bottom There seems to be no

One important issue that needs

to be addressed is the need to

insulate Indo-Bangladesh relations

from domestic politics. After more

than three decades as an independ-

ent country, all Bangladeshis should

take pride in being pro-Bangladesh.

We do not need to be labeled as pro-

or anti-any country; this pigeon-

holing does not take place any-

where else in the subcontinent, so

why should only Bangladeshis be

expected to take sides? Essentially

what this means is Bangladesh's

foreign relations with all countries

should be based on mutual respect

and mutual benefit. It is also impor-

tant to try and forge a consensus on

foreign policy issues so as to ensure

continuity of policies. It is worth

mentioning that, notwithstanding

the wide ranging differences

between the BJP and the Congress

on domestic issues, their differ-

ences such as they are on foreign

relations between us and our clos-

est neighbour have been at odds in

recent months, it is undeniable that, if

both sides made a concerted effort.

relations can be improved in a rela-

tively short period of time. In other

words, the damage is reparable.

Indian investment in Bangladesh is

just beginning, but there is no reason

why it should not be much larger in

investment in Bangladesh, and a

much more mutually beneficial

relationship between the two neigh-

bours, it is necessary for the two

sides to engage in some creative

thinking, starting with the signing of

growth rate of close to 7 percent

whilst in the case of Bangladesh, we

have been averaging 5 to 5.5 per-

However, to promote more Indian

scale than it has been till date.

In conclusion, therefore, while

policy, are quite insignificant.

rational explanation for this



LATE S. M. AL

DHAKA SUNDAY JUNE 5, 2005

## Haemorrhage on roads

### Action plan needed to stop it

T is a matter of great concern that road accidents account for loss of Tk 4,000 crore a year which is equal to two percent of the GDP. The social cost is also very high with over 10,000 people dying every year, let alone numerous others being crippled, leaving their families in dire straits. The situation has indeed become critical

The accidents are usually caused by serious lapses at different levels. Faulty and worn out vehicles which should have been ordered off the streets a long ago are operating on dubiously procured fitness certificates. To top it off, a very large number of drivers are using fake licence with a vast majority of them being conductorsturned-drivers. Little more than novices, they are temperamentally unfit as well to take charge of public safety on the road. Traffic rules of every kind are being violated by the drivers. This is particularly true about the menace called mini-bus operating in the city. The situation is even worse on the highways in the absence of police patrol.

Now, all these violations of traffic rules which greatly endanger lives of citizens have to be dealt with according to the law. But, incredible though it may sound, no killer driver has been punished in the last 12 years. The cases were closed even after the accused had been charge-sheeted. The cases are usually resolved through compromise between the parties which many people suspect are tainted by underhand deals, with the police often playing the role of highly interested intermediary.

Punitive action against the killer would have had a deterring effect on accident. One more wholesome effect of punishment would have been to curb mob violence in the aftermath of an accident, which is actually contributing to lawlessness on the roads.

Another area where matters must improve is the way pedestrians use roads. Many of them seem to be unaware of their own safety needs lunging forward dangerously on to the roads. They must make it a point to use zebra crossings and over-bridges wherever they are.

All concerned must put their heads together and devise a comprehensive action plan to reduce incidence of road accidents substantially.

### Journalists under threat again

### It's the same old story

HE latest threat to be issued against journalists for merely doing their job comes as no surprise. In fact these kinds of threats have become so commonplace that they rarely even raise eyebrows now. It is only when we pause to consider the enormity of what is going on and the implications for the country that we realise just how serious these incidents are.

The story from Bogra has a familiar ring to it. Three local journalists quoted an upazila nirbahi officer (UNO) as saying that the word of the local MP was law to him, and that the former UNO had been transferred for not abiding by the MP's wishes.

# India-Bangladesh relations: The way forward

began its operations in Bangladesh. Many Indian companies are already ECENTLY, relations involved in the IT and RMG sectors, between India and Banglaamong others, in Bangladesh; a desh have hit a low patch. number of major buying houses in This stagnation in relations is due to Bangladesh are owned and opera variety of reasons -- border probated by Indians, as are some leadlems, the postponement of the ing RMG manufacturers and export-Saarc summit, as well as a general feeling on both sides that several

FAROOQ SOBHAN

important issues are not being given

the importance they deserve.

Among these issues, the most

important for India are some secu-

rity-related issues, which includes

arms trafficking, movement of

people, transit, and the tripartite gas

pipeline, whereas the most impor-

tant issues on the Bangladeshi side

are sharing of the waters of the joint

rivers and the river linking project,

trade, and a variety of border-

related concerns, including smug-

Now that the dates for the

delaved Saarc summit have been

finalized for November, and the

alina.

bilateral relations.

