

## Political Drama in Moscow

by Barrister Haqun ur Rashid

**Mr. Boris Yeltsin came into power by democratic means. He was able to guide Russia through the inevitable social, economic and political turmoil since 1991. To the surprise of a pessimistic world, he has managed to oversee the reforms in Russia in an atmosphere of relative calm. The people of Russia do not want that he tarnishes his image as a great democrat by manipulating the ensuing elections.**

PRESIDENT Boris Yeltsin (67) has done it again. He has dismissed his Prime Minister Sergei Stepashin on 9 August after 90 days and appointed Mr. Vladimir Putin (46) in his place. In the last 18 months the President dismissed four Prime Ministers and it appears to be a record. Interestingly when the perennial economic malady in Russia seems to subside, a new crop of men are put into place by the President.

While appointing Mr. Putin, the President said that: "One should not forget that exactly within a year there will be a presidential election. I now have decided to name a man who in my opinion is capable of uniting society, based on the broadest political forces, to ensure the continuation of the reforms in Russia." He asked the State Duma (lower House of Parliament) to confirm his appointment.

The President announced that he wanted Mr. Putin to succeed him as Russian President next year. He further declared that Russia would elect a new State Duma in December 19. The date has long been expected and now the announcement has made it clear. The dismissal has led to the shares fall between 10 and 17 per cent and the rouble has weakened.

Mr. Putin is known to be a poor public speaker and seldom appears in television. He became the Secretary of the Advisory Security Council in March this year. He had a long intelligence career and served

with Soviet foreign intelligence, then a part of KGB secret police, for many years in Germany. He is known to be a market reformer and is close to Mr. Anatoly Chubais, the architect of Russia's privatisation programme.

Has President Yeltsin any hidden agenda in the dismissal of Mr. Stepashin? His critics might say, yes. For some time President Yeltsin was not happy with the work of Mr. Stepashin in the run-up to the parliamentary elections in December this year. The fighting in Dagestan by the Muslim militants may also have an impact in the President's decision to dismiss the Prime Minister. There is a view that Mr. Stepashin's warm welcome in Washington has not been to the liking of the President. So the axe came suddenly on Mr. Stepashin.

There is a view that Mr. Yeltsin felt threatened by the new coalition recently constituted by the Mayor of Moscow Mr. Luzkov who is known to be a Presidential contender in 2000. This coalition is broad based and might include the popular ex-Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov (Mr. Primakov was dismissed only last May). This coalition is getting prepared for the parliamentary election which will establish the political trend for the more-important presidential election in mid-2000.

By law Mr. Yeltsin cannot contest the presidential election. Therefore the critics of

the President say that he is keen to ensure that his successor is favourably disposed towards him and his family, close advisers and aides. Two of his aides Boris Berezovsky and Roman Abramovich are known to owe their huge wealth in large measure to favouritism by the Yeltsin government and they stand to lose everything if the next President supports a rival faction. His family is accused of making fortunes in many contract deals and there is a fear that they might face criminal charges by the next government.

The other story is that Mr. Yeltsin wants to stay in power as long as possible to save his family and friends. He does not wish to hold the Presidential election on any pretext. One of the suggestions is that if Belarus becomes a part of greater Russian Federation in terms of the Treaty of Union of 2 April, 1997, then it will need a new constitution. The document might declare that Mr. Yeltsin to continue as the President of the larger Federation. If that occurs, the Presidential election in Russia may not be held in 2000. His term could be extended to another 4 or 5 years by the new constitution.

However all the guesses are dismissed by the aides of the President. They assert that the President is a great democrat and he is committed to democracy in Russia.

No body can deny that Mr. Boris Yeltsin's role in the coup of August 18 of 1991 leading to the arrest of Mr. Gorbachev in

Crimean resort was heroic. He had the courage to denounce the coup as illegal and climbed over an armed vehicle near the headquarters of the parliament of Russian Federation and declared that he was assuming command and called for a general strike. Mr. Yeltsin's call sparked demonstrations throughout the Soviet Union and on 21 August the coup collapsed.

