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Heinous Motive

D ECENT developments at the Shahjalal Univer-I sity of Science and Technology take us 28 years back in time to the days of another December when the Pakistani occupation forces and their loyalists executed the intellectuals in a bid to strangulate the soul of an emerging nation. 'Death Warrant' for the vice-chancellor, proctor and a syndicate member, and invasion of some teachers' residence by armed goons have a striking resemblance to the acts of cowardice and brutality perpetrated in 1971. Yet again, people steadfast on the ideals of liberation war have been made target. Once again. minds behind the treacherous design have taken recourse to religion and religious sentiments to justify their act. Ironically, back then it was the marauding Pakistani army and now it is a few amongst us. As the nation prepares to celebrate the Victory Day in a couple of days' time, happenings at the Shahjalal University certainly trigger off apprehension that the anti-liberation and obscurantist forces are on the rise. We are enraged and condemn the attack on and death threats to the teachers.

Evidently, the situation has arisen out of naming some academic and administrative buildings of the university after some of our great leaders, scholars and personalities, some of whom hail from Sylhet. Apparently, the objection is against the names of Bangabandhu and Shaheed Janani Jahanara Imam. Why? We find no justification in the protesters' stand. Unfortunately, even BNP appears to have lent support to the move, smacking of anti-liberation motive. Passivity of the police, even when the hoodlums put locks on the main entrances to the university, is also disturbing. Moreover, according to the vice-chancellor, there has been no attempt from the administration to quell the unrest on the campus and protect the teachers. Besides, what has emboldened the hooligans to proclaim death for the teachers and assign to themselves the role of executioners? It is time to look at the whole episode in a different perspective. It is no longer a grievance of certain group of people gone wild, it is a blatant attack on the ideals and the values the nation stands for.

We urge the authorities to undertake certain active measures. First, the teachers under threat must be given constant police protection. Secondly, the intimidators must be traced out and severely dealt with. Finally, arrangements must be made to keep the university open. At the same time, we would like to earnestly request the local political leaders, especially those of the All-Party Action Committee, to stop using the university as their battle-field. If that requires delinking from the student organisations, then so be it.

Hartal Violence on the Rise

TT seems a reduced duration of hartal as was the Lease on Monday — for nine hours all over the country barring Chittagong - was not accompanied by any lessened degree of violence. What happened is that it only got compressed with nearly the same quantum of violence being in evidence which one had seen erupting in the 12hour shut-downs earlier on. In other words, with every new hartal there is a higher incidence of street violence. The nine-hour general strike on a fasting day, when militancy was likely to be subdued in deference to the Ramadan spirit, ironically left a policeman dead, and a hundred people hurt. In Chittagong disturbances on the first-day of the 36-hr hartal called by the fourparty opposition alliance to resist the process of election to the Chittagong City Corporation were enough to send chill down the spine for the remaining hours of hartal there.

The propensity to mayhem in hartals has markedly increased for some cogent reasons: one, it is a freshly aligned opposition formation out to prove its agitational prowess; two, the stake is high for them in a municipal polls where only the AL is fielding candidates; three, the ruling party has never been without a strategy to counter, even foil, the opposition's agitational programme; four, the AL as a party and the police as a government agency are having to contend with four parties afield with their respective organisational strengths brought to bear upon their common action programme; and finally, that is why the numbers of clashes between the police and the activists of the four parties on the one hand and those between the AL loyalists and the whole range of opposition activists on the other, have increased manifold lately.

That being the menacing outlook in the overall, we urge the four-party opposition to take all their protests to the parliament which is scheduled to sit on the auspicious new year's day of the new millennium. We implore both the AL and BNP to put their right foot forward on that great day.

Late and Little

THE government ban on the import of single I pack disposable syringe is a limited one and comes too late in the day. According to the new order only 'blister and ribbon' pack syringe can be imported on fulfilment of conditions laid down in the Import Policy Act, 1997-2002 and with permission from the drug administration authority. This has been done ostensibly for stopping the import of used disposable syringes from abroad in the name of recycling but these got sold in the market in the form they had been procured spelling dangers to health. Drug administration sources, according to the news agency, claimed to have earlier imposed restrictions on the use of single pack syringes but the irony was these were imported unabated as per the import list of the government. This is a clear case of lack of coordination and understanding between government agencies on vital matters of public health. The government has hardly any control and supervision on the sale of used disposable syringes being supplied in huge numbers by the 'tokais' (ragpickers). Nothing has been done to oversee the destruction of the used disposable syringes in the country.

