

# Accelerating Economic Growth in Bangladesh

SALMAN ZAIDI, RINKU MURGAJ

This is the second article in a trilogy on (i) growth and poverty reduction in Bangladesh, (ii) accelerating economic growth, and (iii) making growth more pro-poor.

AS reported in the previous article in this series, Bangladesh's economy has performed moderately well during the 1990s, with the annual growth rate averaging about five percent, and the incidence of poverty declining. However roughly 63 million people still live below the poverty line, unable to even meet basic human needs. If Bangladesh wants to achieve its stated goal of halving the number of poor by 2015, it will have to raise the growth rate to over six percent per annum. How can this be done?

Bangladesh has been pursuing an effective strategy of private sector-led, outward-oriented growth in which expanding exports play a key role. Several important elements will be required to make this strategy ultimately effective. The first is sound macro-economic management to encourage private sector development. The second is relentless pursuit of structural reforms to attract private investment. The third is an improvement in governance and law and order.

## Macroeconomic Management

During the 1990s, Bangladesh exhibited generally sound macroeconomic management. However, during the late nineties, macroeconomic discipline eroded. The central government budget deficit rose from the equivalent of 4.3 percent of GDP during the mid-1990s to over 6 percent in FY00, while the consolidated government deficit (i.e. including losses incurred by non-financial state-owned enterprises) rose to over 7 percent. Concessional aid declined during the 1990s, and in order to finance the deficits, domestic financing increased considerably as a share of GDP. The government relied heavily on suppliers credits, a more costly form of financing that is prone to corruption if awards are made without competition. Although inflation remained low, the increasing macroeconomic imbalances manifested themselves in steadily shrinking foreign exchange reserves, which declined to about \$1 billion during 2001, equivalent to about one month's worth of imports. However, during the fiscal year ending June 2002, the government took corrective measures to reduce the fiscal deficit to 4.6 percent of GDP, and it is developing a medium-term macroeconomic framework to move it toward a more sustainable level. The erosion of foreign exchange reserves has been arrested, thanks to a significantly higher inflow of remittances and depressed imports, resulting in reserves rising above \$1.5 billion.

In the near term, stemming the state enterprises' hemorrhaging losses is Bangladesh's highest macroeconomic management priority. In FY01, these losses totaled Tk 30.3 billion, equivalent to 1.2 percent of GDP and an astonishing Tk 120,000 per worker in the state enterprise sector. These losses drain funds away from higher priority uses, such as in education, health and social safety nets, and create hidden contin-

gent financial liabilities for the future. The losses of the public power and petroleum entities are particularly large -- equivalent to roughly three-fourths of the total budgetary spending on health or 35 percent of the total spending on education -- and benefit primarily better-off urban residents. Tackling the problems of the state-owned enterprise sector requires a policy response involving a mixture of privatization, with due attention to workers' rights to severance pay, and closure of non-viable enterprises. The Government's recent decision with regard to Adamjee Jute Mills has been a bold step in line with these policy imperatives. However, there are still many sectors of the economy where the presence of state enterprises creates distortions which inhibit the development of private sector.

In the longer term, Bangladesh's macroeconomic priorities are to increase its domestic resource mobilization and to

and employment if the power supply is unreliable and has limited coverage, the passage of goods through Chittagong Port is subject to high formal and informal charges and frequent delays, the financial sector lacks depth and must charge high interest rates because it carries a large burden of bad debt, government officials harass businesses, and if corruption is rampant. Equally important, if not more, open trade and investment policies need to be accompanied with empowerment of the poor particularly through pro-poor human development policies that enable them to latch on to the resulting opportunities.

Tax breaks and subsidies for firms do not make for a sound and sustainable investment climate. It is rather an environment of good economic governance -- control of corruption, well-functioning bureaucracies and streamlined regulations for entry and exit, a healthy financial system, contract enforcement, and protection of property rights. A bad investment climate, it should be noted, hits small and medium firms even harder than bigger firms. And it reduces the returns to the various assets owned by households, particularly the poor, thus limiting the growth of incomes of the poor.

## Poor Governance Constrains Economic Growth

Weak institutions and poor quality of education and learning was pre-requisite for any development and at the same time women's education was a prime need for a society to progress. He also realised at this age that the real spirit of our economic development lay hidden at the hands of the rural masses and small economic enterprises were only suitable for our economic prosperity.

