

The world heaves a sigh of relief

Iraq's wise decision must be followed by a wiser total compliance

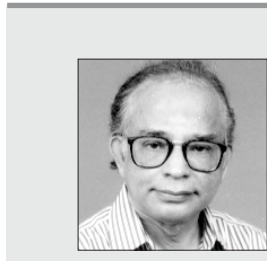
WAR seems to have been averted, at least for the moment. We thank Iraqi leader Saddam Hossain for agreeing to the UN resolution and thereby depriving the US of any pretext for going to war right now. It was a wise decision and one that the whole world wanted. Iraq must now comply fully with the contents of the resolution and allow the weapons inspectors full access to whatever they want to see. If Iraq really has nothing to hide then fully opening its doors should not pose any problem. On the other hand if there is something to hide then we cannot accept it. Weapons of mass destruction in the possession of Iraq must be destroyed.

Legitimate questions may be raised about the choice of the weapons inspectors. We remember clearly how the US used the previous occasions to send its spies who were later exposed, resulting in the singular embarrassment of the UN and its weapons inspector team. Though the world did not believe at first the Iraqi claims of inspectors being spies but the later facts proved that the US was not really honouring the norms of the UN. We raise this issue because this time around we do not want either side to play games. We do not want Iraq to create any hindrances and we do not want the US to use the inspection process for any other purpose. We want the UN to ensure genuine inspectors only to be in the team and they should be credible experts with reputation of integrity and reliability. Too much is at stake for any one to be playing spying games.

As we see it the resolution and its compliance is a victory of multilateralism and a defeat for unilateralism. The US, supremely powerful as it is, had to accept the fact that going alone was not an option and that for its actions to be acceptable she had to carry the world, or a significant portion of it, with her. We are also aware of the fact that the original US draft of the resolution had to be drastically changed to bring on board the French, the Russians and the Chinese. At the end it was a 15 to zero vote in the Security Council with Syria also coming on board. The United Nations as the central organ of global politics had to be recognised by the US, however reluctantly. These are significant developments at a time when US's tendency to go it alone created panic in many countries including several in Europe. We must thank the worldwide peace movements especially those in the US and UK where repeated demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of ordinary citizens helped to restore some sobriety in the thinking process of the leaders who were gingerly pushing for war. We think it is to the credit of the peace movements that multilateralism finally won the day. As global citizens we should never lose sight of this important fact.

The world heaves a sigh of momentary relief, as reason appears to have prevailed over arrogance, ego and stubbornness. However we must be aware that a lot depends on the process of implementing the UN resolution. Iraq could try to create unnecessary obstacles on one hand and the US and UK could complicate matters by crying foul without sufficient reason on the other. The most important thing now is to choose the team of inspectors without any secondary agenda and then to give that professional and credible team unhindered access and total freehand to perform its tasks. The real test for Iraq depends on the full declaration of all its weapons within 30 days of the adoption of the UN resolution 1441. If Iraq does this task with sincerity and if the inspectors confirm it then Iraq's credibility to the international community will greatly be restored. Iraq must remember that while most countries and majority of the people of the world are opposed to any unilateral attack on it, they are equally opposed to Iraq having any weapons of mass destruction. Iraq must also remember that however unfair the UN sanctions regime has been, it was Iraq's bad policies and militarism in the first place that has brought Iraq where it is today. There is no denying the fact that people of Iraq has suffered enormously for the adventurism of its leadership goaded ironically, in some instances, by the US itself.

Keeping manga at bay



HASNAT ABDUL HYE

LIVING at the edge of the precipice, they are never too far from it. It stares them in the face menacingly, biding time. When they are lucky it can be kept at bay. But Kartik is the cruellest month threatening gloom and for some, doom. For as long as they can remember, the visitation of the scourge is always about the same time of the year. In the best of years Kartik's ordeal is short and bearable. In less benign times it takes its toll of 'blood, sweat and tears'. Sometimes it makes news, sometimes it does not. Like familiarity, regularity of occurrence has a way of inducing indifference. But it is not an attitude that can be indulged in by the victims. They recoil in fear at the very thought of it and remain in mortal danger as Kartik approaches. When overtaken, the hapless victims cringe and cower. The frailest among them give up their mortal coils. This is an old story, but can be told afresh.

