We Oppose Hartal

Dhaka, Tuesday, November 10, 1998

Hartalocracy is on a come-back trail, the gnawing longer version of forced civic standstill, we mean. Caught up in a continuous 60-hr whirlwind of a BNP edict for the first time since 1996 general election, we disconcertingly look on a definite down-turn in the confrontational hiatus between opposition and the ruling party. Apprehensions grow of the return of a legacy that made a havoc of our lives prior to 1996 with an ironical surprise that the BNP which had then castigated it with vehemence as the ruling party is now being an enthusiastic convert to it.

We question the whole logic of hartal now as we had done it before. For it is an article of faith with us to oppose it as an anachronism in free and democratic Bangladesh. If the purpose is to protest the 'oppressive' nature of governance and show how repressive the government could be then why must the opposition let loose its own variety of an oppressive imposition of their will upon the citizens. And be guilty of the same offence they are charging the ruling party with? Why should the people become sacrificial goats to their pathogenic inability to come to terms with each other in rudimentary matters of political co-existence? We wonder what faults the opposition parties have found with the daily wage earners, patients at homes and hospitals, professionals in various fields and particularly the exporters and importers that they have deemed it fit to punish them like this. Times without number have we said that given our state of the economy there is no justification whatsoever to interrupt its working with attendant back-logs weighing down heavily on any new agenda. And from the political standpoint also it is suicidal to tax the electorate's patience.

Granted, the government by their behaviour on November 7 provoked the opposition into a reactive gear, and the former has drawn our flak for the same in our earlier comments; but that is hardly any acceptable reason why our life and living will be throttled for full two days.

What is a political party worth if it does not strike a difference with another political party? Begum Zia, you are not showing any new path, you are doing what your predecessor did as far as hartal calls go.

Let's place it on record again that the present government is not helping matters much by their attitude to the opposition. We have been watching with some trepidations that what they do tend to harden the BNP position. The ruling party needs to rework its political vibes.

Show the Way, FBCCI

Despite having a fairly liberal policy towards investment, both local and foreign, the economy continues to suffer from a dearth of new ventures, particularly in the industrial sector. A variety of reasons is usually cited to explain the problem, but even within such obvious constraints, there are surely possibilities which the business community, particularly new investors, can exploit. But while the cumbersome government machinery is slow to respond to the investors' need for information and guidance, there is a lot the business community itself can do.

Recently, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina raised this particular issue with the newly-elected officebearers of the Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FBCCI). The prime minister called on the FBCCI to come up with new ideas for investors and assist them to exploit untapped areas, particularly in agriculture. The point she made was a commonsense one, which should find receptive ears within the business community. The business leaders are no doubt aware of the possibilities this country holds, but the meeting could provide the cue to initiate a closer cooperation between the government and the FBCCI in the field of new ventures in unexploited areas.

The opportunities that agriculture-based industries offer cannot be over-emphasised. Fertility of the land and labour of the people could be turned into the country's most lucrative natural resources, if the business community came forward to exploit their vast potential. The government is already pledge-bound to provide necessary infrastructural supports. The business community could play its due role through identifying new areas for investment and making an effective information and advisory service available to potential new investors. This is particularly so for agri-based industries, but it applies equally to other new areas of industrial ventures. The FBCCI ought to move out of its currently-narrow role as a pressure lobby, and become more pro-active in generating investment.

Central American Tragedy

It is nearly impossible to imagine what happened in Central America when Hurricane Mitch hit the region and a vast part of a mountain fell on the populated foothills. The geomorphology of the zone comprising Nicaragua, Honduras. Guatemala and El Salvador has changed with deep sheets of mud covering crop fields and highlands under water for the first time. As if the whole vista has been sculpted anew.

The disaster took a toll of about 15 thousand lives in its first strikes. The toll is now to swell with an inevitable spread of cholera and malaria. This part of the disaster is so familiar to us in Bangladesh. Over the recent years it has been possible here to contain epidemic deaths far below feared deaths. But the stricken Central American countries — home to fantastic scenic beauty — are unlucky in that the terrain, which is formidable as it is, has now been reduced to being absolutely forbidding. For the most part the highways do not exist now. And bridges have left signs only of their former existence.

