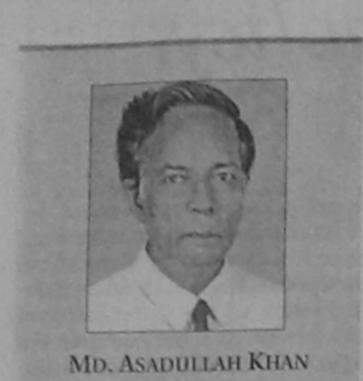
How about new deal for agriculture?



OR most of the urbanites, rural Bangladesh is that huge, heterogeneous part of the country that catches our attention only with the news of floods, droughts, cyclones and storms. It amazes us how much we know about villages where more than 100 million Bangladeshis live. The reasons for ignorance are obvious : more than 60 per cent of our villages are not connected by road and power supply to a vast number of villages is still a dream and telecom facilities are still non-existent in many.

Sadly true, even when the country is experiencing unprecedented shortage of food items caused now by repeated floods and devastating cyclones and compounded further by break down in production and supply side chain, neither the government nor corporate houses in the country seem to have shown any inclination to rush to villages in a bid to either establish or expand their businesses. But sensible citizenry are beginning to realise that rural Bangladesh is no longer unviable, there is opportunity for those who can smell.

Undeniably true, if the country has to grow fast, 70 per cent of the country's private consumption that comes from villages has to grow fast. Noticeably, in India big corporate houses like Mittal, Tata, Godrej Mahindra and Reliance and ITC have started rushing to the countryside and have made big headway in expanding rural business, especially agribusiness. The incentive is clear enough for a country where 70 per cent of the farming is still rainfed, that means a lot for farmers prosperity. Surprisingly, contrary to popular perception of dealing in dirty business, the ITC (once called the Imperial Tobacco Company, that even now is one-third owned by British tobacco giant BAT) has made a big thrust in rural India in expanding agri farming business in an effort to shed its image.

The irony is that farmers in our country buy everything at retail prices and sell their produce at production and sale go on a competitive edge, innovative methods are being brought into play in many developing countries. Taking

recently. This can be replicated here in Bangladesh like the one ITC in India has brought about by initiating a mass awakening in villages through formation of e-choupal.

for village square where elders meet to discuss matters of importance. The all-important letter in the whole word is "e" which stands for a computer with an internet connection for farmers to gather around and interact not just among themselves but with people anywhere in the country and even beyond. It

produce to cities and even taking to markets abroad, forming a two-way transaction channel between rural India and the rest of the world. But at the heart of such initiatives is the The Hindi word 'choupal' stands innovative use of information technology, which in all parts of the developed and developing world has helped companies ride over abysmal

infrastructure in the villages. But unhappily, the word 'information technology' till now in Bangladesh remains mostly unfamiliar and somewhat a dreaded device to be followed in the country-

business but they will also help farmers get prosperous. As I have seen during my visit to the rural places of Satkhira availability of electricity is still a dream but that has not deterred development efforts. 'Grameen Shakti', a solar business firm has spread the use of solar charged batteries in the houses in the rural areas and people in those places are using these facilities to lit up their homes and watch television. True an enlightened farmer with the knowledge of computer learning especially in the internet techniques could be a key

spoilage and lack of processing and preservation systems especially during the peak harvesting season. This calls for setting up of adequate number of agro-based industries which in turn would create job opportunities for a vast number of young men and women roaming the streets for job. Nobody can deny that these products would have an increasingly big market as it is evident from the fact that even our local markets sell canned fruit juice, jellies and sometimes canned fruits even. In an effort to establish these

spread the use of solar charged batteries in the houses in the rural areas and people in those places are using these facilities to lit up their homes and watch television. True an enlightened farmer with the knowledge of computer especially the internet techniques could be a key driver in bringing about rural push towards better living. This internet facilities be making a new

ecosystem in rural Bangladesh with

cheap, efficient two-way channels between villages, companies, NGOs and the government. What change the government or the companies intending to bring

farmers to get prosperous. As I have

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Shakti', a solar business firm has

about will to install solar powered computer with VSAT for internet, making crop specific websites available in Bangla language. During my visit to all such far flung areas I have seen people belonging to all ages, genders, even shrimp farm worker mobile phone using. Taking cue from what we have seen in these people, one feels any body moderately educated or simply literate can make use of such computers and internet facilities through a conductor or 'Sonchalok' who may have to be trained just for seven days. What they will learn from such internet facilities brought to their door steps are latest farm techniques, weather forecasts and expert advice on e-mail. They may have insights into development issues like water harvesting, on line land records health and education services. All these efforts will mean keeping people, namely the landless labourers and farm hands busy in their own areas by giving them an

