

Anti-corruption effort: Some suggestions

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ALL logical actions can be just but all just actions may not be logical. In general it is expected to be kind to any living being but it is illogical to be kind to criminals. In a battlefield scenario a theater commander may place himself in the forward defended locality (FDL) and participate like any other soldier or position himself in the command post reasonably behind FDL. Either approach is just but the difference lies in the logical substance. The commander may enhance the morale of the troops by placing himself at FDL thereby increasing the bayonet strength, thickening up the defense and thus making his decisions look just. On the contrary the fundamental job of a commander is to apply his forces in the battlefield considering the principles of war, taking into account all the factors in detail and then formulate a plan to ensure victory with minimum loss. This is an aspect a commander will definitely be deprived of once he remains busy at FDL shooting down advancing enemy soldiers. That is why the presence of the commander at the command post is 200 times vital to tackle the fluid battlefield situation than remaining at the FDL.

If the Anti Corruption Commission (ACC) is considered the command post and the corrupt mindset of the people as the enemy facing own FDL then the task of ACC Chairman is far more difficult than a battlefield commander. A field commander sites his command post in a manner that is not interfered by enemy ground units or air attack; even from enemy agents in place. That way ACC Chairman has no choice; if corrupt mindset is the enemy, he might have lots of enemy

agents already in place inside his command post. We have full confidence in the ability of the ACC Chairman and we expect him to select the logically correct measures to destroy our age-old enemy corruption. We do not expect only the just measures but also measures taken in a logical manner. To classify an action taken as logical or not, a leader only has to look at the reaction of the people. If an efficient and accurate reaction gauge could be developed then the task of ACC would be easier.

