# The Baily Star

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## BJP May Threaten Ties

Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on her return from the Colombo SAARC summit has, inter alia, stated in a press conference that 'there is no question of deporting any Bangladeshi by the Indian government.' Earlier, a prominent Bangla daily reported quoting a highly placed foreign office source that Bangladesh would not accept the 17 Bengali-speaking persons who had been arrested in India in an apparent bid to transported them to Bangladesh. For, 'there is information' that they are not Bang-ladeshis at all; in fact, they are Bengali-speaking citizens of India domiciled in West Bengal.

For the past couple of weeks news emanating from across the border has been conjuring up some sort of a brewing of an effort to push some Bengalispeaking people into Bangladesh, dubbing them as Bangladeshis. This follows the arrest of two groups of Bengali-speaking people in Mumbai by the police authorities at the instance of the BJP-Shiv Sena coalition government in Maharashtra and their subsequent transportation to West Bengal for an attempted onward despatch to Bangladesh. The attempt was aborted by West Bengal people who freed them from trains purportedly headed for Haridaspur border saying that they were Indians from West Bengal state and, therefore, mustn't be deported to Bangladesh. The Left Front government of West Bengal came out in stout defence of the popular action. Chief Minister Jyoti Basu categorically regretted that Indians were being branded as Bangladeshis and to be hounded out of the country. Most of them were also known to be "Bengalispeaking Indian Muslim citizens" employed in specialised trade and crafts in Mumbai. A Calcutta court is also learnt to have ruled the arrest of Bengali-speaking people as illegal.

The expulsion stories would seem to fall in line with what the BJP had stated in its election manifesto about deporting the allegedly illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in India, if and when the party came to power. There is a BJP-Shiv Sena coalition government in Maharashtra. Although the Left Front government in West Bengal has held its ground and the matter is being sorted out at the inter-state and central government levels, we would still urge utmost sagacity on the part of the Indian leadership to guard against any setback to the bilateral relations being enjoyed by India and Bangladesh at the present moment.

## Hospitals Spreading Disease

Of all essential things that our hospitals lack, the most shocking is the absence of any acceptable system of waste disposal. Hospitals are here not only to cure people. These must set a standard of health practices and be, so to say, temples of health and hygiene. It is inconceivable that these can, on the extreme opposite, be sources of spreading disease in the society. Things have gone to such lengths that any responsible agency, government to start with, must instruct people not to take residence in the vicinity of a hospital. For health behemoths like the DMCH, the IPGMR or the Red Crescent — enjoying the generosity of acres of land, the question of shunning hospitals as neighbours was not urgent.

But now hospitals are growing like mushrooms in the exclusively residential areas like Dhanmondi. The government doesn't seem to be overly concerned with the health hazards of the people who live close to these new hospitals.

One would have thought that none could go and open a hospital just like that. Certain requirements must have to be met before one is allowed to open such a set-up. And on the top of that list of first requirements should have been the setting up of an appropriate waste disposal system. As our misfortune would have it, not one of our hospitals, with the glowing exception of ICDDR,B has such a system. The Daily Star report on Saturday makes it amply clear.

A hospital generates considerable amount of garbage — and almost all of it dangerous for all things that live, a lot more so for man. Used syringes and blood-stained cotton and clothes, toxic chemicals and discarded human organs and what not. The people running a hospital have no right to spread infections and toxic material in the freestyle manner they are doing now.

The profit-only hospitals would not heed. And there is no service-minded hospital in the country - the government ones being held in hostage by a motley collection of suckers. There is no way but for the government to impose firmly the waste disposal requirement. But does the government know about the right requirement? Or care to know?

## The Two Women of Bagha

We are outraged at what happened to two women in Bagha. A leading Bangla daily reported on Saturday last some criminals partially disrobed two women in public at Bagha in Rajshahi. This utter barbarity took place when the two women came out to offer their feeble resistance to hoodlums who were beating the man of the house mercilessly as a sequel to clash between local AL and BNP. The man's wife was the first to go through this traumatic experience followed by her college-going sister-in-law. What makes the whole story look such an abject defeat for humanity, civility and morality is that there was a police officer in the crowd near a bus-stand that watched this 'spectacle' unabashedly. Worse still, when the victim limped to the local police station to file a case against the criminals — all known faces — the officer there refused to take the case. He had a reason though. The case was 'delicate' or beyond him because the disrobing devils reportedly enjoyed the blessings of powerful people in the party in power.

