**DHAKA THURSDAY JANUARY 24, 2002** 

## We condemn the mayhem in Kolkata

Terrorism next door should heighten our security concerns

E are profoundly shocked and outraged at the perpetration of terrorism by some motor-bike riding gunmen in front of the US Information Centre in Kolkata at the dawn of Tuesday last. Basically, in 40 seconds, the terrorists emptied out the muzzles of their sophisticated automatic weapons firing 58 rounds at the police posse killing five cops instantaneously. Seventeen citizens were also injured in the ensuing but a belated exchange of fire between the two sides.

We express our heart-felt condolences to the government and people of India, and those of West Bengal and the families left bereaved by the victims of the terrible tragedy. That terrorism always kills innocent people has been proven once again in a most poignant manner and how much we condemn this serial killing after the December 13 suicide attack on the Indian Parliament!

Just when India and Pakistan looked like veering away from their eye-ball to eye-ball posturing along their international border and the LOC in Kashmir, the emerging process of their disengagement has received a severe jolt. The diplomatic efforts of Tony Blair and Collin Powell to persuade the contending parties to defuse tension through a dialogue were duly underpinned by Pakistan's announcement that certain Islamic militant groups have been outlawed by her. The contacts established between the leaders of the two countries on the sidelines of the SAARC summit also helped matters a good deal. Hopefully, all the good outcome of those painstaking efforts of international trouble-shooters in the person of the British Prime Minister and the US Secretary of State and the SAARC summitry contacts between the leaders of India and Pakistan will be saved now despite the terrorist attack in Kolkata which the Indian Home Minister has put down to ISI connections implicating Pakistan in it.

As a friend to both India and Pakistan, Bangladesh urges them to get over this temporary setback and forge right ahead from the forward foothold they had reached earlier on to come to terms with each other.

With terrorism coming so close to Bangladesh and being targeted to an American installation, there is a great need felt here to upgrade our security arrangements into a fool-proof state.

## Violence renewed at the **DU campus**

Real casualty is education

N another disheartening incident at the Dhaka University, one group of students attacked another to disrupt a rally and injure the opponents. The fact that the attackers belonged to the government party and the attacked to the opposition makes it all the more telling that democracy, already on the run in Bangladesh has few places left to hide. The incident is severely condemned.

Awami League's student wing Chhatra League was holding the rally to protest the proposed changes to be brought in the textbooks. This drew the ire of the government party's student wing Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal. In a way the two parties are having a classical proxy war at the campus and the rest are observers of this strange and surreal drama. Worse, the audience is also the victim.

As for the opposition activists, some of them were snatched away from the police and bashed up. Media report that as many as 40 students may have been injured in the attacks. Rooms including those of certain teachers were ransacked and the feeling of insecurity is universal. There is nothing new in this sequence of events happening at DU. It's the familiarity that hurts most.

With every change in the government, certain things tend to happen. Textbooks are changed to suit party history, universities have to be cleared of opposition activists and the police have to play the role of a by-stander. One only hopes that violence will not reach such a pitch that whatever little education that is provided will be affected.

During the AL regime, their student wing had totally taken over the campus and the BNP students had to go into hiding or inaction. This in fact led to a relatively peaceful period because the opposition simply didn't exist. However, during the caretaker government period some kind of an arrangement was reached which continued for a while into the BNP rule. Now violence has again come to rule. Let good sense prevail again.

We condemn violence on the campus in the hope that the authorities will recognize that the real casualty in this situation will be education. Meanwhile, strikes have been called at the campus, which the BCL will be well-advised to withdraw at once.

## **Terror** nearer home



S H IMAM

FTER New Delhi, our nextdoor neighbouring city Kolkata has been struck by terror within less than six weeks of each other.