Mittal, Birla, and others.

It is perhaps an opportune time to consider the way forward. It is very important that both sides understand and appreciate the fact that they can both benefit enormously from improved relations, as well as by taking advantage of the many

the Indian market for all goods, including RMG. On the other hand, Indian goods would be given dutyfree access to the Bangladeshi market over a period of time, possibly eight or more years. Already, nearly 2 billion dollars worth of Indian goods are smuggled into Bangladesh annually, in addition to the 1.5 billion dollars worth of goods that enter the country legally. The Bangladesh market is already flooded with Indian goods, many of which enter the country on a dutyfree basis, since they are smuggled across the border. The bilateral FTA

gration of their transport and communication networks. This constitutes a fundamental prerequisite of regional integration, and it would be almost suicidal for Bangladesh to exclude itself from the process of transport integration that is already taking place in the region. Bangladesh's biggest strength has always been its geographical location, since we connect South Asia to South-East Asia, For this reason, it is also crucial to develop Chittagong port, which, studies have shown, has the potential to serve as a regional port for not only Banglatime to time, can be assisted by the secretaries of the concerned ministries, such as Home, Commerce, Water, Energy, Communications,

etc. In addition to meetings of the special envoys, it is important that regular meetings take place between the prime ministers of the two countries. These meeting should be short functional meetings free of any ceremonial trappings and with a minimum of protocol. In order to achieve tangible progress. the two prime ministers should try and meet every six months. Such

To promote more Indian investment in Bangladesh, and a much more mutually beneficial relationship between the two neighbours, it is necessary for the two sides to engage in some creative thinking, starting with the signing of a bilateral FTA. If Indo-Bangladesh cooperation can make serious headway, the growth rate for both countries could exceed 8 percent.

meeting of the Foreign Secretaries opportunities that will arise out of of India and Bangladesh has been India's economic expansion and the set for the second half of June. it is surge in Indian investment in the expected that efforts will be made region as a whole. It is thus very on both sides to try and improve much in Bangladesh's interest to take a hard look at concluding a There have been other positive bilateral Free Trade Agreement developments as well, most notably (FTA) with India. The Indians have the progress in the Tata Group's already proposed such an FTA, and discussions with the government of have indicated that they are willing Bangladesh on their \$2.5 billion to be both generous and flexible investment in Bangladesh in three regarding the terms of the FTA. The FTA between Bangladesh and India different plants: steel, fertilizer and could be based on the Indo-Sri power, respectively. Exploratory talks are also underway with the Lankan FTA, but given Banglagroup regarding a coal mining desh's LDC status, India could very concession. In any event, the \$2.5 well extend more concessions to billion investment is the largest by a Bangladesh, similar to those given foreign investor. If the Tata investto Nepal. There exists empirical ment materializes, this will undoubtdata to show that the Indo-Lanka edly influence more Indian firms to FTA has had a major impact in invest in our country. There has expanding Sri Lanka's exports into already been a flurry of interest on India, and has also resulted in a very the part of other large groups in sizeable increase in Indian invest-India, such as Essar, Reliance, ments in Sri Lanka. There is no reason why we should not see In the meantime, other Indian similar results here in Bangladesh.

investments in Bangladesh are What is important, however, for already underway. Recently, a Bangladesh to appreciate and state-of-the-art modern hospital understand at both the government was opened in Dhaka. in collaboraand private sector levels, is that a tion with India's Apollo Group. bilateral FTA with India would mean Earlier, an Indian pharmaceutical that Bangladeshi firms would be company, Sun Pharmaceuticals, given immediate duty-free access to

would give Bangladesh the opportunity to gain something in return. The bilateral FTA would also encourage Indian investments in Bangladesh, on a much larger scale than has taken place so far.

It is also vital for Bangladesh to take advantage of the enormous growth and expansion that has been occurring in the Asean region and in China, by linking up our transport and communication system to East and South-East Asia. The easiest and most practical way of doing so will be to link up with the old Asian highway route through Tamabil. Since the roads are already in place, the route can become operational in months. This may be a wiser alternative than waiting for an indefinite period of time for the completion of the Chittagong-Yangon direct route. It is envisaged that, in the near future, once transport links are well established, there will be both road and rail links between Europe and Asia, as well as between all the countries of Asia. Bangladesh cannot afford to exclude itself from this network.