Was it so easy for Jyotipal to implement his ideas, plans and programmes in the extremely backward remote area of an underdeveloped country? Did he get any necessary spontaneous public, economic and logistic support which are now almost available for those who come forward to bring about any development? It was a gigantic task and a perilous journey for him to make his field favourable and suitable for accomplishing his mission.

People at first ignored him as he was only an ordinary and poor monk. Many began to ridicule him rather than paying heed to him or supporting him. To many others what the young monk was talking about were all nuisance or strange as prejudices and superstitions were rampant in the society. Vested quarters who lived by selling dark practices like spells, charms and other blind faiths naturally stood against him as he was interrupting their businesses from going on. He even received death threats from them. The conservative in his own community began to criticise him saying, it was not a monk's function to deal with social problems or find their solution. His duty was but to give sermons to his own people. The poor rural people could not have yet known the necessity of learning or of any income generating steps. For them to get the household works done by their children was much more profitable than to send them to schools. While such a situation is still prevalent in the rural society and the government has to provide stipends or incentives to inspire poor people to send their children to school, then one can easily comprehend what Jyotipal had to overcome fifty years ago.

He walked miles after miles trying to convince people to send their children to school or to seek their cooperation to the implementation of his idea which he wanted to do for changing their fate. He knocked the doors of people time and again for financial help. Some inspired him and many disappointed him. These were some of the numerous problems he had to tackle in every step of his life. But he was not disheartened. He awoke with renewed hope and inspiration.

Jyotipal earnestly adopted one of the fundamental proclamations of Gautama Buddha : 'O Bikkhus, go around to work for the benefit of all, for the welfare, peace and happiness of all'. The institutions, projects and other enterprises he started were not directed to improve a particular community but to uplift the lot of all people of all communities and races. He never found any discrimination among the people of various strata. He often told his disciples that communal feeling or discriminatory outlook must create tension, provocation and disharmony in the society and development of the people of a particular community could not bring about real development in a society consisting of different communities. So in his thoughts and deeds he endeavoured throughout his life to create a society of peaceful coexistence.

Through Jyotipal's relentless efforts and perseverance one after another institution began to appear in the area where there had been only a few or even no institutions. At the same time Jyotipal had to devote himself to set up Buddhist monasteries. Several monasteries he erected in the area also functioned as educational institutions for children of all communities. Jyotipal wanted to make the monasteries the seat of learning for all people as the Vikramasila, the Great Nalanda, the Taxila and the Paharpur where people from different nationalities could receive learning on various subjects. But Jyotipal's ability was very limited to build so great institutions yet in his institutions the children of Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist or Christian could learn their own religion or whatever they wanted. The people of different communities could secure the posts in the managing committee. Even the chairmanship of the institution was held by a Muslim for many years. He was Abul Kalam Majumdar, ex MP of the area. With Jyotipal's pioneering role the Harischar Union High School was established in 1949, where he worked for a long time without any salary. This was the first such educational institution in that remote area.

Venerable Jyotipal was born in a remote village of Khemtalai Baraigaon under Laksham Police Station in Comilla on 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1914. It is noteworthy here that Comilla is the cradle of a unique civilization which flourished from 6<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of a new form of Buddhism. The Mainamati-Lal Mai areas of Comilla where many Buddhist archeological sites have been discovered testify a glorious past. Many sovereign Bengali Buddhist dynasties like Khodga, Rata, Deva and Chandra could establish supremacy over a large area of the region a thousand or fifteen hundred years ago. Many eminent scholars were born on the soil of Comilla in early period of history. Silabhadra, a world famous scholar, was one of them. He was the Chancellor of Great Nalanda University.

Jyotipal father Chandra Moni Singha was a lower middle class farmer and his mother Dropadi Bala Singha was a pious housewife Jyotipal's family name was Darika Mohan Singha. In his early life Darika came to learn from his parents the messages of non-violence, compassion and peace pronounced by Gautama Buddha and the prosperous Buddhist heritage around his birth place. So the formal education in the school could not satisfy him and he could not stay there for long. When he was 15, he happened to come close to a learned Buddhist monk of Chittagong Venerable Gunalankar Mahastavir who came on a visit to that area at that time. Darika became very much fascinated with the calm and gentle presence of Venerable Gunalankar. He resolved to renounce his family life. Seeing the strong desire in the boy Gunalankar ordained him as a novice in the Theravada Tradition of Buddhism Venerable Gunalankar named the new disciple Jyotipal, the saviour of light, Jyotipal was ordained as monk on 14<sup>th</sup> July, 1938.