The ordeal of Kartik or better still, the terror of this month has been encapsulated by the word *manga* from time immemorial. It is a socio-economic disaster that strikes the poor in the northern districts almost regularly every year with varying intensity. *Manga* is hard to be translated in English. Being a colloquial word in usage in the northern districts it is not even to be found in the

standard Bengali dictionary. Its equivalent in formal Bengali could be *aobhab* which also does not have an exactly corresponding word in English with similar connotations. 'Want' comes very close to *manga* or *aobhab* but lacks their resonance. While 'want' represents material privation, *manga* or *aobhab* has both material and psychological rings. It is not simply hunger or starvation but the whole gamut of wrenching feelings including anxiety, fear, suffering, pain and despair. *Manga* embodies both body and spirit of the victims in their symbiotic relation-

wage labourers are now without employment and don't have recourse to any other source of income. Seasonal unemployment of the month of Kartik has been aggravated by drought in Sraban and Aswin, the two preceding months. Harvest of Amon in Agrabahayon does not, therefore, hold out good prospects of employment. Faced with employment crisis, wage labourers have reportedly started selling their labour in advance for pittance. They are taking Tk 25 to Tk 30 as daily wage from wealthy farmers as advance payment for services to be

ity of the poor farmers and landless labourers.

Manga in Kartik (October-November) has been common in the north for many years; some would say that it has come down from time immemorial. Its intensity varies from year to year; the suffering caused is not always long or unbearable. But the very fact that the danger lurks should be enough to alert authorities and organizations who ostensibly work for poverty alleviation. It would be in the fitness of things to make advance preparations for intervention with employment generating

not coincide with the need to create employment in the affected units. The problem boils down to advance preparation, adequate local level planning and coordinated implementation. These are feasible and manageable tasks even in the short run. The situation cannot go beyond control if the planning and implementation machinery are streamlined and pressed into timely operation. If *manga* strikes as a matter of routine, its antidote can also be standardized and made readily available. Like an endemic disease it can be contained with preventive

at micro level on a selective basis. As the first step this gap in information should be filled up, particularly for the crisis prone upazilas. Once the area and the number of people have been identified various programmes dovetailed for each group can be planned in advance for implementation well before the onset of the crisis. Along with TR, GR and VGF undertaken by the government, the NGOs operating in the districts can also be co-opted within a coordinated plan of action to ensure comprehensive coverage backed up by adequate resource mobilization. It is somewhat puzzling that a longstanding and chronic disaster like *manga* has not been given serious attention during all these years. But it is never too late.

Addressing *manga* should have both a firefighting i.e. short-term and a long-term strategy. Simply because it is an old phenomenon and take place more or less regularly, it should not be taken as inevitable. Programmes that give micro credit to the families of potential victims to take up income generating activities and ownership over means of production like khas land, khas pond, fisheries, lease over roads, bridges and embankments, collective ownership of small scale industries (rice, oil mills) etc. should be part of the long term strategy to keep *manga* at bay permanently. The problem is not intractable because it is limited to a few thanas and the number of people affected is not large compared to the hard-core poor. In our overall strategy for poverty alleviation, the *manga* prone areas simply require a special emphasis and a time-bound intervention. *Manga* may be difficult to translate but it is not beyond alleviation once its nature has been recognised. All that is required is advance planning.

Hasnat Abdul Hye is a former secretary, novelist and economist.

IN MY VIEW

Programmes that give micro credit to the families of potential victims to take up income generating activities and ownership over means of production like khas land, khas pond, fisheries, lease over roads, bridges and embankments, collective ownership of small scale industries (rice, oil mills) etc. should be part of the long term strategy to keep manga at bay permanently. The problem is not intractable because it is limited to a few thanas and the number of people affected is not large compared to the hard-core poor. In our overall strategy for poverty alleviation, the manga prone areas simply require a special emphasis and a time-bound intervention.

ship. In the extreme it renders men, women and children into less than human beings, harking back into their primeval state when mind concentrated on sheer survival. It is this abject degradation of the human soul, reduction of life to its lowest common denominator, which make *manga* so abominable. Unless this is understood the full import of *manga* will remain elusive.