Does it put us on the risk-list? The answer is both 'yes' and 'no'. For, although the perspectives are different between India and Bangladesh, yet after what has happened in Kolkata, we do need to beef up security, both in its internal and external dimensions, to ride out of the murky situation in a deeply troubled region. The process may well have begun by now to ensure that we are not deemed as a 'soft-target', especially bearing in mind the fact that we host some 'US installations' here that may be regarded as 'vulnerable

An act of terrorism, especially of the international variety, is far too self-proclaiming to be mystified with any recital of how many unanswered questions there are to it. Clearly drawing on a background, it is manifestly retaliatory or vengeful and definitely targeted. It hits out at

the time and place of its mastermind's choice with a dare-devilry that makes state power look helpless in terms of preventing it happening. Whether it was the suicide bomb attack within the high security precincts of the Lok Sabha in New Delhi at the heartland of Indian polity or the lethal gunfire at the much softer target of the US Information Centre in Kolkata, the freedom of action being enjoyed by the terrorists is fast becoming a phenomenon. It better be dealt with

West Bengal has had the distinction of being avowedly secular. For practical purposes as well, it has been a consistent stickler for communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims. Having maintained communal equilibrium for the last two decades, the left front government was hardly expected to court such a denigration from any Islamic group, even of an extremist mould. Nevertheless, it is one Farhan who reportedly phoned in to claim a Harkatul Jihadul Islam's

acting on its own. This is based on the argument that only Indians have been killed and that no US citizen lost life. But it was symbolically targeted at the American centre in the very least, which is what bodes ill in a wider sense. In point of fact again. a grenade that was fired from a launcher. It did not explode but if it had, the story might have been different. The home minister of the BJP-led Indian central government LK Advani has said it was the doing of an Islamic

tapering off since mid-January up until last week. Let them not relapse back into the late December mould when they were provoking each other with a domino effect into taking increasingly hardline positions.

By association of thought, a keen observer of US-India-Pakistan tripartite relationship cannot overlook a certain shift of emphasis in their traditional equations. FBI chief Robert Muller and CBI Director Sharma in a series of

the LOC in Kashmir in addition to erecting electronic fences along that border. After all this is put in place, the LOC could be impervious to terrorist 'penetrations'. One may hike to recall that the US during Nehru's time in India had set up some surveillance equipment along Sino-Indian borders.

One can read two implications into the significant development underlined above: first, the US will have a fairly wide role to play in Kashmir. Even though it will be confined to a specific parameter this signals a shift in the Indian traditional approach to Kashmir being a purely bilateral concern between India and Pakistan. Secondly, the Kashmir question might go on the quiet following such close surveillance across the LOC. Pakistan itself having outlawed five Islamic militant groups the Kashmir question as we know it may have been put on the back

Who knows whether that prospect is making certain elements privately edgy to try and keep the Kashmir issue hot? But we look up to the leadership in India and Pakistan hoping that they would start a dialogue immediately and come grips with the Kashmir and other contentious issues before long. In the changed global environment, economic cooperation should take precedence over political or ideological differences between states

# JUST ANOTHER VIEW

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accordingly.

Not only has terrorism penetrated deeper into India's interior, somewhat in contrast to what she has been complaining of as 'crossborder terrorism' on its peripheries in Kashmir, it is for the first time also that an US installation has been targeted in India. That is the first implication one tends to read of the terrorist attack in Kolkota at the dawn of Tuesday.

In a sense, the capital city West Bengal could be regarded as the unlikeliest target for a terrorist attack. The left front government in

hand in Tuesday's massacre at the Chowrongee Square. Anyway, the opposition Trinomul Congress is making the most it. They have termed it as the Left Front government's abysmal failure to take adequate precautions against the attack when Buddadev Bhattacharia, in their words, had never tired of expressing the apprehension that the ISI were actively helping out Islamic militants in the state.

There has been a surmise that it might have been the work of some free-wheeling small terrorist group

extremist group with links to ISI in Pakistan. Some informed circles in Islamabad referring to a missile attack on a US centre in Islamabad and occasional assaults on outfits supportive of US views in the past believed it could have happened in Pakistan as well. India's castigation of Pakistan and the latter's criticism of Indian 'hawks' who have allegedly shown 'knee-jerk reaction' without having 'arrested' anyone for the terrorist act as yet are ratcheting up tensions between the two neighbours, which otherwise were

between the two intelligence agencies recently in New Delhi have decided to work together, as heard over BBC world service. Towards beefing up border security and surveillance along the LOC in Kashmir, the US and India will exchange intelligence data. Moreover. India will make use of US intelligence experience, her investigative skilled and expertise in forensic science. Indians will receive training at the US institutions. More significantly, the US is likely to put powerful sensors along

meetings they reportedly held

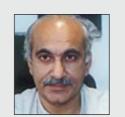
SH Imam is Associate Editor of The Daily Star.

the roles of head of government

and de facto (not de jure) Chief of

the Army. The differing lines of

# A moral of the story



M.J. AKBAR

for where would journalism be without the occasional dose of repetition, but for optimism. The timing of the story was not right, if it has been used before. The moment to tell that story is now.

