ROLE OF GOVERNANCE IN COMBATING CORRUPTION

Mizanur Rahman Shelley

Introduction
Problems of governance and widespread corruption constitute a compelling challenge to the developing nations. Good governance lies at the heart of thriving democratic societies. Well-governed countries are usually able to control corruption effectively. Weak governance, on the other hand, creates favorable ground for the spread of corruption of all kinds, economic, political and social. It also generates grave threat to State and human security. People exploited by corruption at political and administrative levels tend to lose faith in the State itself. In such a situation a State is likely to descend into a "failing" or "failed" State. Consequently, external intervention and even aggression may threaten the very existence of the concerned State as a sovereign entity.

A World Bank document tersely observes, "Governance and corruption are not synonymous. Governance refers to the manner in which public officials and institutions acquire and exercise the authority to shape public policy and provide public goods and services. Corruption is one outcome of poor governance, involving the abuse of public office for private gain. Public office is abused when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe and when private agents give or offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. It is also abused through patronage and
nepotism, the theft of state assets, or the diversion of state revenues. Corruption can also take place among private sector parties, yet interface with and affect public sector performance."

The link between lax governance and corruption is manifested in all societies. In better-governed societies corruption spreads in areas where governance is relatively weak. In less developed and developing societies of our times governance is often unable to reach desirable levels of competence. In consequence, corruption is relatively more intense and extensive in these societies. Bangladesh is no exception. Inadequacy of political and administrative management has frequently led to greater spread of corruption in unstable and transitional societies such as Bangladesh.

UN Convention against Corruption: The Global Dimension

The nations of our times assembled in the United Nations (UN) organization correctly realized that "Corruption is no longer a local matter but a transnational phenomenon that affects all societies and economies." They also concluded that "International cooperation to prevent and control it" was essential. As a result of this realization, the United Nations Convention against Corruption was adopted in Merida, Mexico in December 2003.

The UN convention which has been ratified by Bangladesh's Caretaker government on the 27th February 2007 aptly focuses the link between good governance, democracy and prevention of corruption. The convention tersely observes, "illicit acquisition of personal wealth can be particularly damaging to democratic institutions, national

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1 Strengthening World Bank Group Engagement on Governance and Anti-corruption, March 21, 2007, p. i.
Governance in Combating Corruption

Governance

In recent times, governance has become an overworked term in the developing world. Governments, development partners, analysts and researchers of society, political leaders, administrators, businessmen, opinion-shapers and media persons use the term day in and day out. People at large are often confused as to what this much-used and frequently abused word means. Many wonder over the difference between government and governance.

One simple way of dispelling the dust and smoke surrounding the term may be to take recourse to good old dictionary. It defines governance plainly as "the art of governing". This activity, considered to be the heart of a politically organized society, has five distinct aspects: state building, nation building, economy building, participation and distribution.

All over the world today, especially in the developing countries, governance faces challenges created by the demands of increasing democratization, transition to or consolidation of open market economy, globalization and the fast march of Information and Communication Technology.

The various aspects of governance are significantly affected by the existing and evolving global, regional and national situations. The impact is more significant in the cases of developing nations. Thus, state building which involves economies and the rule of law." It also underscores that in order to prevent and control corruption, it is necessary to ensure "proper management of public affairs and public property, fairness, responsibility and equality before the law and to safeguard integrity and foster a culture of rejection of corruption." In order to achieve this, it is essential to interlink good governance with thriving and secure democracy.
strengthening various institutions of the state and government poses a great challenge for the political and administrative leaders of developing countries. The exercise encompasses enhancement of the capacities of the three traditional branches of the government: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. It also involves capacity building of the public administration sector and regulatory bodies. Another vital task is the strengthening of political institutions, particularly political parties.

The process of state building in developing countries is often weak and soft. The ruling elites in these nations usually have great difficulty in keeping pace with the changing global and national politico-economic scenario. The twin massive waves of pluralist, multi-party democracy and open market economy are enhancing the roles of the private and non-government organizations and groups and associations. In economy, the private sector is also steadily enhancing and expanding its role. In business, trade, commerce and industry, the private sector is fast emerging as a major, if not, a dominant partner of the government. Under these circumstances, good governance requires a recasting of the role of the government. It needs to reduce government but not governance. Government has to mainly play the role of facilitator and encourager and progressively reduce its traditional role of mere controller or regulator.