Mr. Boris Yeltsin came into power by democratic means. He was able to guide Russia through the inevitable social, economic and political turmoil since 1991. To the surprise of a pessimistic world, he has managed to oversee the reforms in Russia in an atmosphere of relative calm. The people of Russia do not want that he tarnishes his image as a great democrat by manipulating the ensuing elections. President Yeltsin has secured his place in the history books. He will be remembered for dismantling and banning Communist Party in Russia. He should not worry to hand over his high office to a democratically elected President next year.

Russia is desperately in need of political stability. It is a permanent member of the Security Council with a veto power and is one of the world's largest nuclear powers. Russia's global stability is needed for global security.

The writer is former Bangladesh ambassador to the UN, Geneva.

## The Politics of Politics

by A M M Aabad

**The problem with local politics is the security syndrome — how to cling to power, for self-survival; because political power is still a business in the third world countries.**

ONCE in a while it is a refreshing change to read what a non-politician thinks about Bangladesh politics, in stark contrast to the world of politics, where the politicians live, and how they themselves look at politics, their own profession (self-assessment).

Our current brand of politics have most of the characteristics of our traditional weather: overcast, cloudy, thunder and lightning, drizzles, showers, rain and downpours; sultry, stormy, cyclonic — and, sometimes like hurricane lantern, if not blizzard. The depressions are periodic; and during overflows (the floods are taken into normal stride by generations of Bangladeshis) many reputations float, and are washed away, never to return.

Khurshid Hamid's *Musing on Politics in Bangladesh* (DS, Aug 2) was a good read, as he appeared to have no axe to grind. Perhaps yet! At present, all egos aspiring for political careers are suspect, carrying axes or representing an axis.

Bhadra (gentleman; and also ladies) are not expected by the unambitious society to go for this profession yet, as the cynics would like to point out. It is doubted that the 'politics of movements' cannot take root spontaneously and automatically, unless deliberately planned by the leadership to be diverted and channelled into relevant public institutions; beginning at the base with centres of micro democratic institutions, (like our GB micro credit base?). Little grains of democracy, like grains of sand, make the mighty nation, and the pleasant land.

The 'politics of publicity' has to pause, and grow up in the womb of democratic institutions; as a small sapling grows up into an oak tree. In this deltaic region, the erosion due to political silt is similar to the national erosion caused by the deposit of two billion tons of silt washed down annually by the two mighty rivers and 500 smaller ones.

The poor, docile and overburdened inhabitants are at the receiving end of both these kinds of silt. So far no possible solution is forthcoming on the easiest, the fastest, and the most acceptable way of dredging our political silt. No foreign investment, aid, or technical assistance programme is required (no copyright law is involved in making use of the principles embodied in Emerson's essay on self-reliance). The project is low-cost, but priceless.

With such resilience in an electorate of 60 million, how can we possibly fail, ultimately? It is a battle of tolerance and patience. The politicians may fail, but the citizens have somehow survived. We have been taking the bouncers patiently for 28 years. How's that? It is not cricket, the cricketers shout. Sometimes the bouncers are changed into goons, to discourage appeals.

The problem with local politics is the security syndrome — how to cling to power, for self-survival; because political power is still a business in the third world countries. In England, the blue blood or the aristocracy, not the rising generation (it is a movement), ultimately created the House of Commons, through the House of Lords. In the under-developed countries, we also have the House of Zamindars (zamindars). The principle is tested: a changing curve (of a data graph) is not a

sign of stability. In other professions, there is always position, no opposition. In politics, the existence of Opposition is not openly and sincerely respected by the professional politicians themselves — to come back to power too quickly is not a very divine wish.

Anything hurriedly done leaves loopholes and small black holes (this is a general statement for universal application). Applied to political activity, the successive political regimes have to carry out the nasty job of public washing of the dirty linen left behind by the previous regimes; preceded by the mopping up operation. It is not a peasant job, and the three parties involved in the game feel unhappy: the two opposing parties and the civic society represented by the citizens (the unhappy voters).