Only banning the import of single pack syringes won't do. The ministry and departments concerned must be geared up and properly equipped with men and machines to strictly supervise the implementation of the latest government order.

When Disappointment Turns into Desperation

The image of the militants has improved. Lately, they are seen as "liberators." When anyone of them

is killed, there is a burial procession. Even youthful leader Shabir Shah argues that there

may not be any other option "if New Delhi does not listen to us." At present, he favours a

detention, to be associated with the talks.

T T OW does New Delhi look from here? I posed this I guestion at a small gathering of lawyers and intellectuals in Srinagar early this month. One lawyer replied: "It is ugly and makes me feel ashamed." Another one said: "How could you criticise Pakistan for having lost democracy when you never allowed us to rule ourselves?"

Indeed, as I talked to more and more people - lawyers. journalists, retired-bureaucrats, politicians, economists and businessmen — I found that India's image was more smeared than before. It is not only alienation, it is a mood of indifference.

During my earlier visit, one and a half years ago, I had seen the Kashmiris expecting things to take a turn for the better. A substantial number of them had participated first in the Lok Sabha poll and then in the state assembly election in October 1996. In more than one way. they had rebuffed the forces which were pro-militant, parochial and which had stalled the process of merging with the mainstream. The anti-India elements stood somewhat

Even otherwise, the Kashmiris were tired of leading an insecure and uneasy life. The militancy had once ignited a spirit of challenge and defiance. But it had also brought in its wake the retaliation by security forces, often brusque and brutal. Enough of bloodshed had taken place. There was a realisation that all that had happened had taken them nowhere. Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah's promise for a better deal and better administration sounded more credible

dialogue and wants the Hurriyat leaders, who have become more credible after their than before. They wanted to try him again - and also the Gov-

ernment of India. New Delhi was seen learning from the Lok Sabha election in 1996 that a free atmosphere evoked a wider response. The assembly election was a welcome follow up. Afraid of gun culture and communal sentiments overtaking their peaceful and Kashmiri way of living, many came forward to exercise their vote. Despite a boycott call by the Hurrivat leaders, who associated themselves with the demand for independence or elections under the UN, nearly 40 per cent of the Kashmiris went to the polls in 1996 to elect the assemiled It was not that they had come to accept New Delhi but it was their feeling that normalcy would give them better dividends.

Whether the Centre or Farooq Abdullah realised this or not, most Kashmiris had generally reconciled themselves to the situation provided they got good governance and secure living. Two years, from the assembly election in October 1996 to the end of 1998, was a trial period. It seems that the advantage has been blown up. The 1999 Lok Sabha election in Kashmir was the biggest fraud committed on the voters. Elections were only in name. It is a sort of blot which the Central Election Commission will not be able to rub off easily.

The rigging in the 1998 as-

sembly election had driven young men from ballot to bullet. A feeling of disappointment had turned first into desperation and then into insurgency. with the help of the Pakistan army and arms. The same thing happened in the 1999 Lok Sabha election. More than 200 disgusted boys have crossed into Pakistan to get training. The local population is once again showing a sneaking admiration for even foreign militants, 90 per cent of them Pak-

istanis. People feel that their expec-

sion have come to be seen as New Delhi's doings. The state government's defence is that the promised economic package is yet to arrive. And the Rs. 400 crore released by the Centre is inadequate.

Criticism of India, which was somewhat mute at one time, has now become loud. They feel that they have no say, much less participation, in managing their own affairs. A political solution is at the back of their mind. But a cleaner, quicker and more sympathetic administration would have There are allegations of ex-

The militants operate even in the city. A hand grenade was lobbed at a place near my hotel. There was an explosion at the inauguration of a bridge by Farooq Abdullah. One thing different from the past is that such incidents do not seem to disturb people. They have begun to take such incidents in their stride. There is no hartal, no detour of the affected place by pedestri-