He spent most of his study life in Chittagong and Calcutta (Kolkata). He went to Mohamoni, Pahartali,

## Tribute

# Venerable Jyotipal—a pioneer of peace and development

DULAL KANTI BARUA

ONE cannot be struck with wonder to think that the socio-economic measures which the leaders, planners and economists today are thinking of to develop rural society and vitalise rural as well as national economy were already taken by a young monk more than half a century ago. Here one can notice with surprise what steps the young Jyotipal ventured to undertake to remove the economic misery of the people of his area. His Baraigaon complex include : (a) Baraigaon Pali College -- estd in 1939; (b) Baraigaon Orphanage -- estd in 1942; (c) farmers' cooperative association -- estd in 1949; (d) weaving factory -- estd in 1949; (e) wool knitting factory -- estd in 1949; (f) sewing factory -- estd in 1949; (g) bee-keeping and honey research factory -- estd in 1949; (h) primary school -- estd in 1968; (i) girls' high school - estd in 1991; (j) boys' high school -- estd in 1991; (k) Baraigaon social welfare agency -- estd in 1956.

Jyotipal when he was only 25 could understand that education and learning was pre-requisite for any development and at the same time women's education was a prime need for a society to progress. He also realised at this age that the real spirit of our economic development lay hidden at the hands of the rural masses and small economic enterprises were only suitable for our economic prosperity.

Was it so easy for Jyotipal to implement his ideas, plans and programmes in the extremely backward remote area of an underdeveloped country? Did he get any necessary spontaneous public, economic and logistic support which are now almost available for those who come forward to bring about any development? It was a gigantic task and a perilous journey for him to make his field favourable and suitable for accomplishing his mission.

People at first ignored him as he was only an ordinary and poor monk. Many began to ridicule him rather than paying heed to him or supporting him. To many others what the young monk was talking about were all nuisance or strange as prejudices and superstitions were rampant in the society. Vested quarters who lived by selling dark practices like spells, charms and other blind faiths naturally stood against him as he was interrupting their businesses from going on. He even received death threats from them. The conservative in his own community began to criticise him saying, it was not a monk's function to deal with social problems or find their solution. His duty was but to give sermons to his own people. The poor rural people could not have yet known the necessity of learning or of any income generating steps. For them to get the household works done by their children was much more profitable than to send them to schools. While such a situation is still prevalent in the rural society and the government has to provide stipends or incentives to inspire poor people to send their children to school, then one can easily comprehend what Jyotipal had to overcome fifty years ago.

He walked miles after miles trying to convince people to send their children to school or to seek their cooperation to the implementation of his idea which he wanted to do for changing their fate. He knocked the doors of people time and again for financial help. Some inspired him and many disappointed him. These were some of the numerous problems he had to tackle in every step of his life. But he was not disheartened. He awoke with renewed hope and inspiration.

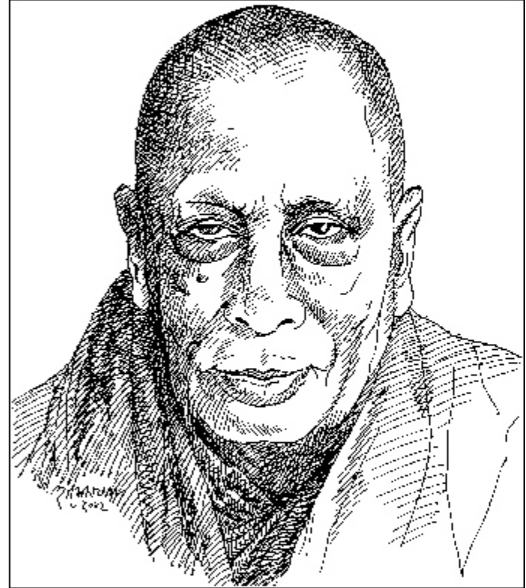
Jyotipal earnestly adopted one of the fundamental proclamations of Gautama Buddha : 'O Bikkhus, go around to work for the benefit of all, for the welfare, peace and happiness of all'. The institutions, projects and other enterprises he started were not directed to improve a particular community but to uplift the lot of all people of all communities and races. He never found any discrimination among the people of various strata. He often told his disciples that communal feeling or discriminatory outlook must create tension, provocation and disharmony in the society and development of the people of a particular community could not bring about real development in a society consisting of different communities. So in his thoughts and deeds he endeavoured throughout his life to create a society of peaceful coexistence.

