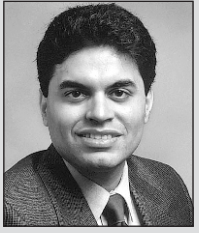


Uncle Sam: Jekyll or Hyde?

Today, when you release prisoners from Guantanamo, they don't return quietly to their villages in Waziristan. They hire lawyers, talk to human-rights organizations, and organize public protests. And in a war for hearts and minds, the benefits of the intelligence gained might well be outweighed by the cost.



FAREED ZAKARIA
writes from Washington

I have resisted the temptation to write something on the Quran-abuse story. But since the controversy continues, here goes. I think that the Bush administration has a Jekyll-and-Hyde problema contradictory attitude toward the war on terror. On the one hand, it has wholeheartedly embraced the view that America must change its image in the Muslim world.

It wants to stop being seen as the supporter of Muslim tyrants and instead become the champion of Muslim freedoms. President Bush and his Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, are transforming American policy in this realm, and while some of the implementation has been spotty, the general thrust is clear and laudable. For this they deserve more credit than they have generally been given, perhaps because of the polarization of politics these days, perhaps because the topic inevitably gets mixed up with the botched occupation of Iraq.

But while Dr. Jekyll makes speeches by day on Arab liberty, some nights he turns into Mr. Hyde. There is within the Bush administration another impulse, a warrior ethos that believes in beating up bad guys without much regard for such niceties as international law. Excessive concern for such matters would be a sign of weakness, the kind of thing liberals do. Men like Dick Cheney and Don Rumsfeld see themselves above all else as tough guys.

The historian Walter Russell Mead has argued that the Bush administration fits into the "Jackso-

nian tradition" in American politics. One of this tradition's core beliefs is that normal rules of warfare are suspended when dealing with "dishonourable enemies." Mead gives the example of the Indian Wars in which American soldiers, enraged by Indian fighting tactics, waged battle ruthlessly and with no holds barred.

It is surely this sense of toughness that made Alberto Gonzales (then White House counsel) and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld assert in 2002 that the Geneva Conventions did not really apply, in Rumsfeld's phrase, to today's "set of facts." It is this sense of toughness that led Rumsfeld to authorize various forms of coercive interrogation that were designed to humiliate prisoners by offending their faith. These included shaving prisoners' beards, stripping and setting dogs on themal religious and cultural taboos. The action memo on interrogation in Guantanamo authorized the removal of "comfort items (including religious items)." That procedure, as well as several others, was rescinded in a memo in January 2003. But in reading even subsequent memos on the treatment of prisoners, now declassified, it's often slightly unclear at least to me -- whether the Geneva Conventions were to be followed precisely. I have some sympathy for the Jacksonian view. War is hell and al Qaeda is as dishonourable an enemy as there has ever been. The trouble is, in today's world, militarily effective methods can generate huge political costs.

There was a moment in Rumsfeld's appearance at the Senate Armed Services Committee after Abu Ghraib that was utterly revealing. Rumsfeld explained that while he knew about the investigation, he was blindsided by the photographs and their impact. He simply couldn't get over the fact that the guards had been taking snapshots with their miniature digital cameras.

With a mixture of amazement and frustration, he wondered how

to fight a war in "the information age where people are running around with digital cameras and taking these unbelievable photographs and then passing them off, against the law, to the media, to our surprise, when they had not even arrived in the Pentagon."

That's the problem. Tough tactics in a darkened room in Abu Ghraib are not going to stay dark in a world of tiny cameras and recorders. And it's not just technology that's different, it's human attitudes. Today, when you release prisoners from Guantanamo, they don't return quietly to their villages in Waziristan. They hire lawyers, talk to human-rights organizations, and organize public protests. And in a war for hearts and minds, the benefits of the intelligence gained might well be outweighed by the cost to America's image.

Dr. Jekyll needs to explain this to Mr.

Cheney. I mean Mr. Hyde. American soldiers operate with high moral standards, something often forgotten by the rest of the world, because of the intense scrutiny they are subjected to by both domestic and foreign media. (How many front-page stories have there been on the Russian army's behavior in Chechnya or the French army's assistance to the Hutus in Rwanda?)

Remember that it was the uniformed services and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs Colin Powell who argued against Gonzales' cavalier attitude toward the Geneva Conventions. But when there are lapses, the Pentagon needs to get much better at admitting them, investigating them, and taking responsibility for them.

Some of these new pressures are unfair, all are costly, but in the open, globalized world we live in, they're inevitable and that's not going to change. Tough guys should understand that.

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Fareed Zakaria is Editor of Newsweek International.

Lords Test: A nightmare for Bangladesh Cricket

CAPT. HUSAIN IMAM

BA NGLADESH have suffered yet another ignominious defeat, this time at the hands of the English, in their first ever Test match against England at Lords, a place more commonly known to cricket lovers as the Mecca of Cricket.