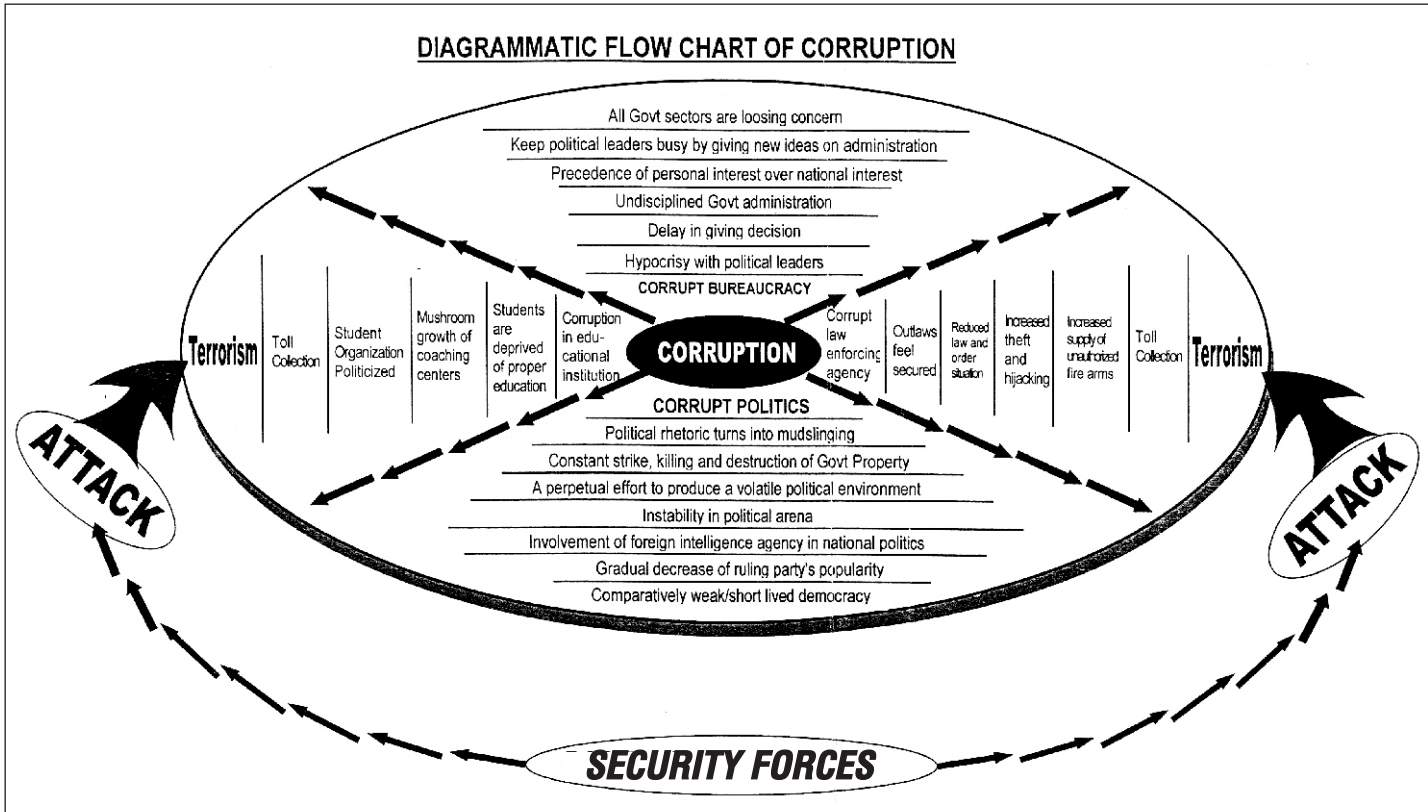
The task of a conventional war commander is far easier than what our ACC Chairman is shouldering. In this scenario both the target (corrupt mindset) and the firepower (psychological warfare competency) are intangible. Our nation is on a war footing, a war against the foundation of corruption and dishonesty. Since our liberation, it is probably the first time we got such an opportunity. We did not lose the battle in '71 and we don't want to lose this time either. Regarding the corrupt environment we have the chicken and egg situation. Whether corrupt people created the corrupt environment or the corrupt environment gave birth to corrupt people is a mind-boggling question. Whatever it is, we are passing through a time when the honest lot will get together and guide the country towards an honest path. We dare not foresee the future should we fail this time to get the country rolling in the right direction. If the corrupt tycoons come out of jail this time, the backbone of our society will be permanently severed. Particularly those who are trying to create an honest environment today will be in the telescopic targets tomorrow. We are indeed running out of time to start with a well orchestrated anti corruption campaign.

Domestic and foreign plunderers may jointly force the present government to transfer power to democratic hooligans to resume their onslaught as before, except this time with more ferocity and acrimony. Before the coming election, all political parties must submit their party constitution to the Election Commission for a basic evaluation of democratic principle. If a party constitution does not promote practice of democracy within itself, how can they offer democracy to the common mass? Let the people decide whose idea of democracy suits their need. We need to break away from hereditary party bias or hereditary democracy; which may sound utopian for us but common in the developed societies. Massive circulation of party agenda should start a minimum of six months before the election; this will help the people choose the correct party. For any institution, government and non-government, autonomous or for a political party, a leader must have minimum three parameters to take the lead - honesty, sincerity and professionalism. Once a leader with those qualities is placed as head of any institution, the general mass will witness the positive changes. This is an aspect unmistakably understood by Mahatir Mohammad who, during his tenure as PM, practiced this philosophy religiously and the people of Malaysia joined the development spree of their motherland. Mahatir not only chose the right people for the right job, he also intelligently ensured freedom of action by providing sufficient power and authority to them. That kind of power and authority need to be bestowed upon ACC Chairman to ensure the effectiveness of anti corruption (AC) effort.