While walking on the road, found no sign of Talibanisation of the city. Very few women wore burqua and few men sported beard. There is normalcy of sorts. The number of bunkers in the city is far less than before. Even security men on the streets are not so visible as it was the last time. No doubt. there are more militants from across the border than are from within. But the local population does give them shelter and provide them guides for "the target". The attack on the army headquarters at Badami Bagh is

one example of local assistance. Cross border militancy has increased since the advent of General Pervez Musharrafs military rule. Islamabad is also encouraging local militancy. Apart from Pakistan's encouragement, the atmosphere of disappointment is also conducive to desperation. Since the rigging of the 1999 election, people have lost hope of chang-

ing the Farooq Abdullah men through the ballot box. Some had pinned their hopes on a third force, which Mufti Mohammed Sayed, his daughter Mehbooba, and Muzafar Al Beg the three candidates, were trying to build so as to be an alternative to Farooq's National Conference and the Hurriyat. But the defeat of the three seems to have convinced many that there is no respite from their plight except through mili-

Economically, the state has not done well. The apple crop has got spoilt and the Kargil operation has taken its toll. Many people have suffered. There are no openings for the young men leaving schools or colleges. Some of them are tempted to join the militants, who pay their parents Rs 2,500 a month regularly. For some time, the militants have been spending lavishly. If they eat at any house, they leave behind at least Rs 500. There are very few

examples of extortion. In fact, the image of the militants has improved. Lately, they are seen as "liberators." When anyone of them is killed. there is a burial procession. Even youthful leader Shabir Shah argues that there may not be any other option "if New Delhi does not listen to us." At present, he favours a dialogue and wants the Hurriyat leaders. who have become more credible after their detention, to be associated with the talks.

It looks as if when it comes to India, almost all Kashmiris join hands. The realisation that Islamabad is in no position to force any solution on New Delhi makes them feel helpless. And then they pick on India all the more.

BETWEEN THE LINES

Kuldip Nayar writes from New Delhi

tations have been belied. They find the government failing in every field, particularly the administration. Nor do they find any redress of their grievance. The cost of living is going up, electricity alone, if and when available, costing 50 per cent more. On top of it, they daily come across examples of waste and unchecked corruption from top to bottom.

In fact, people have felt cheated. New Delhi is seen engrossed in security, not in the measures on how to improve their lot. Farooq Abdullah's acts of omission and commis-

gone a long way to span the ever growing distance between the people and the government.

Even during my short visit, I

found instances of harassment. maltreatment and authoritarian behaviour. People have fewer complaints against the BSF. But their main anger is directed against the special operation group (SOG) comprising the Kashmir police. The Rashtriya Rifles, which is dubbed Rashtriya Sangh, also comes in for severe criticism. Once again, there are searches by cordoning off a particular area, as was done in the early 90's.

Costcutting

To effect change, one has to certainly take in the consequences and if the result is going to be for the better, one has to be bold in taking a decision, sooner rather than later.

ASISEEIT

Ikram Sehgal writes from Karachi

LONG with the many ideas being floated for Aenhancing revenue generation, it is important to find innovative ways for cutting non-development costs and curtailing expenditures. There is a fair amount of recurring wastage and only strict control at every tier of administration can keep this to a very minimum. Add to this the losses due to inefficiency and corruption and we can get quite substantial savings by installing checks and balances at various nodal points to ensure effective monitoring of financial outlays in the system.

There is a dire need to reduce the number of departments in the civilian bureaucracy as well as personnel. There may be a hue and cry about unemployment but it will be far more economical to have people stay at home and collect their salaries than load the government with additional financial burden because of individuals making private telephone calls, excessive use of electricity, misuse of government transport and personnel, etc. Most of these departments have overlapping responsibilities and are breeding grounds for corruption. They burden the already overloaded taxpayers with additional "demands", both official and unofficial, so much so that tax payers are in danger of being declared an "endangered species". To effect meaningful reduction, it will be necessary to do a systematic processing of needs that are vital for the running of the nation matched against the means to accomplish these needs.

