agricultural policies should be turned to market orientation, friendly cooperation be established with food producing countries and irritant and irrelevant interventions should be avoided to pave ways for smooth functioning of market. The heavily sheltered market thus awaits an open door policy. Capitalism inside communism?



Beneath the Surface
by Abdul Bayes

Need for a Code of Ethics for Hartal

by Mohammad Siddiqueur Rahman

Is hartal a democratic right? If so, do the people have also the right not to participate in hartal without fear of physical assault or damage to vehicle or property?

HARTAL is destructive and dreadful, says a street-side stall-owner, who sells biscuits, loaves, cigarettes and banana. The other day, his vending shop was severely damaged and all his merchandise worth about Taka 2000 were lost because of violent attack by the hartal squads. A baby taxi driver, Amin said he could not go out to the street to earn his living on the day because of the strike. My milkman, Kalu Mia lamented that strike is inhuman because he could not take his ailing mother to the hospital although he managed to get a bed in the Dhaka Medical College Hospital after lot of efforts. Mrs Shaheda, my neighbour is very unhappy because her sons and daughters cannot attend the classes, although the examination is so near. But the most worried was Mr Alauddin, who owns two garment factories and is unable to ship his export orders because of hartal of transports and the port. Failure to send the consignment in time is not only going to affect the present order but will lead to cancellation of future orders by the buyers.

These are but woes of a few individuals, caused by hartal. Millions of people across the country suffer from many kinds of problems and difficulties when there is a country-wide hartal. But the damage and loss caused to the economy due to hartal is colossal — because of stoppage of industry and loss of production, stoppage of all kinds of transportation by rail, road, water and air, stoppage of work of sea-ports and airports and river ports, closure of shops and business houses, markets and even street-vending. The day labourer can't earn his bread for the day. In a word, the whole economy and every-day life of the people come to a grinding halt, besides damage and destruction to infrastructure and assets and killing, injury and hardships caused by violence and consequent police action.

A strike in any industry by the workers may be legal if they follow the legal procedure for collective bargaining. But how about political hartals staged by opposition political parties against the government to demonstrate protest or disapproval of any government action or to realise some political demands? There does not appear to be any legal sanction for a political hartal nor is there any legal bar to such political movement. Is hartal a democratic right? If so, do the people have also the right not to participate in hartal without fear of physical assault or damage to vehicle or property? The political leaders and jurists will have to find answers to these questions. But the fact remains that hartal has become a part of our political culture as an instrument of the opposition political parties to unseat the government in power.

In Bangladesh power is transferred either by killing as in the case of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or president Ziaur Rahman or by hartal or mass-upurge as in the case of president Ershad or prime minister Khaleda Zia. But these hartals brought, in their wake, terrible sufferings of people and inestimable loss to the economy. According to a newspaper report, 144 hartals took

place between January and October 1995 ranging between 6 hours and 96 hours (in case of non-stop or 'lagatar' hartals). I suggested that since hartal seems to have become inevitable and unavoidable means to compel the government in power to agree to any power-transfer mechanism, all the political parties should get together and work out a code of ethics for hartal by consensus so that the damage and loss to the national economy, and the sufferings and hardships of the people could be minimised.

A code of ethics for hartal may include the following:

- Hartal should not be called for more than six hours.
- Non-stop or 'lagatar' hartal should be banned and declared illegal.
- Essential services like electricity, water supply, gas, hospital and medical services, fire service, food-shops and medical stores, newspapers and media services etc., should be exempted from hartal. (These seemingly still are, but not fully perhaps. For instance, it is simply hard to get a transport to take a patient to hospital during hartal, and even 'press' vehicles cannot escape the wrath of hartal squads.)
- Export-oriented industries like garments, jute, leather etc. should be exempted from the operation of hartals.
- Transport and communication like train services, steamer and launch services, long-distance bus services, sea ports, airports and inland waterway ports and telecommunications services should be exempted.
- Schools, colleges, universities and all other educational institutions should be exempted.
- Rickshaws should be exempted, fully.
- Markets for fish, meat, vegetables etc., should be exempted, with clear announcement.

