

A Global Shortage of Leaders

by a Husnain

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GLOBALLY, there is an acute shortage of great public leaders (including political leaders who hold control over millions of minions (chelas) and minnows (puthi maach), with nasty decontrolling effects). There are only two living personalities who come to the mind readily. One is Mandela, and the other is closer to home. One does not believe in feeding hatred, and practises what he believes; while the other holds the record for two decades of leadership over a race who are fond of changing leaders for no apparent reason — just being plegmatic, perhaps.

The age of leadership might be in the waning phase, because this is the age of change — nature has its own secrets about these cycles of change affecting the mind and matter. The weather (climate) pattern is also changing with the simple demonstration coming from the recent periodical El Nino effect (warming of sections of sea water which affect weather globally). Here in Bangladesh, no fan was needed even in April Fools' Day, when in India the temperature rose to 45°C, complained the Aussie cricket players.

A great leader will not encourage division. The famous best-seller 'How to Win Friends and Influence People' perhaps is not applicable to political leaders, who thrive on the cunning divide-and-rule philosophy.

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was a great natural leader, above politics, although he used a political platform for his noble mission. That does not mean he was necessarily also an astute politician or administrator. Nehru was not a *pucca* politician, nor was Mahatma Gandhi. Abe Lincoln was learning politics till he was assassinated.

True leadership is of a different mould, and not bound by evolutionary civilizations. The style and the principles are timeless, and not confined to geographical limits and man-made laws and theories.

In the field of politics the presence of statesmanship has dwindled alarmingly. A true leader needs no outside or group support. He will attract others, and not the other way round — he will not go out of his way to seek support. It is the magnetic pull of the personality and the

principles advocated. The mighty British of the Raj days were humbled by a half-clad person travelling with a goat. They had to bow to his moral force which swayed 400 million people (we are talking of the ordinary mortals, not the messengers of God).

Civil strife is caused by the civil persons, and are products of the ego, tuned to the lust for power (other fringe benefits follow if the same is misused). In today's changing world (due to the impact of information technology), the subjective styles and goals have to be reviewed in more than transient depth; but even then it will break through the non-transparency. There is no place to hide, nor the time. Today's public temperament is different.

The mores of the society's leaders affect the followers. Genuine leaders are not affected, as truth does not change with ideas or 'isms'. Therefore the followers of truth are not affected by the surrounding chaos. Temporal changes affect temporal minds and philosophies. The majority need guidance, first mundane and moral, and then spiritual.

The problems are in the processing stages, because each person is different and has to be tuned and returned to the norms of the groups or teams in the field.

The system analysis as applied in computer science cannot be applied to politics as the latter is reactive and humanized. A computer is neither human nor inhuman. Stark reality has no shield, cover, shade or canopy. It is all one's relationship with the surrounding space. First tune the inner space, then the outer. Cable TV is not a discreet connection. Hitch your power trolley to divine energy.

That is the beauty with the human beings, each person (of the five billion) is different, which makes life worth living. The interactions, harmonious or otherwise, are subtle lessons in the development of the self and the society. Therefore the sociologists start with the family as the unit, and move outwards in ever-widening circles.

Then what are the basic and projected roles of political leadership? Let the leaders respond to this poster, especially as applicable to this country.

NATURAL gas is one of the world's principal fuels. It has long been looked upon as a by-product of the production of crude oil. At one point, Saudi Arabia flared this by-product at the rate of one billion cubic feet a day. Compared to their daily earning of 200 million dollars from oil production, the value of the flared gas was a mere 3 million dollars a day! Things have changed ever since. Export outlets to an increasing market demand and strict environmental restrictions have now forced the burning rate to an acceptable level. Increasing environmental awareness and the fact that natural gas is a much cleaner fuel along with cyclic price hike of crude oil has made the use of natural gas very popular. The industrial countries of Europe and North America make extensive use of natural gas, through vast gas pipeline network using indigenous resources. Japan is an exception to this trend in the industrialized world. Having little natural gas resource of its own, it heavily depends on imported Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG). Japan imports almost 50% LNG of the world trade. Bangladesh, like most other countries of the world, has found gas in connection with its effort to find crude oil.

