The Baily Star

Founder-Editor: Late S. M. Ali

They Burn Bright

Dhaka, Thursday, November 4, 1999

T WENTY-four years ago, November 3 marked the I climax of a high treason and treachery blitz that had its origins in August 15 that year with the brutal assassination of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family. The killers had the pronounced intent of obliterating the ideals of the father of the nation. They knew that even after Bangabandhu's death, his vision would live in his comrades-in-arms Tajuddin Ahmed, Syed Nazrul Islam, Captain Mansur Ali and Kamruzzaman. Also, they came to realise that neither torture nor coaxing could make the great four bow to their evil designs. Thus, came the deplorable act of cowardice.

However, what they had failed to understand was the fact that ideals, goals and achievements of our Liberation War would not be wiped out with the death of our leaders. They would burn bright in the minds of millions of Bangla-speaking people for eternity. By embracing martyrdom and not relenting to the fear and favour of the killers, our great four have left behind a lesson: death of an individual is inconsequential if weighed against his love for the motherland.

Unfortunately, we seem to have failed to appreciate their sacrifice for the country. Our indifference has allowed the Jail Killing Day to become a mere ritual. Every year, as November 3 comes, we organise seminars and symposia, harp on familiar phrases in the name of paying tribute to them and then conveniently shut out our minds to them. In all these years, we have not been able to fill the leadership vacuum created by their demise. Why? The cruel reality is: the present genre of leaders are no match for them. The whole country is today

torn apart by political rhetoric of opposing parties. We ask our politicians, do they have among themselves leaders as dedicated and patriotic as Tajuddin Ahmed, Syed Nazrul Islam, Captain Mansur Ali and Kamruzzaman? The answer will certainly be a big negative. Our tributes to Tajuddin Ahmed and his comrades will be worthwhile when we imbibe their patriotism, courage and total commitment to the society and practise these in our life unfalteringly.

Corruption Chemistry

LI OW a certain corruption alchemy is working to In perpetuate poverty in South Asia comes incisively home through the third human development report for South Asia. Released by Khadija Haq, an economist bearing the torch of her HDI-fame husband late lamented Mahbubul Haq of Pakistan, the analysis plumbs deep into corruption syndrome, both systemic as well as monetary. Civil services, the upfront manifestation of governance in South Asia, are enmeshed in graft, democracies have gone aberrant with empty motions and judicial systems are 'politicised'; the degeneration of institutions across the board has been appalling indeed. All this has not only made the poor poorer but also increased their numbers exponentially - shame be upon the governments which "are elected by the poor, but are serving to enrich the rich."

That is not the sole way the massive fraud is enacted on people. While an ill-run democracy could fall into military hands seeking to justify usurpation of power in a self-anointed messianic deference to the cause of the poor, even a 'functional democracy' might prove counter-productive in associating the public and the civil society at large with the decision-making processes once the voters' role is relegated into the background after a general election. In addition to the increasing isolation of people from the political and decisionmaking apparatuses of the state, the vast majority of people have suffered from a distortion of priorities owing to an 'upstream movement of corruption.' From petty corruption in the 50s through mid-level corruption in the 60s and 70s to corruption at very high places in the last two decades, the pattern has effectively sequestered the decisionmaking processes in fewer and fewer hands. That explains how incorrigible bank loan defaulters, tax evaders and those who siphon off money outside the country are in cohorts and cushioned by not-so-visible hands.

As an advocate of transparency this paper straightaway endorses the recommendations contained in the report for disclosure of assets by all public representatives and officials, immunity to informers and open-bidding procurement procedures. The anti-corruption bureau has to work independently of any executive control to assist corruption courts to deliver justice.

Corruption is endemic in South Asia but each of the individual countries of the region needs to adopt it as a national agenda. A government being the involved party in corruption it is the civil society including the media that has to take a leading role in bringing the issues of transparency and accountability to the forefront of national concerns.

Doctors' Strike in Chittagong

THE BCS cadre doctors have started a 5-hour ■ daily strike from Tuesday last at Chittagong Medical College Hospital. They have further threatened to shut down medical service from the 9th of this month if their arrear salaries are not paid by that date. Seventy-nine doctors have not received their salaries and allowances for the last four months.

As a result of the strike patients are going through tremendous hardship. Only extreme cases of emergency are being attended to. The frustration of the doctors has reached such a point that they even locked up the office of the hospital.