The rulers of developing nations often find this a tall order. On account of long standing political and economic problems, change occurring in most developing countries is frequently decadent rather than progressive. In many cases the concerned societies fall victim to what Samuel P. Huntington called 'Praetorianism.' Such societies confront complicated challenges in nation building. These are featured by uninstitutionalized nationalism and weakly organized, often dictatorial, political parties. These are also characterized by
inadequate economy building, dependence on foreign aid, problems of globalization and uneven competition.

Participation is still inadequate and the election process is under pressure and threat from undisciplined and violent political forces, which take advantage of weak State-Institutions, e.g. the legislature, the executive including civil service and the judiciary. Access to public office and policymaking is also uninstitutionalized and inadequate. Distribution suffers from problems of slow and insufficient economic growth and lack of coping institutional structures to ensure equity and justice in distribution. The process is further hampered by intense and widespread corruption at the political, administrative and business levels. As a result of corruption, the few who are mighty and rich amass wealth while the numerous poor and deprived suffer from continuing poverty, misery and squalor. Good Governance is essential to rectify this situation of socio-political and economic pathology.

Sound Public Administration and Good Governance

The new emerging concept of good governance stresses centrality of people. It is concerned with basic needs and elimination of poverty and "also human dignity, security and a feeling of belonging." Recent virtual disintegration of some societies, especially in the South occurred because of lack of good governance, which builds bridges between the society and the state. "For the individuals the state is like a house but society is the home." "The challenge is how to maintain pluralistic democracies without a descent into social


3 Ibid.
disintegration.\textsuperscript{4} Good governance, however, is more than sound public administration. It is a process dedicated to the achievement of three great objectives of human kind formulated in the Social Development Summit in Copenhagen during March 1995:

- Alleviation of Poverty,
- Generation of Productive Employment,
- Social Integration.

In post-Cold War world, good governance needs to address the demands of pluralistic, participatory democracy and open market economy in a globalizing context. An effective and people oriented system of administration is a must for good governance. Building such a system is a challenge for all actors. This requires consensus and teamwork. It also needs redefinition of the government's role. The task before the leaders of society is "to help develop capable and accountable state-institutions that can devise and implement sound policies, provide public services, set the rules of governing markets, and combat corruption, thereby helping to reduce poverty. The behavior of the state, and of other key stakeholders such as the private and financial sectors, shapes the quality of governance and impacts development outcomes. Excessive regulation, for instance, increases the cost of doing business and often provides opportunities for corruption. By contrast, reforms that clarify the role of the state, reduce excessive regulatory burden, and promote competition and can result in stronger firms, more jobs, and better public services."\textsuperscript{5} Thus, governance reform and effective anticorruption measures are essential for building and sustaining a thriving society.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{5} op.cit. p. ii.
Corruption, Politics, Governance and Challenged Democracy

Corruption has been a feature of life in all societies since time immemorial. Polities in ancient Greece, Rome, the South Asian Sub-Continent, Europe and America have experienced varying degrees of corruption during different times of their history.

In developing and less developed countries like Bangladesh, corruption in public life, civil administration, business and industry, education, public works and health services and public utilities has become an intense and extensive problem eating into the vitals of the societies concerned.

In Bangladesh, over the years corruption became so rife and economically counter productive that the World Bank Strategy Paper for the meeting of the Development Partners of Bangladesh in Paris in 2000, stated that if corruption could be controlled, the GDP growth rate of the country's economy could increase by 2.9% and the per capita income of US$365 could be doubled.

Corruption is not only a stumbling block to the achievement of economic development and national prosperity; it is also a great barrier on the way of realization of good governance and true democracy.

The twin waves of pluralistic democracy and open market economy that has been sweeping the world since the early 1990s make exacting demands on the political and economic leaders of nations in transition to democracy and free market economy. Both the systems, contrary to mistaken perceptions, are most rigidly disciplined ones. Both need to follow strict rules of the game. Deviation and corruption rob these systems of their very essence. Corrupt democracies and open markets are not worth their names. In order to be a true and vibrant democracy a polity requires to disciplining itself through
effective governance so that corruption is controlled and reduced to the minimum.