The key to the integration of Europe, as well as of the growth of economies in both Europe and South America has been the inte-

desh, but also Nepal, Bhutan, and North-East India The key to building a relationship

based on mutual trust and benefit will be the willingness of both sides to sit down across the table and discuss each and every problem with a view to arriving at a win-win solution. This will also allow for trade-offs and practical solutions to some of the existing irritants in the bilateral relationship

A special effort should be made to focus on those subjects where an early solution can be worked out. In the case of some of the long festering problems, interim solutions can be worked out.

What will be of critical importance in building a more durable relationship will be the willingness of both sides to engage each other in a sustained dialogue. Perhaps consideration can be given by both sides to nominating a special envoy, with ministerial status who will periodically report back to their respective prime ministers about the progress work. The special envoys will engage in a sustained dialogue, if necessary, lasting several days every month, so that each and every issue is discussed in detail. The special envoys, from

should engage in some confidencebuilding measures. Central to these efforts will be to avoid provocative statements being made by senior politicians on each side. The media on both sides should also be encouraged to engage in more objective reporting and to check their facts. In order to encourage such reporting, both sides should relax the existing restrictions on the movement of journalists, so that journalists from both sides can visit each other's countries and do some

materialize in the near future.

people-to-people contacts at all levels; as we all know, this was a critical factor in the improvement of Indo-Pak relations. Ironically, precisely at a time when the Indo-Pak honeymoon is in progress, Indo-Bangladesh relations have hit rock

meetings can be half-day meeting.

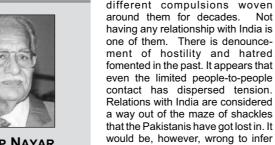
In the meanwhile, the two sides

interviews and on-the-spot reportng. The recent suggestion made by the chairman of the Bangladesh Parliamentary Foreign Affairs a bilateral FTA. India today enjoys a Committee for an exchange of visits of parliamentarians on both sides is an excellent idea, and hopefully such an exchange of visits can cent. If Indo-Bangladesh coopera-

tion can make serious headway, the It is also important to encourage growth rate for both countries could

exceed 8 percent. Farooq Sobhan is President, Bangladesh Enterprise Institute and former Foreign Secretary.

# **Too many roadblocks**



KULDIP NAYAR writes from New Delhi

was in Lahore at a dinner when a late-arriving quest broke the news that New Delhi had told the at leaders not to travel beyond Azad Kashmir territory because, in doing so, they would violate an Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has assured that he would pursue Pakistan's new line understanding between India and vigorously. But he may not be able to defeat the hardliners, led by Foreign Minister Pakistan. The understanding on the Natwar Singh. After the offer of soft borders in Kashmir, New Delhi should have resumption of bus travel between Srinagar and Muzzaffarabad was responded positively. India should have at least opened new avenues in the field of that the passengers from the state people-to-people contact. of Jammu and Kashmir would visit only Azad Kashmir and the ones coming from Azad Kashmir, Jammu opposed to India has been demoland Kashmir alone. ished. Still some quarters believe Notwithstanding the understandthat in a neighbour they have a ing, the reaction of the quests at the country ridden by Hindu chauvindinner was that of disappointment. ism. But the desire to make up with One harsh remark was that the India is wide. People are keen to "Hindu over-cleverness," resented concretise the confidence building before partition, had come to the measures (CBMs) quickly so that surface again. It was apparent that they can travel to India freely and the guests, leaders in their own trade with it. profession, anxiously awaited a Foreign Minister Khurshid rapprochement between the two Kasuri's threat that Pakistan could countries. They felt cheated when revive the UN resolutions on Kashthe normalcy was delayed. One mir showed how a collected person

General Pervez Musharraf's statement, which represents his government's stand, is that there exists a 'fleeting moment" which India should seize. That is the reason why he is talking about timeframe. Not that anyone in Pakistan has

worked out how to connect the three pointsNew Delhi, Islamabad, and . Srinagarbut most jump at India if they see "a reverse in the peace process." New Delhi's warning to that the lobby which is firmly the Hurrivat leaders not to travel

Pakistan was not on the cards. Their visit was important for him. Hence, his government came down like a ton of bricks, when New Delhi was seen to be restricting the Hurriyat tо eaders Azad Kashmir.