A comprehensive pro forma should be devised and issued to every department and sub-department for study and comple-

tion by a three-member committee belonging to the same department but appointed by the next higher authority. This proforma should indicate the number of appointments, in the sub-unit, the responsibilities/tasks of each person, their salary/allowances for the year 1999, the number of telephone and vehicles being used and expenditures (individually) in use thereof, etc. The committee would then recommend where money can be saved by making reductions without affecting performance. They can then recommend a budgetary figure for the year 2000, the idea being to cut costs by at least 30 per cent and then stay with the projected budget for the coming year. To ensure compliance it would be necessary to appoint a budget oversight officer, preferably from among the Committee that did the "self assessment" in order to ensure continuity. In a pyramidical fashion this "selfassessment" by three-member committees must continue vertically upwards in the structure. each tier considering the consolidated structure of the lower level and recommending reductions, if any. If the three-member committee at any tier has not recommended the complete abolishing of a sub-unit or drastic reduction themselves for their entity, which one does not really expect them to do. the next higher committee should not shirk from that task. There may be a tendency to avoid elimination of departments and reduction of number of jobs

siderations. Everyone must understand that the elimination of a post does not mean automatic unemployment, people would be transferred to a Central Surplus Pool by categories. They may be offered a Golden Handshake if attempts for their gainful employment do not materialise and if on re-organization/re-structuring they cannot be slotted into a job. Even then it would be cheaper to keep them "on hold" rather than on any job.

A major portion of the Federal Budget goes to Defence Services. It is reported that the Chief Executive (CE) has initiated a serious cost-cutting exercise to reduce recurring expenditure by as much as 30 per cent without compromising the effectiveness. Obviously this must be a systematic exercise that will cut waste down to a minimum as well as curtail/eliminate those areas that are not vital to the Army's mission. Over the years, we have been recommending radical changes to convert the Army from a 19th Century institution

to a fighting force for the 21s Century. While the CE's initiative for the 7-point agenda is welcome for this country, in a "Physician, heal thyself" exer-

cise he needs a scalpel for surgery on the indulgence and sloth that is manifest everywhere except in the fighting arms and some elements of the supporting arms and services. Nowhere in the world except in South Asia, and that also not in Sri Lanka or Nepal, is there a concept of a "buffer" between the officers and men as are the Junior Commissioned Officers (JCOs), a residue of the British Raj which the British themselves recommended for elimination as far back as 1921 when the first Indian officers started to be inducted in some number into the army. A mechanism has been suggested to gradually

eliminate JCOs, however as far

as batmen/orderlies are con-

cerned the Government would

do well to eliminate them alto-

gether immediately and give an

allowance to the officers in lieu.

There are many, many ways to

be cost effective, where there is

a will, a way can be found.

Charity to the nation starts at

In 1967-68, as an Adjutant of an infantry battalion posted in 11 Division, Lahore I was tasked to ensure 100 per cent re-

OPINION

and its allies reaped by their

serve for all specialist positions in the unit, i.e. mortar, engineers, signals, Mechanical Transport (MT), commandos, etc. With respect to driver's training, the unit MT received 3000 additional gallons from the Brigade. At that time a civilian driving school would take approximately Rs 800-900 per person for driver's training right upto getting the individual a civilian driving licence. We negotiated this down to Rs 600 per driver and inducted 50 personnel for MT training, meeting the Rs. 30,000/= budget from our unit funds. Our premise was that before we allowed any new MT trainee get onto the controls of any military vehicle, particularly into the "F echelon", i.e. the fighting vehicles, the person would already have experience of driving vehicles on the main roads. The conversion would avoid wear and tear on the vehicles, particularly the clutch plate and the engines. even other vehicles (and persons) hit en route by drivers under training on heavy vehicles. POL would also be saved. The money spent on the individual for his driver's training and licence would be recovered from him when he was leaving the service, thereby replenishing the unit find. The soldier would be happy, as it would cost him far more to get a civilian driving licence as a civilian, not including the hassles and the

times wasted. The unit was proud of the innovation, the brigade was uneasy but non-committal, the Division HQ was aghast as to our sacrilege! What to talk about being rewarded for an original idea, we were lucky to survive in the same rank. As an SSG person and being what he is, one is sure the CE must have gone through similar experiences during his service, and been frustrated because any initiative would have been taken to be against the prevailing norm and dealt with summarily.

To effect change, one has to certainly take in the consequences and if the result is going to be for the better, one has to be bold in taking a decision. sooner rather than later. Luckily the buck stops with the CE and he can effect change across the board in the Armed Forces. The entire fieldom being his to now command, the CE has to start with the Defence Services so that he can credibly ask the civilian bureaucracy to make similar "sacrifices". A budgetary saving of Rs 50-60 billion in both the civil and military establishments, along with the increase in revenue collection by a similar amount, will go a long way in reducing budget deficits while making more funds available for development. That development is the key engine for growth.