To get the people on an honest footing we need leadership with two distinct capabilities. One is personal

honesty and the other is capability of transforming the corrupt. Sole personal honesty is good but not good enough in creating an honest environment. The second capability of "turning the corrupt into honest" demands combination of three different gifted potentials - insight, foresight and wisdom. Falling short of any one will drastically hamper the AC effort. It is good that the present ACC chairman is probably bestowed with all the prerequisites mentioned above. The difficult task of traveling to every nook and cranny of the country indicates his sense of commitment. Besides, in his un-daunting task he needs to crystalize a point to the general mass that the organizations are for the society; an efficient teacher is no good if he does not teach sincerely in the class. An efficient doctor is no good if he does not treat a patient adequately at a public hospital.

Broadly, dishonesty can be characterized in three different categories: functional dishonesty, administrative dishonesty and financial dishonesty. Not doing a job as per the mandate of the institution but doing it only to satisfy the boss or out of self-interest is functional dishonesty. Failing to provide meals for the soldiers at the right time or dispensing punishment is more or less administrative dishonesty. Financial dishonesty is well known to all of us. It directly involves unscrupulous earning sources using vested or questionable authority. Though late, after 36 years we are addressing only the financial aspect of dishonesty. To deal with all types of dishonesty ACC also needs to be organized broadly in three different sectors. Those are: sectors dealing with active measures, passive measures and system development. In any anti-corruption initiative active measures and system development



are the involuntary steps, what generally remains absent is the systematic and scientific passive measures. Whereas well-orchestrated passive measures are the fundamental elements in creating a corruption free environment in any society.

Let us take a mathematical calculation to detect a fundamental weak area in our administration:

$W = F \times D$
 W = work or vested authority or mandate
 F = force / resources
 D = displacement (positive / negative)

For example, a diplomat is stationed in a foreign country to ensure

diplomatic or economic gain for the nation. At the end of his three-year tenure, with all the force/resources and diplomatic facilities if there is no displacement (positive / negative) for the country; then the result is:

$W = F \times 0$
OR
 $W = "0"$. (i.e. work done or achievement is "0". Can we afford it?)

We have also seen our poor workers are being sent back from a foreign country and our diplomats there are very much operational with all the facilities (F = force / resources); that way it is a negative displacement. Therefore the result is:

$W = F \times (-D)$
OR
 $W = - (FD)$

These results are counter-productive for the nation that demands immediate attention.

To understand the weak areas of our AC effort, we need to look at the examples that are available within our country. Since inception, the Rapid Action Battalion (RAB), as a new age law enforcement agency, has been making a visible success in subduing the unbridled toll-collectors and terrorists but failed to make a dent in eradicating the environment that breeds it. Who will convert these

felons into good citizens? And who will destroy their mentors? Corrupt people are the architect of corrupt environment and the toll collectors/terrorists are its product. The difference of value between AC and anti-terrorist campaign can easily be summarized looking at the flow chart appended herewith. Let a global message be sent that this time the people of Bangladesh is going to stand on their own feet, not play the role model of the topmost corrupt nation of the world.

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DR ABDUL RUFF COLACHAL

PRESIDENT George W. Bush greets Russian President Vladimir Putin at Walker's Point, the Bush family compound in Kennebunkport, Maine, but Putin not only refuses to oblige US missile plans, but also on granting independence to Kosovo in East Europe. Both Russia and USA have been on the loggerheads for quite some time on various tricky issues. The United States and Russia, however, remain far apart on the issue of Kosovo. The recent summit between Bush and Putin, as expected, yielded no tangible results.

The European Union plans to withdraw the issue of Kosovo's final status from the United Nations Security Council within a few days if Russia does not accept a resolution, EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana said.

A recent plan by U.N. envoy Martti Ahtisaari calls for Kosovo's independence under international supervision. The Kosovo Albanians accepted the plan - albeit with reservations - while Serbia rejected it outright. Serb officials say Kosovo has been and always will remain part of Serbia. Kosovo, where 90 percent of the 2 million people are ethnic Albanians, has been run by the United Nations since 1999,

when NATO bombs forced out Serbian troops that were killing and expelling Albanians in a two-year war with guerrillas. Technically, Kosovo - mostly populated by ethnic Albanians - is still a province of Serbia. But it has been under the administration of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since NATO drove Slobodan Milosevic's forces from the province in 1999.