Through Jyotipal's relentless efforts and perseverance one after another institution began to appear in the area where there had been only a few or even no institutions. At the same time Jyotipal had to devote himself to set up Buddhist monasteries. Several monasteries he erected in the area also functioned as educational institutions for children of all communities. Jyotipal wanted to make the monasteries the seat of learning for all people as the Vikramasila, the Great Nalanda, the Taxila and the Paharpur where people from different nationalities could receive learning on various subjects. But Jyotipal's ability was very limited to build so great institutions yet in his institutions the children of Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist or Christian could learn their own religion or whatever they wanted. The people of different communities could secure the posts in the managing committee. Even the chairmanship of the institution was held by a Muslim for many years. He was Abul Kalam Majumdar, ex MP of the area. With Jyotipal's pioneering role the Harischar Union High School was established in 1949, where he worked for a long time without any salary. This was the first such educational institution in that remote area.

Venerable Jyotipal was born in a remote village of Khemtalai Baraigaon under Laksham Police Station in Comilla on 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1914. It is noteworthy here that Comilla is the cradle of a unique civilization which flourished from 6<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of a new form of Buddhism. The Mainamati-Lal Mai areas of Comilla where many Buddhist archeological sites have been discovered testify a glorious past. Many sovereign Bengali Buddhist dynasties like Khodga, Rata, Deva and Chandra could establish supremacy over a large area of the region a thousand or fifteen hundred years ago. Many eminent scholars were born on the soil of Comilla in early period of history. Silabhadra, a world famous scholar, was one of them. He was the Chancellor of Great Nalanda University.

Jyotipal father Chandra Moni Singha was a lower middle class farmer and his mother Dropadi Bala Singha was a pious housewife Jyotipal's family name was Darika Mohan Singha. In his early life Darika came to learn from his parents the messages of non-violence, compassion and peace pronounced by Gautama Buddha and the prosperous Buddhist heritage around his birth place. So the formal education in the school could not satisfy him and he could not stay there for long. When he was 15, he happened to come close to a learned Buddhist monk of Chittagong Venerable Gunalankar Mahastavir who came on a visit to that area at that time. Darika became very much fascinated with the calm and gentle presence of Venerable Gunalankar. He resolved to renounce his family life. Seeing the strong desire in the boy Gunalankar ordained him as a novice in the Theravada Tradition of Buddhism Venerable Gunalankar named the new disciple Jyotipal, the saviour of light, Jyotipal was ordained as monk on 14<sup>th</sup> July, 1938.

He spent most of his study life in Chittagong and Calcutta (Kolkata). He went to Mohamoni, Pahartali,



SKETCH BY HASHEM KHAN

## Venerable Jyotipal

Chittagong to become the disciple of the great Buddhist monk venerable Dharmadhar Mohastavir. He studied the Dharma under him for about one and a half years up to June 1935. To quench his irresistible longing for knowledge he went to Calcutta, in the same year and found a new horizon about Buddhism and other subjects under another eminent Buddhist master Venerable Bangsha Div Mahastavir of Nalanda Bidiya Bhaban. Here he could come in close contact with many eminent scholars, intellectuals and personalities. He stood first in the Abhidharma Title Examination held in 1946 by the Sarkrit and Pali Board, Calcutta and obtained the title Tripitaka Visarad. In 1938 after his return from Calcutta he received higher ordination as monk under venerable Gunalankar Mahastavir.

But the yearning deep in his heart from his childhood to do for the betterment of the down trodden and socially underclass he resolved to come back to devote himself to social works. In 1942 he appeared in his village with new hope and awakening and began to accomplish his mission. After spending a tireless long period of his life in his area he went to Chittagong with a zeal to work for the greater Buddhist community and others in 1982. He established World Peace Pagoda beside the premises of the Chittagong University where he spent the last days of his life working for the welfare of the nation.

His vast works on literature, research and findings with profundity well prove how he perfected himself on various subjects. Many of his books are now taught to the students of colleges and universities of different faculties. His prolific research works on Charyapada (Buddhist mystic songs in early Bengali language) have given learners, intellectuals, scholars and historians a clear knowledge about our previous history and culture.

