

Inter-cadre Bellicosity

What has been a single-point bone of contention between BCS-Prokrichi and BCS-admn cadre over upgradation of posts favouring the latter has degenerated into a full-scale warfare within the republic's officialdom. Like ancestral feuding fights soaked in unmitigated bad blood all the cumulative demands harboured on both sides have sprung forth in a high tide of irresponsible behaviourism. As if an opportunity of a life-time has presented itself to have all the grievances in the world met in one go.

After Prokrichi-BCS coordination council's January 5 meeting with the Prime Minister clouds were lifted and hopes generated for an immediate cessation of hostility and return to normalcy. All this was based on an understanding that the government will not go ahead with the upgradation of 321 BCS-admn posts and that all the inter-cadre anomalies stood referred to the Public Administration Reform Commission. Prokrichi withdrew its agitation programme slated for yesterday relying on of the Prime Minister's assurances. But peace has proved elusive all the same.

Now, in a reactive move, hardly distinguishable from a retaliatory outburst, the BCS-admn cadre has formed an action committee seeking not only implementation of the upgradation order but also satisfaction of a number of other demands amounting to reopening of some old wounds.

Without sitting in judgement on the merits of different demands being raised by the various service cadres and being totally seized of the anomalies besetting them over the long haul all we want is a holistic solution of the problem through suitable administrative reforms. That is where the emphasis should be rather than on clannish fights for petty benefits that are bound to complicate things for service reorganisation when this is effected.

The services of the Republic, especially the superior cadres who are in leadership positions cannot behave like ordinary trade unions firing salvoes at each other, placing all sorts of demands before the government they are an organic part of, acting as pressure groups and threatening the government with action programmes now and then. Do these conform to the government servants' conduct rules and service manual?

The Patient's Dilemma

The government has sent instructions to pharmaceutical companies to discontinue production of drugs derived from terfenadine. This was done after being convinced by a WHO warning that the drug produced severe side-effects including death. The drug came into global use as being effective in the treatment of cough allergy, stuffed nose etc and earned quick popularity as this was, unlike all anti-histamines, non-sedative, producing no drowsiness. As many as nine local manufacturers have been making and distributing this drug using different brand names such as dinafine, servinin, nosidan and fenadiul.

The news, reported yesterday, is indeed very disquieting. Can't there be other drugs in use in Bangladesh which have such side-effects? How can we be sure there aren't? What if there are? Can we identify them on our own? As far as we know we have as yet no system of testing a drug on a 'control' population of patients over a broad timeframe. So?

There is, however, no need to run a scare campaign. Our pharmaceutical establishments mainly copy drugs in vogue in Europe and America and go by British or American pharmacopoeia. Neither these companies nor the government drug administration conduct any pre-marketing tests or post-marketing clinical trial feeling that the drugs copied from western brands do not need to go through such testing. But this is hardly the whole picture. Our pharmaceutical companies do fabricate many brands of usable and eatables that are touted and accepted as having medicinal effect. Then there is a whole array of so-called ayurvedic and unani concoctions of improved capacity for good and harm.

The drug administration could at least do one thing before developing things that would justify its name and office. They could ban advertisement in newspapers and other media such bill-boards of such fare. This is a funny and dangerous situation that while proven medicine to be prescribed by licensed physicians, are not advertised under a worldwide convention — all the advertising time and space are there for the spurious drugs of the demimonde.

As long as we do not come of age in the matter of medical and pharmaceutical research and industry we shall continue to be living by luck or dying by the same.

Hope it is Not Tokenism

We commend the Prime Minister for her liberal call to break away from the culture of throwing expensive iftar parties and instead spend the money on the poor gripped by a nipping winter cold. It has an additional source of delight for The Daily Star because not long ago we had suggested something to this effect in this column. It is nice to see that the Prime Minister basically in keeping with the spirit of the holy month of Ramadan valued the demand of humanity over everything else in the teeth of nature's adversity.