Before any other discussion on natural gas, some facts and limitations of natural gas in handling it as a commodity must be understood. In contrast to crude oil which can come to rest in lease stock tanks after it is produced, natural gas keeps flowing from the wellhead to the end-users through the pipelines. Flow rates and supplies are controlled at the wellhead depending on the requirement of the end-users (households power generation companies, fertilizer companies etc). The tremendous capital requirement of pipeline constructions have precluded the proper development of this resource in many countries. Some huge reserves of natural gas have been shut-in in USSR, Algeria, Australia and Peru. So, it is obvious that developing the ground facilities (pipelines and end-users) either before or during the development of gas fields is imperative before any gas purchase/sale contract could be signed. Typical contracts will have a provision of 'take off pay for' clause in favour of the supplier's interest as it is very difficult to stock gas.

To understand the involvement of the multinational oil companies in petroleum sector, one has to understand the petroleum business. Unlike other industries, where all possible inputs and outputs are

generally known with a fairly high degree of confidence, one of the most important ingredients for petroleum industry is always unknown at the advent of such undertaking — that is the availability of the resource itself. Before one can talk about any sale contract of gas, a substantial amount of activities have to be organized successfully. The culmination of a successful commercial gas production is preceded by the exploration and development stages. It is the exploration phase which makes this oil business one of the most risky and uncertain endeavour. Millions of dollars have to be invested in different geological surveys and digging of exploration wells, in the hope of making a commercial discovery. Failure means millions of dollars going down the hole. Development and production phases also involve large investment and risk. Apart from the lack of access to investment funds, many developing countries have difficulties in accessing the technology, organization, skilled manpower, risk management skills and special hardware required by the petroleum industry. A country may seek business partnership from the multinational companies for any or all of the above reasons.

Partnership between host country and multinational oil companies are generally based on the fundamental concept of mineral ownership and characteristics of petroleum tax systems. The French concept of mineral ownership which has been used since Napoleon's time treats surface and sub-surface ownership separately. In this system, individuals may own the use of surface right but anything under the ground is owned by the community and hence by the state. Because mineral are found naturally under the ground, individual benefits are denied. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon tradition which evolved mainly in the USA does allow some select individual ownership of sub-surface mineral.

The two popular form of

Oil and Gas Business, Multinationals and Bangladesh Perspective

by Dr. M. Tamim

The model production sharing contract prepared by Petrobangla is similar to the present international practices. Irrespective to the numbers used in the contract (which varies from country to country), the success of such contract solely depends on the strict monitoring by the host country. At its present state, Petrobangla is not equipped even to monitor the existing Production Sharing Contracts. Large scale rapid human resources development is essential to equip Petrobangla for such a task.

Bangladesh Context

The long-term economic objective should be reflected in the national energy policy. The objective set in our petroleum policy of '93 mentions that the exploration and exploitation of petroleum resources would be done in rational manner for a sustainable development of the country. It also states that private sector participation would be encouraged in the petroleum industry and trade. Unfortunately, our energy policy failed to determine the role of petroleum in our long range economic need. Because of lack of knowledge of the resource potential and an analysis of the possible scenarios encompassing the range of discovery, the whole country was offered for exploration and production bidding. This decision is a natural consequence of an export oriented policy which was not identified in the national energy policy.

What is the potential reserve of the country? Different figures are heard from different quarters. The local geologists and engineers put this figure at a maximum of additional 20 tcf, whereas some foreign journals/newspapers/companies predict a number as high as 80 tcf. The calculation methods vary so widely that any number out of a hat would suit one's interest. It is in the interest of the shareholders of multinational companies to project a higher figure — both for stock price and contract negotiation. Due to sole dependency on this only natural resource of the country, Bangladesh's policy objective should be based on the conservative numbers. This would enable us to explore and develop this most important resource in such a time-controlled manner that it would support domestic industrial growth consistent with our long term economic projection. So the decision which has to be taken is whether the potential gas reserve is so high that it can be used as a major export item or it should be perceived as a limited resource which would mainly be required to support domestic growth demand.

Right now Cairn Energy is the only PSC partner who has gone into commercial production. It is supplying 60 MMscfd gas to the national grid line, although it can supply 160 MMscfd. Petrobangla is not taking the full capacity either due to lack of pipe line capacity or lack of end-user. There might be other reasons but this is one company and one gas field. According to model production sharing contract, if the government cannot indicate an outlet for a commercial discovery within 6 months of its declaration, the company would be allowed to find a market within the country. The question is who is going to buy that gas within the country? Private power generation units, distribution networks, fertilizer companies have to be ready to utilize that gas within 6 months of its discovery. Otherwise the companies will have to export its share of the gas. In a worst case scenario, if all the companies make at least one commercial discovery (strong possibility is there for more than one discovery) within three years of signing the PSC, the Government will be forced to allow the

companies to export their share of the gas. To worsen the situation, a number of fields discovered by BAPEX (i.e. Semutang, Jalalabad, Kutubdia) have been awarded to the existing PSC partners as incentives. Perhaps the second round bidding was organized much earlier than the country's requirement.

