The Baily Star

Founder-Editor: Late S. M. Ali Dhaka, Wednesday, December 24, 1997

Still Dodged Autonomy!

This has now assumed the proven consistency of a riddle. On what issue, even in this land of perennial and pervasive political differences all the parties seem to think alike? Pat should come the answer. Autonomy for the electronic media.

Yet it looks as though Sheikh Hasina's government has sent its much-touted pious intention of autonomy for the state-owned electronic media to cold storage. The growing pessimism about the sincerity of the day's government on this continually 'dodged' issue got deeper when in a recent interview with a foreign radio network, the concerned minister said everything except the possibility of its early implementation. How unfortunate!

Things looked so properly directed only months ago. A number of renowned persons were placed on the commission exclusively constituted to prepare a set of recommendations and these people after having travelled extensively at the cost of fair amount of public money formulated the recommendations in the light of comparative judgment. And some of the recommendations, notably the Broadcasting Commission, in the submitted final report as sneaked in the press in the form of extracts did promise to fulfil the expectations of neutral, independent electronic media.

But now Sheikh Hasina's government seems to have other thoughts. Like its predecessors which so unscrupulously and so long adopted the policy that you can strengthen your hold on power by controlling the electronic media it seems to have decided to follow suit with a vengeance. Many attribute this attitude to the concerned minister. We would like to urge Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina to be wary of sycophants and add that a little look back into recent history would convince her that truth actually lies on the other side. In his nineyear rule Ershad kept vicelike grip on the electronic media ruling out even the slightest exposure of the opposition, yet the deposed general could not turn public opinion in his favour as the December 4 house of cards showed. Things were not any different when Khaleda Zia's BNP came to power. Going by the state-owned electronic media it did not seem there was any opposition in the country. Did she gain a wee bit from it either?

We urge the PM to lead her government out of this hateful mindset and get the ball rolling for the earliest implementation of the report. In order to fulfil one of the basic demands of the situation the first thing the government should do is to make the complete report public at once.

Biman's Roman Candle

We are as much relieved as the anxious relatives of those who were on board of that F-28 aircraft which made a narrow squeak yesterday at the news that there have not been any casualties. The way the Sylhet bound aircraft groped for the runway in the foggy winter night before coming down on a nearby farmland, the script of a tragedy seemed to have been written all too clearly. Now that the worst has been averted and the passengers, barring minor injuries to some, have generally come out unscathed, the authorities can coolly probe the reasons behind this roman candle.

An enquiry committee has been formed and we hope it will do the job professionally. Nevertheless, few assumptions cannot be held at bay. From the look of it, Monday's accident seemed to have happened more due to inefficiency of the pilot than anything else. It is in his attempt to make the aircraft ascend again after having detected his error in judgment about the landing spot--apparently due to the heavy fog - that the pilot failed and eventually touched down on a nearby farmland. While his possible 'part' in the night's play of panic remains to be shed light on by the fact-finding mission we advise the government to address some of the palpable and long running problems in our aerodromes. Most of the airports — there is no reason to consider the Osmany airport as a healthy exception — are woefully short of standard aviation facilities. More than the total absence of the things it is the complete lack of maintenance and routine monitoring that seem to be the principal worry. Not long ago Zia International Airport, supposed to be the best in the country revealed an alarmingly shabby maintenance profile. After the instant hullabaloo following the exposure in the press the issue seems to have died quietly. We demand of the government to use this recent accident as an ultimate pressure to fix the appalling reality of air port inadequacies by one stroke.

Early Warning

Giving a lie to the bumper crop refrain rice prices are up in this major harvesting season. The mercury in the city market barometer has leapt projecting but only a part of the price picture whose much larger canvas is spread across rural

Bangladesh. In the city markets prices of coarse and finer varieties have increased by Tk 2-3 inside of a week's time. In the northern region of Bangladesh reportedly a maund of paddy is currently selling at Tk 250-300. Last year about this time it sold at Tk

130-155 only. An in-depth study suggests that city and thana level godowns are not being regularly replenished owing to heavy congestions in cross-river traffic. Transport cost per truck has soared from Tk 9000 to Tk 13000, concomitantly pushing up the asking price of rice. Hoarding is also suspected as a special twist has been given to this year's circumstances with money-play revolving around the staggered UP elections. It is reported that buyers from south-eastern Bangladesh have descended on the northern rice markets in a larger number than before aiming to mop up all the paddies put on sale by the numerous UP election candidates to defray their combative expenditure. High incidence of pest attack leading to reduced production and the food procurement drive announced only two weeks ago may have had an impact on the prices.