Iftar parties these days have become convenient occasions for socialising and interactions which we support. But at state level it must be done with great caution. Over the years our national leaders have been great patrons of these. Nobody saw the moral chink in the whole exercise in a country where such a vast majority of the population lives below the poverty line and where basic necessities elude so many. It is unlikely that such a palpable message was lost to all of whom who had been calling huge iftar parties so far.

We feel not just in the matter of unnecessary exhibition of victuals at the time breaking the day long fast in the holy month, there are great many areas in our social life where we can exercise austerity without telling on the social, moral, religious life of an individual. Let it be the lesson of this particularly chilly Ramadan that we would avoid waste where we can help. Let our surplus be of use to those who need.

However, we hope that the Prime Minister's gestures will not end up being just a token. Not only in iftar but also in all of her other actions and those of her cabinet ministers' austerity should become the way. Only then this particular gesture will acquire a deeper meaning and become an example to emulate.

Sudden Splendour of the Dazzling Light: People, Work and Income

Finding ways to unleash the dormant creativity of the people and to equip them for a demanding future constitute the dancing horizon over the monsoon clouds of Bangladesh. And people, whether supported or not, will venture into "the sudden splendour of the dazzling light."

The Dancing Horizon, a UNDP publication notes that Bangladesh faces some inexorable arithmetic. Annual population growth has fallen to 1.8 per cent. It is expected that by the year 2005, fertility rate will fall to 2.2 children per mother-replacement moment. Yet the population momentum will propel the total number now at 124 million, upwards until around the year 2045, by which time it could plateau at 250 million or more. Landlessness today in the countryside is extremely high. Squalor in the major cities conjure up images of necro-cities or the cities of the dying and the dead. Providing food, work and shelter for double today's population is a daunting task.

Yet it is the resilient people of the country who are its greatest resource — the farmers who are transplanting rice, the women members of Grameen Bank or BRAC who are setting up micro-enterprises for self-employment, the weavers who are finding a niche in the global market with Grameen check, or the mostly female workers in garment factories who are stitching a million seams. Finding resources and support structures to harness their creativity fully, empowering them with knowledge resources, and providing them opportunities for work and income is the singular priority for decades to come.

In the past, much of the work was in agriculture, particularly crop agriculture. According to 1991 Labour Force Survey, 64 per cent of the labour force is engaged in this sector. It will continue to be so over the next two decades and more. But its capacity to absorb part of the incremental labour force will be on the decline as productivity gains displace many of the underemployed. Accelerated growth in the sector as well as in job-creation will be in high value horticulture, poultry and small livestock and fisheries.

With relevant agri-business support and contract growing to

ensure regular supply of quality raw materials to keep the agro-processing industry running year round with a wide variety of vegetables and fruits, needs of the domestic urban markets can be met. Also the potential for export of semi-processed or processed product may even surpass the phenomenal growth of the garments industry. An obvious niche-market is the Asian community abroad.

Similarly, the urban implosion in Bangladesh can provide a large enough domestic market to permit setting up large scale poultry farms supporting entrepreneurs in the country side and ensuring sustainable livelihood for millions of women. A good example is the BRAC initiative. A number of modern large-scale farms supply one-day chicks to rural women entrepreneurs on a credit basis for rearing those between three and six months. The support services provided are proper housing units for the little ones with necessary feed and immunisation services. These entrepreneurs, then supply 15 hens and one cock to each of one million rural women, and they maintain their families with the sell of eggs in the local market.

The key to the whole programme is first the linkages among the three tiers, second the technology and training support including training of bare-foot veterinarians, and third provision of appropriate feed and shelter. Constraining factors are: i) high duties on vitamin, an essential ingredient of poultry feed and ii) as yet ad-hoc linkages with maize growers, maize being the basic feed. BRAC, however, has already entered into agreements with small farmers for growing maize and providing them hybrid-seed, by getting into seed-industry itself. The concomitant employment growth in

seed-multiplication, retail trades and services in inputs, and contract growing itself is substantial.