Such a code of ethics in order to be effective must be formulated on the basis of a national consensus by all political parties.

It is well known that whenever a political party is in power, it fully realises the damage and loss done by hartal to the economy and the society. Its leaders make strong statements condemning those who indulge in politics of hartal.

This was done by BNP when they were in power, and this is being done by Awami League now after they have come to power. But the same party, when in opposition, seems to have become oblivious of these baneful effects and finds hartal as the only means to oust the party in power, which in its view, is irresponsible to the demands of the people.

Now that both BNP and Awami League had the taste of running the government some time or the other, they should fully realise the serious loss and damage caused to the economy and the society by hartals and should agree to open a dialogue amongst all political parties to work out a code of ethics for hartal to save the country from destruction and suffering.

The writer is a former ambassador and a cabinet secretary.

OPINION

A Crime in the Whole Sale

The BTV in its public opinion series proposes to discuss the "alternative to hartal". The debate may seem necessary in the light of the realities. We have already gone through the hartal torture for decades now. We failed to do anything about it. The TV discussions may also turn out to be purely academic.

They say in one voice that hartal is a "democratic right". It is merely "inconvenient" for the half of them currently in power. They also say the same thing about a bad law — a law which is repugnant to the principles of justice and jurisprudence as long as the other half of them are on the "wrong" side of the fence, they simply dislike it.

I view hartal as a pure crime in the whole sale, just as penal code's "wrongful confinement" is a crime in the retail. Wrongful confinement is a well-defined crime punishable by law everywhere. We have it in our penal code. It is a cognizable offence. Both the police and the confined (when he escapes) can sue the offender.

What does hartal do to us for a full-day or for half of a day? It wrongfully confines us. It implies: a) my father is dead, b) my mother is dead, c) my wife is in hospital 10 miles away from my house. I am too old to walk the distance or to send her home-cooked food in time; d) I have a sudden heart attack. I cannot be taken to the hospital though my friendly neighbour has a car. Out of the inadequate fleet of ambulances, some are on "special duty" during hartal hours on high rent for a special kind of urgent trips of the super-rich; e) I reached the airport in the morning from the other end of the earth after two sleepless nights and 30-hour air journey. I can't go home for another 12 hours or 40 to 50 more hours if I have to go to Chittagong, Sunamganj or

Panchagrah; f) I am a mason's assistant on a daily wage basis. I can't go out for work and am deprived of the day's wage and so of the day's bread; and g) I am a rickshaw-puller or a baby-taxi driver. I can't earn my bread. If I am desperate, my vehicle is broken. The owner penalises me and withholds it from me for all future.

Whose "democratic right" does a hartal serve? Of the 99 per cent? Of the 51 per cent? How about the right of the one per cent then? Or of the 49 per cent? That one to 49 include those who want to go out to earn the day's bread, to save life, to be at the side of the dearest dying. How about the rights of the few individuals who want just to move freely in any case? I am reminded here of J S Mill's famous words: "If the whole of mankind minus one were of the one opinion and one individual was of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that individual than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing making."

No doubt, they are the dissenters, the minority. But here in our hartals, it is not "opinion" but life and bread. Here in our luckless backward country, it is given to the very few to express opinion. The vast majority have no doubt their own individual opinions, but they are mute. They have little or no power to express their opinions.

What justification there to wrongfully confine and prevent people from doing their essential and emotional duties? Yet all of them claim that hartal is a "democratic right". Is it? I strongly, totally and irrevocably disagree. I am not a theorist, political or otherwise. Though I have quoted J S Mill, I do not normally accept anything and everything just because so and so great thinker had said that. They too contradict each other and sometimes even their own selves. I am a hard core "common-sense" person. If a new Mill or a new Laski appears to

use all the tactics to justify hartal in the particular political circumstances of a less developed world country like ours, I would reject that outright.

There is no law to prosecute the hartal-callers or picketers for wrongful confinement. Those who are currently "inconvenienced" by hartal shall not enact any such law, for they themselves shall need hartal in the future. After each hartal, the callers thank the "people" for their "spontaneous cooperation". This is not merely a cruel joke to the numerous sufferers but is nakedly shameful, to say the least. If hartals are so spontaneous, why then do picketing, why burn cars, why stone buses, why break rickshaws, why wait with bombs at road corners and so on?