With this still being the trend how will the government get the message across that it is committed to the rule of law? We don't know how the government expects to arrest the deterioration in law and order without ensuring that local thanas promptly take up cases as soon as these are sought to be lodged with them. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's call of punishing criminals even if they belong to her party is not apparently holding wa-

Is complete forcible disrobing of a woman or women in public many light years away from partial disrobing? Does it weaken the moral culpability of the whole matter? We demand immediate and exemplary punishment of all those involved in the matter.

## Not with a Bang but a Whimper

At the twilight of the century there is no dissent, no rebellion, no protest. A stupor seems to be setting in the mindset the world over. The conformists in a servile manner compete with each other to pay their fealty to the world's metropolis. At the end of the day it is sadly found that we only went round the circle covering little space horizontally.

L be down with the epoch coming to an end and a great time — the twentieth century that shaped our lives, hopes and dreams — vanishing, like a bubble, in the sea of eternity. We are at the history's milestone from where to look back, reminisce and take stock of how had those one hundred years been! How does the end of the century compare to its beginning?

By all accounts whether one uses the conventional quantitative measures of the rates of growth of GNP, per capita income and international trade and services, or more complex qualitative ones, the century has been one of dramatic achievements — thanks to the legacy of an unbridled capitalistic growth catalysed by the industrial revolution almost two century ago. Henceforth, capitalism's march went triumphant bringing however many victims in its trail. It produced many of the good things of life and material progress but underneath the bright surface there were plenty of miseries.

N another about five hun-

dred days the curtain would

Indeed, the most remarkable thing about capitalism was the contrasts it produced: extreme poverty and extreme wealth, slum and skyscraper, empire state and dependent exploited colonies. The very pace and gasping nature of capitalistic

HE South Asian Associa-

comprising India, Pakistan,

Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, the

Maldives and Sri Lanka, held

its 10th Summit in Colombo on

29-31st July in the backdrop of

the recent nuclear tests by two

of its members. The Summit

provided the first face to face

meeting between the Prime

Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee

of India and his counter-part

Mian Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan

since the two countries

detonated the nuclear devices in

mense groundswell of support

from the public in the two coun-

tries for their governments.

However the euphoria and the

jubilation on the streets giving

vent to their national pride

have now disappeared when ris-

ing prices, increased taxes.

sharp fall of value in stocks and

shares, depreciation of local

currency to US dollar, inflation

and depletion of essential ser-

vices have hit the common men

and women. Both countries are

now reeling under the crippling

sanctions and the popularity of

the governments has declined

are under pressure from oppo-

Sri Lanka's Trade Minister

Kingsley Wickramaratne, was

able to focus on the increased

economic activities in the re-

gion. Furthermore discussions

were held on the mechanism of

turning the region into a free

trade area by 2001. The SAARC

know the advantages with a

combined population of 1.2 bil-

lion people of whom about 400

million are classified as middle

class. Political differences

notwithstanding, Mr. Wickra-

maratne said that all the coun-

tries were committed to work-

ing together to increase eco-

nomic activities in the region.

This is needed more so while

the economies of India and

Pakistan are under severe

strain because of the sanctions.

common market in the region

within a framework of South

Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA)

that removes the borders

among the member-countries.

The key is to bring about a

sition parties to perform well.

considerably. The governments

The Summit, according to

Initially there was an im-

May this year.

tion for

Cooperation

Regional

(SAARC).

industry brought matters to a head and produced discontent and opposition against it. It led to the socialistic ideas which, while they accepted the new industry, challenged the basis of capitalism. It was by the turn of this century that the challenges against an untamed cruel capitalism took some concrete shape. But it took some more

times to explode. From the rubble of World War I there emerged what to many observers, not only the diehard Marxists but rather more uncertain socialists from Bernard Shaw to Jawharlal Nehru, appeared to be the key positive event of the century, namely the October Revolution of 1917. It was the first alternative in the history to an exploitative capitalism and could spark optimism among the millions across the world for a just and fair deal even without ideological commitment. The Second World War accelerated the process bringing in socialist fold almost half of the world. At the height of cold war Eurocommunism shook West Europe the citadel of capitalist world. The socialism became, by the 70s, the norm of economic life

in most of the Third World

countries.