The most famous, and the most

five-vear duel between the Islamic coalition of Saladin (it was a coalition: some of Saladin's troops came from as far away as India) and the Christian alliance under Richard II of England (England; Britain did not exist in the 11th century). Some of the romance about that contest is true. During Richard's last, and most desperate battle, when he was outnumbered, surrounded and surprised by Muslim forces and fought back like a lionheart, Saladin was watching the ebb and flow of the day from a mound. At its fiercest moment, Richard was unhorsed and therefore at the mercy of the Muslims. Saladin told his brother Malek, who was beside him, to take the two best Arab horses he had and give them to Richard immediately. A king as brave as Richard, said Saladin, should not fight without a horse. That gesture saved the lionheart's life. On the other hand, the story that when Richard and Saladin met, Richard cleaved a block of iron with his sword and Saladin, in response, threw up a silk scarf and sliced it with his scimitar is absolute junk. Not because either of them may not have been able to cut iron or slice

silk but because the two never met formally. Richard always wanted talks with Saladin, and even insisted on them. But Saladin assigned all negotiations with the Christian king to his brother Malek.

Moral of the story? No matter what US President George W. Bush, British Prime Minister Tony Blair. US secretary of state Colin Powell, defence secretary Donald

Rumsfeld and about three thou-

each other up say, Prime Minister

Atal Behari Vajpayee and Presi-

dent Pervez Musharraf should not

meet until they have decided that

they will not attempt war under

their watch. We cannot expect

President Musharraf has cre-

ated the conditions for another

dialogue with a remarkable speech

that will enter the history books of

Pakistan. And remain there, at

least until some successor tries to

erase it, just as General-President

Zia-ul Hag tried to erase Muham-

mad Ali Jinnah's speech at the

opening session of the Constituent

Assembly of Pakistan. The pairing

is not accidental. The two

speeches, both made without a

text, both offered from the heart

and mind, sought to set a course

for their country that was sane, that

was rational, that was modern and

that could have prevented so much

of the tragedy that has overtaken a

country that the two men were

more. We should not expect less.

privileged to lead. Ever since Pakistan was born it has been searching for a destiny through the muddled confusion of some criminally exploitative leaders, with the uncertain help of an ideology that ing to him. If Pakistan's leaders worked for the masses instead of themselves, he said, and if they treated all citizens, whether Hindus or Muslims, as equals, then,

exile in London in the first half of the 1930s, he too discovered Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, through a biography titled Grey Wolf: An Intimate Study of a Dictator by H.C. Armstrong. According to Stanley Wolpert's biography of the founder of Pakistan. Jinnah told his sister Fatima that if he ever got as much power as Ataturk he would westernise Indian Muslims. Westernise is not an accurate description of what Jinnah was talking about: he meant "modernise." The two do Partition it very kindly remembered to send Pakistan's due share of condoms left over from the Early Treatment Centers in Burma, the last war fought by the British Indian Army. (The BIA was some 2.5 million strong at the height of the Second World War, and 400,000 after demobilisation. Pakistan got 140,000 troops; India the rest.) The security of Pakistan has been its elemental, and justified rationale. But it also, from the very beginning, confused that legiti-

policy between the government and the armed forces on a matter as sensitive as Kashmir can be merged into one as long as the current dispensation lasts. But is this dispensation now going to be permanent feature of Pakistan's polity? How does this square with the need for democracy, which every leader of a coup pays lip service to? Or is the Ataturk model going to be followed rigidly, where modernisation will be controlled and implemented by military officers who are beyond the reach of public opinion? Popularity is a fragile fact, and therefore accountability is critical to long-term stability. If President Musharraf is true to his dream for his country, then he must also appreciate that this dream can be best protected by the goodwill of the people, and such goodwill can only be sustained through the democratic process. Pakistan cannot become a model, modern Muslim country without democracy, can it? This means that either President Musharraf will have to participate in that process to get the sanction of the people or cede power. The difficulties of both options do not need reiteration. Of course temptation will sing its songs, and the lure of aetting elected Prime Ministers (Benazir Bhutto?) across the table from unelected Presidents is a familiar one. But Islamabad may

President Musharraf has made an important and symbolic decision about the future of Pakistan's democracy by reversing separate electorates in which only Muslims could vote for Muslims and Hindus and Christians for their own community candidates. The Jinnah of Pakistan would have approved. even if the Jinnah of India based his whole battle on the separation of electorates.