According to a newspaper report *manga* has taken a serious turn in a few northern districts this year. Unemployed wage labourers are reportedly eating all kinds of tubers from under soil, diarrhoea and other diseases have broken out as a result. According to figures published in the newspaper (*Sangbad*, 4th November) about five lakh of

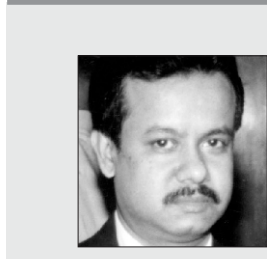
occurrence later when harvest will take place in Agrabahayon and Poush. At harvest time normal wage rate is between Tk 60 and 70 daily. They will thus be exploited like bonded labour by the rapacious jotedars. Even marginal farmers have not escaped the cruel clutches of *manga*. With no supplementary income to see them through this bleak period they have been forced to sell crops in advance to big farmers and moneylenders at a very low price. Paddy is being sold at Tk 150/ and sugarcane at Tk 20 per maund, both at one third of the normal price. Sale of cattle, livestock and house building materials has also been reported. Judged by the newspaper reports, *manga* has appeared in full fury in the northern districts shattering the coping capac-

activities in the crisis prone zones. There are time tested traditional programmes like Test Relief (TR) and programmes of contemporary origin, like Food For Works Programme and Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF) Programme to address the problem of seasonal unemployment. From the newspaper reports published it appears that some of these have indeed been initiated in the affected areas. The problem seems to be that the coverage of these programmes is not adequate to meet the demand nor are they coordinated satisfactorily. Rice/wheat allotted under VGF is insufficient while Test Relief has been allotted to a number of institutions including schools, sports organizations whose priorities may

measures. Seasonal unemployment is not as egregious as hard-core poverty.

To keep *manga* at bay a few steps have to be taken sequentially. Since it occurs almost every year in some of the northern districts, the size of the problem should be known in advance. Through household surveys the required information can be collected for which Bureau of Statistics or BIDS can be given the responsibility. Prof Bahubalul of Dhaka University carried out this kind of survey in the Sixties in Noakhali. Unfortunately his study on unemployment and underemployment in rural Bangladesh has not been repeated as a result of which one has to fall back on figures which are not regularly collected nor focused

The last of the Moguls



MOHAMMAD BADRUL AHSAN

his short life in the Mogul style. He had a house full of servants and attendants and maintained a lifelong passion for an other named Dahanu. He loved to wear this other on cotton patch slashed in the antehelix of his ear throughout his life. It was very expensive, about 4000 rupees per 10 grams, yet its smell had been rousing the blood of Mogul men for centuries. The fragrance of a droplet lasted on the wearer for eight solid days, and Mirza Peyare reeked with its fragrance twenty-four hours a day.

marketing after thirty-five years. He had a tough upbringing as a boy, when his family lived off nothing but the rent from twenty-five cycle rickshaws. Privation has been the destiny of this Mogul man, whose source of income even now is a pension of 1200 rupees per month, and the money he regularly borrows from moneylenders at usurious rates.

His younger brothers Masiuddin and Saijuddin had gone to work in the Middle East for a while, but they didn't like it there and returned to

never fought a war to expand or protect the empire. He spent most of his time collecting the recipes of his ancestors and the Great Timur, writing poems, flying kites and enjoying his life in dance, music and poetry recitation.

But he was also the most ill-fated amongst the Mogul potentates. The British army hanged his sons before his eyes and captured, humiliated and sent him to exile in Burma. The last Mogul emperor of India, died in a foreign land, craving until his last

most of the preparations, while Mogul women gave the final touch. They alone knew the trick of cutting the betel-nuts into small cubes with rounded edges so that one didn't get scratched in the mouth while chewing them.

To this day, even in her old age, Ummehani can fix a betel-leaf with unbelievable swiftness, and she takes her betel-leaf with 50 types of tobacco preparations. She can use mixture of spices to preserve meat for fifteen days without a refrigerator.

chickens would be slain at a time, feeding the rest of the chickens with sausages made of its meat. This process continued until the number of chickens came down to 5 or 10. These remaining chickens would be slaughtered and their meats cut into size of pellets for the consumption of Mogul men. These pellets could put the fire of a twenty-year-old into the groin of an eighty-year old man, and this tradition lasted until the time of Mirza Peyare. Ziauddin also knows all the ingredients of this magic thing by heart, but his lips are sealed lest it compromised the secret of the prowess that ran the Mogul harems.

Ziauddin, Masiuddin and Saijuddin were invited to Uzbekistan on the 510th anniversary of Babur Shah, where the government dedicated a 300-acre park named "Baag-e-Babur" to honour the heroic son of their soil... The government also offered citizenship to the three brothers and their families as a tribute to the memories of the first Mogul emperor. The brothers didn't accept the offer... Instead, they returned to the adopted country of their ancestors, where they don't own even a plot of land.