We understand what sort of plight they are in having to go without salaries and allowances for the last four months in these days of high living costs. But at the same time we urge the doctors to empathise with the sufferings of poor patients who come to the hospital desperately hoping to get some medical attention. The doctors are fully aware of the incapacity of these ailing people to pay for medical treatment at any private clinic. In deference to their social responsibility and commitment could the striking doctors think of other ways to have their arrears paid rather than seeing the patients at the receiving end of their anger.

We strongly criticise the callous attitude of the ministry concerned. Why should the regular employees of the government go without salary even for a month? We hope the ministry and the minister concerned should be up and doing and pay the striking doctors before the situation deteriorates any further.

Why the Commonwealth Delegation was Not

Allowed to Meet with Nawaz Sharif?

by Harun ur Rashid

The reasons for the coup could be true but the fact that the Commonwealth delegation was not allowed to meet with Mr. Sharif has given rise to many a suspicion that the military regime may not have spoken the whole story behind the coup. To eliminate such misgivings, it appears that Mr. Sharif may be given an opportunity to tell his story either to the media or to a third party.

Sharif would not speak to him

ENERAL Pervez

Musharraf ,the Chief

Executive of the military

regime in Pakistan, deposed

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif

on 12 October and installed an

extra-constitutional govern-

ment. As a result, the Council

of the Commonwealth has sus-

pended temporarily Pakistan

from its membership. A Pak-

istani Foreign Affairs

spokesman said that the deci-

monwealth delegation led by

the Canadian Foreign Minister

visited Pakistan last week and

met with General Pervez. Their

purpose was to obtain an ap-

proximate time table for the

restoration of democratic gov-

ernment and to meet with the

deposed Prime Minister Mr.

ing with the visiting Common-

wealth Ministerial delegation

led by the Canadian Foreign

Minister, General Pervez could

give no assurance when democ-

racy would return to Pakistan

because he had set many objec-

tives for his government which

he would wish to implement.

He said: "I can't give any time

table for a certain reason and

not for any malevolent intent".

The tasks appear to be so basic

and overwhelming and there is

a view that it will take at least 2

to 5 years to achieve the mini-

was allowed to speak by tele-

phone to the deposed Prime

Minister and when the Cana-

dian Foreign Minister was

asked as to why he was unable

to contact Mr. Sharif by tele-

phone, he said that he was told

N Pakistan today there is no

counting the number of

Aproblems. We have

experienced a succession of

cynically corrupt governments.

Every citizen knows this

because he/she bears the brunt

all the time. We do not need the

Transparency International to

been cruel, supremely indiffer-

ent to (or unaware of) the rights

of citizens and the dignity of the

human individual. We do not

need Amnesty International to

tell us that. We know it, because

we suffer indignity, violence

and injustice. Our women suffer

schools in the remotest nooks

most cynically corrupt gov-

found in the 'anti-corruption'

find the hardest criminals in-

number of Rana Magbools in

the country. Just see how they

flourish and race up the peak.

This speaks loudly of the nexus

between the corrupt govern-

ment and corrupt government

servant. Neither can survive

lous politico and the corrupt

bureaucrat together have ruled

for many years. They scratch

each other's back, riding

roughshod, with complete im-

punity, over anything that

comes in their way - law, con-

stitution, common human val-

ues, basic social decency. They

are inseparable - those who pa-

rade as politicians and the cor-

rupt and cruel in public admin-

istration from Grade 22 down to

In Pakistan the unscrupu-

without the other.

the humblest cog.

outfits of the government.

shared national experience.

Also our governments have

tell us that.

by the authorities that Mr.

The delegation, however,

mum objectives.

On 29th October, at a meet-

A Ministerial level Com-

sion was a hasty one.