In mathematics there is a wavy curve called SHM or simple harmonic motion. Politics has its oscillating stage during the teething period, although the critics and analysts are tempted to classify it as complex disharmonic motion (CDM). For political stability, CDM has to move towards SHM or normal cycles. In music also, the more the music, the developed countries have reached this approachable stable condition after many generations, starting with feudalism and tapering towards democracy, with autocracy, socialism and communism thrown in between.

This tapering process has turned into barbed-wire fencing in many instances — the politicians are inside under protection, not we citizens; although there is serious difference of opinion on this issue! The problem is that the politicians take

their job very seriously, and their responsibility rather lightly. Their virtual earnestness is apparent watching the fierce faces on the television screen. Why the politicians do not display something like the Mona Lisa smile, especially when both the major parties are led by ladies? Why are we losing on the art of smiling? — laughter comes once in a while. Perhaps it has something to do with the dictum 'Live, and let live'.

Using IT (information technology) analogy, database or Db is a familiar term. We need a political database for upgrading or enhancing our politics; DB standing for de-base, to weed out and filter the undesirable components, such as illiberal democracy, the macro-based democracy of charisma and chauvinism, and other complex types of political viruses. As per demand, various kinds of political virus killers should be available in the market as and when required. We have already succeeded in eliminating some kinds of viruses.

The pendulum demonstration can also be used to create awareness about the state of our politics. From the mid-rest point, a free swinging pendulum comes to the rest position after a period of damped oscillation. This may be likened to the teething stage of any new system, in all disciplines including politics. In Bangladesh these teething troubles are continuing even after 28 years of independence, in spite of national and cultural homogeneity.

One wonders if the pastime of politics is available in after-life; otherwise the deprived politicians would be bored, not till death, but eternally!

The author is a former technocrat.

## Taimur Hussain: A Tribute to the Memory of a Young Entrepreneur

(AN ADMIRING FATHER'S RECOLLECTIONS)

by T Hussain



Taimur Hussain met with a sudden tragic death in the early hours of Friday, the 12th August, 1994 at the age of thirty-five. A courageous and enterprising young man, he returned home in Bangladesh in 1991 after a long stay in USA for 15 years — becoming a full-fledged American citizen and a graduate in electronics and computer engineering from the University of Houston, Texas.

Originally an alumnus of Shahin' School, Dhaka Cantonment and then of Jhenidah Cadet College, he matriculated with distinction in 1974. The process of his admission in the Jhenidah Cadet College was an exciting story. He got the letter for admission test at Dhaka just a day prior to the date fixed. There was hardly any time left for the long road journey to Jhenidah and appear at the test on schedule. The only possible way was to take the normal flight to Jessore, but no seat was available. He, therefore, decided to hang on until the pilot could be reached and persuaded to take him (Taimur) along with him in the cockpit. His determination and perseverance worked and he succeeded to reach Jhenidah in time to appear at the test.

Taimur's next feat of adventure was to go to USA and pursue studies there. Having got admitted to the Tri-State University in Angola, Indiana,

through the good offices of his uncle, who was an advisor of foreign students there, he left for USA with just enough money to meet the air-passages and expenses for one semester only. Then followed his tough and long journey of hardship, frustration, struggle and survival, taking him to his cherished goal of establishing himself in life. In doing this, he had to work in restaurants, sell books from door to door and spend sleepless nights as a motel-accountant in Nashville, Tennessee. While studying there, his name always appeared in the Dean's and President's merit lists of students of his school. In time, he moved to Houston and took the earliest opportunity of obtaining the graduation degree, while at the same time working as a field engineer of a computer company. His meritorious performance led to his appointment on telephone as Senior Telecommunications Analyst with an airlines company in Miami, Florida, where he continued to work at a stretch for over five years.

Taimur's final decision to return home was taken at the end of the above period, without any influence motivating him from his family. The decision was entirely his own and unalterable. He took this decision in spite of repeated objections and counterproposals coming from his many friends and wishers abroad. They ques-

tioned the wisdom of the decision and agreed that there was no point in Taimur's leaving a decently paid job in Miami and returning home to face the most uncertain future. There while many others were dying to come to USA and similar developed countries and settle there comfortably.

