Dhaka, Friday, November 20, 1998

# **Human Rights**

The question of how to uphold human rights in Bangladesh has exercised public minds for years, but the focus of the debate has always suffered from problems of adjustments. In industrial societies, civil and political rights are seen to be paramount. and a great deal of energy and money is spent on their promotion and protection. But in the context of a developing country like Bangladesh where half the population live below the poverty line, the question of "rights" assumes other dimensions. The right to food, housing, education, health services etc., would appear to be of more immediate concern. The constitution has entrusted the state with the responsibility to meet such basic needs. But, with the evolution of a democratic culture, the question of civil and political rights has come increasingly to the fore.

It now appears that necessary legislation to establish a National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) is already at an advanced stage. What is significant in this draft law, is that the leaders of both the ruling party and the opposition in parliament would have a role in the formation of the NHRC, particularly the selection of its chairman. Other provisions would ensure that the NHRC would not be dependent on the government. For instance, the Commission's expenditures will be met from a special trust fund, into which contribution from private sources would be allowed. Furthermore, the Commission's authority to investigate, summon witnesses, requisition public records etc., would be governed by the law and not left to the sweet will of government officials.

So far so good. But some concerns still remain. The NHRC's investigations are envisaged to lead only to recommendations, without specifying how justice in such cases could be ensured. Nothing has been mentioned about any linkage between the Commission and the office of the Ombudsman, which would be vital to ensure more effective protection of citizens' rights. In addition, the Commission ought to be given the scope to conduct extensive human rights education including introduction of topics in the school curricula, since people's awareness about their rights is essential if those rights are to be protected. The law minister ought to ensure that the draft is further strengthened, and not weakened before it goes to parliament.

### **Building Demolitions**

At least 250 buildings would be demolished in the next two months in Dhaka City. No, not by real-estate developers. The government would be bringing down about five built up structures every day, to start with, for two months as their construction or situation or both are unauthorised. The problem with the reports of pious intentions is that they often do not materialise.

On top of the 275 risky buildings there are three thousand built by changing authorised plans and a thousand others that have been built on public or other people's property. How could this be? All the three categories of fouling up with laws did not oc-

cur overnight! The risky buildings are no historical relics. Most of them must have been built on RAJUK plans. Those that breached the terms should have been identified long ago. The constructions with manipulated plans and designs are also not that undetectable. Easiest to catch are the structures on unauthorised land. Still there is this

The RAJUK has an easy explanation for this failure. And we have already hinted at it. The bariwallahs are mostly influential people and the unauthorised bariwallahs generally have had a great pull with the authorities and even with the governments. They somehow manage to get round to keeping their buildings untouched. This explanation is only half the picture. In the RAJUK there must be some very pliable and obliging executives, always game to accepting gifts. This is how the sensitive buildings sector becomes a risky racket.

The present demolition programme is hardly suspect. For the job has already started at the Khilgaon rail level-crossing. Let us keep our fingers crossed lest the demolition teams should trample on a long long tail of an influential person or any financial big shot committed to keeping him in humour.

Wish you all the luck in the world. A good programme, but late in arrival. Please keep up and complete the job.

# Lordly Blocker

The House of Lords in Britain has blocked the passage of a bill from the House of Commons to introduce a new voting procedure for the European Parliament whereby people were to vote by parties rather than by individual candidates. What makes the disapproval of the upper house so newsy is the fact that it has come about for the crucial fifth time whereafter it goes to the House of Commons, left to the latter's discretion to enact it into a law automatically. The motion was defeated by a margin of 29 votes largely regarded as being the reflection of a choice made by the hereditary peers who are a built-in force in the House of Lords. They are Conservatives not supposed to be looking kindly on a measure put forward by the Labour government.

Prime Minister Tony Blair has dubbed this as an 'affront to democracy', which might find a ready ear with many in Britain who think the one-third hereditary peerage character of the House of Lords should have been long out of the window. In principle though, this might unsavourily tug at the very question of hereditary monarchy in Britain to which considerable symbolic value is still attached.

It is being openly said by those who sound hard done by as a result of the House of Lords' latest 'no' to the Labour government's bill that the battle has been lost but the war will be won. This means that a legislative measure is at prospect to abolish the one-third peerage content of the British upper chamber. But the points to ponder are: (a) who that peerage will be replaced by; (b) supposing they would be professional representatives, is there any guarantee that they would always go along with the ruling party? Finally, if the upper chamber is to be an elected body, there is always a possibility that the party in power might see its rival party being in a majority in the second House.