Add to this the fear of an ecological disaster taking over the region. Ecology is a matter that changes with imperceptible slowness over aeons of time. If change that may take place in a hundred thousand years is pressed and rushed to occur al-

most overnight, how will man cope with it? Our heart goes out to the affected nations and their victim populations. It would be very meet for Bangladesh not only to send sympathy but also some token relief and a medical team.

THE LEGAL PROFESSION

Fighters for Freedom, Human Rights and Justice

by Dr Kamal Hossain As our societies move forward, as they must, in pursuit of multi-dimensional development — political,

economic and social — the legal profession must rise to the challenge of playing its strategic, pro-active role - as "legal freedom fighters," as "people's lawyers" to protect the people's interest, to defend their basic human rights, and at all times to uphold the rule of law and the dictates of justice.

models, who are remembered and respected as fighters for freedom, for human rights and for justice. The great South African judge and jurist, Albie Sachs, described the lawyers needed in the new democratic South Africa as "legal freedom fighters". In his roll of honour of such lawyers the pride of place is accorded to Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. He contrasts "fearless legal freedom fighters" to those elements in the legal profession whom he described as "legal toadies," those who, in his words are "the opportunistic and corrupt lawyers who are notably fearful, or even worse. indifferent in the face of repeated invasions of basic rights and liberties" by those in power. They are those who readily make themselves available as apologists for abuse of power on behalf of the convicted presand prostitute their intellect and professional skills to deident, as he perceived this to be fend the indefensible - the una dilatory tactic and considered the indulgence shown by the justified proclamations of martial law and states of emer-Court to be unwarranted. His last words were: "No one is gency, gross violations of human rights involving torture. above law. Our Criminal Procedisappearances and prolonged dure Code does not make any detention without trial, and special provision for VIP crimalso the arbitrary and corrupt inals". We are also proud in this distribution of patronage, inregion of our colleagues, who volving grants of public propcourageously opposed unjustierty and award of major public fied emergencies and excesses committed in the name of naprojects, often in consideration of large illicit payments. tional security, and those who Though we may lament the as judges of superior courts or law officers were removed or

UR self-image is shaped by

the traditions set by our

Vexemplars and role

presence in our profession of some of those 'today' elements, we can on the whole be proud of the many who have gone before us and many who are in our midst who can legitimately be described as "legal freedom fighters". I recall one of our own colleagues, who is no more, and who was an ardent supporter of SAARCLAW - our former Attorney General, Aminul Huq. Even before he had become the AG he had earned our respect

was that in this off-year's

L election. President Clin-

ton's job was on the line. After

the election, it is the Republi-

can Speaker of the House, Newt

Gingrich, who is in serious

danger of losing his job to his

soul-mate, GOP Congressman

came in the form of the mid-

term elections on November 3

In all the previous mid-term

elections since 1934, the Presi-

dent's party lost on an average

27 seats in the House of Repre-

sentatives. Bucking historical

trends, the Democrats gained

five seats in the House in last

week's election. Only two weeks

ago, House Speaker Newt Gin-

grich had predicted a Republi-

Republicans. They were hop-

ing to gain at least five more

Things got only worse for the

Both Hillary and Bill Clin-

ton made several trips to New

can gain of up to 40 seats.

Reprieve for the President

Bob Livingston.

for successfully in the face of which we have been engaged for persistent threats and pressures some 50 years. The goals of - prosecuting an influential podemocracy and development, lice officer charged with the which we all share, have to conmurder in police custody of a tend against powerful special young man. As AG he was eninterests which have a stake in trusted by the Caretaker Adthe existing status quo. These ministration with the task of interests have forged unholy prosecuting the corrupt former alliances to resist reform and President who had been rechange by every possible moved from office by a popular means. They have sought to movement for democracy, in preserve their dominance and which thousand of lawyers had privileges at any cost. They reparticipated and many leaders sort to money and muscle and, of the Bar had suffered repeated when expedient, to foment ethperiods of detention without nic and communal strife. They trial. Aminul Huq had colare responsible for the cartelilapsed and died in the Court sation and criminalisation of room protesting the grant of the politics. fourteenth adjournment sought

> has been made even more challenging by the impact of globalization. The absence of effective regulation of the market and the chronic weakness of law enforcement, coupled with the new ethos of pursuit of fast and easy money and maximizing of private profit, have tended to create "a free for all" condition. This has allowed grave malpractices, such as unbridled currency speculation and fraudulent transactions involving banks and stock exchanges to take place. There is burgeoning corruption, as governmental discretions are still exercised to confer enormous benefits through award of projects and contracts and sale of public property on unduly generous terms, in consideration of illicit payments. Some of the major beneficiaries have been unscrupulous speculators and local agents who act as intermediaries. The victims have been

ordinary men and women,

The situation in our societies

whose interests the law fails to protect.