To these questions and arguments, Taimur's only answer was that: 'I came to USA for higher studies and for acquiring the best that this country could offer. Now that, by God's grace, I have achieved both the objectives in long 15 years, it is time that I go back and give to my own country whatever little I am able to contribute in my own way.'

Taimur stuck to his point, came back home in 1991 and plunged himself into hard work and his dedicated mission of serving the country of his roots. Soon after he arrived, he was offered lucrative position in Bangladesh Computer Council. He was interviewed and asked what emoluments he would want to induce him to continue to stay on here. Then came a still more attractive offer from Bangladesh Biman, pleading him to give his consultancy services in renovating the entire computer system of the national flag-carrier. In return, he was offered a tempting package deal, including a good consulting fee and frequent visits to USA and other countries

abroad for himself and close relations. Taimur, however, joined his family business instead, just saying that his purpose of returning home and to his parents was not taking a new job here for monetary considerations. He felt that since he was earning enough money abroad, these were not the just and right incentive for him to come back.

His family had already established an electronics industry — a television assembly plant, with Japanese collaboration which had too many problems to deal with. Yet, he did his best in taking forward this industrial unit by appropriate application of modern management technique he learnt while remaining abroad. He came across frequent setbacks in the customs and banking sectors, requiring intervention of higher authorities.

His adept handling of these situations earned him respect from those concerned. He bravely faced all odds and his only goal was to get a fair deal and no sympathy or undue favour. In fact, he was allergic to the terms 'sympathy' or 'preferential treatment' and never asked for anything which was not his due. Yet, he never fought shy of inviting the attention of authorities at the highest level, where called for. As a matter of fact, he sought and was assured of the interview with the then prime minister to give vent to

his personal feelings and ideas about industrial promotion in the country, particularly in computer software sector. But before he could actually avail of the opportunity, cruel fate intervened culminating into his tragic death.

In international business dealings also, although he was comparatively young, he used to deal with their top-level executives on equal terms and reciprocity, which was amply demonstrated when chief executive officers (CEOs) of some big companies from India and USA sent personal condolence messages on his sudden and untimely demise.

Young Taimur was a lover of books and he rarely failed to buy the bestsellers as soon as they were published. His personal collection contained books of different interest ranging from fiction, art, travelogues, archaeology, apart from reference books on his own subject, viz. electronics and computer technology. In the evening before the tragedy occurred, he bought two books, *India Wins Freedom* by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and *The Prophet* by Kahilil Gibran, both of which were presented to his young wife, under his own signature. He asked her to read these books, particularly the one authored by Gibran, whenever she felt like. The poor widow is still keeping these books with her as priceless memento.

The writer is the father of late Taimur Hussain and a retired Secretary of the Govt. of Bangladesh.

## Containing Common Protozoan Diseases of Fishes

by Rumena Sultana

LIKE other organisms fish also becomes victim of many diseases. For example, protozoan species which frequently become pathogens of fishes, are causes of many diseases among them. And for this we face a great economic loss every year. So we should take measures to control the parasites by knowing their biology, morphology, nature of damage and so on.

Here a description is given on some common parasites responsible for frequent attack on fishes and possible measures of control.

**Ichthyobodiasis (Costiasis):** It is caused by the flagellate *Ichthyobodo* (= *Costia*) *peculiaris* — its etiological agent occurs throughout the world in fresh waterbodies. Almost all species of fresh water fishes i.e., *Clarias batrachus*, *Heteropneustes fossilis*, *Labeo rohita* etc. are hosts to it.

It is an obligate parasite, i.e., cannot live long without host body. It mostly infects body covering, fins and gills of young fishes. It is a small parasite of 5-20 µm in length. Reproduction by simple transverse division but is able to encyst after leaving the host. So transmission of infection may occur either from fish or cyst.

**DISEASE SIGNS:** Infected fish (a) commonly flash or scrap against objects; (b) gasp at water surface; (c) stop eating; (d) become lethargic (e) produce excess mucus which creates blue slime on skin, gills and dorsal and tailfins; (f) destruction and complete removal of epithelium is also seen; (g) alimentary canal and related organs become dry; (h) proliferation of mucus cells is seen in skin and gills where the parasites are attached.