The province's ethnic Albanian majority wants independence but its Serbian minority - and the government in Belgrade - opposes this. Russia has promised to represent the views of its ally, Serbia, at the UN

Clash over Kosovo

Security Council, where it holds the power to veto resolutions.

Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said the decision to put on hold plans to push through Kosovo's independence at the UN was an "important victory" for Belgrade and Moscow. However he insisted that Belgrade was still prepared to engage in discussions on the province's future.

Washington and Moscow have opposing views on the merits of the plan. The United States strongly supports Kosovo's independence. Russia is opposed to it and has threatened to use its veto if the proposal comes up for a U.N. Security Council vote. The issues dividing Washington and Moscow are deep and substantive, just as the Kosovo Police patrolling on the main bridge of the ethnically divided town of Mitrovica. At the recent summit meeting in Kennebunkport, Maine, U.S. President George Bush and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin discussed Kosovo, but no breakthroughs were announced. U.S. National Security Adviser Steven Hadley told reporters diplomats on both sides would continue talks on the subject.

"The Russians are genuinely opposed to granting independence to Kosovo and I think the Americans are persuaded that whether it would be our preferred course or not, if we don't [support independence for] the Kosovars, the citizens of Kosovo, or the government there will declare inde-

pendence on its own and will lose control of the situation," he noted. "And I think the Russians are deadly serious about preventing any outcome which the Serbs haven't accepted as a mutual compromise and there is no indication there is such a thing. So I think the Russians are prepared in the end, if it comes to that, to cast their veto." Legvold says a Russian veto could have dangerous consequences for the region.

The US and its European allies have put on hold plans for a UN Security Council resolution on Kosovo's future after encountering Russian opposition. French Ambassador Jean-Marc de la Sabliere said discussions would now be renewed outside the UN. Russia has vowed to veto a draft resolution that would give Kosovo "supervised independence" based on recommendations of a UN envoy. "If Russia vetoes it, and then Kosovo goes ahead and declares unilateral independence on the ground, and then you've got the United States which is probably going to recognize Kosovo independence, but the European Union will split, then you are going to have a major diplomatic event and you might have violence on the ground," he explained.

France's UN ambassador, Jean-Marc de la Sabliere, speaking on behalf of the sponsors, told reporters that it was difficult to guess what to do after four months of negotiations should the resolution be adopted. He said the sponsors would consult with their capitals. If Kosovo and Serbia were to reach an agreement, the

council could adopt a resolution endorsing it. Those who had influence on either party "had to push" for a solution. A review was not good enough and that the council would have to make a decision at the end of any negotiating period, not just discuss the issue. Experts say many governments are closely watching to see how the Kosovo situation will be resolved, hoping that it would not increase ethnic secessionist tendencies in their neighborhoods.

Russia's opposition to independence goes beyond standing by its Serb brethren. Moscow is worried about the legal precedent it would set in world politics. "If you have a Kosovo that becomes independent, you have now set a legal precedent for foreign intervention in states to justify and legalize secessionist movements," he added. "And Russia looks at Kosovo through Chechen eyes. And it very much sees the experience of Chechnya and other republics in its south. And so this is a legal precedent that we do not want to touch. And so I do not know how the West finesses this with Russia. It's not really the Serb issue at all, it's really the legal precedent that it sets and this is going to be a major sticking point."

Obviously Issues like Chechnya clamoring for independence for quite some time involving in two bloody wars between Russian forces and the Chechen guerrillas, has been bothering the Kremlin in agreeing to UN resolution for independence for Kosovo. Russian opposition to Kosovo becoming independent has got more

with Chechnya than its Slavic affinity. Nor would Kosovo become a serious threat to Russian security or economic interest if it becomes independent.