Nawaz Sharif.

by telephone. None of the aims of the visit of the Commonwealth delegation was successful. The delegation is expected to submit a report to the Commonwealth Heads of State/Government who are scheduled to meet on 12th November in Durban, South Africa and a final decision on the suspension will be taken during the meeting. Although the suspension from the Commonwealth may not have any visible impact on Pakistan, the fact that the military rule is not acceptable to the Commonwealth may provide a negative image of Pakistan to other international bodies and

A view prevails that the motive of the coup appears to be put in doubt when the Commonwealth delegation was refused to meet with Mr. Sharif who had been detained by the military since 12th October The story of the coup, as reported, runs like this: Mr. Nawaz Sharif dismissed suddenly General Pervez, just 10 days after confirming him in the office for two years and appointed inter-services intelligence chief General Ziauddin in

countries.

his place. This occurred while General Musharraf was returning from Sri Lanka to Pakistan. The plane in which the General was travelling was asked to find a new landfall outside Pakistan. When it was advised that the plane had no fuel to land outside Pakistan, it was allowed to land in Nawab Shah and on arrival General Musharraf was to be arrested. This was the story told by the military sources and no one seems to have questioned it.

The questions that arise are : why did not the military regime allow the delegation to meet Mr. Nawaz Sharif? Is it that Mr. Sharif could have provided to the delegation his version of the circumstances of the coup? Is there anything which Mr. Sharif might have disclosed that could embarrass the military regime?

There is a view that the reason for refusing the delegation to meet with Mr. Sharif could be that the military staged a coup as a deliberate act of policy and their story was assembled to justify and sell the coup as a "last resort to prevent further destabilisation" to the people of Pakistan and to some

extent the international community. After all, the military regime is no more fashionable in today's world, in particular after the end of the cold war. The US has no desire or requirement to prop up a military regime as a counter weight to the expansion of communism. In the light of this political environment, it appears that the military has to provide credible reasons for installing an extra-constitutional government in the country

Meanwhile, Mrs. Kulsum Sharif, wife of the deposed Prime Minister, was reported to have said that the military wanted Mr. Sharif and his family out of the country and that he should quit politics. She said that they refused to do so because they were Pakistanis by birth (incidentally General Pervez was born in India). If Mrs. Sharif's reported statement is correct, it does not make any sense to the widely covered report that the military regime would likely to put Mr. Sharif on trial for "treason" charges for attempting to divide the armed forces. There were reports of other charges against him for accu-

mulation of assets through cor-

Mr. Sharif may not be the most attractive of politicians but he did come to power through proper constitutional processes. His government has not been a success in the eyes of ordinary Pakistanis. It did not take long for Mr. Sharif after his electoral victory in 1997 to shift his focus from economic reform to the consolidation of his own power. His massive majority in the Parliament has made it difficult for any checks and balances to be placed on his decisions. Be that as it may, there is a widely held view in

the comity of nations that mil-

itary coup is hardly an answer

to eradicate the ills of a country

because it lacks people's man-

date and participation. It is re-

ported that a former Pakistani

General Aslam Beg said that

the Pervez regime needed a le-

rupt means.

gal cover to rule the country. Another feature of the coup is that General Pervez was out of the country and the tanks were ordered on the streets not by General Pervez but by his deputy and junior Generals. There is a view that the blue print of the coup could have been made ready by the top Generals and a date was set for

the coup and its reasons for intervention. The date came and it was executed neatly.

There could be many reasons for the coup. One of the reasons appeared to be the widening disagreement between the armed forces and the former Prime Minister on his decision last July to withdraw the Islamic militants from Kargil side of the Indian Line of Control. To many, his actions amounted to "national humiliation". Another reason could be the increasing presence of an autocratic and dictatorial government in which the civil society was looking a change. The armed forces seem to have captured the mood of frustration and helplessness of the people in Pakistan and it struck at the right time. The coup therefore met no opposition from the people.

There is a view that the army's story for imposing military rule will remain in question unless and until Mr. Sharif is allowed to tell his side of the story. The reasons for the coup could be true but the fact that the Commonwealth delegation was not allowed to meet with Mr. Sharif has given rise to many a suspicion that the military regime may not have spoken the whole story behind the coup. To eliminate such misgivings, it appears that Mr. Sharif may be given an opportunity to tell his story either to the media or to a third party. Unless this is done, it is reasonable to conclude that a question mark may remain on the motive of the coup.

The author, a barrister, is former Bangladesh Ambassador to the UN, Geneva.

Ending Corruption and Cruelty

by A.B.S. Jafri

What the new administration has begun to do is an exceedingly daunting and demanding self-assignment. Gen Musharraf has on his hand perhaps the most awesome task ever undertaken by any individual in this country. Corruption is not a Pakistani copyright. But governments in this country have turned it into one of the most weird of the black arts.