Fruit processing like pineapple canning already initiated by some entrepreneurs and NGOs in Madhupur or dried food production, for example, also has considerable potential. If Bhutan could export mushrooms grown on oaks to Japan, there are enough opportunities for the same in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, a disturbed and disadvantaged region till today.

The rural non-farm sector, as an un-published World Bank document notes, particularly rural industry played stellar role in many of the high-growth East Asian economies in rein-

forcing agricultural performance. The best example is China and I plagiarise from the document, China 2020. Agricultural reforms, including household responsibility, price increases and the production increase that followed increased rural incomes substantially with concomitant high rural savings for investment in rural industries which generated better returns than farming. Higher agricultural productivity freed surplus labour on the land and provided a steady supply of workers for the rural industry, and higher rural incomes created a ready market for the industrial products. Further, these enterprise activities were supported by making agricultural raw materials available to rural enterprises for processing, and encouraging

urban manufacturing farms to subcontract work to rural enterprises. "More generally," and I quote from the document, "production restrictions were relaxed, taxes were low and enterprises were allowed to pursue whatever activity they chose." Starting with 22 per cent of the country's total industrial output in 1978, the share of these rural enterprises reached 30 per cent by 1984 and climbed to 36 per cent in 1988.

Can such experience be replicated in the countryside in Bangladesh? My unequivocal answer is: Yes. One can only look at the once vanishing breed of impoverished handloom weavers in Bangladesh. Today, because of credit, markets could be sustained with more value-added through cotton, jute and synthetic textiles. Leather processing and manufacturing, ceramic or electronic goods are all candidates for dynamic growth in the immediate future and beyond. An exciting prospect is in knowledge-intensive software production and data processing, offering a potentially significant employment opportunity for unemployed youths. The prerequisites, however, are language and computer training at secondary and tertiary levels along with infrastructural support through access via satellite communications, dedicated lines and collaboration with the large client base spread across the developed countries.

But I recall again the UNDP document that I started with. Export industries, however vibrant, could only employ a small section of the population. Bangladesh must generate its own internal dynamic to enhance work and income opportunities for the many. Currently around two-thirds of the people subsist on land. They must, in increasing proportion, make living in small industry or services like petty trading, selling compost by cart loads, rearing predators for controlling pests in the rice-field or vegetable patch and in more difficult circumstances by husking rice with 'dheki', breaking bricks for the urban, peri-urban roads and houses or peddling rickshaws. They will certainly benefit from the stimulus of export industries. Women workers in the garment factories, for example, "may spend their days bent over whirring sewing machines, but these are women for whom income and independence open up fresh horizons outside the home." They are many. But how many? If Bangladesh "is not to be bifurcated into two nations — a

smaller group that is linked to the globe, a larger one struggling in the margins — the country has to find ways to promote small businesses that can employ the majority of the people.

The lending policy of large commercial banks support state-owned corporations or the privileged private corporate sector, many of whom default on their loans. Micro-credit extended by the NGOs has been and continues to be effective in enhancing income and employment opportunities for the poor and the least privileged.

Small enterprises and small business fall in between the two stools with rare investment support and non-existent access to information and knowledge resources. But this is where the opportunity for work and income for the majority population lies.

Beside the Grameen enterprise for the handloom and increasingly powerloom weavers, the only modest programme I know of is BRAC's credit and investment support to small entrepreneurs with a credit fund of ten crore taka and a relevant technology and management package. What is required perhaps is a facilitating framework within which small enterprises, trade and services can operate freely and efficiently.

No doubt, the proliferation of small enterprises, trade and services is not a government responsibility. Creating an enabling environment, definitely is. Throwing open the windows of responsive governance and creating institutions that work less on the exercise of downward directed power and patronage and more on openness, transparency and accountability are essential for such facilitation. Finding ways to unleash the dormant creativity of the people and to equip them for a demanding future constitute the dancing horizon over the monsoon clouds of Bangladesh. And people, whether supported or not, will venture into "the sudden splendour of the dazzling light." (Rabindranath Tagore).