We put the government on alert to keep constant tab on the situation so that timely bunkers can be built against nervous crisis management.

United Front Feels Shaken by Gujral

WO developments have shaken the United Front. If not its very coherence. They are: one. Prime Minister Inder Gujral's decision to contest the Lock Sabha seat from Jalandhar with the support of the Akali Dal; two, former Bihar chief minister Laloo Prasad Yadav's public praise of Gujral and the ridicule of Janata Dal president Sharad Yadav and former prime minister Deve Gowda in the same breath. The Communists, who have provided glue to the Front, are particularly unhappy because they see the Akalis and Laloo upsetting the apple cart.

The Akali Dal and CPI (M) secretary-general Harkishen Singh Surject have been separated for some years now. The Dal finds him dictatorial and he considers them communal He sees no way whereby the Front can compromise with communalism and has on this policy the support of leaders like Samajwadi Party chief Mulayam Singh Yadav and the

Front chairman Deve Gowda. But the statement by CPI(M) high priest EMS Namboodiripad that the Muslim League in Kerala would be acceptable if it were to leave the local front takes the wind out of Surject's sails. The Dal has always argued that it, like the Muslim League, is a regional party which has a particular community. Sikhs, as its members but eschews communalism. The Dal points out its past links

ISERIES seem to loom large in the political horizon of the country.

The ruling and the opposition parties tend to heading for a

confrontation. Instead of

cultivating reasoning, rational

ity and tolerance, they are

prone to beef up muscles. BNP

has warned to topple the gov-

ernment by street force. Con-

versely, the Awamis have come

to take control of the streets in

order to preempt their occupa-

tion by the BNP. The whole na-

tion is practically held as a

hostage to the irresponsible

(senseless?) activities of the

running eighteen months and

its acclimatisation period is

past. What the people want from

the government is absolute

business. Exercising business

honestly and skilfully can

never allow to sublimate so

deeply so many problems : re-

peated electricity failure, fre-

quent incidences of crimes in-

cluding repression on women

and children, unabated corrup-

tion, persistent terrorism in

educational institutions in-

cluding the universities and

halls, insipidness in trade.

commerce and industry, crises

in export of garments and

shrimps, underprices of raw

jute and paddy, low foreign cur-

rency reserve, repeated devalua-

are no less augmented by the ir-

responsible activities of the Op-

position. Khaleda Zia started

parliamentary exercises with a

walking out of the parliament

at the very first beginning of the

first day session of the seventh

ground to question the sincerity

of the BNP's approach to the

President to break the current

political stand off. Arguments

can be made that all this is for

public consumption and meant

only to gain sympathy and give

the impression that BNP tried

everything including seeking

the President's intervention be-

fore it launched its "movement"

If all this be true, even then the

merit of BNP's going to the

President should not be lost to

all of us, especially to the ruling

party. As long as mediation is

sought there is still time for

talks and of some sort of dia-

logue. Perhaps nothing may

come of it, yet something may

and on that slim hope we

should continue to try. Presi-

dent has still not given any re-

ply to the opposition's request

after a serious reflection on it.

and we want him to do so only

In our view what the Presi-

The miseries of the people

tion of taka etc.

The present government is

major political parties.

The Front's problem, as elections come nearer, will be how to stay together. Still more relevant question is what will make them stay together. It is obvious that there is loss of faith.

with the Janata and Congress and the services it has rendered to the country during the struggles against the British rule and

Indira Gandhi's emergency. Gujral's reported stand is that he will be a Janata Dal candidate, not the Akali Dal's. So what is the noise about? If they decide to support him it is a gain for the party, which did not win a single seat from Punjab in the last election. That Akalis have hitched their wagon with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is not his doing. The fact that they are behind him despite BJP chief L K Advani's strong plea with Punjab chief minister Prakash Singh Badal not to support Gujral shows his popularity among the Sikhs.