**PREVENTION:** (a) Apply lime before/during preparation of pond; (b) avoid over-stocking; (c) keep the fingerlings well-fed.

**TREATMENT:** Apply bath in (a) 5% NaCl for 5 minutes at intervals of 5-8 days; (b) 200 ppm formalin solution for 1 hour; (c) for affected population the pond should be treated by 25-30 ppm formalin.

**Ichthyophthiriasis/ Ich/White Spot Diseases:** Its etiological agent is *Ichthyophthirus multifiliis*. It is found world wide in fresh water fishes and is common in aquarium and cultured fishes. The hosts are carps, gold fish, trout and eels.

It is an obligate oval parasite known as *Thromph*, the largest of the protozoan type. It is uniformly ciliated around the body and contains a horse-shoe shaped micronucleus. At a definite period of time the trophont leaves the host and attaches to plant or drops to the bottom, to form a cyst. Then 1000 tomites (as they are called) are produced inside the cyst due to multiple fission. These tomites rupture the cyst wall and come out free-

swimming. Very much infective, they actively swim to get a host and attach to its skin, gill, fin, especially of fry and fingerlings. These tomites must find a host within 24-46 hours at 24-26°C or die. Only the successful tomites penetrate the host-epithelium and produce white spot. These tomites mature into trophont and repeat the same cycle.

**DISEASE SIGNS:** The affected fish (a) scrap against object; (b) become lethargic; (c) suffocate due to heavy gill infection; (d) white spots of 1mm diameter develop on the skin, fins and gills. In heavy infections skin appears peppered with white dots. White spots in the lining of mouth or at the border of nostril opening can be marked.

In skin the trophont may compress the overlying epidermis as it grows. Mixed inflammatory cells and often hyperplastic tissue lifts appear. In gills it causes distortion of the lamellae, epithelial hyperplasia, hypertrophy and lamellar fusion.

**CONTROL:** Can be effected by (a) medicated water, aquatic plants; (b) application of lime; and (c) thoroughly drying the pond.

**THERAPY:** Can be by (a) killing the agent at the free swimming stage using formalin (17 ml/100 l i.e. 167 ppm) for one hour each in several applications; (b) three per cent of NaCl bath for 1 hour for seven consecutive days; (c) application of malachite green (1.25 ppm) daily for 30 minutes; (d) application of Nevugon at a strength of 100 ppm.

**Chilodonelliasis:** Its etiological agent is *Chilodonella cyprini*. It is found world wide in fresh water fishes. Hosts are young carps, aquarium fishes and channel cat fishes.

The heart-shaped ciliates cause major problems with carps, gold fish and channel cat fish. Their ventral side is flat with parallel ciliary rows and there's lack of cilia at the anterior end of the oral groove. There is a large macro- and small micro-nucleus. The body size is 30-70 µm in length and 21-40 µm in width. Reproduction is by binary fission.

**DISEASE SIGNS:** Infected fish become restless; lethargic and exhibit an erratic movement. Epithelial hyperplasia is caused by the disease-agent.

**CONTROL:** (a) Avoid high organic load; (b) maintain optimum range of temperature; (c) keep the fingerlings well-fed.

**THERAPY:** (a) Use malachite green and formalin (0.1 ppm 25ppm) for affected ones; (b) 3% NaCl for 10 minutes.

**Trichodiniasis:** Its etiological agents are *Trichodina reticulata*, *T. domerqui*, *T. megamicronucleate* etc. Gold

fish, cat fish, carps etc. get affected almost all over the world. The saucer-shaped ciliate is of 50-140 µm in diameter. The aboral side bears a ring for attachment. Both long and short cilia are present. Both of macro- and micro nucleus, vacuoles are present in the cytoplasm. Reproduce both by binary fission and conjugation. They mainly attack the fin, gill, skin of fry and fingerlings.

**DISEASE SIGNS:** a) Bluish skin with excessive mucus secretion cause dermal lesion; b) epithelial hyperplasia, and necrosis in the skin are apparent.