New Delhi's stand was nonetheless churlish. It might be technically right. But it looked an impediment in the way of peace process. The heavens would not have fallen if India had kept quiet. Should it

BETWEEN THE LINES

what the organisation has been doing for many years. What they really stand for and have the consensus behind is yet to emerge

The attitude of Syed Ali Shah Geelani has already shown how deep is the cleavage among the Hurrivat leaders. He has refused to go to Pakistan because he has realised that his stand of Kashmir's integration with that country is not what even Islamabad supports.

pursue Pakistan's new line vigor ously. But he may not be able to defeat the hardliners. led by Foreign Minister Natwar Singh. After the offer of soft borders in Kashmir, New Delhi should have responded positively. India should have at least opened new avenues in the field of peopleto-people contact. The Pakistanis have hordes of complaints on the visa facilities

Intelligence agencies reign here supreme. A hotel attendant asked me how could a Pakistani visit India if he had no relative there or no organisation to invite him. New Delhi's explanation is that it follows Islamabad's example. The anti-Pakistan bureau crats at New Delhi have played into the hands of Islamabad. A free democratic polity like India should have allowed the Pakistanis easy access because its selling point is its openness. Islamabad has seen to it that New Delhi remains as niggardly in its approach as Pakistan is.

different compulsions woven around them for decades. Not having any relationship with India is one of them. There is denouncement of hostility and hatred fomented in the past. It appears that even the limited people-to-people contact has dispersed tension.

On publication of this quote, the UNO has reportedly become incensed, and at a programme attended by ruling party leaders he termed the reporters as "enemies" and threatened to "beat them up publicly within a month."

It is possible that the officer came under pressure from the local ruling party leader, and that his strong statement in their presence was intended to protect himself. However, these possibilities do not excuse the action. Even if the officer has been misquoted there was no need to resort to intimidation. He could deny the statement and seek a retraction from the publications involved.

Nor is the fact that the statement might have got him in hot water any excuse. Sometimes officers such as him face pressure from local politicos, but it is never acceptable to threaten violence in order to protect oneself.

In any case, the threatening words of the UNO put fetters on the professional discharge of journalistic responsibilities, apart from presaging physical assault on them. The incident, therefore, calls for a probe followed by corrective action.

On the whole the incident underscores the travails of journalists in Bangladesh today.

asked me rather ruefully: How long like him could lose his cool and point would it take for something concrete a finger at India's "obduracy." He, like the majority in Pakistan, feels This sort of remark is typical of that progress towards normalcy is the exasperated majority in Pakislow and that the present is the best stan. They want to break the web of time to find a solution. President

outside Azad Kashmir was seen from that point of view. People in Pakistan, however belatedly, are beginning to face the reality that Kashmir would not be part of their country. The ruling establishment that has sold the idea since independence does not want to touch the same chord again. It may well use the Hurrivat leaders' visit to serve the purpose.

I recall Musharraf telling me at Islamabad a few months ago that he wanted the Hurrivat leaders to travel in the first bus from Srinagar so that "we can give them a rousing reception." What he probably had in mind been to utilise the Hurriyat leaders visit to let his people know from them that Kashmir's integration with

always be seen under pressure of the BJP which raised the question of passports and visas? These days when a teleconference can take place anywhere with any personality, how does it matter if he or she is actually present?

In fact, it was in India's interest to let the Hurrivat leaders travel throughout Pakistan and face peoples' questions. A leader like Yasin Malik may raise the demand for Kashmir's independence. But this is one thing to which the Pakistan establishment is vehemently opposed. What the Hurrivat leaders stand for will come out to the fore. The opposition to the status quo in Kashmir is easy to pursue. This is

The major part of Hurriyat has become more distant from Geelani. The division in the Hurrivat may damage the purpose for which Islamabad has undertaken the exercise. Religious parties in Pakistan are on the side of Geelani. Musharraf cannot ride the roughshod because they are also his best bet in Pakistan.

New Delhi remains clueless. It has no roadmap except to sustain the status quo. It might have followed Musharraf's changed stand of "self governance" in Kashmir in place of autonomy, but it does not know whether it is a trap to entangle India. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has assured that he would

EDITOR TO THE EDITOR TO THE EDITOR

To give at least one example that we are different, Jinnah's house in Mumbai could be handed over to Pakistan to open a visa office. Strange, Natwar Singh as deputy foreign minister communicates to Islamabad in writing that India would give Jinnah's house to Pakistan for the residence of its deputy high commissioner. The same Natwar Singh says 'no' to a similar proposition when he is foreign minister.

Gestures move nations as much as individuals. Too bad such things have come to be sacrificed at the altar of false prestige.

Kuldip Nayar is an eminent Indian columnist.

# TO THE EDITOR TO THE EDITOR TO THE

Letters will only be considered if they carry the writer's full name, address and telephone number (if any). The identity of the writers will be protected. Letters must be limited to 300 words. All letters will be subject to editing.