Some departments are superfluous and can be eliminated altogether, some can be dovetailed to streamline the efficiency and making these cost effective. The penchant of bureaucracy is to maintain the status quo, not to allow fresh ideas to sweep.

Hail peace

Sir. In Bangladesh a political government of five years tenure is born in the womb of caretaker government and the CEC is the midwife. As all the political parties are kept aloof from such a birth process the neutrality of the election is and should be beyond any doubt and debate and be acceptable to all concerned. It is, therefore, expected that neither abortion nor scissorian operation of the caretaker government is rational as there is an arrangement of normal delivery after every five years.

Let us all visualise this phenomenon of the caretaker government and restore calm and peace in the country to welcome the new millennium.

Abdul Majid 13. Rajani Bose Lane.

The "who cares"

attitude! Sir, Bangladeshis' own perspectives, their reading of newspaper editorials; commentaries; opinions; letters to the editor, listening to words and watching deeds of politicos seemingly lead them to an unsettling conclusion. Our two major cities are on the edge of the precipice. The citizens at large and the dwellers of these two cities in particular are increasingly getting restive of the signs of inevitable danger of evolving into a kind of milieu so long unknown to them.

Can our city fathers be excited about sewers, open manholes, piled-up odious odour of roadside garbage, land grabbers? The gabbers grab, without any compunction, land belonging to mosque, school playground, khas land, parks. rivers, canals etc.

The unbridled growth of high-rises for housing and commercial enterprises. plethora of schools within close proximity-all of them putting pressure on the limited land and city facilities (road, water, electricity, traffic system, breathing space) affecting the

life and living of city dwellers. The poison-emitting three-India wheeler autos and limitless number of road-jamming cycle

To our city fathers this deplorable condition of our cities are not principal problems, while city residents' day to day experience tell of an extreme

misery of city people.

rickshaws are adding to the

because of humanitarian con-

What about our democratically elected government siting in the capital? Apart from rhetoric, verve, and mudslinging (within or without the parliament), do our leaders have anything to say about the anarchic condition of our cities? Or have they adopted the "who cares" attitude?

Syed Waliullah

Transhipment facility to India

Sir, As a non-resident Bangladeshi, it is quite difficult for me to know and understand the current affairs in my country. However, in this modern age of science we, the non-residents, are able to know about some of the major events taking place in Bangladesh.

When I first came to know about transhipment of Indian goods through Bangladesh, was quite happy, because, by this Bangladesh will be able to earn foreign currency. As a developing country. Bangladesh needs to earn as much foreign currency as it can. Moreover, our government should keep good contact and relation with the neighbouring countries particularly a country with better economy and political influence.

From the time of War of Independence. India has been helping Bangladesh in many ways. It's our responsibility to support them as much as possible. For the past several years India is facing a lot of trouble to ship goods to their eastern regions. This transhipment issue is not a big deal for Bangladesh.

But it is an important issue to

I think, if the Government of Bangladesh agrees to this issue the existing relation between these two countries will be better than that in the past years.

Mrityunjoy Saha AR 72801, USA

Public phone outlets

Sir. The private telephone service shops in my locality no longer provide the illegal telephone call service (at exorbitant rates), as the government disconnected the lines, prior to the introduction of the newly approved policy of renting out such phone call centres in the private sector, after due registration, and as per regularised payment chart.

Two types of optional services may be provided at different locations: a) pay at the counter after the call (the payment chart must be displayed prominently): and. b) cardphone system.

Also Tk 50 cards may be sold (at these rental points as well). for the convenience of the lower-income group users (these are no longer marketed by BTTB). Card-phone booths may also be installed at selected government offices/premises in each locality, where security guards are available, for 24hour access (this will prevent

vandalism) The officers and staff responsible for the telephone racket for years causing loss of crores of taka to the exchequer. may be prosecuted and heavily fined, to recover some of the illegal income. The unscrupulous Telecom personnel must not be allowed to go scot-free, as without deterrent punishment, the standard of the service will not improve. Good governance starts with properly oriented human personnel, and not with modern technical system.