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South Remains Distant for BJP

True, the BJP is slightly better placed in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka than before. Alliances in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh have given it some space. But alliances do not make the wave, something which the BJP is claiming.

I have visited all the four southern states, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu in the last few days. There is no dramatic turn of event. No person of any consequence has left Congress or joined the Bhartiya Janata Party; no media hype either. Unlike the North, the South is calm and collected.

It is too early to guess how the four states will vote because political parties and candidates are yet to take their firm position. But the climate and mood, which determine elections, are perceptibly clear. My experience tells me that unless there is a wave, the people do not change their mind which, in many areas of the South, seems to have been made up. Before I discuss the states individually, let me first give my general impression.

One thing that comes out strongly is the people's unhappiness over too many mid-term polls. They find them unnecessary, inopportune and expensive. They spare no political party or, for that matter, leader when apportioning blame for the current situation. The BJP is mentioned cursorily. They, however, wonder if anyone is serious about setting things right. Their fear is that the country will be hauled over more political uncertainties, more economic difficulties and more valueless politics. Some even believe that there will be yet another mid-term poll before the end of the century.

The type of cynicism you find at certain places is so raw that you can bite it. The very future of the system is being questioned. There is deep disillusionment with the instruments of governance and those who wield it, including the bu-

reaucacy. This may lower the turnout, which has averaged 45 per cent in the South in previous elections.

Whatever the rhetoric or reading of the BJP in the North, it has very little support in the South. I do not find it getting even 10 seats or its own symbol in a total of some 135 the four states have in the Lok Sabha. There are different reasons in different areas. But they have one thing in common: the party has only a few pockets of influence. Pockets do not win constituencies.

Talking about reasons, take Kerala. The BJP is confined to Trivandrum city and Kasargod on the Kerala-Karnataka border. The voters favouring the party may not go beyond one lakh and one and a half lakh, respectively. BJP chief L K Advani launched election campaign in the South a few days ago from Kollam, a seaside town in the state. There may have been ripples. But even that had subsided after 48 hours of his departure.

The reason why the BJP does not make any headway in Kerala is the state's secular temperament. The people are educated and they do not want communalism to muddy their waters. Although Advani avoided the Ram Mandir from his speech at Kollam and said that his party would uphold "the principles of true secularism, justice and equality" yet there were very few takers. Nor was there any attention paid to "a democratic front" which the BJP has proposed in the state. The Muslims have two Leagues

and the Christians have the Kerala Congress. Education minister Mani's group has distanced itself from it. But these parties are not seen parochial because of their anti-fundamentalist postures. In comparison, Hindu Munnabai, the BJP's front organisation, is seen as a fanatic and it believes that way.

The state has 20 Lok Sabha seats. At present 10 are with Congress-led combination, United Democratic Front, and 10 with the Communists (Left Democratic Front). The ruling communist front looks like losing two or three, provided the

efforts to bring the two Congress rivals, A K Anthony and K Karunakaran, bear fruit. Both leaders have initiated unity moves.

The voters are committed either to Congress or the Communists. But since the latter are in power, the ever-rising unemployment is making some, particularly those in the middle, critical of the communists. The loss for one will be the gain for the other. The BJP is not even in the picture.

The BJP's alliance with the AIADMK may help the party register its presence in Tamil Nadu. But even the optimists do not give it more than two to three seats. The people's apathy

towards the BJP is because it is regarded as a North India party, ingrained in Hindi chauvinism, the price of which the Tamil Nadu paid heavily in 1965 when Hindi was sought to be made the main language of the Union. The Muslims are dead against the party. The recent rioting in Coimbatore — some 25 Muslims were killed and goods worth Rs 300 crore looted or destroyed — had further tarnished its image.