Besides these, he had hundreds of articles published in newspapers and magazines. Ven. Jyotipal was an uncommon orator and a good presenter. He could fascinate his audience with his speeches. He sometimes used to recite the Tripitaka in Radio Bangladesh and Bangladesh Television. Venerable Jyotipal's role in and contribution to the independence of Bangladesh was undeniable, but he has been less counted as yet. He fought not with military weapons but with strong appeals to the world community. As a peace campaigner, an internationally recognised personality, a religious and a neutral figure his appeals could easily draw the attention of the world community. In 1971 when the war broke out and the Pakistani occupation troops began to carry out atrocities on the innocent masses, Jyotipal could not remain silent. He went out to tour different countries of the world organising different circles of people there to raise their voices against Pakistani aggression and to put pressure on Pakistan government to stop the unjust war and recognise the just cause of the struggle of the people of Bangladesh.

Venerable Jyotipal was associated with various socio-cultural organisations many of which were set up by his own efforts or initiative. With his proper role some of these organisations could help foster peace, friendship and solidarity not only within the nation but also within the world community.

Although Venerable Jyotipal was not decorated with any big national award, he was accorded honour from the international arena for his tireless service for the cause of humanity. He received world citizenship from the International Organisation for World Peace, Disarmament, Development and Human Rights, New York, USA in 1995. He was given Religious and Peace Award by International Association for Religious Freedom, Oxford, United Kingdom. The Government of the Union of Myanmar awarded him the title of Aggama Saddanama Jotikadhaja in 2001 as a true saviour of Gautama Buddha's messages of peace and non-violence. Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace honoured him with gold medal along with the title Santir Pratik (pioneer of peace). At home he got the title Maha Sasanadhar, Maha Dharma Nidhi and finally the post of Sangharaj from various leading Buddhist organisations. Jyotipal visited many countries of the world and attended many conferences, seminars, meetings and symposia at national and international levels. He presided over many such conferences and headed the country's delegation.

Venerable Jyotipal throughout his life persevered to remove all the differences among the people of his community and between other communities. Within the Buddhists there have been rifts due to so-called Nikayic differences. Because of the absence of proper guidance, non-patronisation and negligence for hundreds of years to-day's microscopic but traditional Buddhist community of this country lost its real value. Jyotipal's heart was stoked to see this condition. He for most part of his life played as a mediator to heal the rift between so called Nikayas or sub-sects of the Buddhist community. Future could exactly evaluate what impact his lifelong effort has put on the community. But it has now appeared that his efforts have not gone in vain when leaders and supporters of all the Nikayas, have been working and sitting together to pay the Venerable a grand homage in the final farewell.

Venerable Jyotipal passed away on 12th April 2002 at the age 91 at J J Hospital in Mumbai, India. His body was received with full state honour and due solemnity by the Government of Bangladesh, people from all walks of life and different Buddhist and non-Buddhist organisations. He loved the people and in return he got the people's love and honour.

There is celebratory mood in the midst of solemn occasion as people from all strata have come forward to pay him last respect in a colourful funeral ceremony being held on 9th and 10th January, 2003 at his village Baraigaon, Laksham, Comilla.

Dulal Kanti Barua is President, Bangladesh Buddhist Cultural Association.

# Kenyan wonder where should Kibaki begin ...

BILLY I AHMED

KENYA with a population of 30 million, mostly Christian, has a rich history. Some suggest that it was the cradle of humanity from which descendants moved out to populate the world.

Beginning from 600AD Arabs began settling in the coastal areas developing trading spots and spreading contact with the Arab world, Persia and India. Then in the early 1900's white settlers moved into highlands to build railway from Mombassa to Lake Victoria, making it a crown colony administered by a British governor.

Between 1944 and 1960 the Kenyan African Union (KAU) under the stewardship of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta campaigned for African Independence with the secretly formed Kikuyu guerilla group known as Mau Mau, when thousands of Kikuyu were brutally killed by the British.

And finally in 1963 Kenya gained independence. Following independence KAU was dominated by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, known as founding father of Kenya. The last transition of Kenya's leadership took place in

1978 succeeded by Vice-president Daniel arap Moi.

## Moi's legacy: A nation impoverished by corruption

Once in office, Moi immediately started harassment of the intelligentsia, courageous government officers, plucky lawyers and clamping down on press freedom. In 1982 the constitution was amended to make KANU (Kenya African National Union) the only legal political party. KANU was formed in 1960 by Tom Mboya and Ogina Odinga. During the past 24 years of Moi's rule, Kenya had evolved a system of governance based on highly centralised and personalised executive power. Officials appointed by the president and accountable only to him have no power than elected officials, giving the president and his ruling circle enormous control over the police, judiciary, legislature, and local administration.