Nobody is to the rescue of the politician with principles — an almost extinct species. Even heavens fail to protect the honest government servant. For both, survival demands falling in line or anything between instant death or assured slow and silent withering away.

Interesting though it might

more of all this. This is the be for the academic social scimost agonizing part of our entist, it is not of much use at the moment to engage in the Our bank vaults are empty. egg-chicken debate: who came Corruption is everywhere, from first - the characterless politithe highest government posician or the shameless bureaucrat. Both are a squalid and devastating fact of our life. Both of the country. Perhaps the have joined hands to produce and perpetuate a mind-boggling proliferation of problems. Not ernment functionary is to be all can be attacked at once, nor You can be equally sure to indeed that needs to be done. The more ruinous ones should be identified and tackled with side the police stations, in police uniform. Corrupt governrelentless rejection of fear or favour. Nobody's interest is ments need them. There are any

above the interest of all.

Among the most devastating problems are those that now hang as dead weight round the neck of national economy. By all standards. Pakistan is a country nature had meant to be rich and beautiful. Yet it is awfully poor and unlovely today. But the robber barons are rich and live fancy lives behind high walls and steel gates guarded round the clock by special guntoting sentries. What exactly do these sentries protect? Some of these individuals behind high security walls are rated by international monitors as easily capable of shelling out a few billion dollars in a few minutes. without so much as feeling a pinch.

The cash that has been taken

out and stashed abroad belongs to the people. It is variously estimated to be at least 40-plus billion dollars. It could well be well over a hundred billion. In a recent well-informed report on present-day Pakistan the Washington Post estimated Pakistan's total foreign debt to be in the region of 32 billion dollars. Compare this with the amount of Pakistan's money clandestinely held abroad by Pakista-

Get back to Pakistan the nation's wealth plundered in Pakistan and stolen out of the country. There is no end to hairraising scandals of how systematically Pakistan has been robbed to the bone marrow by people in successive governments. It will not be humanly possible to weave a net wide enough or fine enough to catch every predatory beast.

However, a beginning can be made with the fattest cats lurking in the highest of places. Do not forget that the politicians could never have committed the robberies without assistance from those sitting on top of the cash heaps in the banks' vaults. The collaborators within the bank cloisters who played that role are partners in the plunder, it has been a joint enterprise. Every big crime has to be an organized enterprise on the basis of sharing the spoils. This is as true of robbery as it is

of murder. Scratch a nationalized commercial bank (NCB), a development finance institution (DFI), any government-controlled organization in the field of economy (e.g. Pakistan International Airlines, the National Shipping Corporation,

the Pakistan Steel, the trading corporations, the Export Promotion Bureau, etc.) and you are bound to chance upon evidence of titanic pilferage, fraud and misappropriation. This is the handiwork of the insiders. Once the arch criminals are brought to book, the lesser ones will be within the reach and grasp of any government that means to do the needful.

Visualize a situation in which a substantial part of the defaulted banks' loans and advances by other financial institutions is recovered. That would mean, say, 200 billion rupees more in the bank vaults. This process should rescue every nationalized commercial bank from the red where it is mired today. This would amount to a significant contribution to the credibility of Pakistan's economy. At present foreign banks are shy of entertaining Letters of Credit from Pakistani banks.

Visualize also that a part of. the billions of dollars stolen out of the country is brought back. Let's say 40 billion dollars out of 50 or 100 billion dollars believed to be held abroad. Subtract from this 40 billion dollars the 32 billion debt we owe to foreign lenders. We are still left with something around 8 billion dollars as our foreign exchange reserve after the for-

eign debt is wiped out. The first direct result of such an eventuality would be that we shall be saving more than 70 per cent of our national budget that now goes into servicing those foreign loans. That would add to the resources to be ploughed back into the economy to finance development and social welfare activity. At

present Pakistan makes just about the bottom of the list of countries sparing the least for education, health, women development and welfare of the girl child. We have the same wretched rating in protection of our own environment. All that is a crying shame.

Now a word about revenue management. Recent years have seen a steady and unstoppale decline in revenue collection. The outgoing Nawaz Sharif government would appear to be a deliberate moter/beneficiary of tax evasion. There has been a shortfall in collection of all taxes down the line. Reluctantly. Nawaz Sharif proposed a modest, almost negligible tax on farm incomes. It remains a sour dream. His abject surrender to the small traders on the General Sales Tax has already gone down in our history as a monument to unclean politics and anaemic governance.