opportunity to earn their living Rural people now see that efforts at planting, marketing and export of agro-based products like mangoes, pine apples, bananas, guavas, and lichis offer splendid prospects for themselves and the country. It is a common knowledge that large quantity of fresh fruits and vegetables are wasted every year owing to spoilage and lack of processing and preservation especially during the peak harvesting season. This calls for settingup adequate number of agrobased industries which in turn would create job opportunities for a vast number of young men and women. Nobody can deny that these products would have an increasingly big market as it is evident from the fact that even our local markets sell canned fruit juice, jellies and some-

times canned fruits even. In an effort to establish these agro-based industries what we need is to evolve appropriate technologies for clean and wholesome processing, preservation and canning This calls for participation of big businesses and entrepreneurs for mobilising funds to help these growth centres. Without diversification and extension of their activities far away from the city centres to the remotest places of the country, our economic future seems insecure.

Md. Asadullah Khan is a former teacher of physics

Fare thee well-people's ambassador!

AKM SHAMSUDDIN

UHUL Amin, the young and bright Rangladesh Ambassador to France, is no more (Innalillahe wa inna Ilaihe rajeun/peace be upon him!) He died, while in the service of his country, of a massive stroke in a Paris hospital. Amin joined the embassy in Paris in July, 2007 relinquishing his assignment as Ambassador to Bahrain, the first career diplomat in many years to Manama. It was in Bahrain that Ambassador Amin earned the fond title of the "People's Ambassador".

Immediately upon assuming charge in Paris, Ruhul fell in the middle of the 'situation' resulting out of a cultural exchange

agreement signed between the governments of Bangladesh and France under which some rare artifacts of Bangladesh were to be exhibited at the Guimet museum of Paris. Some cultural activists abused him publicly and one eminent lawyer also spoke in terms of legal actions, all because of his devotion to duty. As a government official he was merely carrying out the responsibilities bestowed on him. According to family sources, he had not been feeling very well lately and he was loosing weight. On the morning of Wednesday, as he was preparing to leave for office he confided in his wife that he was feeling sick to which she suggested to him to skip office but he disagreed. When she insisted, he told her that he had an important meeting at the French foreign ministry, a meeting that fate turned into his last assignment for his government and country.

As he was returning to the embassy with another colleague, Amin collapsed in the car at the Bangladesh embassy drive way. It was a massive stroke and the doctors declared him 'clinically dead' although they put him on life support system. After conducting series of tests doctors pronounced him dead a 9 am Paris time on Thursday. Ambassador Ruhul Amin was a people's man, and according to his expressed wish his vital organs would be preserved for transplantation to those who would need them. Thus, God willing, five lives would be saved. He continues to serve humanity even through his death.

A brilliant and able person, Ambassador Amin studied English literature at Jahangir Nagar University and joined the Bangladesh Foreign Service in 1984. He secured his first assignment in France, did his post graduate studies at the Sorbonne University. From Paris he moved to Brussels from where he was transferred to the UN headquarters in New York as the deputy to the permanent representative (PR) of Bangladesh to the UN. Ambassador Iftekhar A Chowdhury, current foreign affairs adviser, was then the PR. Adviser Chowdhury expressed deep shock at the death of Ruhul Amin, saying he was a brilliant and efficient officer.

Ruhul moved to Dhaka to become director general of the SAARC desk. It fell on him to coordinate the Dhaka SAARC summit held in 2005. Media watchers would remember the efficiency he displayed coordinating that event. Then he got his dream assignment, his first as Ambassador, to Bahrain. Before him, Bahrain was the destination for political appointees. Bangladeshi foreign exchange earners in Bahrain were unwelcome at the embassy. There was a small side gate at the back of the embassy for them as if it would be a shame if people saw these NRBs entering their country's mission through the main gate. Ruhul not only opened up the main gate for them, they could come and see any one at the embassy any time and without prior appointment. Manama newspapers published these welcome changes and called him the people's ambassador.