This harsh truth was confirmed by none other than the President of the World Bank in his address to the Joint Bank-IMF meeting earlier this month when he reported as follows:

"... While focusing on microeconomic numbers, or on major reforms like privatization, we have ignored basic institutional infrastructure, without which a market economy simply cannot function. Rather than incentives for wealth creation, these can be misplaced incentives for asset stripping..."

He went on to urge that: "We need a new development framework. First the framework would outline the essentials of good governance transparency, the free flow of information, a commitment to fight corruption... Second, it would specify the regulatory and institutional fundamentals essential to a workable market

In one word the rule of law has to be firmly established and markets have to be regulated in the public interest. Thus there is urgent need to develop in the legal profession the capabilities required to establish and enforce the appropriate regulatory regimes to protect against market manipulations, market failures, and corruption. Expertise needs to be developed in negotiating contracts, which would govern major transactions and projects. Its absence has made possible one-sided agreements, often induced by other means, which are not only contrary to the public interest, but sow seeds of future

disputes. Major disputes have arisen in our region out of contracts involving oil and gas development, and setting up of major power plants - which have become the subject matters of international arbitra-

While developing these capabilities we will need to guard against the prevailing ethos which might encourage the new breed of lawyers "to optimize the clients' outcome by any means." A caution was extended as early as the turn of the century by Justice Brandeis, while addressing an audience at Harvard when he said (using language which could easily be those of Justice Krishna Iyer): "We hear much of the 'corporation lawyer' and far too little of the 'people's lawyer.' The great opportunity of the American Bar is and will be to stand gain as it did in the past, ready to protect the interest of the peo-

He counseled young lawyers: "Advise a client what he should have, not what he wants" drawing attention to the enormous power of large corporations, which needed to be guarded against. A recent study by an American academic on Lawyers and Justice draws upon Brandeis to urge that lawyers when discharging their tasks should be imbued by a sense of "moral activism". The study points out that in the intensively competitive environment is which mergers and acquisitions and corporate take-overs from a large part of the corporate lawyers' work. there is danger of losing sight of the large consequences of the

transactions, thus: "Those steamy hostile takeovers that exercise such a powerful aphrodisiac on today's young professionals are not simply grand master chess between financiers - they hurl the job security of thousands into the vortex and unabashedly trade future economic development for mo-

mentary profits." As our societies move forward, as they must, in pursuit of multi-dimensional development - political, economic and social — the legal profession must rise to the challenge of playing its strategic, pro-active role - as "legal freedom fighters," as "people's lawyers" to protect the people's interest, to defend their basic human rights, and at all times to uphold the rule of law and the

dictates of justice. This calls for a bold initiative by SAARCLAW to adopt a plan of action to develop a legal profession in our SAARC region which will be equal to the tasks expected of it in the 21st century. This plan must include: A programme of continuing

legal education to update and upgrade our knowledge and To concert our efforts to

establish a SAARC University To organise regular peri-

odic workshops on specific subjects of common concern To hold regular consultations to develop common

strategies to protect the people's interests and their human rights, including their right to a healthy environment and the right to development.

I humbly submit that these matters should be accorded the highest priority in the SAAR-CLAW agenda.

Based on the author's paper presented at the Seventh SAARCLAW Conference held at Colombo on 25 October '98.

LETTER FROM AMERICA

Stunning Democratic Gains in the Election Lets HE conventional wisdom President Clinton off the Hook

Dr. Fakhruddin Ahmed writes from Princeton

There was a time when President Clinton would have bent over backwards to accept a congressional censure to save his job. After November 3, he may hold out for no punishment at all!

York city to raise funds and campaign for Democrat Chuck Schummer, the eventual

resigned as they found martial

ing a view shared by all of us in

asserting that we regard the role

of members of the legal profes-

sion to be that of "legal freedom

fighters." This role assumes

critical importance as our soci-

eties strive to achieve economic

and social transformation

through a democratic process.