Every political party and government in recent years has spoken about 'declaration of personal assets.' Maybe, it is already a requirement of law to be observed by all those in, or aspiring for, representative public office. Once upon a time, this formality was expected to be observed by public servants also. In the rare cases where Ms Benazir Bhutto and Mr Nawaz Sharif have thought of this obligation, the results have been ridiculous if not outrageous. Income tax returns filed by both of these former prime ministers have only drawn public scorn. Both of them pretended not to notice public ridicule.

The Chief Executive Gen Pervez Musharraf has offered to make public a declaration of his assets. He is setting an example of voluntary accountability that should be made mandatory in the case of all those who hold or aspire for representative public office. Also for those who hold high positions in public administration. If an yearly declaration of this nature is made obligatory under the law, it may help diminish accumulation of tainted wealth which is the source of so many of social evils and of degradation of moral values in-

our society. What the new administration has begun to do is an exceedingly daunting and demanding self-assignment. Gen Musharraf has on his hand perhaps the most awesome task ever undertaken by any individual in this country. Corruption is not a Pakistani copyright. But governments in this country have turned it into one of the most weird of the black arts. The curse has spread to the very core of our national life. Curing it is going to be a titanic exercise. Those engaged in it would need the support and goodwill of every decent Pakistani citizen. Nothing short of

Of the other curse, cruelty, let it be said for the moment that it is fearsomely real and is destroying the very soul of this nation. Our record on human rights could hardly be more wretched. As a matter of daily and almost normal occurrence. people are picked up without warrant, held in unlawful detention, tyrannized, pauperized and subjected to inhuman brutality.

There is a strong case to insist that corruption and cruelty call for simultaneous action and equally relentless and per-

Courtesy: "The Dawn' of Pak-

Lothe Editor ...

Letters for publication in these columns should be addressed to the Editor and legibly written or typed with double space. For reasons of space, short letters are preferred, and all are subject to editing and cuts. Pseudonyms are accepted. However, all communications must bear the writer's real name, signature and address.

Democracy

Sir, Democracy cannot flourish and grow properly if the political leaders of that country follow the policy of tit-for-tat, go for witch hunting and also if their politics revolves around hatred, jealousy, vengeance and mis-

trust. Democratically elected government may sometimes become despotic. So holding elections under a caretaker government where the people cast their votes according to their choice does not mean full democracy is prevailing there.

It is only a part of democracy. Igbal Ahmed Dhaka - 1000

Moderation vs polarisation

Sir, Moderation prevailed over polarisation in Indonesia's dramatic election of the President. Habibie had to withdraw after two hours' impassioned speech to continue in power; and magnetic Megawati has to wait. The religious leader Abdur Rahman Wahid triumphed without effort or ambition, (he is reputed to be a king maker), to fill in the vacuum. He is a respected figure, and believes in human dignity, regardless of religious affiliation (after all, religion is a container, and not the content, according to a school of thought).

Indonesia, the world's

largest Muslim majority nation of 200 million (and 1400 islands), is passing through a critical test, in a political environment of the separation of East Timor as per referendum. There is more than politics involved in the compromise acceptance of Abdur Rahman Wahid, a moderator, preaching the benevolent philosophy of live and let live'.

In times of stress, passions are roused and barriers are erected or broken. After the storm, comes the sunshine. A great experiment is going on in Indonesia, and there might be lessons for many nations.

Dhaka.

Diversify NGO work

Sir. The thousands of NGOs working in Bangladesh have developed a splendid network which is worth replicating in other LDCs. But the focus is almost exclusively on poverty alleviation and the enhancement of the human resources at the rural level. It is time to diversify into other sectors.

Now Bangladesh's SME (small and medium enterprises) sector is making itself visible in more ways than one, with innovative products and services. This trend will continue till we reach the initial stage of mass production culture (depending on the purchasing power of the mass consumers). But there are few agencies to

guide the SMEs. The government alone cannot handle the vast training and orientation programmes, year after year. The NGOs have rich field experience. Therefore the sector role of the NGO activities may be reviewed, and their services may be made available to other sectors in the urban areas also; for example, starting a business; technical and engineering management and various kinds of services (laundry, tailoring, small restaurants' hygienic control, the water service, driving, technical apprenticeship, shop-keeping and salesmanship, catering, and other fields).