Amin was a brilliant officer, thoroughly honest, truly dedicated to his work, and put his country's interest on top of every thing else. How many examples do we have before us of anyone who, at the peril of his own life, would put his country first? I do not know of a superior under whom Ruhul worked not liking him. Now that he is no longer with us, I hope they will not forget his contributions and come out to help his widow and only child.

I knew Ruhul from his first assignment in Paris. At that time I was frequently traveling to Paris as the Bangladesh head of Rhone-Poulenc. Mr. Shahabuddin was the ambassador. At my request and at the recommendation of Ruhul, the ambassador kindly agreed that visitors from Rhone-Poulenc to Bangladesh would not require coming personally for Bangladesh visa. This small step made a huge difference and subsequently Rhone-Poulenc agreed to invest US\$7.5 million to upgrade the production plant in Tongi. Wherever Ruhul was posted, I visited him except in Manama and he was very unhappy about it.

Whoever needed help, Ruhul was there. The younger brother of a Bahrainminister was to visit Dhaka, he referred me and I facilitated the visit. The visit subsequently paved the way for a Manama delegation to visit Bangladesh. The father of a British lady fought the Second World War in the eastern theatre. Many of his fellow fighters were buried at the Mainamati war cemetery. Now an elderly person, he wanted to visit the cemetery and approached Ruhul for help. My wife and I were happy to host the gentleman and his daughter at our house again at the request of Amin, and facilitated his visit. So many such memories

come to mind that my eyes are getting misty. Ambassador Ruhul Amin was a good person and is survived by his wife, and a daughter who is a student at a Paris school. He had not left much but memory for them. How will they pull on, what will happen to the education of this brilliant teenager daughter of his?

I pray to God that Ruhul be given the reward he deserves and appeal to the government to recognise his services and take care of his survivors.

AKM Shamsuddin retired as CEO and country head of Rhone-Poulenc (now Sanoffi-Aventis).

It is a common knowledge that large quantity of fresh fruits and vegetables are wasted every year owing to spoilage and lack of processing and preservation especially during the peak harvesting season. This calls for setting up adequate number of agro-based industries which in turn would create job opportunities for a vast number of young men and women. This calls for participation of big businesses and entrepreneurs for mobilising funds to help these growth centres.

BITTER TRUTH

begins with ITC installing a com- side. With the government of the day puter with solar-charged batteries having a pro-rural policy and a clear for power and a VSAT internet connection in selected villages. A local ing the first trigger, companies farmer, with just a training of seven might tap the benefits of informadays, called 'Sanchalok'(conductor) operates the computer on ing export opportunities now availbehalf of the ITC, but exclusively for farmers. This e-choupal offers farmers and the village community five distinct services:

Information: Daily weather forecast, price of various crops, emails to farmers and ITC officials, news, -- all this in the local language and free of cost.

Knowledge: Farming methods specific to each crop, and region, soil testing, expert advice -- mostly sourced from agricultural universities -- all for free.

Purchase: Farmers can buy seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and a host of other products and services ranging from cycles and tractors to insurance policies. Encouraged by the success it has reaped in the meantime, over 35 companies have become partners in the e-choupal to sell their products through the network.

Sales: Farmers can sell their products to the ITC centres or the local market after checking the prices on the Net.

Development work: NGOs working for the cattle breed improvement and water harvesting, and women self-help groups are also reaching villages through e-choupal. In some states farmers can even access their land records on line, sitting in their villages. Access to health and educawholesale price. In an effort that tion services through e-choupal is

coming up. Undeniably the present government that have brought about many epoch making reforms in the couninstance from the neighbouring try, could instill such innovative India, we can transform our agricul- methods in farming that are geared ture in an effort that the country to maximise production to that does not remain an import-driven companies engaged in such one and can fight the vagaries of endeavours can transform the entire nature and can compensate the food chain -- from farm to firm to crop losses in the wake of a big fork. Most firms in many states of calamity like the one the coastal India are not only selling products to region of Bangladesh experienced farmers but are also bringing village

focus on villages, as well as providtion technology to meet the emergable at our doorsteps. The ITC agri-business story is

something that anybody at the beginning would not be inclined to believe. Knowing that he was almost asking for the moon, one Sivakumar, chief executive of ITC's agri-business approached Yogesh Chander Deveshwar, chairman of 12,000 crore ITC company in 2000 for Rs 50 lakh to test his idea among the soya farmers in Madhya Pradesh. Astounding it may sound, but Deveshwar granted him Rs10 crore. The rest, is history.