# Looking at the Distant

It is not an attempt to project the future in a rigid modelling framework. The tentative projections which are there make no claim to accuracy. The attempt is rather one of wanting to go somewhere and then working towards that goal. In that sense it should be regarded as one of the many iterations of the future scenarios, mindful of past successes and failures, constraints and untapped potential.

partners to share with them the thinking of Bangladeshi researchers, and development thinkers regarding the future as reflected in a document entitled. Bangladesh mented by private capital in-2020. My only distinction for flows particularly through forthis task has been my associaeign direct investment to fition in the Bangladesh Centre nance the future in a sustainfor Advanced Studies, a coable manner. Issues like good sponsor of the exercise. I governance, decentralised decithought I would share with the sion making and local-resource readers of this column some mobilisation; bureaucratic incritical questions raised in that ertia, crises in public sector dialogue. Samina Islam has management, the rotting disdone an excellent story on the ease of corruption and more document itself in Star Weekimportantly lack of ethical end Magazine of 6 November. commitment to collective good What I shall attempt today is to have not been squarely confronted, although alluded to en sketch out the rationale for the study; broad and heroic aspasse. And we have balked at sumptions of the reflective extackling head on the most funercise in exploring the chaldamental question of political lenges and opportunities of the culture and the norms of tolertimes and some fundamental ance and transparency of open issues not adequately, nor debates and basic consensus for courageously, dealt with. change — the hall-marks of vi-The rationale is quite simsionary leadership. And these ply the need to think in longwere some of the key questions term or as my younger colleague

AST Saturday I was asked

past successes and failures.

constraints and untapped po-

tential. Again, in that context,

it is like mapping out a course

when certain driving forces are

autonomous and almost beyond

control. At the same time we

have to recognize the re-

gional/global perspective and

how we as a nation can become

an effective stakeholder. So we

need to know what is happening

and we need to debate and dis-

cuss in open public fora. The

document can be regarded as a

launching pad for such debates

and discussions. The document

has looked at five areas of in-

tervention and not in as much

lumps, i) human development

particularly in the areas of

population dynamic, public

health services, education and

technology-access ii) environ-

ment and natural resources

management with particular

reference to harnessing water

resources and broad-based agri-

cultural transformation that is

ecologically responsible and re-

sponsive; iii) urbanisation pat-

tern and strategy, iv) infras-

tructure for transport,

telecommunications and en-

ergy in a high growth scenario;

v) pro-growth macro-economic

policy-framework for high do-

mestic savings-rate comple-

These are in simplistic

depth as warranted.

our development

raised in the debate on Saturday Saleemul Huq, put is, "What will happen to me in 20 years? Turning back to the exercise, What happens to my child?" It if the past bears any relevance is not an attempt to project the to the future, the fact remains future in a rigid modelling that even today, in spite of some framework. The tentative prorecent laudable initiatives, we in Bangladesh remain at the jections which are there make no claim to accuracy. The atbottom of the Asian ladder in tempt is rather one of wanting most measures of human develto go somewhere and then working towards that goal. In that sense it should be regarded as one of the many iterations of the future scenarios, mindful of

Let us look at the internal human dynamic which is our population. Yes, over the last two decade population growthrate has come down to below 2 per cent. The official target is to reach replacement fertility rate by the year 2010. Yet given the age-structure of the population we are locked into 170-180 million by the next two decades. This kind of pressure on resources and environment will be hard to manage, in fact, chaotic. The effort towards a zero-population growth scenario cannot therefore be overemphasised. An important pre-requisite is to reduce by more than half the high infant mortality-rate. If fertility rates are to be brought down female survival and education must be

ensured. An essential element in this endeavour will be for the health services to focus on reproductive health care, communicative disease control, immunisation and simple curative health-care. The price per capita per year of such essential survices package in the year 2005 will be \$9 as against the current \$7. Again, rather than spending the bulk of the allocation for salary and allowances of doctors and health workers the non-salary inputs like medicines, equipments and service delivery should be raised to 40 to 50 per cent compared to current 25 per cent. Dr Samad who also partici-

pated in the dialogue that Saturday gave an example from his own recent experience of his village in Gafargaon thana. The Union Maternal and Child care centre that he visited on a week day was deserted except for a few grazing goats. The most important question, however, is that of access by poor women and children. The core for health-care delivery therefore will perhaps be for the government to contract out responsibilities to NGOs, community based organisations and adequately trained private healthproviders. Much of what is said has been incorporated in the government's health-sector strategy. But the shadow falls between planning and implementation.