"The European Union plans to withdraw the issue of Kosovo's final status from the United Nations Security Council within a few days if Russia does not accept a resolution," EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana said. Solana said, "shuttle diplomacy between Belgrade and Pristina on supervised independence for the breakaway Serbian province would then be held under the authority of the so-called Contact Group on Kosovo, where Moscow does not hold a veto. Russia may have difficulties in getting its way clear on Kosovo, if the matter is decided under the aegis of the Contact Group."

A meeting of top diplomats from the Contact Group - consisting of the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Russia -- is expected to take place on July 25 in Berlin.

At the United Nations, Russia gave a definitive "no" on Monday to a European-U.S. draft resolution on Kosovo that would end a UN presence and put European representatives in charge of the Serbian province. Moscow's UN ambassador, Vitaly Churkin, said the text was a stealth move toward independence, despite its call for 120 days of further talks between Belgrade and Pristina. He said the resolution's chances of adoption were "zero." "Almost the entire text and maybe particularly the annexes are permeated with the

concept of the independence of Kosovo," Churkin said.

The friendly tone that characterized their warm ties in 2000 has become a matter of the past and Moscow has repeatedly warned USA and NATO against their European misadventure. Among the issues that set USA apart from Russia, Kosovo occupies very important place though it is equally explosive by nature offering opportunities for USA and Russia to fight over and again. Occasionally Kosovo is causing a nerve war between them, as USA and EU is trying to get Moscow endorsement for Kosovo's independence. Even personalized meetings between the two leaders have not resolved the crisis. Disarmament, nuclear shield and placement of shield in East Europe have caused serious erosion in the relationship between the former Cold war heroes. The Shield in Europe as proposed by the NATO has got angry protests from Russia in the form of suspension of its membership from CFE.

Kosovo will become free irrespective of Moscow's views on that, not only because independence is a noble cause of freedom loving nations, but more so because the USA and EU also support Kosovo's independence. Putin, who is known to be pursuing a policy of pragmatism both on domestic and external fronts, would finally reconcile to emerging reality!

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India-US nuclear deal

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IT is common knowledge that India, after the defeat in the brief war in 1962 with China, defines its security against China's military strength. When China became a nuclear power in 1964, India accelerated its move to match China's nuclear power and became a nuclear nation in 1974. Thereafter there was a voluntary moratorium until the Vajpayee right wing nationalist government resumed the nuclear military programme and conducted nuclear tests in 1998 to upgrade its nuclear warheads, matching China's.

One of the Vajpayee's Ministers, Ram Jethmalani wrote to Vajpayee before President Clinton's visit in 2000 to suggest a Mutual Defense Treaty. Substantial advantages, he argued, would flow to India if it were a part of what he called the Washington-London-Jerusalem-Tokyo axis.

In recent years, India's leaders have adopted another strategy. They have been able to impress the Bush administration that Indian democracy and social tolerance could have a moderating influence on the neighboring Muslim countries at a time of Islamic militancy.

In March 2005, the Bush administration announced that it sought "to help India become a major world power in the 21st century". It was an

unprecedented statement emanating from the US in respect of India's status. Not that they are natural allies, but because strategic interests coincide that provides the glue to make the two nations closer.

Everyone understands fully the implications of the statement of the Bush administration. It has not only military implications but also strategic importance for the US in making India a major world power.

In July 2005, President Bush received India's Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and followed up the deal.

Two years have elapsed to resolve certain tricky issues concerning Article 123 of the US legislation prior to concluding the deal. There were reservations of many politicians on both sides on the nuclear deal as it went against US policy of nuclear non-proliferation. In India, left-wing politicians and the scientific community raised objections on the condition built in the nuclear deal that prohibits India from conducting further nuclear tests. Some politicians of India saw it a derogation of sovereignty.

For some time both the US and India did not arrive at a mutually satisfied outcome. During the middle of July of this year, the President and the Prime Minister discussed the matter on telephone. On 27th of July, finally the US and India

adopted an agreement for the nuclear deal.