During my visit to Satkhira and its remotest places like Kaliganj, Shyamnagore, Harinagore, Vetkhali, and Naubeki, bordering the Sunderbans, I saw to my horror vast tracts of agricultural land being turned into shrimp farms by allowing saline water into the paddy lands from the nearest ebb-tide river. Satkhira, especially its southern part of Kaliganj, Assasuni and Shyamnagore once known as the granary of Khulna is now a food deficit area. The average yield of paddy per acre, if climatic conditions favour and irrigation water, fertilisers and pesticide are available in time is 45 maunds (15 tons) fetching Tk. 27000.00which is shared equally by the barga chasi and the owner of the land, where as the shrimp cultivation per acre annually yields about Tk 48,000.00 without the cost of labour and other inputs needed for paddy cultivation. So the biggest hindrance is the lack of incentive compounded invest in his productivity improvement. This is where private in vestment will make a big difference. By investing in the farmer's ability to grow more and grow better government and companies will not only get better product for their agri-

facilities will be making a new ecosystem in rural Bangladesh with cheap, efficient two-way channels between villages, companies, NGOs and the government. What the government or the companies intending to bring about change will be required to do is to install solar powered computer with VSAT for internet, making crop specific websites available in Bangla language. During my visit to all such far flung areas I have seen people belonging to all ages, all genders, even a shrimp farm worker having one mobile phone in his hand and amazingly conversant with diverse knowledge of cell phone use. These people while working either in hatcheries and fish farms continue to provide information to the owner and other business partners and buyers staying away from the production area. Taking cue from what we have seen in these people in recent time, one feels any body even if he is moderately educated or simply literate can make use of such computers an internet facilities through a conductor or 'Sonchalok' who may have to be trained just for 7 days. What they will learn from such internet facilities brought to their door steps are movies in the latest farm techniques, weather forecasts and expert advice on email. They may have insights into development issues like water

towards better living. This internet

save their families from starvation. Rural people now see that efforts further by the farmer's inability to at planting, marketing and export of agro-based products like mangoes, pine apples, bananas, guavas, and lichis offers splendid prospects for themselves and the country. It is a common knowledge that large quantity of fresh fruits and vegetables are wasted every year owing to

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driver in bringing about rural push agro-based industries what we need is to evolve appropriate technologies for clean and wholesome processing, preservation and canning This calls for participation of big businesses and entrepreneurs for mobilising funds to help these growth centres. Without diversification and extension of their activities far away from the city centres to the remotest places of the country, our economic future seems doomed. Keeping ourselves busy in blowing up the issue of poverty and income gaps without offering a realistic help would only provoke the sensitivity of the masses leading to tension and group feuds. Macro-economic stability would not last without creating such growth centres in the countryside.

Precisely told, the country needs to speed up its growth momentum in an wider section of people and that is the only option left to halt the migration of people to city areas. After all people want to stay in the area they have grown up provided all facilities including employment generation, basic needs of health and education are readily available there.

Shyamnagore once known as the granary of Khulna, is now a food deficit area. The average yield of paddy per acre, if climatic conditions favour and irrigation water, fertiliser and pesticide are available in time, is 45 maunds (15 tons) fetching Tk. 27,000.00which is shared equally by the share cropper and the owner of the land, whereas the shrimp cultivation per acre annually yields about Tk 48,000.00 without the cost of labour and other inputs needed for paddy cultivation. So the biggest hindrance is the lack of incentive compounded further by the farmer's inability to invest in his productivity improvement. This is where private in vest-

ment can make a big difference. By investing in the farmer's ability to grow more and grow better government and companies will not only get better product for their agri-business but they also help

and Controller of Examinations, BUET.