Deve Gowda and Sharad Yaday agree with Surject, although they wish that Gujral had made the Akali Dal join the Front. the DMK is not against the Akalis because one of their leaders, Surjeet Singh Barnala, had preferred resignation from the Tamil Nadu governorship to the Centre's bidding for the dismissal of the DMR government. Telugu Desam, Asom Gana Parishad and National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir are also not opposed to Gujral's acceptance of the Akali support. However, the overall reaction of the Front is not

favourable.

The other development, that is, Laloo's open praise of Gujral and the criticism of Sharad Yaday and Railway Minister Ram Vilas Paswan, both elected from Bihar, may affect the Front more than what the Akalis have done. Most UF leaders do not want to have anything to do with Laloo because of his tainted image. He also rubbed them on the wrong side when he was within the Front. Some persons reportedly met Gujral before Laloo's arrival in Delhi

could retain the Laloo men in the cabinet even when he bolted the Janata Dal and constituted a new party, the Rashtriya Janata Dal, it could have found a formula at that time for the future. The indignation against him at present does not mean much. He should have been dismissed on the charges of corruption and his men dropped from the cabinet. But then DMK leader M Karunanidhi hit upon the idea of Laloo's support from outside with a rider that his men would continue to be in the

BETWEEN THE LINES

Kuldip Nayar writes from New Delhi

to advise the prime minister to _keep away from him. Apparently, they could not dissuade Gujral from meeting him. His expected participation in Laloo Yadav's rally at Patna on January 5 may be an irreparable blow for the Front. However, some of its leaders say in private that strategically it may be worth the Front's while for Guiral to keep the line with Laloo

But whatever development on the Laloo front, the United Front has blame itself. If it

cabinet. The Front cannot turn back now and heap every blame on Laloo. If it was the question of morality, it should have been the principle in the first instance.

Were the Front to react against Gujral now, it would cause harm to itself. He is the prime minister and according to a survey by a Delhi-based English weekly, his government enjoys the support of 33 per cent people in the country The Front has nobody else, who has such an all-India image

that he has, to campaign during the electioneering. As prime minister, he will also have the facility to travel by air.

Nonetheless, the hiatus which has developed between Gujral and some Front leaders on the Akali support and Laloo's outburst is a reality which none can deny. The crisis within the Front will increase as the days go by. It is possible that the Front may stay only as a shell. The constituents in their areas may go their own way aligning with such forces which may not be right for their clean or secular image but may help the Front's candidates win.

How all this will ultimately affect the fortunes of Gujral in the Front will be known after the polls because that is the time for real alignments. Then even imponderables will happen and who joins or supports whom is difficult to assess as this time. Still I see the two fronts emerging: one against the BJP and the other of regional parties with the Communist and Congress.

Whatever the future, the rank and file in the Front is far from happy. Ask him what it means to be a member of the Front, you will have a long night's listening ahead of you and, probably, no useful answer when morning comes. He feels he does not count for anything

in the Front. (They were 160odd in the last Lok Sabha). He is annoyed with Gujral who. he says, never took him seriously. When you cite him the prime minister's contention that all the Front decisions were unanimous, the member shrugs his shoulders. He says that the leaders might have been in the picture, he never was.

Some Front leaders also complain that Gujral kept still about his ideas and plan. Their guess is that former prime minister VP Singh and few bureaucrats were his advisers. Although his ministers concede that he asked everyone about his or her opinion on matters that came before the cabinet and took no decision till all of them gave their consent yet they feel he never confided in

The Front's problem, as elections come nearer, will be how to stay together. Still more relevant question is what will make them stay together. It is obvious that there is loss of faith. The Front members should be consulting each other before reaching electoral alliances or seeking support from the outside. It is importance that not only it represents the different states in the country but also gives a platform to all parties, however small, to stop the tyranny of single parties, to share power at the Centre to promote and to help the marginalised areas get a better deal in the country.