This is an ongoing process in

I believe I would be express-

law to be wholly unacceptable.

D'Amato-killer. There was one Republican net loss in the election for governors. Although former President George Bush's son Jeb Bush (elected Governor of Florida) joined his elder brother George W. Bush (reelected Governor of Texas) as the only two-brother Governors since the Rockefellers in the 1960s, it was the Democrats who captured the ultimate gubernatorial prize that of the most populous state in the union, California. Governors chalk out the voting dis-

seats in the Senate, the body that will be the jury in any imtricts to favour their own party peachment hearing. (Currently, in elections. there are 55 Republican and 45 The overwhelming reason Democratic Senators.) That for the Republican electoral dewould have given them a filibacle was their unwillingness buster-proof 60 seats. Although to listen to the American pubthe parties swapped three seats. lic. For months, polls showed the Republicans not only that the Americans were fed up gained no seat in the Senate. with the Lewinsky episode, did they lost two of President Clinnot want Clinton impeached ton's most virulent critics -(censured, yes) and were un-New York's Alfonse D'Amato. happy with the partisan way the Senator who initiated the the Republicans were approach-Whitewater hearings, and ing impeachment. Through it Carolina's Senator all, Bill Clinton's approval Lauch Faircloth, who was berating remained over 60 per hind Kenneth Starr's appointcent, and Congress's around 30 ment as the Independent Coun-

the prospect of impeaching a popular two-term Democratic President. The election, they figured, would only add to their Congressional strength. That strategy backfired. In the new Congress, with only a slim 223 to 212 Republican majority, it is doubtful whether the full House will vote to recommend impeachment proceedings in the Senate. The Republicans learned in a painful way that focusing on the impeachment of Bill Clinton was bad politics. Clinton and the Democrats talked about issues Americans care about - education, social security and healthcare reform — and came out winners!

The biggest loser was not on the ballot: Kenneth W. Starr of McLean, Virginia. It was he who prompted many, including the writer, to vote early for candidates opposed to him. In the writer's congressional district, Rush Holt, a doctorate in physics and the former assistant director of Princeton Plasma Physics Laboratory sought to unseat the Republican incumbent, Mike Pappas. Dr. Holt is a friend of Princeton University's 16 Nobel Prize all of winning Professors. whom made contributions to his campaign. Mr. Pappas

gained notoriety by literally singing Kenneth Starr's praise on the floor of the House in July: "Twinkle, Twinkle Kenneth Starr. Now we know how brave you are. We could not see which way to go. If you did not lead us so. Twinkle, Twinkle Kenneth Starr, Now we know how brave you are." Dr. Holt obtained a copy of the tape and played the audio portion in his radio ads, and the video portion in the television ads. The effect was devastating. This congressional district, which includes Princeton, is full of liberals and moderates who hate Starr's guts. They all voted in record numbers for Holt, to oust the Starr fan, Pappas. Nationally. Pappas was one of the only six

Republican incumbents to lose. Now, from brain to brawn. In the year's most bizarre and embarrassing result, a former professional wrestler. Jesse The Body" Ventura, was elected the Governor of Minnesota! Mr. Ventura's opponents were no lightweights. On the Republican side the candidate was the Mayor of St. Paul's. On the Democratic side it was Attorney General Hubert Humphrey, the son of the late

Vice President, who had defeated the son of another former VP. Walter Mondale, in the primary. Upon winning, Mr. Ventura requested that from now on, he would prefer to be known as Jesse "The Mind" Ventura. Of course in Mr. Ventura's previous profession, sudden transformation from a villain to a hero was an everyday occurrence. What can one say, except, only in America!

In an interesting side bar, as the retiring Democratic Senator John Glenn was orbiting the earth on the space shuttle, his Senate seat also changed orbit, and fell into the sphere of the Republicans. NASA focused so much on showing the 77-year old Glenn's every move in space that the Japanese complained that they had not even seen a glimpse of their own astronaut. No sooner the complain was lodged, in a display of true shuttle diplomacy, live picture of the Japanese astronaut suddenly filled the television screens!