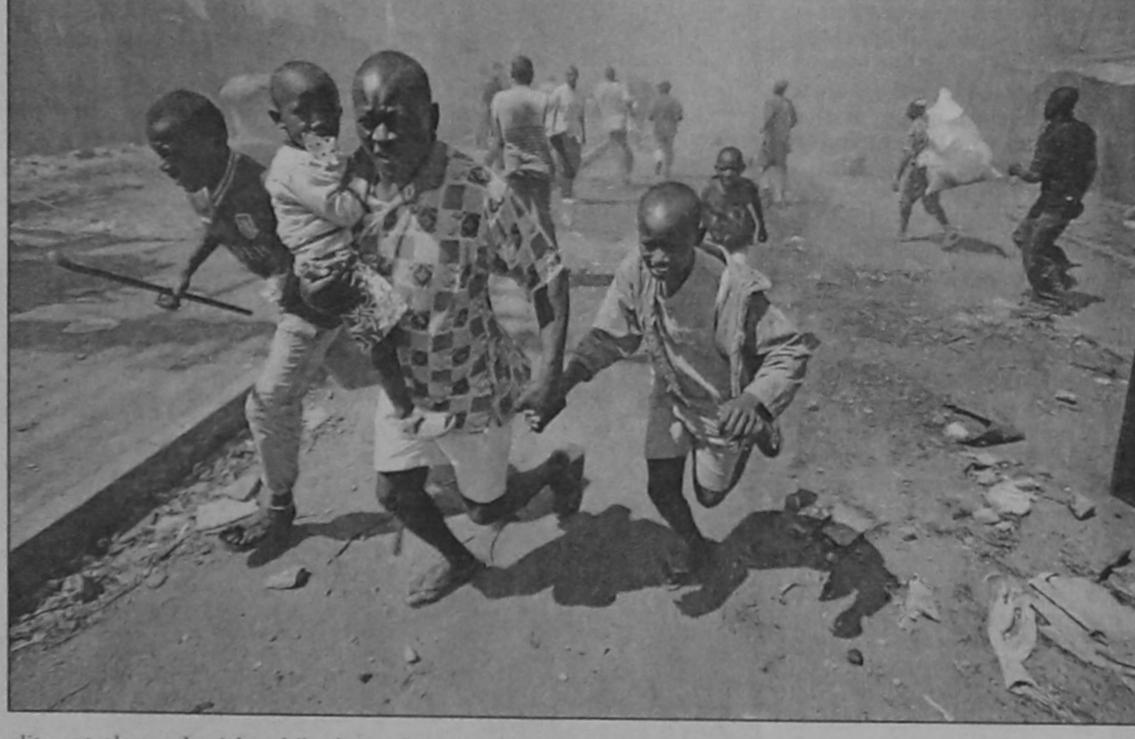
Something rotten in Kenya

CHARLES LARSON

HE current mayhem in Kenya is not only tribal but rooted in something equally insidious: greed. The country's largest ethnic group, the Kikuyu (23% of the population), have ruled the country since independence in 1963, when Jomo Kenyatta became president. The Mau Mau revolt, which brought about the end of white rule, was Kikuyu instigated, leading many Kikuyus to conclude that they would dominate the country's politics forever. Before the country's recent election and, indeed, when the returns were beginning to be counted, all indications were that President Mwai Kibaki (seeking a second term) would be defeated by Raila Odinga, a Luo, and that the political arena would no longer be under Kikuyu

International observers have stated that gross violations with ballot counting occurred when Kibaki's ruling party realized he was about to lose the election. The mere idea of a party change (too often along ethnic lines) has been anathema to most African leaders once they assume power, no matter whether there are term limits or not. Worse, powerful forces (the military and the police, as well as other party leaders) surrounding most African Africa, whether that is the head of leaders realise all too easily what will happen to their privileged lifestyles cians, businessmen with monopoif their man loses an election.

We have seen this scenario many times before but most recently in Uganda, where Yoweri Museveni tight mesh that the rest of the people Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe the African masses live no better rigged the last two elections; in today than they did before the end Nigeria, where Olusegun Obasanjo of colonialism. The enormity of was unable to change the term so that only his hand-picked candidate could win; and even in South Africa, where Thabo Mbeki is cur- African leaders learned their methrently doing everything possible to prevent his party's presumed successor, with whom he disagrees, from taking office. While Museveni say that in too much of Africa the caves in to the economic pressures he criticised President Kibaki's American University, Washington, D.C.



poor just barely get by.

state or the lesser Big Men (politisecurity forces) who do almost as well, cronies woven into such a

ods from the colonial powers. Longer at Ease" (1960), his sequel to Prize laureate, Wole Soyinka, has may be the most humane of the acter, Obi Okonkwo, returns home career as a writer -- excoriating in group, Mugabe has bankrupted his to Nigeria after earning a university country, leading to massive starva- degree in England. The time frame studies of the continent's failed tion of Zimbabweans and the exo- of the story is just before Nigeria's state African leaders and their dus of a quarter of the population. independence, and Obi, who gets a endless quests for power and prop-Western estimates of the theft of position in the Ministry of erty. These two Nigerian writers are Nigeria's oil assets by its leaders Education, is full of optimism -- not alone. Ironically, Ngugi wa nent's so-called leaders. down through the years come to 300 staunchly against corruption and Thiongo, Kenya's leading writer, billion dollars. It is not in accurate to tribalism. Yet it is not long before he spent two years in prison because