**CONTROL:** Avoid (1) high organic load; (2) crowding; (3) mixed age group of fish. Maintain good food and pond hygiene.

**TREATMENT:** Apply (1) NaCl (5% for 5 minutes); (2) Formalin 200 ppm for 30 minutes.

**Myxosporidiasis:** Different genera of *Myxosporidia*, i.e., *Myxobolus cyprini*, *M. dispar*, *M. pleiferi*, *Hopferella cyprini* and so on are its etiological agents. One of the most dangerous diseases PKD (Proliferative Kidney Diseases) is caused by *Mitraspora cyprini*. Its hosts are gold fishes, carps etc.

It is intracellular and intraluminal parasite. Kidney, ureter swell up. Affected fish lose balance, suffer from physiological disturbance. The parasite has polar capsules with two polar filaments. Iodinophilus vacuoles are seen.

**DISEASE SIGNS:** Fish a) loose equilibrium; b) suffer from anemia; c) its excessively swollen abdomen becomes soft, thin and transparent.

**CONTROL:** Can be done by (a) disinfection of the pond; (b) removal of infected fish; (c) periodic liming.

**Myxoboliasis:** Its etiological agents is *Myxobolus* Sp. It is prevalent throughout Bangladesh. Host species are young major, particularly catla of 3-4 months.

**DISEASE SIGNS:** (a) Fish become inactive, lethargic and lose appetite; (b) gills are covered with white cysts; (c) gill lips break off; (d) necrosis causes filamentous breakage.

**CONTROL:** (a) Avoid high organic load; (b) keep the fingerlings well-fed. Therapy, however, depends upon the severity of infection.

The above diseases are frequently seen among the pond species. If we know thoroughly about the parasites we will be able to control them. Actually the control measures depend upon the overall hygiene. So if we are able to maintain the overall hygiene we will be able to get the maximum yield. This will be a great achievement for the nation. So we should practise maintenance of overall hygiene to stop the attack of protozoan species and thus ensure optimum economic benefit from pisciculture.

## NGOs in Human Development: Approach and Actions

by Shajahan Bhuiya

HUMAN history is replete with struggles of the plebeians against the patricians, the slaves against the masters, the serfs against the lords, the ruled against the exploiters, and the like. These relentless struggles are the struggles for human liberation from the dominating, exploiting, suppressive, oppressive and coercive forces. It is, therefore, evident that the ontological and historical vocation of mankind is their liberation. Human development is essentially a process of human liberation.

Human development is bogged down in the quagmire of misunderstanding when the issue of human liberation is tagged as a matter of nasty partisan power politics rather than a critical subject of creative development process. This development is the systematic process of conscientization. This is the dialogue to raise the critical awareness of all involved in it. Through the process of conscientization, the people become critically aware of their reality and discover their relationships with other individuals, institutions and environment

in order to transform this reality in their favour. Any relationship of dependency, domination, exploitation, oppression, suppression, coercion and control is thought of as violence that tends to dehumanize the people. Conscientization enables the people to be critically aware about their own situation and to initiate actions for their liberation and development. It is the process of action, reflection and action. When the people are viewed as the centre point of all developmental endeavours, human development should logically be the pivotal agenda of any development institution or agency.

It is found that in the process of human development the critical awareness about the violence perpetuating relationships are identified and plans are made incorporating measures in them to be free from these relationships for empowerment of the people. The very process of conscientization and human development should be a non-violent process and contain the feeling of care and love. Violence begets violence. Use of violence sows the seeds of subsequent violent changes that

act against the creative transformation and sustainability. Sins should be hated and the deprived as well as dehumanized people along with the sinners should be liberated during the process of conscientization. Sinners are also dehumanized for their disproportionate power in the prevailing societal context.

Conscientization for human development brings to surface the causes of poverty, violence and subjugation. Here, the approach is active participation of the people in the process as the subjects rather than as the objects. The objects are indifferent about their own situation and cannot be the active partners in the dialogical process. The people and others concerned in the process address the causes rather than the symptoms. The sole objective is the transformation of reality through dialogue. Conscientization which is a dialogical process, is contrasted with 'assistencialism' meaning 'that form of social assistance which attacks the symptoms but not the causes of social ills'.