Similarly, government has embraced the policy of universal basic education, but in that context, female education must

needs to be raised to at least 15 per cent. Similarly, grave new ecological threats of water and air pollution and build-up of solid waste that is accompanying rapid urbanisation must be reversed. Clean energy for industries, appropriate environmental regulations and efficient municipal services are all on the cards.

The recent accord on watersharing of the Ganges augurs well for future development of the Ganges and hopefully the Brahmaputra basin. A longterm master plan for development of water resources has just been completed. The question is effective implementation through management-control by the beneficiaries rather than an enlarged bureaucracy. Similarly the recently finalised Na-



A Z M Obaidullah Khan

fronted head-on. Twenty per cent of total budgetary expenditure should go towards the education sector and one half of it for basic education with affirmative action for women. Also important is reorientation of technical and higher scientific education which can help women and men to participate effectively in a knowledge-intensive society. A particular thrust area will be information technology so that there is no dearth of qualified personnel for launching the export-oriented software development of the future.

The second important intervention area is maintaining ecological integrity along with productive efficiency. Environmental degradation is evident in shrinking forest cover now only 6 per cent; salinity, water-logging and soil-erosion of arable land as well as declining water-level. Agricultural intensification and diversification processes must incorporate frontier — science into the environmentally sensitive local knowledge and traditional practices. The riches of floodplain and wet-land fisheries must be preserved against unplanned human intervention like embankment and other encroachments. Forest cover

environmental issues. The question again is in the modalities of implementation.

The third area which has been neglected in the past is that of rapid urbanisation. The urban population, estimated at 24 million in 1996 will increase to 80 million by the year 2020. If the pressure on the capital city is not minimized, the city will simply collapse. A decentralised urbanisation pattern is therefore on the cards, with alternative major urban centres in the north and north-western regions. The rural infrastructure study of the World Bank (1996) has identified 2100 rural growth centres and market towns evenly distributed all over the country. The long-term economic feasibility of these centres will depend on the viability of the surrounding economy (agricultural productivity in particular) which in turn depends largely on the physical infrastructure especially roads. What kind of urban jobs will there be? Two-thirds of urban jobs come from manufacturing, trade, hotel and restaurant activities and surprisingly from peri-urban agriculture, fisheries and forestry.

The single largest contributor to urban employment are jobs located on the periphery of

the urban areas linked to poultry, livestock, agro-processing and other forms of agricultural livestock, fisheries and forestry-based activities. Their expansion in absolute terms is likely to generate a new pattern of urbanisation with small towns growing faster than the statistical metropolitan areas. A caveat here. Given the 23 million people in the informal sector in 2020 compared approximately 13 million or 3 million households today, urban labor-market is likely to be segmented with job holders in the informal sector queuing to move up and acting as a brake on the productivity enhanced growth in the formal

sector wages. I shall skip over the dismal state of municipal governance and provision of services. Suffice it to say that any successful urban strategy assumes an effective urban governance, infrastructure initiatives on water, sanitation, transportation etc., contracting out delivery of urban services to the private sector among others. But the key is decentralisation. Devolution of power, empowering the municipal government to mobilise capital and human resources are essential for such entities to become self-determining institutions.

The fourth area, and I shall deal with it rather sketchily is infrastructure and energy. Within the transport infrastructure, beside the Dhaka bypass, a road network linking divisional, district and thana centres; restructuring the railway into a predominantly freight moving profile with the private sector taking over intercity passenger services; placing water-transports in private hands; ports rendered efficient and air transport professionalised in partnership with outsiders are all necessary building blocks of a communication network that can sustain a rapidly growing economy. As far telecommunications Bangladesh has one-third of the telephone lines required by the end of the century, assuming a six per cent annual average GDP growth rate. A high growth scenario of 7 to 8 per cent requires the placement of over eight million lines by 2020. Supporting infrastructure like circuits and long-distance channels must be provided to insure effective operation of access lines. The challenge is far beyond the capacity of BTTB. Only the earliest conversion to privatisation can build a telecommunications system strong enough to support and