A Husnain Dhaka.

Harassment of passengers at ZIA

Sir, It is utterly disgusting and regrettable that people working at the check-in counter at ZIA often causes harassment to the passengers. I had an unpleasant experience recently.

My daughter and granddaughter were bound for USA by Emirate, flight No EKO63 on 24.10.1999. She had two suitcases weighing 86 kgs. Check-in counter official refused to accept anything beyond 64 kgs though I have been clearly informed that infant passenger bound for USA and Canada is entitled to carry 30 kg. I would like to suggest that

the check-in lounge must be cleared of all the middlemen and brokers who work as agents for the counter personnel. They not only corrupt the employees and the passengers but also extort the innocent passengers which is most undesirable and unlawful.

Md Eradatullah Commissioner of Taxes (Rtd) Tejkunipara Dhaka

'Militant democracy'

Sir. Pakistan is at the receiving end of what I would term as 'militant democracy' -militant stance by the civilians who are elected politicians and are supposed to be the custodians of the so-called democracy so happily working in the industrialised and materialistic societies. These politicians are supposed to run the wheel of democracy, but, in most cases, they are found sitting over it. not only in Pakistan, but in many Third World countries where democracy is supposed to be practised. The weaknesses of the western type of democracy are never explained to the four billion deprived population of the world!

The media, whether in the West or in the East, provide hardly any time or space to the problems arising out of practising democracy after this holy concept is taken out of the books and applied in countries where half the voters are illiterate and live below the poverty line, and the custodians in power (the have-nots in the upper crust of the society) cannot resist the temptation to fill their coffers through shady deals. Money and corruption go together, and the books on democracy have not devoted enough chapters on combating these evils, to level the playing field. The UN system is allowed to talk on democracy, but not

practice it neutrally. What is neutral democracy? The democracy imposed by the west has to be analysed more carefully by the experts in the Third World. Like transfer of technology, the transfer of democracy has technical and other hurdles. The chapters on the teething troubles have to be revised and expanded and made more LDC-friendly (if that is

the correct term to use). Enayetur Raheem The western media is blindly

demanding a time-table in Pakistan, parroting on the dotted line. These people may be despatched to the LDCs as advisors to the governments; and they may be taken to task if their advice do not work, and their stay may be extended (for further prescriptions) till the

crisis is contained. It appears that democracy works under certain pre-economic environmental conditions and literacy level of the general masses. No one can think of democracy on empty or half-empty stomach, and a take-home pay which is one tenth of the minimum require-

Alif Zabr Dhaka.

Going backward

Sir, When I was returning home in the evening before the November 1 hartal, I came to know about the hartal only when I saw the torch-procession by the pro-hartal activists. Hartal is a word that makes me afraid these days. Because, am about to finish my institutional education and looking for a timely completion. After that, I will have to support my father. But the current confrontational politics makes me anxious whether I can finish my university degree in due time.

Hartal is a talked-about word in every-day life. When it is time to go ahead to compete with the world, people here anxiously wait for another hartal if there is any scheduled opposition programme. Thus we

are going only backward. We request both opposition and the government to shun the path of confrontation. Opposition parties should care for the citizens and the government should be more patient.

Political football Sir, "Football dies another

death" is the screaming headline in the Daily Star of Oct 27. Another line may be added: "Due to political interference". Our politicians seem to be too ambitious, playing games outside the rules, and are never satisfied with their booty; although with boots on, they cannot play squarely the round football. Perhaps they can fare better with the hockey stick without the ball. They never seem to understand a simple sentence like "Mind your own business", although we citizens have been surrounding to them for three decades.

What is their next target? There is hardly anything left; except perhaps excess garbage, for dumping at others' doors! Abul M Ahmad Dhaka

Death of a policeman

Sir. On the evening of Friday. 29th October, an outstanding policeman Ahad Parvez laid down his life, in the call of duty.

This is a shining example of public service in a society of eroding values.

It is our wish that the widow and the two-year-old son of Ahad are adequately provided financially. This is the least we can do to honour the heroism of Ahad Parvez.

Shahabuddin Mahtab A-5 Apartment Complex 51 Siddheswari Road, Dhaka-1217