Since our war of liberation of 1971, the government agen-

cies concerned and NGOs engaged themselves vigorously in 'assistencialism' to give succor to the war affected people. Prolonged 'assistencialism' began to spoil the spirit of self-reliance of the victorious people and at the same time created the situation of gradually transforming the people with the worldview that is created in the culture of dependence. It is only after mid 70's the NGOs — particularly local ones like BRAC, PROSHIKA, MUK, etc. — realized that human development through systematic conscientization could bring about the desired changes. These desired changes were thought of as the structural changes causing liberation of the shackled creative and productive forces in the society. But after many years of our liberation war, the impact of human development efforts by such NGOs are not so positive as against the strong enthusiasm of earlier days.

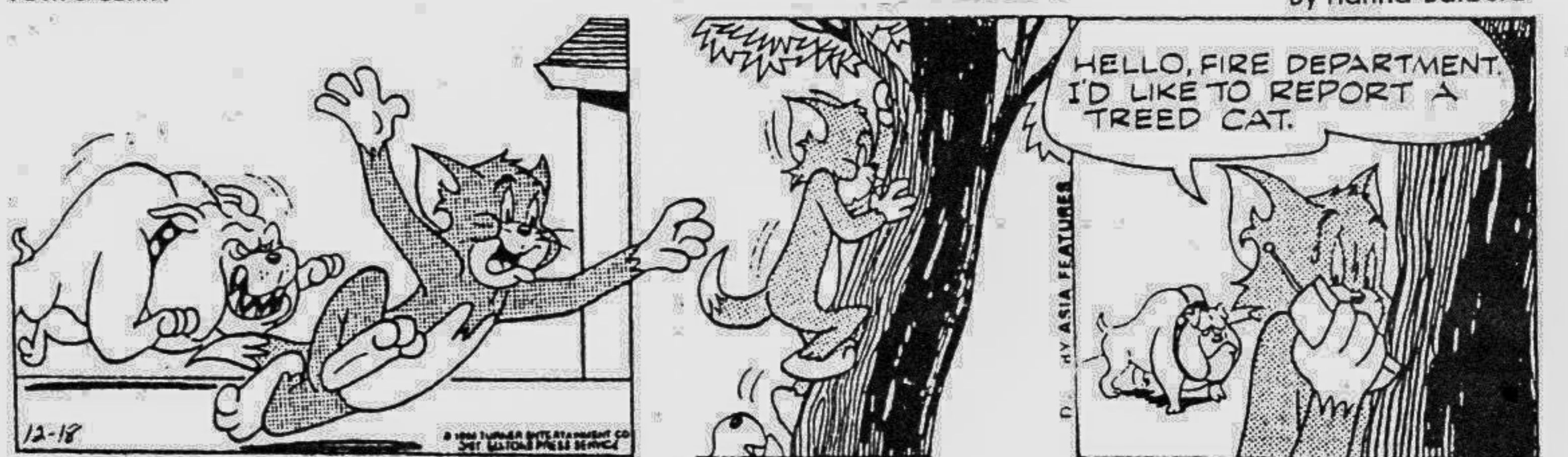
The causes of limited success may be many and varied. The current unipolar world has produced a context of globalized market economy. Against this context, NGOs have now joined the bandwagon to facilitate

human liberation with traditional and dominant econocentric approach and method (investment, return, productivity, profitability, etc) rather than their earlier novelty of helping 'the prisoners of poverty' to become critically aware about the causes of their own situation in order to enable them to initiate the course of actions for their liberation not only economically but also psychologically, socio-culturally and politically in a humane way.

In this regard, many perceive that the failure in 'self-denial of the NGOs as a leader and self-subordination to the role of animator, who is truly 'with the people, not 'over' and 'for' them' has contributed towards the shifted scenario. Many other critics also say that NGOs are now more money-driven than alternative development paradigm inspired and are moving more towards something like 'assistencialism' than human development through conscientization.

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TOM & JERRY



By Hanna-Barbera