Although the Republicans are under enormous pressure to wrap up the impeachment investigations quickly, they are still trying to play it sly. Mr.

Henry Hyde, the House Judiciary Committee Chairman of the old Congress has sent President Clinton an 11-page letter requesting "yes" or "no" answers to 81 questions derived from Kenneth Starr's report. Clinton's lawyers will be in no hurry to reply. Hyde is seeking snap answers that could be used to perjure the President. Very cleverly, the questions do not mention Presidential sex (for which the Republicans paid a devastating electoral price), but are attempts to prove perjury and obstruction of justice charges against the President. Emboldened by the election,

the President's lawyers are going to point out that Mr. Starr's report is only the prosecutor's one-sided version of events. The testimony of key Presidential accusers such as Linda Tripp was not cross-examined Starr did not even call Lucian Goldberg, Tripp's fellow conspirator, to testify in front of the grand jury. In an effort to "streamline" the impeachment inquiry, Henry Hyde wants to call only Kenneth Starr to testify in front of the House Judiciary Committee. Democrats are going to insist that they would appreciate a visit from Ms. Tripp and Ms. Goldberg as well. There was a time when President Clinton would have bent over backwards to accept a congressional censure to save his job. After November 3, he may hold out for no punishment at all!

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.

Reveal "secret" data

Sir, Few will disagree that our pride industry, namely garments export, is being pampered. Sometimes, the government has to bend a little too much to meet their non-stop demands at regular intervals for this and that facility. Many of these reviews are genuine. and the government have been obliging. According to a number of critics, this industry plays a leading role in pressurising the government on devaluation op-

Good news is always publicised. But some factual data on some aspects of the 'weaknesses' of the industry may be released to the press for balanced perspective analysis and review of the huge garment industry. Very few charts and graphs are released. The annual year book is a rare sight for readers and analysts. The negative figures are required for analysis and study. Here are some examples:

- overall 'systems' loss in the industry; including specific figures in the main sub-sectors. How serious is the human system loss compared to say, that in the PDB and the Telecoms? - the management, admin-

istrative and technical efficiencies which are possible to be maintained currently (after more than a decade of experience) in the large and the smaller companies; and how this efficiency factor is creeping up? Some examples of structural reorganisations and the

ensuing results. - the labour relations and amenities. Summery of independent interviews. Why the

image has to be improved? The public is aware of the child labour issue and the schooling schemes — these are the positive sides which are being publi-

per cent. Yet, the Gingrich Re-

publicans were salivating at

- identify and denote the size of some of the non-transparent and grey areas; especially financial and paperwork and documentation (investigation by independent probing agencies). The effects of corrupt practices at different stages of the processing of export orders and shipments, import of raw materials (more than 90 per cent of the total fabrics used by the industry).

- modernisation review. technical and linkage sectors. Comparative study with other countries. Brief report on Time-Motion studies.

Why there are too few critics of the garments industry, compared to the other sectors? Hidden facts are also facts, whether publicised or not; so tell the public about the weaknesses. The insiders know a lot of data which are not revealed in the press. There is hardly an adult in the country who does not know somebody in the garment industry; only some of the information or trend are not officially acknowledged.

A Zabr Dhaka

"Manpower export"

Sir. The letter written by Mr Ghulam Mustafa, Secy Gen, BAIRA, under the above caption published in the DS on 23-9-98 makes an interesting reading. He started with lauding the DS for 'objectivity in reporting,

fearlessness, honesty, fairness, neutrality.....' which apparently causes welling up of 'a deep sense of respect and fondness for the DS' in his tender heart. But when it comes to plain talking by the DS about the hard realities obtainable in the manpower business Bangladesh today Mr Mustafa spitefully accuses the DS of 'one-eyed policy'. He conveniently refuses to bear any responsibility of blames most of which is due to misdeeds 'done by the individuals, organisations, or syndicates without having any valid recruiting licence'. The question now arises, how do these individuals, organisations or syndicates operate? Can they carry on business without the connivance, if not the support and patronisation.

of the valid licence holders? One fails to understand the relevance of democratic practices in BAIRA to the manpower export business. The writer vainly attempts to persuade us to believe, BAIRA members' prime objective in their business is not profit but the lofty ideal of patriotism and welfare

of the people. May we respectfully ask a few pertinent questions? Do you publish or openly give out the fees you charge from the recruits? Do you issue receipt for the money you charge? Do you admit that the poor people sell everything or heavily borrow to meet you exorbitant demands? Why BAIRA has no control over the agents that indulge in corrupt practice and defraud unemployed rural youths?