facilitate the high-growth sce-Of the three traditional

sources of energy, natural gas is the most environmentally attractive. The prospects of rising investments to exploit significant reserves of natural gas. anticipated to exceed 2 billion in the next five years, add support to an optimistic view of meeting the future energy requirement as also of export

earning. As for power generation and distribution, it is expected that Bangladesh Government will transfer the entire responsibility to the private sector. Also considerable progress could be made to exploiting solar radiation and, to a limited extent,

wind-energy. The final area is private and public investment. With official development assistance on the decline, the resources must be found from within the country and by attracting foreign direct investment.

It requires: i) judicious macro-economic management through prudent fiscal and monetary policies and flexible exchange rates; ii) accelerated trade policy reforms to increase competitiveness of Bangladeshi products in the global marketplace; iii) privatisation or closing down of inefficient state-owned enterprises in order have a competitively efficient manufacturing sector; iv) financial sector reform, particularly of the banking system through effective financial intermediation; v) a healthy and integrated capital market which is still incipient and poorly regulated; vi) and an economic regulatory environment that promises the owner of outside capital an attractive return. Also important is the enforcement of the rule of law.

All the above are heroic assumptions in the Bangladesh context. Most of the policies are already there but there is a big 'If — a fundamental constraint. How can such policy choices at macro-level and effective participation at micro-level take place in a political culture marked by intolerance at its best and undisguised siege and violence at its worst? When the silent and less privileged majority of the people are hostages to muscle-bound power game all the rhetoric about pro-growth policies sound hollow. Human development, critical investments in health, nutrition and education for all, degenerate into hypocritical devices for reinforcing the social inequality of choices and opportunities. That along with management crisis and mechanisms to cope with exogenous forces like periodic natural disaster are some of the issues that need to be debated in the open and in a participatory mode.

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

#### Enough is enough

address.

Sir, The long stretched sixtyhour hartal has ended. What the political leaders gained from this hartal is a mystery to us. but we, the general people have suffered miserably. The estimated loss for this hartal was approximately Tk 396 crore per day (DS 11 November '98). This may not be much to our rich politicians but to us it's a huge

When the people are trying to recover from the effect of the worst flood, which has shattered the country's fragile economic state, this hartal is like pouring water on a drowned mouse. Why didn't the politicians call for hartal during the flood? It seems that they were afraid, rough weather might have injured their delicate

We all know that our politicians are cruel and heartless (not headless), but do they have to remind us this fact from time to time? We have had enough of this hartal game. The political leaders should realise that they are expected to lead the country in a democratic way and not to dictate it, but hartal is definitely a means to dictate the country in the worst way possi-

Now the time has come to stop this deadly game for good. Both the ruling and opposition parties should immediately come to an agreement to pass a bill to stop using hartal as their political weapon.

Rusho Rahmatullah Dhaka

Enough is enough.

#### "No-hartal society"

Sir, The 'no- hartal' pronouncement of Sheikh Hasina in her capacity of both the Prime Minister and the President of Bangladesh Awami League deserves sincere commendation. Thanks to The Daily Star for its long advocacy role in creating a hartal-free society. We must also thank the Finance Minister Mr Kibria who first led the path in declaring this hartal-free stand on behalf of the party and the government although I remember BNP paid no heed to his statement on the lame plea that he was not a member of the par-

liament! "In democracy, no government is the last government". This quote from the Prime Minister's several speeches during her 1996 election campaign can only testify to her belief that democracy is a dynamic process and that tolerance can only fertilise the preservation of a democratic process. Awami League and its leadership have certainly demonstrated a high

degree of maturity, tolerance and commitment to the cause of the country in making this most bold and emphatic declaration. The commitment surely is clear and unequivocal and does not demand any forensic

testing. The irony, as has often been, is that the opposition camp has not reciprocated this genuine gesture of Awami League to the nation. Blatantly instead, as I read, there is a renewed threat for 'lagatar hartal', as Khaleda Zia says, "... not for one day, or two days...for as long as necessary .. " This indeed is a matter of disgrace for herself, for her party, for the people they lead and certainly for the nation! Her party's (or hers?) remarks at the Head of the Diplomatic corps meeting recently that its future call for hartal would depend on the government's future role in relation to preservation of human and democratic rights in the country demands clarification. Legal actions against a criminal, incidentally (or by default) belonging to her party may seem to her a violation of democratic norms and encroachment on human rights, however ridiculous it may sound to others .