A Husnain

BNP's Illusion, People's Suffering What political harvest BNP

Dec 5 and 6 dawn-to-dusk hartals is anybody's guess as there was no justifiable issue for calling countrywide hartal like the preceding ones, such as one for hurling aspersions against the Opposition Leader in the House and BNP top brass, and the other for inflicting injuries on MP Sadek Hossain Khoka and few other MPs. The hartals were observed and as usual the opposition parties, especially BNP chief Begum Khaleda Zia were smugly satisfied to congratulate the countrymen who were practically forced to keep off the roads, and to ask the government to quit without any further delay. They have again observed another hartal on 13th of this month and the issue for that is nothing less than their demand for ouster of the AL government and there may be hundreds more on the cards until the government gives in to

By this time it has become quite evident that the opposition parties are bent on using this widely detested hartal weapon with only one end, to create political unrest that may, as they seem to be sure of. precipitate the general election. Although this is quite repugnant to constitutional or democratic norms, and people at large other than the supporters and hencemen of the opposition parties give no countenance to such mode of change-over, the opposition with their power craze will not hesitate to put the whole nation in deep waters.

their wiles.

After their many sittings-inconclave, the recent cohesion of the four parties, and sitting of their chiefs face to face for the first time are a clear indication that they would plunge the whole nation into a sombre, worrying unpredictable situation. They have already boycotted parliament, as also the parliamentary by-elections that betrays no secret that they want to make the present parliamentary system totally inoperational. But for the elected opposition parties how far this demeanour is constitutional and tenable? What right have

A H Dewan they got to trample down the people's mandate this way, even after retaining the parliament membership and enjoying all

previleges is our naive ques-Now many of the print media, besides the opposition parties themselves are highly critical of the AL government for its riding roughshod over the opposition in the parliament what they term repressive, and for its failure to bring the opposition, especially BNP into its confidence, and puts blame squarely on it as being solely responsible for what all the aggressive postures the opposition parties have assumed now, as according to them, the onus to make placating efforts rests primarily with the government But nobody can deny the fact that since the day BNP was routed (in the election) it was full-throated inligning AL government with many unreasonable and unbelievable censures, and BNP in its cut and thrust of any political speeches made itself not a political op ponent, but imbued itself with the sense of being a sworn enemy to AL, and forged ahead bit by bit to whip up strength to put the AL government at bay.

AL's rescinding the Indemnity Ordinance in the Parliament (when BNP wilfully kept itself absent), and later holding trials of the killers of Bangabandhu and his family members by virtue of that revocation was the unpalatable defeat for BNP. Both BNP and Jatiya Party instead of even censuring the killers rewarded them for the formers' political leverage. So that BNP and Jatiya Party. infamous for quashing democracy and its autocracy, respectively, together with Jamat-e-Islami, accused of abetting in genocide in 1971, would ultimately align themselves and take overt or covert moves to destabilize the AL government was not beyond stretch of any imagination. It was unfortunate that AL failed to conceive that. What they had in their minds in the beginning has now culminated in their oust-gov-

ernment movement, and no accommodation from AL government could save it from the scourge of the ideologically identical combined opposition

parties.

AL's governance is no better than its predecessor's. In many sectors its failures are heavier than its successes. But that could not warrant AL to be removed from power before its legitimate tenure. Because BNP's agitations have not been found to be directed at the failures of the government to deliver goods to the people, but calculated only to unseat the government so that it can pave the way for its return, unfortunately, along with the anti-liberation, antisecular forces. The realigned opposition parties, especially with vengeance of Ershad who was forced to make his ignominious exit through people's upsurge, have in their minds that they would make AL go that way. But BNP and its allies have perhaps lost their foresight that the whole people are now divided into or devoted to two major political parties, and the upsurge with half the supporters is a hard row to hoe. The proof is already there when hartals are forced upon. Of course the frequent hartals and agitational movements would at best keep the government on tenterhooks, get the law and order deteriorated and the people's woes snowballed.

The PM as a last ditched effort have, however, made fervent appeals to the Opposition Leader in the Parliament to sit across the table and sort out any issue BNP feels as badly imperative, including her oftpronounced one point, so that political unrest leading to chaos, killing and anarchy bred from the violence can be averted. But they are being left out in the cold. BNP being beefed up by other three parties wants nothing less than the ouster of the AL government, hence no sitting, no discussion but movements of far tougher sort, come what may for the countrymen. That means we are to pay a heavy price for BNP's illusion.