elite get obscenely rich, while the that engulf him. In the African predecessor, Daniel arap Moi, tradition, he is expected to help whose strangle hold on his country All of these machinations are tied economically not only the members was even worse than his succesinto the concept of the Big Man in of his extended family but also his sor's. villagers, who expect him (with his good salary) to assume the prerogatives of his British predecessors. lies and connections, those in the Obi takes one bribe and then another, and it isn't long before all of his early idealism has vanished.

In Achebe's much bleaker nonchanged the term limits; in are strangled. The vast majority of fiction treatise, "The Trouble with in his friend's driveway, he asks Nigeria" (1983), the author states how they were acquired. His more directly, "The Trouble with friend responds, "Ten percent." Nigeria is simply and squarely a Some years later, when the gov-African greed on the part of its failure of leadership The Nigerian ernmental minister from the limits but rigged an election process leaders is incomprehensible to most problem is the unwillingness or second country visits his friend Westerners. Nor can the issue be so inability of its leaders to rise to the who had visited him earlier, he easily simplified as to say that responsibility, to the challenge of notices dozens and dozens of personal example which are the luxury automobiles parked on his hallmarks of true leadership." In Chinua Achebe's novel, "No Achebe's countryman and Nobel the same question. How were they "Things Fall Apart," the main char- spent most of his nearly fifty-year' percent." plays, poems, fiction and critical

There's a story, perhaps apocry phal, that Western diplomats tell about their African counterparts. A cabinet member of an African country is visiting his counterpart in an adjacent country and, when he notices all the Mercedes parked counterpart's property, so he asks acquired? The response: "Fifty

The unrest in Kenya is not only due to tribalism -- a canker for too many African nations -- but, worse, about greed, a growth industry around the world that is carried out to perfection by many of the conti-

Charles R. Larson is Professor of Literature a

Failed state: Conceptual understanding and misunderstanding

SINHA MA SAYEED

HERE is no denying the fact that the concept of 'Failed State' has meanwhile drawn attention of all as one of the burning issues of the day and the matter has been fueled, fomented and intensified more acutely after the publication of the book 'Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy' written by the most authoritative American left intellectual Professor Noam Chomsky. In this book, he assertively branded America also as a foremost failed state from the point of view of the immediate past events and, in particular, the recent activities of the Bush administration and American domestic and foreign policy.

The declaration that a state has 'failed' is generally controversial since, when made authoritatively such assessment may carry significant geopolitical consequences. A state may be said to "succeed" if it maintains a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within its borders. When this is broken (e.g., through the dominant presence of warlords, militias, or terrorism), staking its very existence, state becomes a failed one to many. The difficulty of determining whether a government maintains a monopoly on the "legitimate" use of force (which includes the problems of defining "legitimate") means it is not clear precisely when a state may be

said to have "failed." The term "failed" is also used in the sense of a state that has been rendered ineffective (i.e., has nominal military/police control over its territory) and is not able to enforce its laws uniformly because of high crime rates, extreme political corruption, and extensive informal market, impenetrable bureaucracy, judicial ineffectiveness, military interference in politics, cultural situations in which traditional leaders wield more power than the state over certain areas or a number of other factors.

Crisis States Research Centre The Crisis States Research Centre

defines a "failed state" as a condition of "state collapse" -- e.g. a state that life-sustaining resources. can no longer perform its basic security and development functions and that has no effective control over its uprooting of large communities territory and borders. A failed state is because of random or targeted ruling elites, such as the security member, Newcastle Law Academy.

one that can no longer reproduce the violence and/or repression, causing conditions for its own existence. This term is often used in very contradictory ways (for instance, there is a tendency to label a "poorly performing" state as "failed" -- a tendency the Crisis States Research Centre rejects). The opposite of a "failed state" is an "enduring state" and the absolute dividing line 'between these two conditions is difficult to ascertain at the margins. Even in a failed state, some elements of enduring state, such as local state organizations,

might continue to exist. Foreign Policy magazine, 2005-2007

Since 2005, the United States thinktank, the Fund for Peace and the magazine Foreign Policy, publish an annual index called the Failed States Index. The list only assesses sovereign states (determined by membership in the United Nations). Several territories are excluded until their political status and UN membership are ratified in international law. For example: Taiwan, the Palestinian Territories, Northern Cyprus, Kosovo, and Western Sahara are not included recognized as sovereign states by some nations. Ranking is based on the

total scores of the 12 indicators.