Dr M. A. Khan Program in Development Studies Old Commerce Building The University of Melbourne Parkville, Victoria 3052 Australia

#### Hartalocracy...

Sir, Our myopic politicians have throttled our basic rights. civic rights and above all democratic rights by calling hartal one after another and it's a matter of real anguish that we, the general people, don't protest.

Political parties call hartal and we observe it without any protest or objection and this is what makes our great(!) political parties to call illogical hartal one after another. Even though they know that people observe hartal against their will, after each hartal our great(!) leaders congratulate us for observing a successful har-

People believes in democracy and democratic culture, but our politicians don't. They believe in hartalocracy. As citizens of this country we do have right to protest against such wanton

I therefore make a passionate appeal to members of the public to move their vehicles in the next hartal. If we dare to maintain normalcy then this hartalocracy would definitely come to an end.

Moghbazar, Dhaka

#### The masquerade

Sir, The smokescreen of hartal created by the opposition could not keep their ulterior motive hidden. Why behave in a circuitous way when things are too obvious and foolproof? Better they would have spoken loudly and boldly that they are against a cause.

Nazma Yeasmeen Haque

#### Alas!

Sir. To quote from the DS editorial of 17th instant — "Begum Zia is expected now to make a similar statement abjuring the use of hartal". Against this expectation the front page headline of the same day screams -"Khaleda threatens non-stop hartal".

Alas, we cannot break free from this vicious cycle of insanity! What's more, we are afraid, the recent declaration by the PM. that her party would not go



for hartal again, seems impulsive at best, that's telling from the nature of politics in our country. We will, in all probability, still be at risk of hartals, same as we are now, as and when the AL is in the opposition when they may again justify by saying they are "compelled" or that they have to call hartal to "save"(!) the country.

An Anxious Observer Chittagong.

#### Suggestion "D" Sir, The editorial "Let's Build

on It" dated 12.11.98, suggesting for avoiding hartal is most laudable.

May I add one thing with this as suggestion "D" (A B and C have already been done), which is as soon as they will reach to an MoU on the basis of these three suggestions, both the government party and the opposition party will apologise to the people for all their past hartals and admit that past hartals were of no good to the people.

Nur Hossain 151, Bangshal Road Dhaka-1100

#### Hail hartal?

Sir, We are very much accustomed to hartal which has become a part of our life. We all know the demerits of hartal, but have we ever tried to figure out its merits? Well, here are some:

1) Less road accidents; and no traffic jam. 2) No black smoke, carbon monoxide; and less pollution.

#### 3) More physical exercise: less health hazard (especially for the diabetic patients).

4) Spending more time with VCR, LD; and so good business for the video clubs.

More political discussion; more conscious Bangalee. 7) Buying less petrol from the gas stations; saving more

foreign currency. 8) Watching clashes between hartal activists; more rooftop entertainment.

Sonia Parveen Dhaka

#### Change the style of politics

Sir, The Daily Star (Nov 11) has initiated some good public service by criticising the local political styles, as analysed by Mahfuz Anam, in his commentary, and by Sabir Mustafa in his column. Nothing new have been said, but the political leaders, especially the heads of the two major political parties who hold the whole country as hostage at different times, seem to be insensitive to other points of views expressed by informed citizens outside the parties, who may not be politicians. What is the state of public opinion in this country? It should not be a

lame duck. Such insensitivity of the political pundits and gurus may be a sign of lack of self-security of the party or self. This pattern is more popular in the emerging countries, where political culture is immature. Seeking party security is practised as a passion as an end or objective, and not as a means, and its priority never comes down from the top No 1 position.

The most glaring hypocrisy is the absence of democratic practices within the political parties. Therefore it is a sham preaching and sermonising on democratic practices to the public through the microphonic pandals and podiums.