MJ Akbar is Chief Editor of the Asian Age.

### His reason was splendid: after eluded concrete definition. Jinnah kings meet, he said, they should was so specific that he stunned never again have a reason for war. some of those who sat there listen-

may have mentioned this story before, in which case I apologise. Not for repeating myself.

romantic, of the Crusades was the

to get the sanction of the people or cede power. The difficulties of both options do not need reiteration. sand other dignitaries who have and Pakistan would have unity as well as prosperity. Jinnah's vision died with his death. General Zia's censors sent out word to newspapers not to mention this speech in any of the traditional articles that would be written on Jinnah's birthday. Their idea of Pakistan was darker; they wanted an exclusive zone that would become a haven for various kinds of Jihad. The

> space for the pen, except as a regressive weapon for fundamentalist indoctrination. In his first remarks after becoming Chief Executive of his country, literally out of the blue, President Musharraf made it a point to mention the Turkish patriot who had saved his nation from dismemberment by the victors of the First World War, and then dragged it (sometimes with excessive force) into a modern political culture. When Jinnah was in self-imposed

Kalashnikov was the sword of their

permanent war: and there was no

said Jinnah, there would come a not have to be synonymous, and day when Muslims would cease to so much confusion arises because Musharraf hinted without expanding, the Islamic world was not westernised when for 600 years it transferred technology to Europe. His next sentence was sardonic and went something like, "Abhi jo haal hai, aap jaante hain." The speech was important not

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as course correction for relations between India and Pakistan, but as course correction for the President's own country. The first can follow from the second. But in both its dimensions, it was a speech that perhaps could only have been made by a man secure not only in his convictions but also in his authority. In other words, in the context of Pakistan, a leader of the armed forces. The Pakistan Army, like any other institution, lives partly on self-comforting history. Its formative memory of India is denial. The mess might still occasionally reverberate with the story of how when India was meant to send her portion of ordnance after

bravado that confused defence visited India and Pakistan ever be Muslims and Hindus cease to they are misinterpreted to mean with offense, and justified protecsince the two threatened to blow be Hindus in the political sense, the same thing. As President tion to cross-border manoeuvres, whether in 1947, 1965 or through the 1990s. There was an implicit signal in President (or should we call him General here?) Musharraf's speech that that phase was also over. The Pakistan armed forces would defend their borders to the last inch, as they are oath-bound to do, and no more. The rest, including the dispute over Kashmir, will be left to governments, rather than the armed forces. This again is a significant difference and will be a hinge factor in Indo-Pak relations once India is convinced of its bona fides. Evidence will come with time. Not too much time, but not too little either. The positioning and repositioning on critical issues is not over vet. The India-Pakistan equation is both too murky and too emotional to be washed clean by one speech however sincere it might be.

mate with a touch of illegitimate

There is also a paradox that needs to be flagged. President Musharraf combines in his person

EDITOR TO THE EDITOR TO THE EDITOR

not be big enough for both.

of self-billing. On my query as to what was wrong with

self-billing the meter reader failed to give me any satisfactory answer. Similar was the case with the

satisfactory answer. Similar was the case with the offices supplying self-billing books. Each time they showed reluctance in giving a new book when the pages in my old book got exhausted. Later, they stopped supplying a full book of 12 pages and started giving me 6 pages instead. Finally, they gave me only one page and told me not to bother about my bills anymore. Because from January 2002 they would revert back to the old system of sending bills from their offices.

their offices.