### "The Apprentice"

Reality TV is the new genre of programmes that features "real" people in "real" circumstances. Those offended by reality TV claim that such programmes rely on invasions of privacy by placing ordinary people in increasingly extreme situations for the sake of ratings. They argue that such programmes manipulate contestants, expose impressionable young audiences to distorted values and too often rely on a formula in which humiliation and voyeurism are the key ingredients.

One popular show is The Apprentice. Thursday nights are guite interesting as we see a well-known real-estate tycoon: Donald Trump put 15 contestants through a 15week ordeal of different competitions. And also to find out who has the most pizzazz, intelligence,

street smarts and most important, the cut throat mentality to survive to the end as each contestant aims to have the other fired at the end of each show. The prize after the

gruelling 15 weeks of being sepa rated from family, friends and even their jobs is the opportunity to become an executive in one of Mr. Trump's many enterprises Now, this idea would have an even greater impact in Bangladesh. In a country where unemployment is

high and finding that highly coveted executive position is very hard and requires not only hard work, and stellar education but also very good contacts. Many a time a muchdeserved person is ignored for the best-connected person. So why don't we have a reality TV show in Bangladesh where the top executive of a corporation offers a position. The contestants on the show will be chosen from a pool of appli-

cants who put in their resumes. Once they are chosen the rest of the country will see them compete Zeenat Z. Sved UPS eDeployment

o emerge?

#### A lesson for BNP

The loss to the AL-backed candidate in the mayoral election in Chittagong should be a good lesson for the ruling party. This election demonstrates that people are unlikely to vote for them in the upcoming national election to be held in 2006. They should be more aware of the need and demand of the people. They should address their down sides, people of the land just want to survive with two square meals a day. The price hike has been a major problem since they came to power. The business sector is facing a critical problem both at home and abroad

They have failed to fulfil the commitment they made before the last elections. Thousands of educated people remain unemployed and the law and order situation is bad. Md. Kabir Hossain Shabujbug, Basabo, Dhaka

### Political approach

The two major political parties are not on the right track in their approaches to political problems facing the vast society. The approach to solving political problems and finding solutions is being dictated on party lines (leadership visions are narrow and ad hoc).

How the party should decide on a new policy? Not on its own survival, right or wrong, but what is good for the vast majority of citizens, who are not actively and directly involved in politics.

Why the politicians disturb oth-

ers? This is not the norm in any profession. Some say politics is an avocation, while others cvnically remark that now it has become a nasty and profitable business, without public interest. Nonpoliticians with money are encouraged to join politics, for quick investment returns. Why political shares are not sold in the stock exchange? The other guirk is the hankering for virtual leadership-not to serve

people (there are too many examples to jot down here). The factories in the public sector have failed due to political patronisation of the trade/labour unions: and the higher educational institutions have been poisoned with political arsenic. Why not ban political poly-bags?

One of the problems is party ego. Then why political leaders change floors? In the under-developed countries, the approach is too traditional and conservative, based

on self-security. Watch how power and positions are misused; and the lust for office-leadership. Note how decentralisation of power (to the districts and rural areas) is being sabotaged, year after year. The Savar RMG factory collapse is an example of weak foundation and weak structures--it reflects the inside story of our politics. More structural collapses are coming, including tsunami in politics!

The other parties' manifestos are never good enough! Any hate campaign is bound to return to the originator, as per timeless mystic laws. The official party goal is not to live untidily. That is why we see the society divided today into different camps; and almost ALL sectors are victims of political pressures. The professionals and the middle class have receded into the background, and money, riches, and acts of terrorism have

past examples in Dhaka

There are modular solutions for a healthy integrated picture: reduce the systems losses inside the prevailing political culture. Some random, but healthy exercises are missing. The spirit of sacrifice (and self-suffering) has evaporated (spirits do evaporate!).

Parliamentary practice is not popular. There is a hankering for fast politics, like fast food, creating fast problems and fast tempers!

The virtues of patience and tolerance are under-nourished: as suitable gardeners are not available. Vegetarian politics, or meaty morsels? Take your choice, before outsiders take over (once again)! The latter culture is still in vogue in many parts of the globe. AAbad

Dhaka

invaded politics. (misplaced) activists of particular

Now religion has entered into the mess, dominated by the heart (faith), in contrast to rationality in politics, ruled by the head. The head and the heart have to be separated for the politics (and policies) to survive in black and white (in writing), in contrast to colourful panoramas depicted by the passionate

clans (tribalism rituals). Which comes first: the survival of the country (society), or that of the particular party? The majority of the voters is ignored, or has no say, as most of the political field works and activation are conducted by the student and labour unions, and confined to the urban areas. Hence a vast communication gap is created, which is widening day by day, for the last three decades. Even today, the very survival of politics is at stake, as we have witnessed in