The flight of foreign investors wary of corruption and plunder of public resources that might have been invested in development plunged Kenya into a vicious cycle of patronage, corruption, and deeper



Mwai Kibaki

poverty. Kenya's economic growth rate fell to less than 2 per cent, the lowest in the region. The average Kenyan was poorer in 2002 than he was two decades earlier.

During the past decade, a spate of corruption scandals have cost the Kenyan people lack of adequate shelter, health care, and clean water. In the infamous "Goldenberg scandal" of the early 1990s, more than US \$100 million was stolen from public coffers when a politically connected businessman received compensation for diamond jewelry and gold that apparently did not exist. Several Treasury and KANU officials had been implicated in the case, but no reports were ever made public, and no one has been held accountable.

In August 2002, 256 million shillings disappeared from the National Social Security Fund and ended in dubious account in a private bank. At the moment, no one seems to know where the money is, although stockbroker has been arrested and is

being questioned by the police.

The government's failure to deal seriously with high-ups has not only cost Kenya billions, but also nearly US \$350 million in stalled financial support from International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank, and bilateral aid from donor nations.

## Contenders for presidency

There were five candidates contending for the Kenya's highest office. Mwai Kibaki of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), a septuagenarian, born in 1931 (now 71) on the slopes of Mount Kenya, belongs to the largest tribe of Kenya-the Kikuyu. After studying in Uganda and London, he became a lecturer, but in early 60's gave up his teaching profession to support in full steam Kenya's independence. He wrote the KAU party constitution that demanded of the colonial governor to release from detention Jomo Kenyatta, an independence hero and in 1959 Kenyatta was released

from jail but put under house arrest. Kibaki's active political career spans five decades. Kibaki quitted KANU when the long-standing ban lifted in 1991, to found the Democratic Party.

Uhuru Kenyatta, of the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) seen as Mister Clean, was born in 1960 and comes from the same tribe the Kikuyu like Mwai Kibaki. There is not much to write about Uhuru's having an active political career, other than he is better known as the son of Kenya's founding President Jomo Kenyatta. A shrewd businessman by profession having a family empire of five-star tourist hotels, airlines and commercial farming he was educated in the prestigious St Mary's school in Nairobi and latter went on to study political science in the United Kingdom.

However, Uhuru, a man plucked from obscurity by President Moi was propelled into politics in 1997 when he stood for parliamentary seat from his hometown branch of the ruling party KANU at the age of 37 but failed to win a seat. Latter in 2001 was nominated as MP by President Moi and appointed local government minister. In October, 2002 became KANU's Presidential candidate.

Uhuru's induction into politics was a tactical move by Moi, who thought that upon his retirement Uhuru will be his puppet and steer KANU according to Moi's wishes from the backdoor.

Simeon Nyache, of the Ford People Party (FPP) is a former senior civil servant, MP and Cabinet Minister became candidate after a squabble with main opposition party NARC. James Orengo, stood on the ticket of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) while David Waweru Ngethe on his own.

Analyst predicted the last three contenders had little chance; the battle would mainly be between NARC and KANU.

**Victory for Kibaki**

Came 27 December 2002 -- a historical day for the Kenyans -- the jubilant ecstatic NARC supporters gathered in tens of thousands, dancing to the drums in the street, chanting and displaying victory signs. Yes, a landslide victory for NARC -- 63% as against its rival party KANU which bagged 30%, followed by Simeon Nyache of Ford Party with 7%.

Kibaki's win would be the first opposition victory since Kenya introduced multiparty a decade ago and would represent the end of 39 years of KANU dominance. But pundits question whether NARC can bring real change to years of economic stagnation, corruption, bribery, law and order situation, poverty, human right abuse, HIV/AIDS and shattered infrastructure. Some Kenyan says that Kibaki has taint as he served under Moi for 10 years, a mixture of optimism and pessimism looms over Kibaki.

It is however hoped with Mwai Kibaki's political calibre, Kenya may return to its vibrant days. The international agencies like World Bank withholding hundreds of million of dollars and the International Monetary Fund suspending a US \$220 million loan in 1997 earmarked for Kenya may open their gates once again provided corruption is routed.

Kenyans wonder where should Kibaki begin: The answer is simple -- End Corruption.

Billy I Ahmed is a researcher