Instead, they returned to the adopted country of their ancestors, where they don't own even a plot of land. They have repeatedly appealed to the Indian government for allotment of a house in their name, because, as they stated in their applications, they had lost their home in the first rebellion (Sipahi rebellion) against the British rule.

Meanwhile, their children, Nishat, Minhaz, Akbar-the sixth generation of Moguls, listen to these stories of their illustrious forefathers as if someone was trying to tell them a seamless fairy-tale.

Mohammad Badrul Ahsan is a banker.

CROSS TALK

Ziauddin, Masiuddin and Saijuddin were invited to Uzbekistan on the 510th anniversary of Babur Shah, where the government dedicated a 300-acre park named "Baag-e-Babur" to honour the heroic son of their soil... The government also offered citizenship to the three brothers and their families as a tribute to the memories of the first Mogul emperor. The brothers didn't accept the offer... Instead, they returned to the adopted country of their ancestors, where they don't own even a plot of land.

While his grandchildren grew up in Rikavganj of Hyderabad in poverty and squalor after his death. In their desperate struggle to survive, his oldest grandson Ziauddin sold in 1952 the manuscripts of autobiographies written by his ancestors Mirza Khwayesh and Mirza Abdullah to a collector in Mumbai for a paltry sum of 32 rupees. He still resents to have parted with such an important testament of the Mogul history. But Ziauddin and his brothers, being Mogul men, couldn't do away with the habit of their ancestors. They have been using Dahanu-al-Aud, although with frugality, at the rate of 10 grams for five months.

Ziauddin has recently retired from his nondescript job in agricultural

India shortly. Masiuddin is currently working as a culinary consultant to one of Hyderabad's five-star hotels. He is also doing research on the Mogul cuisine like the breakfast of Babur, or snacks Jalaluddin Akbar wanted to have before going to war. Akbar had no fixed time for his meals. He used to wake up at three o'clock in the morning and ask for fresh and crisp bread fried in butter with meat and dal cooked with one hundred and three types of pulses.

Like all other Mogul emperors, Bahadur Shah Zafar also was a connoisseur of food, and he wanted 80 to 90 preparations presented on the table for every meal. In a way, Bahadur Shah was the most fortunate amongst the Mogul rulers. He

breath to be buried in his own country. Even 140 years after his death, there is no initiative to bring his remains back to India. Uzbekistan has transferred the remains of Babur Shah from Kabul to Tashkent several years ago.

After the capture of Bahadur Shah, Mirza Khwayesh had fled with whatever he could put in a small bag, and roamed from place to place carrying the many secrets of Mogul heritage. Some of it passed to Mirza Abdullah to Mirza Peyare to Ummehani. Once she could cook for seventy mouths without any help. But Mirza Peyare always liked her to fix the betel leaf for him, which was a speciality of the Mogul women. Servants and maids used to make

Masiuddin is trying to learn everything from his mother, while reading at the same time "Khana-e-Zafar", a cookbook written by Bahadur Shah Zafar.

Saijuddin has set up a school in his house since he returned from Saudi Arabia. He has also concentrated on the Mogul recipes, particularly of "Kushta Goli", which was more powerful than modern-day Viagra. He can tell you all about its preparation. It would start with fattening of twenty to twenty-five special breeds of chickens with peanuts, pistachio, walnuts, almonds and 20-22 types of grains mixed with milk, and ground gold and silver.

After three months, one of these

OPINION

In search of a 'killer application'

ZIAUDDIN M. CHOUDHURY

IN the computer industry there is a buzzword called "Killer Application" that describes a software programme (application), which proves to be most superior and surpasses all its competitors. We in Bangladesh are in search of a similar Killer Application, not to dominate a software market but to demonstrate a superior ability to contain the goons and thugs in the country who control every day life of an ordinary citizen. We are looking for a solution that we want to be superior to what has been tried before, particularly by the past governments.