Now as the century comes to an end it begins to appear that the matter has come full circle as the Soviet Union - the unkempt child of the revolution has ceased to exist. And her socialist empire has fallen like house of card. Everything con-

tions and penalises the weaks. As before, it fosters a culture of contrasts bringing, for example. more flashy cars as well as more number of destitutes on the street. A century back the people at the losing end could be fed on hopes. Today, even those hopes are no more there. In the EU countries, a desperate elec-



rights and wrongs - has been discredited. All the optimism generated by socialist revolu-tions to build a brave new world

now lies in tatter. Whosoever may be held responsible, it is by all reckoning. a promise broken — a dream shattered. After more than a century of brush with an opposing creed the capitalist economy has now tightened its grip over mankind in the name of globalisation which benefits richer class and powerful natorate has voted to power the 'left' political parties who however do not know how precisely to go about a socialist reconstruction anymore.

As the century dawned, no less dramatic had been its scientific and technological advancement. When Orville Wrights took off the ground in his first ever mechanical flight in 1903 and by about the same time Marconi introduced his wireless telegraphy the distance between the people and nations was thought to have been conquered as a consequence. Yet, nearly a century later the world has demonstrated more proclivity towards differences, separateness and — in the process — a new brand of nationalism bordering almost on xenophobia, defying the dictates of trans-continental communication and an emerging interdependence, the mankind has been compartmentalised into introvert communal, ethnic and other parochial entities creating invisible barrier among them. The agony and ecstasy of each other seldom touched them.

In the realm of scientific inventions, although the years leading upto the First World War were characterised by a technological optimism and linked to a spirit of universalistic humanism, the subsequent years failed signally to bring about changes in the direction that had been predicted. Instead of human well-being the inventions in most cases demonstrated their other aspects and were used as weapons of destruction in a struggle between nations and empires, and thus contributed their part to the carnage of both the world wars.

The atom that could release energy for the progress and prosperity of human being was used for unleashing power for destruction. Belying the prospect for the triumph of universalism and humanism the century is ending with a rising wave of jingoism, hatred and militant nationalism.

The twentieth century heralded an age of science, reasoning an nationality and early on in the century there was a vision of benign internationalism. In spite of a nerve-wrecking cold war during the most part of the century it was full of promises however. There were promises to reconstruct the world - its economy, demography and even political order. There were nationalist resurgence in the third world. There were Nasser, Nehru and Nkrumah. There were Dienbien-phu, Vietnam, and Korea. There was dialogue for the first time between North and South. There were voices which yelled at the world for justice and

At the twilight of the century there is no dissent, no rebellion, no protest. A stupor seems to be setting in the mindset the world over. The conformists in a servile manner compete with each other to pay their fealty to the world's metropolis. At the end of the day it is sadly found that we only went round the circle covering little space horizontally.

## Colombo SAARC Summit: An Appraisal

#### by Barrister Harun ur Rashid

Pakistan and India failed to a meaningful dialogue in Colombo. It will not be incorrect to say that it was a dialogue of the deaf. The failure has been a severe disappointment to other SAARC member-countries which pinned their hope that the Summit will facilitate in breaking the icy relations between the two countries.

The question is how to turn the region into a free trade area. may sound pessimistic when I hold the view that there are a number of impediments to this development

First, the region is asymmetrical. The territory and population of India is larger than the territories and populations of the other six countries together. India naturally wishes to dominate the region to which Pakistan does not agree. As a result, the region is trapped in political differences and instability.

Secondly, there is a view that India has been unable to instill trust and confidence in the neighbouring countries and is perceived often as 'bully' in the region. With the BJP ledgovernment in New Delhi, the political climate has worsened. Trade, after all, develops with the active participation of the people of the countries. If there remain distrust and suspicion among the peoples of the member countries, trade will fall flat and the governments will be pressurised by the people not to agree to a free trade.