Incidentally, I have built a new storey on my single-floor house and applied for a new meter for that floor. After the usual hassles and payment of government dues and Bakshish etc. they installed a new meter and also changed my old meter with a new electronic meter. Since I was making my own bills I wanted to learn how the meter reading was done and this created confusion. The persons who installed the meters didn't know how to read them. Another person

meters didn't know how to read them. Another persor

came from the office and after some time he confessed that he was not sure as to which one

among the numerous figures was actually my reading. A third man appeared and told me not to bother about any other figures except the one he has shown. That was in August 2001. When my tenant

snown. That was in August 2011. Wriet mit genant cocupied the first floor in December I requested the local office to connect my first floor with the new meter so that I can arrange to pay the billi promptly. This time the meter reader showed me two figures and told me to add them to find out the month's

## TO THE EDITOR TO THE EDITOR TO THE



Students without

"NATIONAL ASSOCIATION" OF EASILY DISTRACTED STUDENTS No books..

robs students of their books, Beximco gets rigged contract etc. Yet, nothing is done.

If, just for a change, this government removes the NCTB and floats an international tender for the next academic year then we would know they mean

ead, nothing will be done and come 26th March, BNP will go about haranguing people about nationalism and solidarity. Concepts that our illiterate folk barely understand.

**Share Market not** 

Fisheries declared cash dividend of 5

sharing

per cent in the annual general meeting held on 20th my utter surprise I found that the Beximco Fisherie eclared a similar dividend in 2000, but they did not bother to dispatch the dividend warrants

Manola declared cash dividend on 21<sup>st</sup> December 2000, but I received the dividend warrant in Orion Infusion declared cash dividend in their annual general meeting held on February 1997, but no dividend warrants are paid till date because of

In January 1991 Magura paper mill, a joint venture with China, raised share capital through selling shares and debentures, but till date no interest on the debentures has been paid.

We appreciate *The Daily Star* focussing on the share market but we would be more benefited if you publish the returns on investment at the intervals

Mahbubur Rahman

Unnecessary sufferings to the electricity consumers

onsumers under the Electric office of Lalmatia, naka have been going through unnecessary fferings since the electric bills are being generated the Computer Bureau of Gulshan. Anyhordy vieiting I pleasing at the comp

Anybody visiting Lalmatia will meet a crowd of sumers trying hard to get their monthly bills corrected by the sub-divisional engineers and then running back to the banks again. Most surprising is that, the amount of a certain bill paid off in due time i ng added as arrears in the subsequent bills for nths without any explanation.

In case of telephone bills, as soon as the paid bill is presented to the office concerned the matter ends there and the user gets a bill for next month without arrears. But, the case of Lalmatia electric office It is really tiring that the consumers get arrears

even after getting it corrected again and again. It appears that it is of no concern to the sub-div ers or even to the executives. Are they no being paid by the consumers' exchequer? Will the authorities concerned take necessary steps to mitigate the sufferings of the consumers?

## Probable remedy for transport

service that are flying for 25 years (DC 10-30, F-28.) and the same goes with the European Airlines. Engineers of Bangladesh Quality Control Inspection supervise the maintenance of aircraft in Biman and very flight takes off after their official affirmation. For on aircraft are safer than land vehicles Moreover the pilots are ordered to be very alert ing the working hours.
While the government of Bangladesh, which is

n to carry on with their old vehicles banned public transports older than twenty ye though they are certified to ply on the roads. Is it do to bring Indian motor vehicles that has hardly ten

The reformation cost jobs of three million people The drivers, helpers, maintenance people and associates are suffering. The common people are becoming more and more impatient. Thousands are waiting for hours in the bus stops. In New Delhi all transports use compressed natural gas (CNG) to check air pollution ordered by

the Indian Supreme Court, In Bangladesh Nirapad Transport company are plying Malaysian-Euro standard pollution free diesel engines. If India can run vehicles older than twenty years what's wrong with ours? AKM Khairul Anam

### Save us from sound pollution

ould like to express my deepest gratitude to the

I would like to express my deepest grafitude to the Ministry of Environment for taking the sensible action of banning polybags in Dhaka City. Along with polybags there is another threat to environment, which is the ever-increasing noise pollution.

Recently a Youth Fair was held at Ramna Park. On the night of January 7 the organisers arranged a band music show with professional sound system and the bands continued with their banging till midnight. The organisers completely forgot the effect of such high-volume noise on the elder people and the children of the vicinity. A couple of years ago the Indian media telecast a judgement of Calcutta High Indian media telecast a judgement of Calcutta High Court restricting the use of professional sound system and introducing time limit (when the system

Would our authorities concerned do something similar and save us from this noise pollution?