If it is perceived that Bangladesh cannot afford the export of its valuable limited natural gas resource, the role of the national oil company has to be strengthened. The three reasons for inviting multinational oil companies are lack of investment capital, lack of technical know-how and risk involvement which have been mentioned before. For Bangladesh, shortage of capital is the principal reason for inviting international oil companies. This does not mean that it cannot provide any money to support and gradually develop a strong national oil company. BAPEX has the technical know-how and the manpower (which is dwindling every day) to fulfill its role as a strong national oil company. Obviously, the Government should allocate BAPEX the lowest risk areas for its exploration and production activities. These areas should also interest the investment by international financial institutes. The national energy policy also recommended allocation of funding to support the drilling of four wells per year by BAPEX. If no block is kept aside for such activities, where would the wells be drilled? As Blocks 9, 10 and 11 are considered the most prospective (hence lowest risk involved), these blocks should be taken out of the bidding table and exclusively kept aside for the national oil company. The strike rate (discovery/exploration well) of BAPEX is enviable by any standard. The national oil company has discovered 20 gas fields and 1 oil field drilling only 55 exploration wells. The success ratio being 2.75:1. Instead of the recommended four wells/year if BAPEX is allowed to drill even two wells/year, Bangladesh would be immensely benefited and will have a far better control of the timing of its gas production.

Between the two types of agreements which are mostly widely used all over the world production sharing suits Bangladesh better than the concession system. Calculation of profit which is much more tricky is the principal point of dispute in the concession system. Recoverable cost calculation is the main battle ground in PSC. Strict monitoring of drilling, development plans, production management serve the interest of the host country. Production sharing being a legal contract, detailed discussion on different aspects of the PSC is beyond the scope of this paper. Generally speaking, the model production sharing contract prepared by Petrobangla is similar to the present international practices. Irrespective to the numbers used in the contract (which varies from country to country), the success of such contract solely depends on the strict monitoring by the host country. At its present state, Petrobangla is not equipped even to monitor the existing PSCs. Large scale rapid human resources development is essential to equip Petrobangla for such a task. Apart from recruiting and training different professionals, an active national oil company with competitive salary structure is a requirement to reap the benefits of such contracts. The newly offered PSCs should be considered with the ground facility development (pipeline, end uses) along with a planned time frame for production.

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Silent Discrimination: Case of Rape

by Tahera Jabeen

FINDINGS of a study reveal that only one in ten cases of rape is reported to the police. Why don't women report these crimes? Some are afraid. Some are ashamed. All too many have learned that the system serves the interests of men and puts women victims on trial. This is because a rape victim is a marked woman all her life, a damaged being. It hinders the marriage prospects of the victim and others in her family.

In most of the criminal cases, there is enormous bias against the defendant simply because s/he is arrested. Juries assume that s/he must have done something wrong. Except in rape. In a rape trial, the defense attorney has the edge. Instead of assuming the defendant as guilty, the jury assumes the victim either provoked the attack or made it up. If you can't think of one other criminal offense where the victim is blamed so routinely, a public prosecutor said.

Rape is a problem for the justice system in part because it is a unique crime. The act of sexual intercourse can be love or it can be rape, depending upon whether both parties have consent to it or not. So the prosecution in a rape trial must prove the woman did not consent. That is difficult if the victim knew the rapist, which usually is the case; if there were no witnesses, which is nearly always the case; or if there are no bruises or other signs of struggle.

If the rapist had a gun or knife, if there was a group of assailants or if the woman decided it was fruitless to struggle, the case comes down to her word against his. And traditionally, juries believe him not her.

In ancient times, when women were regarded as the property of first their fathers and then their husbands, "consent" had nothing to do with rape. A man who deflowered a virgin not his wife was guilty of rape. He was ordered to marry the girl and pay her father the equivalent of what an intact virgin would have brought on the marriage market.

There was no such thing as rape of a married woman. If attacked, she was expected to fight to the death rather than give up her precious virtue (and her husband's good name). If she was unfortunate enough to live through the attack, she was guilty of adultery.