Indicators of state vulnerability: The index's ranks are based on twelve indicators of state vulnerability -- four social, two economic and six political. The indicators are not designed to forecast when states may experience violence or collapse. Instead, they are meant to measure a state's vulnerability to collapse or conflict. Countries are categorized based on red, orange and yellow zones. Some in the yellow zone may be failing at a faster rate than those in the more dangerous orange or red zones, and therefore could experience violence sooner. Conversely, some in the red zone, orating slowly, giving them time to tions and processes. adopt mitigating strategies.

pressures including the pressures state functions that serve the people, 177 states in the list, of which 32 were deriving from high population density relative to food supply and other from terrorism and violence and to 33 as "moderate" and 15 as "sustain-

status. Also measured by groupbased poverty levels, infant mortality rates, education levels. Sharp and/or severe economic decline measured by a progressive

that can spiral into larger humanitar-

within and between countries.

ian and security problems, both

group grievance based on recent or

past injustices, which could date

back centuries, including atrocities

committed with impunity against

communal groups and/or specific

groups singled out by state authori-

ties, or by dominant groups, for

flight: Both the "brain drain" of

professionals, intellectuals and

political dissidents and voluntary

Economic indicators: Uneven

economic development along group

lines, determined by group-based

inequality, or perceived inequality, in

education, jobs, and economic

emigration of "the middle class."

Chronic and sustained human

persecution or repression.

Legacy of vengeance-seeking

debt, child mortality rates, poverty terms of communal irredentism or levels, business failures). A sudden of communal solidarity (e.g., "ethrevenue, foreign investment or debt faith"). payments. Collapse or devaluation of the national currency and a growth of hidden economies, including the drug trade, smuggling, and capital flight. Failure of the state to pay armies, states, identity groups or salaries of government employees entities that affect the internal baland armed forces or to meet other ance of power or resolution of the financial obligations to its citizens, conflict. Intervention by donors, such as pension payments.

Political indicators: Criminalisation and/or delegitimisation of the state: Endemic corruption or profiteering by ruling elites and resistance to transparency, accountability and political representhough critical, may exhibit some tation, including any widespread loss positive signs of recovery or be deteri- of popular confidence in state institu-

Social indicators: Demographic services: A disappearance of basic Index 2006" of the magazine included provide essential services, such as able". Massive movement of refugees and health, education, sanitation, public

forces, presidential staff, central food shortages, disease, lack of clean bank, diplomatic service, customs water, land competition, and turmoil and collection agencies.

Widespread violation of human rights: An emergence of authoritarian, dictatorial or military rule in which constitutional and democratic institutions and processes are suspended or manipulated. Outbreaks of politically inspired (as opposed to criminal) violence against innocent civilians. A rising number of political prisoners or dissidents who are denied due process consistent with international norms and practices.

Security apparatus as 'state within a state': An emergence of elite guards that operate with impunity. Emergence of state-sponsored or state-supported private militias that terrorize political opponents, suspected "enemies," or civilians seen to be sympathetic to the opposition. An "army within an army" that serves the interests of the dominant military or political clique.

Rise of factionalised elites: A fragmentation of ruling elites and state institutions along group lines. economic decline of the society as a Any use of nationalistic political in the list -- even though some are whole (using per capita income, GNP, rhetoric by ruling elites, often in drop in commodity prices, trade nic cleansing" or "defending the

> Intervention of other states or external factors: Military or paramilitary engagement in the internal affairs of the state at risk by outside especially if there is a tendency towards over-dependence on foreign aid or peacekeeping missions.

According to the "Failed States Index 2005" of magazine Foreign Policy, 2005 was the first year that the Fund for Peace published the list. 76 states were analyzed, of which 33 were classified as "alert" and 43 as "warning" (ratings beyond "warning" were Progressive deterioration of public not done year). The "Failed States including failure to protect citizens classified as "alert", 97as "warning",

internally displaced peoples: Forced transportation. Also using the state Sinha MA Sayeed is Senior fellow, Centre for apparatus for agencies that serve the Governance Studies, University of Dhaka, Faculty