Thirdly, India being the largest in size, there exists a small country syndrome among its neighbours in relation to India. Russia and Finland, the US and Canada or Mexico. Australia and New Zealand and Saudi Arabia and Yemen are

instances to make this point Fourthly, India has a much larger industrial base and manufacturing industries than the other countries in the region. Most of the member countries have negative balance of trade with India. There is a fear among the neighbours that Indian goods will sweep the markets to the detriment of local industries. This appears to be a big dilemma for the governments of the other member countries to agree to a free trade among SAARC member coun-

Finally, until the Kashmir dispute is settled, it is hard to see how free trade area can come into being. Herein lies the impediment in SAARC's unity and strength. As Pakistan Prime minister said in Colombo: "Kashmir is the core issue. The sooner it is resolved.

it is better for the two coun-

It is interesting that the agenda did not include the most relevant topic in the region -nuclear tests and its implications on security, economy and environment of the region. This issue has been sidelined as a bilateral matter which cannot be incorporated in the agenda under SAARC rules. Any discussion between India and Pakistan on nuclear test will inevitably bring the issue of Kashmir dispute- the bone of contention between India and Pakistan for the last 50 years. Pakistan wants a third party's presence (UN or Japan or the US) in the talks on Kashmir while India vehemently objects

#### **Unresolved Bilateral Issues affect the Unity**

Both India and Pakistan know that they have now nuclear arsenals and the charade is over. There is a view that the tests have not made their bilateral relations any better or worse. The former Indian Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit in a BBC interview maintains that after the defeat of Pakistan in 1971 war with India, Pakistan restored its self-confidence by showing its nuclear capability and this will enable Pakistan to discuss the Kashmir dispute under greater sense of security. What Mr. Dixit meant is that in his view the environment is more conducive to bilateral talks on Kashmir after the tests. This appears to be an interesting dimension to the nuclear tests and many will not share his view.

In Colombo, there is a view that under US pressure both India and Pakistan agreed to discuss the Kashmir issue. However, it is sad that the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries, despite a mutually compelling need to ease tension, failed to make progress in talks designed to agree on an agenda and modalities how to handle the issue of Kashmir. It is reported that Pakistan wanted to include only two issues, namely, Kashmir and the security in South Asia to which India disagreed. India did not want to confine to two issues only and wanted to include other bilateral issues, such as trade, visa etc in the talks.

The disagreement on the agenda could be due to the divergence of the perception of the parties. There is a view that Pakistan wants the bilateral talks to be seen confined to Kashmir and security issues in the light of the increased tension resulting from the nuclear tests, thereby mobilising international opinion for a third party intervention (the UN, or the US, or Japan) in Kashmir issue. India, on the other hand, would not buy Pakistani proposal as it wanted inclusion of a host of bilateral issues including that of Kashmir. India wants to give the impression that Kashmir issue has been relegated as one of the issues and not "the issue" between them. It appears that both sides wanted to score diplomatic points by remaining inflexible and the talks broke down. They could not even agree to a date to resume the next meeting. A Pakistani statement stated that the dialogue between India and Pakistan in Colombo \* remain stalemated and no progress has been made." In an interview with the Colombo-based Island Daily. Pakistan's Prime Minister said the talks had come to

It will not be out of place to mention that the recent Meeting (July 27) in Manila of ASEAN Regional Forum of 20 countries including India, Russia, the US, China, Japan, Australia and the European Union expressed their "very deep concern" about the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests and the challenge they posed to the nonproliferation regime which has served the world for the past 30 years. ASEAN ganged up on India at the meeting and criticised both India and Pakistan for their nuclear tests. South Asia's outlook has

rarely been so unstable or unpredictable. India and Pakistan again exchanged fire across the cease-fire line that divides Kashmir, Within three days, 43 Pakistani civilians and 20 on the Indian side are reported to be dead. Both countries blamed each other for the escalation. It is intriguing to note that this fighting coincided with the SAARC Summit in Colombo. Two opposite views prevail on the purported motivation of the escalation. One is that the purpose of the fresh escalation was to internationalise the Kashmir issue so as to involve a third party to this dispute. The other view is that the commencement of fire across the control line of Kashmir was to undermine the talks in Colombo.