How far have we come? Only within the past 25 years have rape shield laws barred a victim's past sexual relations from being introduced as evidence in a rape trial. It remains more difficult to convict a man of raping a divorced woman than as "innocent" one.

Rape is not the only crime in which the system fails to treat women fairly. Wife beating wasn't even a crime until the 1800s. Woman battering by husbands or other male counterparts is a recent phenomenon in our country. Often their attempts to get protection from the justice system fail. In a recent study, it has been found out that in some cases when a victim seeks help from the police, the police, usually instead of recording FIR, places the victim under section 290 of CrPC. According to this section, the girl is 'bad' and has provoked the incident she is reporting. This shows that section 290 of CrPC prepares a victim-harassment at the thana if she wants to file a case. Under such hostile circumstances chance for getting justice for a sex victim is zero.

But the court environment is hostile to the young girl. Vulgar interrogation further worsens things due to which she can't give proper evidence. And when they fight back and kill their abusers, the courts treat them more harshly than they do men who kill their wives or girlfriends.

In USA, according to statistics compiled by National Clearing House for battered women, the average prison sentence for abusive men who kill their mates is two to six years. The average sentence for women who kill abusive men is 15. We have to find out whether this type of discrimination exists in our judiciary system.

Living within this discriminatory arena, without the justice system to protect them, women have found ways to protect themselves. They taught their daughters to be 'good' and follow the rules. 'Never talk to strangers. Never walk alone at night. Never wear revealing clothes. Never look at strangers. Never take buses. Never leave the house. Of course, there is always the chance you will be raped at home. Better get married so you'll have a man around to protect you.'

Since Susan Brownmiller's landmark book on rape, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, was published in 1975, women have recognized that fighting violence against women means more than avoiding dark alleys. Brownmiller dispelled the myth that women are better off if they submit to rapists. And they are fighting to change the systems through the courts, parliament and state legislatures. Yet changing laws is only the first step in reforming the system. We have to change attitudes. One attitude we have to change is the notion that when it comes to sex, 'no' means 'yes'.

Men didn't make up the notion that 'no' means 'yes'.

Those parents who taught their daughters to be 'good' fostered it. For generations, they raised girls to believe that only bad girls have sexual feelings. Consenting to sex or, heaven forbid, initiating it would be acknowledging 'bad' feelings. What a way to mess with a normal adolescent's already fragile self-esteem.

For generations girls dealt with this dilemma by denying their sex drive. That was easy enough. Their male counterparts were willing to take all the necessary action, so the girls could feign resistance as a way of experimenting with sex without taking responsibility for it, without being bad girls.

Of course, once girls forfeited their integrity on the question of consent, it was difficult to get it back. Once boys got the word, the word that 'no' sometimes

meant 'yes', it was open season on resisting females.

Imagine a society in which when a woman says 'no', a man stops. One male person I spoke with suggested that in such a society there would be a lot less sex and a steep drop in the birth rate. I doubt it. I think that if men backed off from women who said 'no', more women would say yes.

It's hard to change 3,000 years of attitudes, but parents and teachers, judges and lawmakers can help. We can start by teaching little boys to respect the feelings — and words — of little girls. And what do we teach little girls?

In today's world, a mother wants to protect her daughter from harm just as her parents wanted to protect her. But the days are long gone when girls

went directly from their father's house to their husband's.

Now-a-days, what can a mother do if she wants to protect her daughter from harm? I hope that she can teach her daughters more than just how to avoid being alone with a man in an elevator. They should study karate as well as ballet.

In future, I want my daughters to understand their own strength, the importance of knees and elbows, the power of a well-placed kick. I hope to see them to understand the difference between 'no' and 'yes'. While I'll probably preach the virtue of 'no', I hope I won't lead them to think that there is something wrong with them if they have sexual feelings. I'll teach them that the justice system can be unjust. They should use the system, but not trust it, and work to reform it.

One of my relative was telling me about being raped many years ago. She was young and naive, she said. He invited her to a party at his father's fancy apartment. When they got there she realized she was the party. The apartment was deserted. He showed her a gun and told her to do as he said. She did.

She saw no point in calling the police. He was wealthy, she had gone there on her own, he hadn't injured her. But she told the story to a friend, a man, who was furious. He had some vague mob connections. He offered to fix the guy for her. She declined. "I figured some how it was sort of my fault. I didn't think he deserved to die."

Today, she says, she wishes she had told her friend to go ahead. "What that man did to me was a crime."

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The writer is working as an executive in Programme for Research on Poverty Alleviation, Grameen Trust

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