President Bush hailed the agreement and effusively described India "a vital world leader". The US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, called the agreement a "historic milestone".

The deal is reportedly subject to the approval of the US Congress and India's Parliament. Reports indicate that some of the US lawmakers have expressed reservations on the agreement on the question whether it is consistent with the US law.

What is the nuclear deal about?

The deal has largely three components: First, India's nuclear status, resulting from its open tests in May 1998, was accepted by the US, exports of nuclear fuel were cleared for civilian use and the remaining control on sensitive technology were lifted. Both nuclear fuel and sensitive technology would be available to India from the US, a rare and unique deal with a country that is not a party to the 1970 Non-nuclear Proliferation Treaty.

Second, in return India has to put up "walls" between its military and civilian nuclear installations and allow international inspections of some of its installations. It has to tighten its own controls on technology of possible military use. Originally, India was not allowed to continue testing and to reprocess

spent fuel.

Third, the deal has been struck in which the US is not to limit India as a nuclear power. The bottom line of the deal is that it allows India to continue nuclear testing and reprocessing spent fuel under IAEA, going one step further than a law adopted by the US Congress last December.

Why is the deal unique?

The right to reprocess the US-sourced nuclear fuel, given only to Japan and the European Union so far by the US, will be available to India as well. India reportedly has assured the US that reprocessing of fuel would be for peaceful purposes. It is a landmark agreement for India and it is no wonder that Indian scientists have expressed jubilation on the agreement.

The deal has another implication. While India gets nuclear fuel from the US (Australia seriously considering to sell uranium to India in future) for civilian nuclear installations, Indian authorities will be now able to devote the limited supplies of domestic uranium exclusively to warhead production.

Observers believe that the nuclear deal will provide India the fuel and cover to accelerate further its nuclear weapons programme. India has been able to conclude a nuclear deal that will certainly provide an edge on nuclear weapons over China and Pakistan.

Power game in the 21st century

Power game is as old as Socrates. Athens and Sparta went through several wars and ultimately Athens won. We had witnessed "great power game" between Russia and Britain during the 19th century and they realised that they could not defeat each other. So their boundaries stopped at Afghanistan. On the north was Russia and on the south was Britain.

There is no zero-sum in power game. One rises and the other falls. China's emergence poses threat to the US's supremacy in the Asia Pacific region. The US wants a "Deputy Sheriff" in this area to look after its interests. Japan cannot take the responsibility to contain China.

So India is naturally considered a counterweight to China's power. India has the natural resources, technology, size, population and geographical location, ideally suited to challenge China's power in Asia-Pacific. That is why the Bush administration wants to see India "a major world power" with sophisticated nuclear weapons.

Indo-US common interests

India has been able to come out of the straightjacket of the Cold War and has been taking a long-term view of its national interests. It was the former Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in tandem with

Manmohan Singh in 1991 who had launched economic reforms that provided impeccable cover for closer political and military ties with the US.

Economic reforms have a two-fold impact: First, it can provide India to pursue an ambitious foreign policy and secondly, India can spend money to strengthen its military power, matching China's.

India fully realizes that it cannot achieve its due role in the region and globally without American participation. Only American power can restrain Pakistan's adventurism and contain China's increasing influence in the region.

Bilateral ties are as important for the US as for India. India considers the nuclear deal is set to achieve its dominant role in the region and in global affairs. On the other hand the US considers China as strategic "competitor" and India can, to a great extent, restrain China from becoming a supreme power in the Asia-Pacific region.

Conclusion

Some political commentators believe that the US may consider China a strategic "partner" and set the world order of the 21st century not in confrontation, but in cooperation with China. China is neither a foe nor a friend of the US and it wants rightfully to establish its role in the global affairs together with



other powers.

The implications of the nuclear deal are not likely to be lost to China and Pakistan. There is a risk that an arms race may begin in Asia-Pacific region, with its inevitable disastrous

consequences.

The author is a former Bangladesh Ambassador to the UN, Geneva.