In most civilized countries where rule of law is the norm, goons and thugs, and their kith and kin cannot have the sun shine on them for long. No special law is needed to handle these criminals? Nor is it necessary to unleash an armed force for their capture and dispatch to correction centers. These harsh instruments are not needed because the normal law of these civilized countries is enough to take care of the hooligans and other scoundrels; the law enforcing agencies are vigilant; and they do not apply the rules selectively. These agents are not bent, nor are their hands tied. And most importantly the criminals and the scoundrels they chase do not have political patrons to shine on them. But we are talking about exceptions to this norm; we are talking about a country where political patronage of goons and thugs is a *sine qua non* of the political system, where political power is measured by muscle power and the ability to frighten a whole constituency into submission with such power. In such countries normal law fails, law enforcing machinery becomes a tool of the politically protected musclemen, and

the common man has to deal with his fate daily seeking protection only from the Almighty. Therefore, extraordinary steps become necessary. Superior forces have to be invoked. A killer solution is needed.

It has been four weeks or more since help of the Armed Forces has been invoked by the government to apprehend crooks and criminals, would be criminals, people suspected to be criminals -- in a word anyone who posed a threat to law and order, and to the common citizenry. From the accounts that I have read in the newspapers, this has been an combating operation that yielded an impressive harvest of offenders -- a great many of whom have direct affiliation with one or the other major political party. These offenders have so long either eluded the civil law enforcing agencies, or remained at large in collusion with them. Some also have been apprehended for apparently no reason. But most impressive of the news accounts that I have received is a sense of relief that this operation has generated in common people. I have heard people say that the action has led to migration of criminals to hideouts deep inside the country -- some even further away. All this is good for now as the common man does not find him confronting an would be thug or assassin in the street.

But what happens when the Army is called back to the barracks sooner or later? Would all the goons and thugs in Bangladesh be safely locked away and the keys thrown into a river? Will our streets be free, life and property safe? Would our civilian agencies be willing and able to do their bit when any mobster bobs his head again? Would our police pursue the righteous course

of law that they have been entrusted with without let or hindrance?

These may be rhetorical questions, but the easy answer to all of them is a resounding no. Any dose of extraordinary measures, be it special law or use of armed forces, will have the same effect on our rotting system as trying to relieve cancer induced pain with pain killers. The palliative will be of a very short duration, and the pain will return in full force once the effect of medicine is gone. To actually remove the pain, the real cause has to be tackled and treated.

The real cause of our deplorable state of law and order is not that there are hooligans and gangsters patrolling our streets. The real cause is that they thrive and prosper under the patronage of their political masters. The real cause is that crime is a rewarding profession. That is why our students take to this profession, our young people find it more profitable than earnings from honest labour, and our business people find it more convenient to seek protection from criminals than law enforcing agencies. The real cause is that our law enforcing agencies have been bent, rendered powerless, and have generally lost faith and credibility of people from years of abuse, neglect, and improper direction.

I hope there is a larger and more enduring plan the government has for controlling law and order, ensuring rule of law, and restoring faith of the public in our law enforcing agencies. The use of the armed forces for what is an entirely civilian function cannot provide a long term solution to the unrestrained and endemic problem of law and order. A principal reason why it is so tempting in our country to call upon this institution as a weapon

of last resort is its relative immunity from political pressure, and apparent neutrality in public eye. Assuming that these are still the key reasons why the army has been called upon to do the police job in the country, does not it imply that a way to a more durable solution to our law and order problem lies in restoring faith and credibility of our law enforcing agencies?

I do not have an easy prescription for a "killer application" for our festering law order impasse; but I do know that no lasting solution will occur without a change in our political culture of patronage of brigands and bandits, and using them toward advancing parochial political causes. I also know that no long term solution for anarchy in the street, protection of life and property of the common citizen, and impartial application of law will be achieved without a complete reform of our law enforcing machinery. And all this can happen with a determined political will at the top level that not only denounces association of politics with ruffians and thugs, but makes it a criminal offence for a political party to do so. It can happen when public faith and credibility in our law enforcing agency is restored by an all embracing reform starting from its mission, composition, and instillation of respect for rule of law and its impartial application. Otherwise, we will perennially continue to be in search of an elusive "killer application"

Ziauddin M. Choudhury, a former civil servant in Bangladesh, works for an international organization in the US.

Why the army must go back to its barracks

K. ANIS AHMED

THE current army-led drive against so called 'terrorists' has so far been welcomed by many people in a society thoroughly exasperated by years of rising crime and violence. In particular, the business community extended a warm welcome to this manoeuvre. Since the inception of this campaign on October 17th, 15 civilians have died in military custody, and with each death public skepticism has been on the rise. It is encouraging that there is increasing public alarm and outrage in the face of gross and daily violations of human rights. But what we urgently need to recognise as a society is that the ongoing operation threatens not only our human rights, but also the entire fabric of our fragile democracy and civil life.