The real players in the state are the ruling DMK and the AIADMK. The DMK had an edge, not because it heads the

and Coimbatore.

Tamil Manila Congress headed by G K Mooppanar has the benefit of having alignment with the DMK. But Mooppanar's equivocal attitude towards Congress may cost the party some seats. Congress may pick up two or three this time as compared to the last time when it won none. In any case, the BJP may again draw a blank, although its alliance with Jayalalitha will give it the "much-needed political space in the state," as the RSS ideologue Govindacharya has said.

Not long ago, the BJP had secured 28.4 per cent votes in Karnataka. If fell down steeply despite its winning six seats. An alliance with Ramakrishna Hegde's Lok Shakti, if reached, may not improve the party's fortunes. Being a Brahmin, he represents the upper castes, which are already tilting towards the BJP. S Bangarappa would have been a more effective ally because he, being a backward, can attract votes of the backward. Congress has harmed itself by crowding him out.

Still, the real fight in the state is between the ruling Janata Dal and Congress. Hegde may harm the Dal and the party is doing a damage control act by wooing Bangarappa for an alliance. The BJP lacks local leadership to take advantage of the Dal's unpopularity and demoralisation in the Congress ranks. After the Hubli Idgah had the national flag aloft, the BJP has practically no card to play.

Lakshmi Parvathi, wife of the

late chief minister N T Rama Rao, is no more a force, either politically or emotionally. By hooking its wagon with her, the BJP has merely gone on record in Andhra Pradesh. The ground reality is that Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu may have lost the sheen but not the experience, having won the last three elections. The scrapping of prohibition and subsidy on rice has made a dent into his support. Yet his overall performance, particularly his grip on the administration, may make up for what he has lost otherwise.

His Telugu Desam's main confrontation is with Congress. Both have lost one tall leader each: D Narayana Rao has bolted the Telugu Desam to launch his own party, the Telugu Tali and N Bhaskara Rao has left Congress. The BJP hopes to cash in on the damage the two will cause to their respective parties. Here too its local leadership is extremely weak.

The BJP won once the Secunderabad seat, which is now with the son of P V Narasimha Rao, former prime minister. It is trying to regain that. A party which drew a blank in the last Lok Sabha poll is not likely to make a good showing.

True, the BJP is slightly better placed in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka than before. Alliances in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh have given it some space. But alliances do not make the wave, something which the BJP is claiming. Probably, Advani gives a peep into the party's strategy when he says that the party will widen its base. Probably so. But very little in terms of seats.

BETWEEN THE LINES Kuldip Nayar writes from New Delhi

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.

Oil fields

Sir, There are five vast oil fields around the world situated in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran and Caspian Sea of Asia. In the past international oil companies earned a huge amount of money from these oil fields excepting Caspian Sea on the basis of Production Sharing Contract (PSC).

But this situation of foreign companies for making wealth did not last long. In 1970 Saudi Arabia and Kuwait cancelled the PSC and appointed the foreign oil companies as technical adviser instead. On the other hand Russia, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan were ready to make an agreement on the basis of PSC with the internationally reputed oil companies but, they differed on the question of their respective share consequent upon which exploration of oil in Caspian Sea could not start as yet.

In the light of the above facts, the government of Bangladesh may take lessons for our oil and gas fields. Firstly, there should not be any compromise over the just share of Bangladesh. Secondly, the

government may think of appointing foreign oil and gas companies as technical adviser to work for us. The sooner the better.

Abdul Majed
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Dhaka.

Why is Biman flying down-ward?

Sir, Over past considerable time, we have been observing with great concern and dismay that the silvery wings of our national airlines have been flopping and at last unfortunately Biman Bangladesh has been grounded.

Following discovery of a dead body under the wheels of Biman while landing at Jeddah International Airport, Saudi Arabia, civil aviation authorities world over not only raised their eyebrows on our national airlines but the image of Bangladesh Biman remained all-time low yet our authorities concerned failed to improve their duties, responsibilities and functions.