### Has they forgotten the fact?

When the former President Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed had first taken his oath and became the head of state the Awami League chief Sheikh Hasina and her party were all in praise about his honesty, integrity and patriotic zeal. However, right after becoming the President, Shahabuddin ngnt arter becoming the President, Snanabuddin Ahmed went to the grave of Shaheed Ziaur Rahman and placed wreath and prayed for the martyred ex-President. This was done in good faith, no doubt, and to prove his honesty, integrity and patriotism. Shahabuddin Ahmed also visited the grave of Sheikh Mulibur Pebras of Tresident. Mujibur Rahman at Tungipara.

Now what is being said about him is outrageous and most humiliating- not befitting a former President who served the country with honesty, integrity and full dedication. May be the Awami League has also forgotten the fact that it was them

## Disorder in DU

What is wrong the Dhaka University administration Or is there any administration at all? The BNP led students' wing-- Bangladesh Jatiotabadi Chatra Dal just returned in the game of invading halls of DU.
On January 6, general students were assaulted because of the clash among the rival groups in Zia and Zahurul Huq Hall. The main entrance of Zahurul Huq hall was closed at that time and the general students had to suffer as usual. They could not enter

the hall without the permission of the cadres. The ere just standing beside them like mere punnel

cadres.
Would the Prime Minister do something about it or continue to watch her golden boys ruin the University.

## BSS needs

improvement

No doubt the government directed national news agency, Bangladesh Sangbad Sangstha (BSS) is the most significant news agency in our country, However, the standard of BSS has deteriorated a lot comparing to other foreign government agencies. Although it is run by public money, the BSS

We have BSS correspondents only in a few districts whereas the private national news agency. United News of Bangladesh (UNB) has their district correspondents all over the countr.

ostly covers the government and the news of the

According to news reports 28 district correspon dents of BSS had been dismissed recently by the present government. No such action was ever taken by any previous government. All the BSS district correspondents dismissed lately were appointed during the Awami League government. All the correspondents dismissed recently must

All the correspondents dismissed recently must be re-appointed as soon as possible and a district correspondent should be appointed in every district. The weekly editorial-pen of BSS should introduce the issues of national and international matters, focusing the public. The news of the opposition parties covered by BSS should indicate demaratic attitude tilke other foreign news agencies.

We hope the Prime Minister and the Information Minister would look into the matter and take necessary actions in developing BSS in every respect.

Md Ghulam Mustafa

## Muktijoddha quota or political quota?

By 'Muktijoddha quota' we mean the priority given to those freedom fighters who made sacrifice during the Liberation War. We owe them a lot for their contribution and they should be given due respe and honour. So the government Muktijoddha quota', which I think is appropriate and But my question is: is this really 'Muktijoddha

But my question is: is this really 'Muktijoddha quota' (that is now prevalent in the regard of job market) or cadre quota or political quota? Are the real Muktijoddhas (freedom fighters) enjoying this opportunity? The answer would definitely be in the negative. In the name of Muktijoddha political persons and cadres are managing their jobs.

But is it not a humiliation for the real Muktijoddha? There are thousands of evidences that political persons and cadres are managing jobs under the guise of Muktijodda and in order to do so, many students engage themselves in filthy politics than studying.

n studying.

My advise to the Prime Minister and the authoriconcerned would be to verify the facts, withdraw However, each time the inspecting meter-reader informed me that they were about to stop the system



The sound of music..

Quota System, neutralise all the administration from the influence of 'Mama', 'Khalu', try to give priority upon the merit, save BCS, the only hope of talente students. Otherwise, like me all the students will be up and doing for making 'Mama' and 'Khalu' without

Jasim Uddin Hall, DU

What's wrong with self-billing?
I have been residing in my own house for the last six and a half years. During this long period, I have been reading my electricity meter on the first day of each month, calculating the month's consumption and paying the bill by the first week of each month. There has not been any exception to this routine. For There has not been any exception to this routine. For several times people from DESA office of my locality visited my house and checked my meter reading with my bills. No discrepancy was ever found in my

consumption. On my showing some doubt about the calculation he hesitantly told me that he would go back to office and find out if he was doing it in the righ way. The matter has not been resolved till date. way. The matter has not been resolved till date.

My humble request to the authority is to review
the system of self-billing, at least for house-hold
electricity bills. A 7 M Abdul Ali