Yes, there is "spontaneous" support from employees with fixed salaries. They also bless callers when the hartal-day precedes or follows a weekend or a public holiday. They get an extended holiday to visit home and kins in far-away places! Who else are the hartal supporters? They are the ones who have been deprived of benefits enjoyed during a previous regime due to measures taken by the current regime to patronise only their own men!

Even if the two classes mentioned above constitute the majority of the people, would there be any justification to force the minority to face crises of various kinds noted earlier? In my humble view, the only "alternative to hartal" is to have a law providing for the arrest of the hartal-callers and picketers and sue them in court for restricting the freedom of others and for wrongfully confining people in their homes. That will never be as long as our politics remains what it is now and, in fact, has almost always been. A great man once said: "Democracy does not give any right to destroy democracy." How wrong he would have been if he were living in Bangladesh today!

An Autobiography of a Card Phone

M A Sekendar

I was born about a year back in the Sonapur Railway Station, Noakhali. I do not know the exact date of my birth. Since my birth there, nobody came to take care of me. Perhaps I have no parents and I am an orphan. Hardly any users come to use me. Since my birth, I was just left there and my struggle for existence continued. Somehow I still survive, although I had several chronic diseases. I had no chance to go to any doctor. I promised that I shall make the users suffer if anybody occasionally visits me.

I never act as a trouble-free rather I am trouble maker. Always attract people by welcome indications "Insert Card". Once anybody starts inserting card inside me, I start playing the trick. I do not allow, I just cannot allow such entrance free of charge! Then I never allow

line clearance if it is an NWD or ISD operation. I, after all, am a member of the great T&T Board.

Recently, I have a new visitor. He may be a new resident of Sonapur area and perhaps he lives nearby. When he came to visit me first time, I was smiling because he will have time to play with the foolish him. As usual I welcomed him indicating "Insert Card" indication. He tried to insert, but how can I allow? He went on trying 10 to 15 minutes and at last I allowed. He was trying for an NWD operation. Finally I allowed connection after another not less than 10 minutes. When he talked about half a minute I was getting annoyed and disconnected. He again went on trying several times. But this time, I allowed connection from

one side only. I allowed him to hear his wife but not her from him. Nice joke indeed!

Anyway, he used a few slang to me and the T&T Board. As the Board is my parents, it hits me and I became furious. I promised not to allow him anymore.

He appeared next morning. I used the same trick. I did not allow connection although I allowed card insertion after quite a long time. He left again with the same wording. He used to visit me regularly despite his unsuccessful try and I was also very strict to my paternal principles. One early morning, he appeared again. I was in a good mood and promised to allow some concession to him. In the usual way of his 10-minute try, I allowed him card insertion and later allowed him a full connection (both way)

To the Editor...

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

Birthday abhimaan

Sir, I don't get the humour or the legal point over AL's fuss over BNP leader Begum Khaleda Zia's observance of her birthday (the date or day does not matter). During my lifetime, here and abroad, I have seen (and myself observed) birthday parties being held on days other than the actual day of birth, depending on the convenience of the persons involved (sickness, away on trip, waiting for someone from abroad or other cities, etc.); including three celebrations of one birth (of one person) within two weeks, involving one or different hosts. When did birthdays become public property for public criticism? Some one is trying to be original.

Is there any difference, socially, legally, politically, culturally, on the observance of one's birthday, or on the person's social, official rank/status? Even VIPs, including heads of state, have more than one birth 'day/s' for observance (state, official, private).

There is no question of changing a past event which occurred (fact), namely the actual date and time of birth, but the annual get-together may be held on any convenient day; and it may change from year to year (there is no question of lying).

Why this court case? How about fundamental rights on this issue? Can anyone dictate to anybody the dos and don'ts about observing one's own birthday (if need not be a "celebration"), secretly, privately, or publicly? Many would await the court's verdict with academic interest. Has Awami League nothing else to do?

A Zabr
Dhaka.