Choice between Two Miseries: Delusive Expectations and True Prevision

by A R Shamsul Islam

Politicians are for the welfare of the country. They cannot afford to confine their activities to throwing lofty election pledges and breaking them after the election is won. Most politicians cry themselves hoarse on self-claimed performances. Unless vouched by the people, the claims turn into a drab and degenerated rhetoric which is no substitute for real performance.

parliament when, curiously enough, her own outgoing party speaker was presiding over the house. She commenced reringing the old, hackneyed bogy of selling out the country and jeopardising Islam by the Awamis. Hartals were called by the BNP without seemingly genuine grounds, a practice which the Awami League was enormously used to in previous days. The opposition leaders appear quite maniac in questing issues against the government. Their latest is the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Settlement which, ironically enough. Khaleda Zia herself ac-

It is not the habit of majority of our politicians to demonstrate tolerance to the minimum. Both the Awami League and the BNP have vociferously acknowledged that parliament is the focal point of political life. And it is their actions, perpetrated consciously or unconsciously, that are contributing largely to the ineffectiveness and inoperation of the assembly. While the BNP has often refrained from attending its session, obviously believing that this will further its scheme

of befelling the government, the

to the President, why can't the

party place it before the Par-

party talked of 14 points de-

mand to return to the House. It

is now saying that if the CHT

Accord is cancelled it will re-

turn to the Sangsad. Suddenly

the 14 points are no longer im-

portant. Are we to think that is

was a bargaining point all

along. Now that the BNP has

stronger and more publicly

'salable' point it has jumped

away from the 14 points, and on

to the CHT Accord. If BNP gen-

uinely believes that the general

public is against the Accord

then that is all the more reason

why BNP should say so from the

floor of the House. It should op-

pose the Accord tooth and nail

through the highest political

institution in our system. BNF

should use all the rules of pro-

cedure permitted in the House,

ment? The 14 points it de-

For so long the opposition

liament?

cepted and advanced

Awami League also seems forgetful that it is its prime responsibility to draw the Opposition to the parliament having demonstrated unquestionable and utmost sincerity and tol-

For example, the Awami League has now agreed to give the BNP the much demanded proportionate number of seats in the parliamentary standing committees. What withheld it to exercise this wisdom so long? Of course, it is too simplistic to think that had Awami League agreed earlier to the proportionate seats of the BNP in the parliamentary standing committees the latter would have behaved as a good boy. The BNP seems led from the very begin

ning by an ulterior motive of ousting the government which it calculates to do by street action. If street fighting is the decisive factor for awarding the governmental power why will the nation spend, besides mobilising the entire government machinery, crores of taka for the election?

The political parties should, on no account, forget that the whistle of the game is in the hand of the people who are the chief referees to decide upon

manded before have now been

replaced by only ONE - the CHT

Accord. If that be its main con-

cern then where better to ex-

press it than the floor of the

highest seat of our political edi-

go to the Parliament because: 1)

It will not be given enough time

to speak; 2) its speeches will be

telecast in a distorted manner:

3) that ruling party will be given

more time than the opposition;

4) microphone will be cut off in

the middle of their delibera-

tions: 5) ruling party will insult

them in their speeches, etc. etc.

this up with the Treasury bench

Let the President take all

BNP can say that it will NOT

What should the President do?

when to play, how long to play, what punitive measures to be taken against the delinquent players strictly according to the rules of the game. Instead of relying on the chief referees and allowing them appropriate time to declare their award the foul attempt to force the award by usurping the chief referees cannot end up well even for the transgressors.

It is not only the present government that is falling behind fulfilling people's aspirations. Others, in the past, also blasted people's hopes with no less severity. May be it is the destiny of the people of this strip of land called Bangladesh to cherish hopes of a better future only to see them down rightly dashed.

Bangladesh was born in 1971 in a bloodbath under a vow for democracy, social justice, secularism etc. Awami eague ruled 1971-75 followed by martia' law. Zia, Ershad came there fter. Khaleda rose to power in .991 through a most credible election under the first caretaker government. Now rules Hasina. Political scenarios were changed time and again with no appreciable change of fortune of the toiling

Politicians are for the welfare of the country. They cannot afford to confine their activities to throwing lofty election pledges and breaking them after the election is won. Most politicians cry themselves hoarse on self-claimed performances. Unless vouched by the people, the claims turn into a drab and degenerated rhetoric which is no substitute for real performance. The politicians cannot afford to

lose sight that people's faith in them is in the melting pot. A new realisation is being engendered in the core mind of the people, tired of and torn by blasted hopes. It is that if they remain believing that the politicians will do good to the country they will have to ultimately experience the miseries of delusive expectations and, on the other hand, if they give up believing that the politicians will do good to the country they will have to court, in advance. the miseries of true prevision. The politicians will please tell which choice will the people prefer to make and will there be any way out for the people to avoid making such a benumbing choice until and unless the politicians nurse themselves back to sanity?