They have been defeated by the English by a huge margin of an innings and 261 runs. The 5-day match beginning on May 26 lasted only two and a quarter days, Bangladesh scoring 108 and 159 all out in 2 innings (38.2 and 39.5 overs to be precise) against their opponent's single innings score of 528 for 3 declared.

It was only thanks to the dogged resistance put up by wicket-keeper Khaled Masud Pilot and pacer Anwar Hossain scoring 58 runs in their 2nd innings 9th wicket partnership that the Bangladesh team could play more than 10 overs on the 3rd day of the match and save the match organisers from refunding the full ticket money to the spectators (they could get away by refunding 50 percent).

For those who are interested in statistics, the Lords Test was the 37th Test match for Bangladesh. Out of the previous 36, they have won one (against Zimbabwe), drawn four, and lost the remainder. This was one of the 10 worst defeats in Test match history. In this match, Bangladesh played the shortest innings in terms of overs (38.2 overs), setting a new (bad) record in Test match history.

There can be no denying that the Test match at Lords was one of the most disappointing events for Bangladeshi cricket lovers, when they had to see their "Tigers" coming out from the field after the game was over looking like drenched pussy-cats instead. Nobody expected the Bangladesh team,

True, our boys are not used to playing on bouncy wickets like that of England, South Africa, or Australia, but it is high time they learnt the technique. They have had enough exposure to overseas cricket over the years, and by this time they are expected to know how to negotiate a short pitched ball.



Bangladeshi agony and English ecstasy.

the youngest member of the Test club, to win or even pull out a draw against a much superior team like England, and that also on English soil. But was it wrong for them to expect that their players, having played so many Test matches and

one day internationals under the world famous cricket wizards like Gordon Greenidge, Mohinder Amarnath, and Dav Whatmore as coaches, would at least put up a fight? It is not the defeat that tarnishes

the image of a team or a nation. It is how the defeat has been incurred. Did they play to their potential? Did they put up a fight? Were they serious and responsible in their effort? Watching the game on television, I could not find an affir-

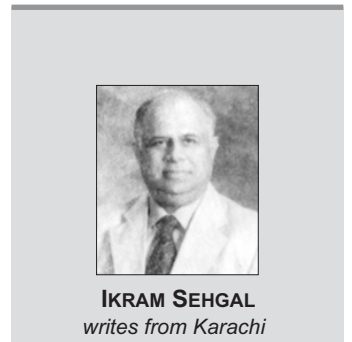
mative answer to any of these queries and this is where the tragedy lies, and that is why we are so anguished. Could Habibul Basher, the skipper of the team, say that he was serious and responsible in his effort as a skipper or even as a player when he tried to pull a ball far wide of the off stump and got out in such a thoughtless manner? To me, it is none but the players themselves who should take the full responsibility for the humiliation that the nation, the team, the officials and the lords themselves suffered in the Lords Test, an event that will be remembered for a long time as a nightmare for Bangladesh cricket.

Having said all the negative aspects of our boys' performance, we still want to pin our hopes on our boys and encourage them to put up a commendable fight in their next matches. We still want to believe in the praises of cricket wizards and commentators that our boys have the talent. A lot of our batsmen have shots up their sleeves. What they lack is application, temperament, and mindset.

True, our boys are not used to playing on bouncy wickets like that of England, South Africa, or Australia, but it is high time they learnt the technique. They have had enough exposure to overseas cricket over the years, and by this time they are expected to know how to negotiate a short pitched ball. They must know where their off stump is and when and how to leave a ball. They must curb their appetite for going at everything. If not from anybody else, they can take a lesson from Khaled Masud Pilot's innings and start practicing. Last but not the least, they must believe in themselves that they have the potential.

The author is a freelance contributor to The Daily Star.

An Indian journey



IKRAM SEHGAL
writes from Karachi

COMPARED to Pakistan's Karachi and Lahore airports, Mumbai's domestic departure terminal was a shock, a scene of organized chaos. This disappointment lasted till one left the exit gates of the Terminal for boarding, the time taken from that point till the pull-back of the Boeing 737 of Jet Airways for departure from Mumbai to Hyderabad was a super-efficient 20 minutes, this included another mandatory security check and an optional one. There was no hassle.

An elderly gentleman along with uniformed ADC went through the security checks and boarded the bus to the parked aircraft with us. Surprise, Surprise. Next day we discovered when he came to address us at the South Asia Editor's Forum (SAEF) meeting at the Sheraton, Hyderabad that he was Balram Jaikad, the Governor of Madhya Pradesh.