Due process is of paramount importance to any democracy. We simply cannot ignore that in the name of suppressing crimes. If we do so, we may at best achieve a hollow victory against crime. Especially, we need to remember that 'suspects' are not 'criminals' until so ruled by a court of law, and even 'criminals' do not deserve to be tortured to death. They are entitled to the same measure of human and civic rights as any of us. If we fail to protect these rights for them, we will fail to protect that for ourselves.

Given the nature and effects of the current operation, one wonders if we have not already failed. How is it possible that an elected government could introduce the military into the civil domain without any consultation with its members? This is especially galling in a country that has bitter

memories of military regimes, but also a proud history of successful popular uprisings against them. Few things are more depressing than the spectacle of an elected government acting with the brute arrogance of an authoritarian regime. We certainly hope that the current operation is not a prelude to such a sad and grotesque situation.

The government's rash measure was made possible by two recent trends, one local and one global. The first is public despair at the explosion of crime and violence in our country. The second is the unduly militaristic response of the United States to the tragedy of 9/11, which has inspired real or effective suspension of the laws around the world from Israel to Russia to China to now in Bangladesh. The government has exploited the mood of both the local public and that of the global community to introduce its militaristic solution to the problem of crime and violence. However, to assume that crime is the real target of this operation is an act of good faith. We hope this is true because we desperately do not want to see our hard earned democracy diluted, or dissolved, as it has happened in Pakistan.

Indeed, the public reception of the current operation has not been an entirely hostile one. This is probably accounted for by one interesting feature of the ongoing operation: a great number of the detainees are associated with the ruling party. This is truly a novelty for our country. People have for the moment pinned their hopes on this solitary anomaly as proof of the government's sincerity. One wishes that they were right, but a number of obstacles arise to that easy optimism.

The government has effectively pointed to the failure of the civil administration to justify its reliance on the army for law enforcement. But who is responsible for the weakness and failure of the civil administration? Or, for the explosion of crime and violence? Is anyone to blame more than the two major parties, which have both for years patronised criminals? If the current government were really sincere in its desire to curb crime, then why did they give nominations to ward commissioners with criminal records who are now being detained by the military? The ruling party's political choices seem to contradict their ostensible desire and actions in their role as government.

Despite our most optimistic efforts, it is neither possible to trust the government's motives in authorizing this radical step, nor to fret over its possible effects. Any gains that the army-led crackdowns may bring are sure to be temporary. For every criminal behind bars, there are multiple replacements. They will come out of their burrows the minute the army goes back to the barracks. Even with the military on the streets, a school-teacher was murdered in the capital in broad daylight. A businessman was killed in Khulna, also in broad daylight. A girl was abducted at gunpoint from her house and gang-raped in Kushtia. Crimes continue to occur all over the country, and will only rise as time goes on, even if the army is kept out indefinitely. Criminals will lose their fear of the army and change their techniques. Like other countries that have tried to enforce the law with the military, such as Egypt or Colombia, we will risk inviting skirmishes.

The army too faces risks. If over-

exposed to criminal elements, the army may become susceptible to corruption. We cannot take their immunity for granted. If our army is as clean and efficient as it is today, it is precisely because it is insulated from politics, not due to some magical quality inherent to its members. Even apart from the custodial deaths, already we see certain irregularities that are not heartening. Leaders of rank from the opposing side have been detained, but their counterparts in the ruling party are exempt from comparable treatment. It points to the potential for misusing the army as yet another, and frighteningly powerful, tool in a game of political repression.

Clearly, bringing the army into the civil domain endangers both. A measure may be constitutionally and legally permissible, but that does not make it judicious. Unless there is a clear and present danger to our national security, the army should be kept in its barracks. And the government must assume full responsibility for the civil administration. It cannot shrug off that obligation, as if it had nothing to do with its success or failure. If it cannot remedy such problems, it may step down and give others a chance. But, it has no right to adopt measures that hold the possibility of a slow and ambiguous slide towards a de facto 'state of emergency'. We do not want the terror of criminals replaced by the terror of the state. Our long struggle for a representative government calls for a better solution to the problems of crime and violence.

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