The writer is retired Principal of Govt Mahila College,

OPINION

Share the Darkness, Please Rubab A Khan

We were absorbed in a cricket match. Suddenly the power snapped and darkness engulfed the whole area.

There was a loud sigh of disgust from the viewers in the room. The tiny girl next door, who was preparing for her annual exams suddenly cried out in despair to her mother complaining against the irregular supply that caused regular loadshedding. She would not be blamed if she did not do well in her exams, the reason was ob-

My tenant from the second floor came running down the stairs with a bowl in his hands. He needed a few ice-cubes for his child running a high fever. His own refrigerator had gone out of order due to voltage fluctuation.

These are but some of the most common irritants one has to go through everyday since the present government had come to power some 18 months back. First they wanted to impress upon the people that it was all due to failure of the previous government to take any steps to produce more power. When these lame excuses did not work they started telling the people that soon the situation will improve as maintenance of the plants were being expedited and barge-mounted generators would start producing electricity within a year, that was promised some 8 months back. Meanwhile, only two out of a probable four companies had started work on the proposed 400-MW generation. In the meantime, as the shortage became more acute promises tended to be taller, we would now have " 4500 MW 2001 AD." But do we really know what would be our exact need in

2001? God knows what would happen to the health and education of our children and grand children by then.

The energy minister does not talk much. In fact he is very hard to get whenever there is any need for clarification. Himself an engineer he knew he had very tittle solace to offer to the sufferers in this case. By virtue of his profession, I presume, he had always lived in quarters where water and electricity were top priority items of life. No sooner had he retired than he found himself incharge of the energy sector of the country. Whatever chances were there for him to experience the agonies of large scale darkness as a retired services' personnel, were gone and he was under lights again.

The ordinary people of this country, the law-abiding, taxpaying fools in millions are destined to suffer. They buy kerosene and candles with their hard-earned money, but I am sure the minister in-charge do not feel the difficulties through which his fellow beings pass their days and nights, because he basks in power and energy. He does not feel the agony of darkness because he does not haul to so through it.

For a change would he be willing to share the darkness with his countrymen, please?

Trade Unions and Politics

The politicians are clever fellows. They must be secretly keen to exploit the 5,000 trade unions in Bangladesh, who have 1,750,000 members as potential voters at the political

election polls. The Bangladesh Chapter of the International Confederation of the Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) is reported to be sincere in trying to de-link our trade unions from meddling in politics, and to keep away from political overtures, and divert the legitimate activities of the labour force towards the noble objectives of human rights etched into the ILO regulations; including agreeing to relating pay packets to productivity (and not to hartal holidays and free time on unfair union activities, as is the current trend, thanks to courtship by the outside

politicians). But the initiative has to come from the political parties. who cannot exploit the majority of the voters who reside in the rural areas, because the majority live below the poverty level. The other area for recruitment for voluntary political work/activism comes from the student front wing of the parties recruited at the tertiary level. Nice training for the fu-

ture officers and executives. And the politicians keep mum about the damage that is being done at erosive speed.

That is why the PSC is wor ried about the quality of the new entrees in the civil service, and have made some important recommendation for the examinations and selection of the future civil servants. This is one more example of the negative effects of destroying or polluting the established institutions of the society for strengthening democratic practices. On this issue also, golden silence is being maintained by the 'leaders' of the society, including the intellectuals, whose student days are long since past. And the former 'autocratic' regimes are blamed for all the ills and the dubious cultures. There is no mole in one's own eye. Is our

history also myopic? What, and where is the 'third force to bring about the corrections in this distorted system diagram? There are two options in the coming solution: one is planned and benevolent, and the other group will be bad and ruthless as before.

We concentrate on politics just beyond the nose. Who will look ahead for us? Import the consultants?!

use all sorts of parliamentary dent can and should do is to practices to 'expose' the Accord persuade the opposition to come What are the reasons for back to the parliament. We would like to ask BNP, the BNP's boycotting the Parlia-

Banning landmines

memorandum that it has given

Sir, Of all the conventional weapons of destruction in use, landmine is the worst kind. The basic aim is to incapacitate persons which is more pathetic, painful and demoralising then getting killed. Its effect lingers on and it is difficult even to perceive the agony one suffers if not seen or experienced by oneself. Ironically, more civilians fall victim to this trap than that of military personnel.