On the economic front, both India and Pakistan face financial crisis. Almost 450 million people live below poverty level in the SAARC region and the leaders have heavy responsibilities in alleviating the insulting poverty of their people Without a prosperous India and Pakistan, other SAARC member countries are likely to suffer from economic uncertainty as bilateral trade will be adversely affected because of the austerity

programmes of India and Pakistan. Because of the sanctions, South Asia may emerge as anti-American rather than pro-American. The US has rarely been so powerful but it is persuasion and not sanctions that may persuade both India and Pakistan to sign CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty).

#### Conclusion

The Summit began with optimism when the Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers were seen, in a TV footage, smiling and shaking hands at a face to face meeting in Colombo. Everyone's eyes were glued to the statements and body language of the two Prime Ministers. The sideline show involving Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Nawaz Sharif became the focal point of the Summit. There was a sigh of relief that neither side made any strident statement at the Summit. This could be, as analysts believe, that both of them have been under domestic and external pressures not to be seen to vitiate the Summit environ-

The importance of having a Summit lies in reinforcing the personal relationship of all of the political leaders with each other. The more they meet, the greater is the benefit as the meetings and discussions at a personal level are useful to know each other's points of view on issues which have enfeebled SAARC's solidarity and unity of purpose.

Regrettably, Pakistan and India failed to a meaningful dialogue in Colombo. It wil not be incorrect to say that it was a dialogue of the deaf. The failure has been a severe disappointment to other SAARC member-countries which pinned their hope that the Summit will facilitate in breaking the icy relations between the two countries. That was not to be. It is hoped that the downward spiral in their relationship can be broken when Indian and Pakistani leaders meet face to face next September at the Non-Aligned Confer-

The writer is former Bangladesh Ambassador to the UN in Geneva.

lane narrow body roads. And we

still wonder why we have so

many accidents. Most of the

western world have developed

4-lane dual carriage ways to en-

### Nothing happens without a cause

Sir. The entire nation has been traumatised at the barbaric killing of Rubel, a university student, allegedly by the members of the law enforcing agency. Another parent has been robbed of their pupil of the eye without knowing the reason. The law abiding citizens will hold their breath until yet another hoodlum in licenced arm kills another.

Armed terrorists, goons and mastans are having their field day right under the nose of the police while innocent people are living in terror from the very authority mandated to protect law-abiding citizens. It now appears that a remarkable penetration of criminals has made its way into the police

disrepute to the outfit but also have thoroughly shaken the confidence of the citizens in police. Is it a deliberate conspiracy to destabilise the government or yet another proof of rampant corruption has engulfed the department in the guise of protectors? Long since is dead and buried the slogan, "the police is your friend.

There is a flipside of the coin. Nothing happens without a cause. The recent police barbarity seems to have a causal nexus. How clean are our law makers pitted against the law enforcers? Quoting from memory of the recent past I may remind the readers few incidents and pose following questions (knowing not to whom):

Some time back an MP was found guilty of killing of a businessman at Dhanmondi residential area. Is he now serving prison term or enjoying a care-free lite?

An MP Prortedly picked up

a girl from city's Crescent Lake area and took her to the MP hostel for immoral act. When caught red handed by the police on duty the MP fired pistol shots. Has the MP resigned, has he been punished and thrown out of the party he belongs to? Or is he still lecturing gospels on the floor of the Parliament?

The Daily Star unearthed a scam in which personages at the helm manoevered to sanction 50 crore taka for the import of baby-taxis which spew life threating poisonous smoke. We heard an inquiry was under way. Have those potential killers of humanity been nabbed or brought to book? Or are they flambyoantly flying the national standard on their cars with gay abandon?

Some MPs were instrumental in rescheduling a hung loan of a die-hard defaulter flouting They are not only bringing Bangladesh Bank rules blatantly. Have they been reprimanded or punished?

The fact is corporate crime in Bangladesh is let off with impunity, only individual cases from time to time attract the attention of law — more so if the criminals cannot grease the palms of powerful hands.

A Terror-stricken Citizen

### Hartal? Give us a break...!

Sir. The objective of hartals is to shut down all economic or other social activities (offices, industries, shops, schools, colleges, universities etc., must close down; the sick must die without treatment) to prove a point by the callers of hartals that citizens or voters, observing such hartals, are with them. It is perhaps a demonstration of no-confidence against the political party or parties in power

Is it an election? No. When the most successful hartal ends, the political party

in power does not collapse. Look at the strategy of hartal calls. A hartal always prefixes or suffixes holiday (or holidays) to induce longer stay-away from work. Sadly, next morning, the national dailies publish statements from both the hartal callers as well as the party in power, congratulating all citizens — the sufferers, for their participation in the hartals and thanking citizens for not participating in the hartals, respectively.