While each one of the Ministers who addressed us, including Union Ministers for Information and Culture Jaipal Reddy and Praful Patel as well as Congress Party Chief Minister for Andhra Pradesh, Dr Rajeshwar Reddy, was eloquent and impressive in extempore speeches exceeding 30 minutes, FC College Lahore Alumni (circa 1945) Balram Jaikad, former speaker of the Lok Sabha and Indira Gandhi's Agriculture Minister was, along with Jaipal Reddy, the pick of the lot. None of the Ministers, as well as the Minister for Information, Andhra Pradesh displayed any arrogance or snobbery; it was singularly for me, and collectively for all my colleagues, who included Javed Jabbar, Mahmood Sham, Senator Fasih, Agha Masood, Kazi Asad Abid and Riaz Mansuri, an extremely pleasant experience, besides being a very informative one.

Brainchild of Javed Jabbar and Sandeep Waslekar, South Asia Editor's Forum (SAEF) is a very

AS I SEE IT

About friendship with Pakistan, there is no ambivalence among the leadership or the masses, however there is very little understanding of the facts on the ground, and Pakistan's approach to issues, particularly Kashmir, and the water problems.

useful mechanism to bring the key decision-makers in the South Asia media together. Compared to Pakistan, India has a vast multitude of regional language newspapers and magazines that give little or no coverage to other South Asian countries. While South Asia Free Media Association (Safma) has done an excellent job in bringing journalists from the English, Urdu, and Hindi languages together, the staggering numbers are an hindrance to easy understanding.

There was a need to bring together smaller groups of decision-makers to foster both understanding and coverage, SAEF fills that need. No praise can be too high for Vijay Derda of the Lokmat Group of Publications (and a Rajya Sabha member). The manner he organized the meeting of the SAEF, with a lot of help from I. Venkat, was brilliant. In fact Mr. Derda got all of us classified as "state guests" of Andhra Pradesh, this was definitely different to my earlier experience as a "state guest" in 1971 in Agartala Jail and Panagarh POW Camp.

The last Nizam of Hyderabad built no palaces, but Jubilee Hill was built in 1937 to commemorate the Nizam's 25 years of reign, he was weighed in silver at this location. A little more than 50 years after Hyderabad was annexed by India, the only trace of the Nizam are the palaces built by his ancestors and the 100 or so children he left behind as claimants to his once fabulous wealth. History can be very unforgiving to those who failed to capitalize on the opportunities given to them by destiny.

I came away from India with fixed feelings. This is definitely a country on the move. Having lunch with Ajit Gulabchand, the owner of Hindustan Construction Company, one of the major players in India's construction boom, one was struck by the proliferation of on-going projects. While Hyderabad Airport was modern, the shanty towns next

to high-rises gave a stark contrast between abject poverty and fabulous wealth. While there is direct evidence of tremendous growth, there is also the distinct culture shock of the tremendous gap between rich and poor.

While one does understand that to propel the economy by overdrive this contrast is inevitable, both economic and political planners have to give some thought, not only in India but in every divulging country to ensure that the gains of economic revolution are felt by a broad expanse of the masses. It is not difficult to understand, when in India, why the BJP government was shown the door, that is why the ruling Congress coalition is concentrating on the rural areas and giving relief to the desperately poor.

About friendship with Pakistan, there is no ambivalence among the leadership or the masses, however there is very little understanding of the facts on the ground, and Pakistan's approach to issues, particularly Kashmir, and the water problems. Moreover, there is a tendency to give importance only to Pakistan to the exclusion of other countries, particularly Bangladesh. There is an imperative need to ensure that South Asian dialogue does not become only an Indo-Pakistan one.

However at every level, whether it be the political hierarchy or the workers at the grassroots level, one felt the enormous goodwill, a mass reservoir of feeling that cannot be denied. The people of South Asia will be watching their leaders with not only apprehension but anticipation. Therefore, it is incumbent upon all leaders whether they be in the media or political hierarchy to be not only responsible but responsive to the needs of the common man in South Asia.

Ikram Sehgal, a former Major of Pakistan Army, is a political analyst and columnist.

UP finances need fixing

ZAM KHAIRUZZAMAN

ACCESS to information is a fundamental right. As a public institution, it is the duty of the Union Parishad (UP) to ensure people's right to information. This will have a positive impact on management of the UP activities.

As a regional government institution, the role of the UP should be increased in development activities. But the government strictly controls UP activities under the pretext of lack of transparency in financial management. In this context, financial management means: source of income, expenditure, preparation of balance sheet, probable accounts of income, and budget. Transparency will be ensured when people will be able to know about the income and expenditure of the UPs.

A common complaint against the UPs is non-transparency in tax collection and misuse of allocation for development and rehabilitation materials. There is no easy access for those who wish to know about its annual earning from tax collection and other sources. This is why the UP secretary makes an unrealistic budget at year-end.