The elections within the parties must be transparent, and the incumbents to the elective posts must change within reasonable periods to practice new ideas and styles, and allow others to gain experience. The winds of political change are absent in this cyclonic country! The senior party leaders have a say for this dismal state of affairs, as they depend too much on the charismatic personality at the top. New Delhi, for example, is experiencing governance through 18 political parties banded together under the present regime; due to some sort of vacuum which the politicians can explain!

A leading industrialist of the country, told the BBC radio that politics here is unfortunately based on personalities. Since the current leaders have to carry the historic burdens of the past, there is not much elbow room to veer away from the traditional approach. Play safe how long; and where is the practice to introduce change? Is the

New leaders have to be groomed, but they are made to wait for years and years under formidable shadows of tower-5) Watching more movies on ing personalities who cannot be replaced, or are not replaced so long they are physically available. Such permanency at the top may not be in public interest all the time. Changes have to be there, in kind and degree.

Another psychological bar-

rier is the regular crossing of

generation gap yawning?

Why such protective umbrella is preferred by those who run the parties? Fair elections and vested interests — what have they in common?

the floor by opportunists posing as politicians. Politics as a profession has yet to mature, but there are no godfathers to maintain credible standards. Can poor countries afford opportunist politics? Dhaka is full of seminars,

but how many discuss and analyse the state of politics at seminars not controlled by the politicians or parties? Can we not discuss politics without mud-slinging, and without keeping a watchful eye on SPA? Without a social movement,

it may be difficult to introduce changes in the style of politics. The politicians and politics have to be there, but not wallowing in vile politics.

A Zabr Dhaka

#### People in power do the same mistakes

Sir, It's true that the people n power do the same mistakes as does the opposition (while not in power). In other words, to hail the commentary (DS 11 Nov '98), "AL in power is repeating the same mistakes" as did the BNP while they were in

I appreciate the bold and frank opinion that it's high time to tell the truth that the style in which 'oppression of the opposition' is going on "that the way it has been treating the opposition is far beyond the acceptable limits of democracy". I also appreciate the objective analysis of the recent events. I as an ordinary citizen of the country also feel that the party in power is all along trying to flex muscles by opposing, for just power exercise, any programme whether expression of its (BNP or allies) disagreement to some issues, agitation or hartal - all of which are democratic rights of the people. It's sheer nonsense to oppose everything or to try to destroy all programmes of opposition by exercise of muscle.

I do not see it as same politics of the PM or AL's other leaders declaring BNP's call of hartal (for their cause) "was to protect Sheikh Mujib's killers" or to declare senselessly that "the streets will be at their control" during opposition's hartal call. Isn't it sheer ploy to excite the opposition for confrontation? If there were no such irresponsible and undemocratic

utterances, there would perhaps not be such deterioration of law and order situation and a few valuable lives could have been spared.

A F Rahman

#### It's time, BTV

Sir. It is true that the number of programmes telecast on BTV which should capture a large number of viewers are very limited. So those who have means, turn to satellite television to meet their entertain-

As such, it seems that BTV is scaring away more of its viewers, forcing them to turn to cable TVs. It didn't make any sense when BTV aired programmes on Bangabandhu for at least three consecutive days when most people want to watch refreshing programmes.

The respect that we have for Bangabandhu, seems to be fading away day by day, due to the intolerable pestering of our television. It is really high time the AL government realises the

A Viewer Uttara, Dhaka

#### BTV or ALTV?

Sir, In its election manifesto the Awami League had pleaded that if elected to the government it would make the make the BTV programme people-oriented, grant autonomy to BTV and the electronic media would telecast objective, free, neutral and fair news, reports and views of all concerned. But unfortunately nothing has been done so far.

Over two years have passed since the Awami League has come to power. To our great surprise and shock we find BTV programme getting one-sided day by day, more and more pro-Awami League wherein there is hardly any trace of news, reports and views of the opposi-

tion parties. We wonder if the BTV (Bangladesh Television) has now been turned into ALTV (Awami League Television).

O. H. Kabir 6, Hare Street Wari, Dhaka-1203

## Disgusting BTV

Sir, Recently the BTV has turned into a disgusting propaganda box of the ruling party. We can't trust a single news item of this showpiece. We certainly expected a better, decent

and neutral role when the new DG was appointed. But he has disappointed us (those who had respect for him for his intellect) miserably. No wonder 'Je jai Lankai,

she hoi Rabon.

A Citizen Uttara Model Town Dhaka-1230