This weapon of notorious character becomes more dangerous when it falls in the hands of criminal groups. Disregarding the conventions i.e., marking the minefields, mines are laid scatteredly, unmarked and in unconventional pattern which makes breaching impossible. These mines remain active on ground for a very long time and so does the hazard. I gratefully thank the individuals, groups and the countries who have shown their willingness to ban this destructive weapon.

Tasmia A Choudhury Chittagong.

Healing moral wounds

Sir, Current forms of terror-

get rid of this situation. For this we require short and long term planning. Especially, we have to introduce moral education in all of our educational institutions. On account of this we have to include Islamic and moral courses in all spheres of education in an appropriate

Abu Faisal Sonali-1, Eskaton Garden

ism, oppression and corruption in our society clearly denote the low-level of our morality. Most of the people think that this standard is gradually declining. We have to do many things to

manner.

Biography of noble people could play a vital role in this regard. I remember, in my early age I had a chance to go through the biography of Rasulullah (SM) in several times which changed my life pattern from there on. Hence, I would also request all the guardians to make necessary arrangements so that their children could read the life of the Prophet (SM) and other noble Muslim personalities at their early age.

Road, Dhaka.

smooth functioning of the Sangsad. BNP's position that it does not want to go to the parliament to give 'legitimacy' to this Accord is at best self serving. It is

neither logical nor factual. Debating an 'issue' does not give it legitimacy. It never has, and it never will. People accepting an issue gives it legitimacy. Nothing else. If we believe in the people, then let us take the CHT Accord to them. People will hear what either party and their supporters will have to say. Which ever arguments are strong, logical and factual will win the day — that is only if one

believes in the people.

If BNP thinks its arguments are impeccable and have the highest interest of the country at heart, then what better way is there than to place them inside the parliament, which will be seen and heard by the whole nation. There cannot be any larger audience for the BNP view points on the CHT Accord than radio and TV are likely to

It is one thing to go to the President just to be able to say that we tried. It is quite another

to go to him to genuinely seek a way out of the present political impasse. We would like to think that BNP's intention is the latter. It is on that assumption that we urge the President that he should try his best to impress upon the opposition that it must return to the parliament, and at the same time convince the ruling party to extend all co-operation to him to be able to do so. Let him put the weight of the prestige of his office, and of his own person, in urging the fairest of treatment for the opposition inside the House. At least for the CHT debate he has the PM's request to be present. This will give him a

to remove each and every chance to personally monitor grievance that the opposition that particular debate. What party may have. Already we else can the opposition want? Let us assume for the sake of have some positive developargument that BNP's assessments in the offer of the PM ment of the CHT Accord is corduring her talks with the President. She invited the President rect. Let us assume also that the to be present in the Parliament government has made a big while the CHT debate will be on. blunder. How best can the BNP bring that mistake to public She has assured 'live and uninknowledge? How quickly can terrupted' coverage on the radio and the TV of the whole debate. the BNP educate the public If the opposition does not beabout that "blunder". In our humble opinion — by DEBATlieve it, then let the President ING IT ON THE FLOOR OF THE stand guarantee for these and PARLIAMENT WITH LIVE RAany other demands - including of equal time for both — that DIO AND TV COVERAGE. BNP can have to ensure the

One major drawback of our parliamentary practice is that the opposition considers that the Parliament belongs to the government, and that by boycotting it, opposition can damage the ruling party's standing and prestige. We said so earlier and repeat it today, that parliament belongs to the people as represented by the elected MPs. Boycotting parliament may reduce the credibility of the government of the day, but along with it, it also reduces the effectiveness of the opposition. Far more damaging is the fact that it reduces people's faith in the election process and ultimately in democracy itself. What future is there for our

democracy if BNP continues to boycott the parliament? Will another election solve the present problem? Will not the future opposition — whoever they may be — use the same tactics against the ruling party of the day. No, there is no future for us - of BNP, of AL or of us, the general people — in the politics of boycott. Now is the time to stop it, and the debate on CHT Accord, in the presence of the President, is the best occasion to do so.