We, however, welcome the suggestion for an RTC to be organised by the DS to discuss all the points and would also suggest that a few representatives of numerous people who lost their money to the unscrupulous agents are running from pillar to post to recover it.

AKM Abdul Hadi H#6. Rd#16. Sec.#12 Uttara, Dhaka-1230

OPINION

No More Hartal, Please

We have had enough of hartal in this country in the name of political benefit. All political leaders of Bangladesh must realize by now that hartal is the most devastating weapon ruining our nation and people every way. Why should hartal always be used as a major tool of protest by the political parties is beyond our knowledge. Is it because it is the easiest way of showing protest. sitting at home, and just wasting time in some unproductive pursuits? We feel, our political leaders don't have the quality and standard of honesty and the ability to grow consciousness among the people of this country through any other form of strong political process other than hartal. Hartal, as we all know is never used as a frequent political weapon for protest, in any other country, but ours. This tells us that the others are no doubt more educated, advanced, thoughtful and concerned regarding their own country and the people. They realize more than us, that the impact of frequent hartals bears only bad results, like destroying the economy and the society. And at the moment, all political leaders should know

the nation do not want any more hartals. We had enough of the hartal game. It should be banned for good. We would like to invite both the Ruling and the Opposition political leaders to sacrifice their valuable time in signing an agreement to pass a bill through the elected Hon'ble Members of the Parliament to set an example that from now on no opposition political party of the country will be allowed to use hartal as its political weapon.

Looking back at the history. during our language movement from 1952 and until 1971. against the Pakistani occupa-

tion forces, we had to call strikes, meetings, processions, demonstrations including, of course hartals (logically with valid reasons). But in the present context of political behaviour, we must try to change our attitude and strategy of protests in different other ways other than hartal. We must never forget that we have achieved our independence through severe bloodshed and tremendous loss of lives. It is high time, that our political leaders prove themselves to be more sophisticated in their political behaviour, so that the people of the nation can take a good lesson from them in building a strong and trustworthy political environment within the country.

Very often a question rambles our minds — why do the opposition political parties of our country always take for granted that a successful hartal means spontaneous support of the general mass? We don't think this is right. Any conscious citizen of this country never ever supported any illogical harfal called by any opposition parties so far. We all know that the private car owners, the bus and truck owners, the baby taxi owners and the majority poor rickshaw pullers never came out in the street because of the fear of getting caught by the demonstrators. It is now understood that it is fear that really makes hartal a success, nothing else. If this is so, then what do the nation and its people really achieve from these most expensive hartal calls? Literally nothing! Nothing positive in good sense. Rather, doing so creates a havoc all over in ruining the social and economic status of the people of this country.

We are sure, any civilized person will welcome if a positive drive is taken with sincere

and honest efforts of the political and civil personalities of the country in setting up an unusual example for our next generations to have a clean, healthy and trustworthy political atmosphere all over.

We, the general mass, very badly need some pure political education to be provided by our experienced leaders and the educationists, so that we all can make it a success in changing our destructive political attitude and behaviour in building the nation to achieve our positive goals. No hartal will ever teach us any good thing and we will never be able to achieve any positive result out of it. Rather, this process will cripple the nation day by day.

On behalf of all conscious citizens, we would like to invite all the Ruling and Opposition political leaders, educationists, litterateurs, architects, engineers, doctors, government officials, industrialists, businessmen, lawyers, consultants and finally the students to come forward and join hands to start the process of enlightening the general mass by providing appropriate political education. This is the only way that the people of the whole nation could have enough knowledge in becoming more conscious about acquiring positive political attitude and behaviour and understand clearly what is wrong and what is right, what is good and what is bad.

Because of the lack of political education, we never understand our negative and destructive behaviour that we demonstrate in the name of politics in the streets during hartal. It is high time that we now try to realize — no nation would ever progress or flourish socially, politically and economically. unless the people are given appropriate and conscious politi-

Azhar, Dilara, Diyaan, Ayhaan

53, Paribagh, Dhaka.

cal education.