But every citizen knew they suffered and the damage was done. In these circumstances, hartals are a dreadful national cancer, requiring immediate treatment and surgery.

One of the Sufferers

## Death in custody

Sir. We are deeply shocked at the death of innocent student Shamim Reza Rubel. It was reported in different national dailies that he was arrested under a 'controversial' Section 54 of CrPC and tortured to death by six CID police officers. We don't have a single word to condemn the alleged killers. Rubel's premature death in police custody reminds us of the days of Stalin's ruling years in the former USSR. Incidents like Rubel killing under police custody are not new phenomenon in Bangladesh. Several other incidents during the former and the present government took place

But it's a matter of great regret that neither an accused has ever been brought to justice nor was an investigation report made public.

national issue.

Moreover, every time both ruling and opposition parties tend to cover such incidents with political motives. As conscious members of the state we don't see any qualitative difference between a military regime and a democratic government. Difference is that military rulers do have legitimacy crisis while elected government having majority people's mandate imposes 'politics of majority' upon the whole state structure. It results in crippling the minds of our political leaders. Even members of civil society demonstrate such attitude in expressing their views on any

We have apprehensions that with time, the much talked about killing would disappear in the air. So we, as members of an organisation urge:

1) the Government and the Opposition in Parliament to rise above mere political interests and help the Judicial Enquiry Committee to punish the real culprits as soon as possible; 2) the government to start

fresh investigations into murders under police custody that had been committed over the last five years; 3) the government to rethink

on Section 54 of CrPC; 4) the government to make realistic efforts to establish accountability in police depart-

ment; and 5) the government to set up an external monitoring mechanism while an accused is in interrogation under police cus-

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#### Not lack of knowledge Sir. One of the main reasons

for road accidents in Bangladesh is not lack of knowledge and enforcement of traffic rules, though they certainly have a role to play. I fail to understand why no one in Bangladesh seems to understand the real reason behind these accidents. The real reason is the design and structure of the roads, not the vehicles or the people who drive them.

When the accidents take place in the city of Dhaka? Only after road dividers were installed to prevent face to face collision. How can accidents be prevented on the highways of the country? Let us take the Dhaka-Tangail highway, for example. It is a single-lane unmarked stretch of road. All highways need to be wide enough to contain at least two clearly marked lanes, one for each direction. This alone will get rid of most of the accidents. How so?

If vehicles can be forced to stay in their lane as they proceed in one direction then no collision could take place as another vehicle approaches from the opposite direction, one that was invisible due to trees covering the bend ahead. Overtaking would also become simpler. No need to blow the horn and turn everyone deaf until the slow coach leans over to the ditch allowing the bus behind to pass while it leans towards the other side and possibly either of them completing the fall. Overtaking would involve going to the opposite lane on a clear stretch where it is clearly visible that there is no traffic from the opposite direction. It is mind-boggling that there are hardly any two-lane highway

in Bangladesh.

Most highways are single-Dhaka

sure free and safe flow of traffic Any 10-year-old child would be able to tell you that the existing road between Dhaka and Tangail would be miserably inadequate after the inauguration of the Bangabandhu Jamuna Bridge. Why was not a 4-lane dual carriage way built between Dhaka and Tangail when the bridge was being built? The bridge it self is four-laned!

Riaz Osmani Michigan, USA

## Permissible, or not!

Sir, Nowadays most of us are not at all concerned about halal and haram.

We have become shortsighted and within this limitation, we commit mistakes. Therefore the world we live in is in a dangerous immoral position. Islam has zero tolerance for anything that weakens, de-

values or undermines family. No doubt, the family is based on loyalty and trust. And where there is no loyalty, no trust and where there is no trust, there is no family, no community, no nation and no world

No human society can function without rules and prohibition, and Islam rightfully gives some rules and regulations for the people. To live our life smoothly, we should sincerely obey the margins, without imposing any hardship or disobeying the righteous.

Nimta