Sculptures at road junctions

Sir, Announcements have been made by authorities that sculptures will be installed at suitable places to beautify Dhaka city. This is an appreciable venture indeed!

The religious people have already taken notice of this and one of them has expressed his disapproval. Given the educational background, mental make-up and aesthetic sense of these people, this is not unexpected of them. They will not be able to appreciate a sculpture, a water fountain or a small garden at road junctions. Appreciation of such things requires finer feelings of head and heart. In this connection, I remember a sign at the animal corner at a local park in the city of London. People were urged to bring there

children there, implying that a visit to such an aesthetic spot reduces violent tendencies in children's mind.

The authorities should, however, understand that putting a sculpture by itself does not add beauty to a site. The site and surroundings should be kept neat and clean. The roadsides of our city should be kept free of the filth which is so common. Another point which should be kept in mind is the selection of the themes of the sculptures. The religious people will find an excuse to agitate if human forms are sculptured. The sculptures should be restricted to flowers, birds, fishes, animals and beautiful insects of Bangladesh.

Here I would like to mention the placement of a bomber on the crossing of Rokeya Sarani and Bijoy Sarani. A bomber is not a pleasant sight at an intersection. If this particular bomber has any historical significance, then that should be displayed with the bomber, otherwise do please replace it with an aesthetic item!

A M Choudhury
Dhanmondi, Dhaka.

The origin of terrorism

Sir, Did any of us ever think 'who taught this world terrorism?' Now the West is shrieking, 'Arabs are terrorists. Arabs are terrorists.' They have even made hundreds of movies, showing Arabs as terrorists and defaming the word 'Jihad' as if 'Jihad' means terrorism. If only they knew the meaning of 'Jihad', they wouldn't have said so. Well then, who taught the Arabs and the rest of the world the art of terrorism — the use of strength and cunning to take away something from somebody wrongfully and forcefully? Of course, the West did! And their hijack was not only the first in the modern world but also the biggest. They hijacked a country from a whole nation, not a new one but centuries old and gave it to others who migrated into it from far-off places. The country that belonged to the Arabs from generations to generations, was taken away from them by the use of intimidation, or hijacked and given away to complete outsiders. Why don't they make just one movie on how they hijacked a whole country from its citizens, they are only busy making movies on how the Arabs hijack a plane — how trifling, compared to what they hijacked!

How angry they get with the hijackers and terrorists, that they punish them as severely as

they possibly can. What about the anger of the people from whom they hijacked their very country, and what punishment was given to the hijackers of their beloved country. Can anyone cite an example of any nation on the Earth's face whose beloved motherland, if taken away by terrorism, will not become terrorist in turn? Can they be then blamed for that? Can they be then normal after that? If they are normal, that will be abnormal! So the only solution is to return back, what was hijacked from them!

Dr Sabrina
Dhaka Cantonment
Dhaka

"Good News for NGOs and ..."

Sir, Thanks are due to Dr Elahi for his honest and true statement about the NGO activities in his article entitled "Good News for NGOs and Business People" which we read on 9th September in The Daily Star. He has pointed out exactly what is happening in Bangladesh in the name of "Development", "Poverty Alleviation", "Empowerment", "Micro-credit", etc. This is the time to raise the question: What we have achieved? What is happening actually?

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Women on the move

Sir, I write this letter in response to a news item published in your esteemed daily on the 30th of August, Saturday, under the title "Women's representation in the JS should be increased." The item was about a seminar held by a organisation called Women for Women.

In order to establish equal rights of men and women, the fight has been persistent and relentless. But gradually as better opportunities are being made available to the females it's the male society, who's becoming the underprivileged — condescending from their so-called tyrannical domination in a supposed dictatorship.

Today we have separate pages about women (e.g. women on the move) in magazines, we have separate television programmes on women (e.g. Narj), we have NGOs, and other voluntary organisations for women and even thirty "exclusive" seats for the women apart from the general seats. Evidently the fair sex is privileged from this point of view. And practically speaking, they should come more into active politics to earn their place in the JS, not rely upon to 30 exclusives where there's no contention from the males. They can come into direct competition and earn what they yearn for.

Tasneem Raihan
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