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However, it is only the UPs themselves who can change this notion, because such a notion not only undermines those who are in its management, but also the role of local government itself. The only

this fact, each UP can form a standing committee for management of financial activities consisting of seven members. Three of them will be members of the UP (two male members and one

master roll register. Good administration means an accountable administration. If the standing committee examines the accounts at regular intervals, it will be difficult for anybody to get away

Good administration means an accountable administration. If the standing committee examines the accounts at regular intervals, it will be difficult for anybody to get away with corruption. Under the committee's supervision, all UP accounts will be regulated which will make it easier to prepare the balance sheet. This way, the UP will be able to accelerate the development activities by preparing a realistic budget.

answer to it is to turn each UP into a well-managed financial institution.

The UP can form a financial management committee consisting of representatives from the public to bring transparency to finance-related matters.

UP standing committees can be formed in accordance with clause 31(ZA) and 37 of the Local Government (Union Parishad) Ordinance, 1983. But nothing more about the standing committees was elaborated and they have not been formed anywhere. Despite

female member), three members from the public (for instance, a headmaster, a farmer, and a housewife), and the UP secretary.

The national standing committee has a certain responsibility to supervise the activities of different ministries. It is expected that the UP standing committees would try to perform their tasks efficiently and with transparency. The duty and responsibility of the standing committee should be defined precisely. The committee will look after various accounts, cash book, ledger book, stock register, and

with corruption. Under the committee's supervision, all UP accounts will be regulated which will make it easier to prepare the balance sheet. This way, the UP will be able to accelerate the development activities by preparing a realistic budget.

Union Parishad of tomorrow should be as follows:

People and their elected representatives will be able to participate in development activities jointly. There will be no suspicion among them. People will boast of their UPs. Accountability of public

More than just another bubble

RUCHIR SHARMA

JUST like the Frenchman who said the Eiffel Tower reminded him of sex because so did everything else, most financial analysts in the world after the NASDAQ boom-bust reflexively dug a sustained rise in any asset price a "bubble." The list runs rather long and includes the "Anglo-Saxon Housing Bubble," the "China Bubble," and the "Commodities Bubble." Now the latest buzz is that the MENA markets reference to the Middle East and North Africa are in the midst of the mother of all bubbles.

The argument is seemingly straightforward. The region's equity markets have risen 500 percent on average over the past five years and are currently 1.5 times the size of their underlying economies put together. Trading volumes have exploded 25-fold during that period, driven more by mom-and-pop investors looking for instant gratification than by long-term institutional investors. In fact, foreign institutional investors aren't even allowed to participate in many of the region's markets, including Saudi Arabia which now has a market capitalization of \$450 billion, larger than China's or India's.

Sociological signs of excess abound as well. At a recent World Economic Forum meeting in Jordan, sessions on investing in the region attracted such interest that even standing room was fully occupied well before any panel discus-

sion began. The place teemed with businessmen who wouldn't put down their mobile phones, even in the restrooms. Finance ministers and oligarchs in the past would use such forums to hard-sell their country's economic prospects to investors, but this time round they wore the "too much money, too little time"

for price appreciation are missed. Most bubbles are based on favourable developments, which over time get stretched to a point that's terribly divorced from reality. This is probably the case with the MENA markets today, where prices have risen absurdly of late, but in reaction to some fundamental change in this

excess liquidity in the region, which has spilled over into equity markets. Still, that's a positive leakage, since at least the money isn't fleeing or lining a few pockets. In contrast to the region's past, where crude was a curse, governments are spending oil revenue more sensibly. For one, many nations are using their windfall gains to pay down debt and strengthen their balance sheets.

Macroeconomic management in the region has definitely improved. Admittedly, the record on structural reforms is mixed, with countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in particular making little progress in liberalizing their economies. But several other countries in the region are earnestly pursuing a reform agenda, ranging from Egypt and Morocco to Bahrain and Oman. Newspaper headlines globally have focused more on the region's brushes with democracy, but the fact is, countries like Egypt are finding it easier to implement far-reaching economic reform than political reform. Ideally, both types should be concurrent. Still, the positive impact of economic freedom cannot be underestimated.

The Cairo Stock Exchange has become an instant voting machine on the government's reform program, as local investors cheer every major economic announcement by bidding the market higher. Led by Prime Minister Ahmed Nazief, much of Egypt's cabinet was on display in Jordan. Most participants, including ministers from neighboring countries, referred to the Egyptian gov-



Dubai: One of the Middle East's booming economies.

Well, is this allas the popular imagery associated with bubbles goes about to end in tears? The problem with the bubble talk is that it's become the lazy way of analyzing ebullience in financial markets; in the process fundamental reasons

case the first steps towards economic and even some political reform. However, enough analysis hasn't yet been undertaken to distinguish the reform effort from the liquidity hothouse effect.

To be sure, high oil prices have played a major role in generating

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