We wonder who is overall responsible for efficiency, services, administration, supervision, control and discipline of Bangladesh Biman! What is wrong with our national airlines?

We strongly feel that mere an enquiry into the recent Sylhet accident of F-28 aircraft is not enough. We demand that a clear cut and simple financial statement on the following heads of accounts: 1) Total amount of investment made by our government from the public exchequer on Bangladesh Biman, 2) Total amount of loan outstanding against Biman, 3) Expenditure on pay and allowances, 4) expenditure on TA, DA and overtime allowances, 5) Profit and loss for the period from 1972-73 to 1996-1997, yearwise, for a thorough scrutiny, examination, reorganisation and overhauling of our public sector national organisation — Bangladesh Biman.

It is time for action and not contemplation.

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Whose box is it, anyway?

Sir, We are impressed to see the news item (১০ জানুয়ারি ১৯৯৮) in a section vernacular press on 23rd December '97. It is a timely observation. The new generation who are in the age group of 10-35 years are not

fully aware of the dedication and contribution made by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Father of the Nation. I think it was initially necessary to inform and update the young generation about the Liberation War and the role of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But by now enough has been done and the way things are presented and repeated it is often creating displeasure to many. It has been well said in the observation made (১০ জানুয়ারি ১৯৯৮).

It is natural Sheikh Hasina being the daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will be pleased if people praise the parents. But being the head of government, the Prime Minister needs to give more attention to the priority needs of the country especially economic development, monitoring of projects and programmes more in-depth and accountability of Ministers. Ministers should try to understand programmes and reduce dependency on Secretaries (who are often and mostly proved to be self-seekers).

Like in the past, currently too 'flatterers' (both government officials and so-called political workers) would be manipulating and motivating Prime Minister and Ministers to remain in their good book. Feelings of the people may not be reaching them. After 21 years Awami League has got the opportunity to come to power and not only Awami League as a party to be in power but a member of Sheikh Mujib family as

the head of government. If the government fails in improving condition of the people the country will be facing uncertainty. Prime Minister should act ruthlessly to achieve tangible results and not rest on words.

I would like to convey some of the feelings of the people about the changing of name of the institutions like PG Hospital, schools/colleges at Gopalganj and play ground at Dhaka. Was it really necessary and urgent?

An observer
Dhaka

Domestic flight to northern districts

Sir, BIMAN has totally cut off the flight service to the northern districts. The air travelling passengers of the area are now stranded.

We are inviting the foreign investors but I don't know how the foreign investors will dare to go by rail or road to this area spending their precious time, say, about 16 hours a day.

We are inviting the foreign tourist to visit Paharpur, Mahasthan Garh, Sona Mosque Kanthi temple, Ramsagar and Teesta Barrage, but I don't know how the tourists will cruise across the road and ferry jam at Fulchari ghat and Aricha-Notakhola ghat. I know many foreign experts are working in CARE, RDRS and UNDP projects. These people will find it

very difficult to come to Dhaka for any official matter for want of any mode of quick communication. Even during the regime of Pakistan this region was far better off in this regard.

There were state services in Lalmonirhat and Rangpur. Again air service was there in between Ishwardi and Thakurgaon. During the last 25 years, world has progressed fast. But our present situation tells us that we are going behind in all respect. Because you cannot take your ailing friends and relatives to Dhaka for treatment for want of quickest and comfortable mode of communication.

Biman will argue that domestic flight is a losing concern, so no initiative was taken to increase the number of aircrafts in its fleet. Railway is also incurring huge loss. Even then it is continuing its services.

Service industry like Biman should remain operative till we could establish a good private air services to all the routes.

Besides air passengers are ready to pay the enhanced price of ticket if better and quicker services are ensured. I hope Biman authority will hire 2/3 air crafts from abroad to keep the domestic services operating. I also request the Biman authority to arrange purchase of aircrafts on credit basis taking the help of MIGA.

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