The Roots of Corruption

The reasons why corruption becomes entrenched and extensive in a particular society are complex and varied. These relate to erosion of moral and social values on account of economic, political and social changes denoting both decay and development. For such societies in transition one world is dead and the other is yet to be born.

Corruption is a manifestation of pervasive social pathology. Since human society is an organic whole where the parts are integrated and interdependent like those of a clock, degeneration in one leads, usually, to degeneration in others. Corruption in one segment of the society often causes the spread of corruption in other segments.

Corruption grows fast and becomes dominant in societies, which lack stability and have not been able to develop effective mechanisms for articulation and aggregation of interests of specific social groups. As US political scientist Samuel P. Huntington observed, "societies suffering from this want are decadent or 'Praetorian societies' where social forces confront one another nakedly. As a result, the students agitate, the workers strike, the wealthy bribe and the colonel's coup." 6 Political, economic and social instability causes people who control decisions (and their implementation) regarding resource allocation and award of jobs to resort to corrupt practices. Many in positions of authority try to reap quick personal financial benefits even as they perform their normal jobs.

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Corruption in Bangladesh and other societies has various dimensions: political, administrative and commercial. Corruption at the political level is often the result of compulsions of political leaders and parties to mobilize support for their respective organizations. Vast amount of money is needed and the legally approved ways of mobilizing finance for politics frequently do not seem adequate. This is true of even developed countries such as the US, Germany, Japan, UK, France and others. In developing and less developed countries, on account of lack of legitimate ways of mobilizing resources, transparency and accountability, the situation is even worse.

Politics, Governance and Corruption: Experience of Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, as in other less developed and developing societies, corruption appears to be encouraged and strengthened by weak and often dysfunctional political institutions leading to inadequate governance. In post-liberation Bangladesh, political institutions did not seem to strengthen the political culture of democracy, especially parliamentary democracy. Populist as well as civilianized military rule could not adequately promote and nurture participatory political systems. Lip service continued to be paid to democratic principles of participation, transparency and accountability. The political system continued to be dominated by either a dominant party in power with a strong and dominating leader or military leaders turned-politicians, who led parties created and overwhelmingly dominated by themselves. Personal rule appeared to be the order of the day. Such a rule, in a politically unstable, conflictual and economically backward situation tends to foster corruption at political levels for the sake of drumming up support for the ruling group or groups.
In all situations, even in healthier ones, political leaders and parties need money for the parties’ political programs and election campaigns. In countries such as Bangladesh their need for enormous funds are increased manifold on account of “monetization” and “criminalization” of politics in recent decades. Politics and business have become increasingly intertwined. The expanding number of businessman in parliament is worthy of note.

Table 1: Profile of Parliamentarians in the 7th Parliament, 1996-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Politicians</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Increasing Business-Politics Nexus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lawyers (%)</th>
<th>Businessmen (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Election Campaign Expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range of Expenses</th>
<th>Percentage of Candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tk. One Crore and above</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tk. 50 Lac to One Crore</td>
<td>10-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tk. 20 to 50 Lac</td>
<td>20-30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Governance in Combating Corruption

Election campaigns in the country have become increasingly expensive. Much more money is needed as illustrated by the above data. The figures quoted above relate to pre-1995 period. The expenses involved have further increased in the elections of 1996 and 2001.

All these, in the absence of legal ways of mobilizing such massive resources, lead to corruption by those in political power. Willingly or not, they tend to use their office for obtaining resources for their organizations and themselves.

Corruption in Administration

In less developed and developing countries such as Bangladesh, corruption in administration is strengthened and broadened by the impact of corruption and instability at the political level.

The adverse impacts of political ailment are manifested in lack of coherent policy for recruitment, posting, transfer, training and promotions in the Public Administration sector in Bangladesh. As a result, many in public administration fall prey to adhocism and uncertainty and resort to corruption to secure individual future. Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) revealed in both 2001 and 2002 that the greatest corruption was found among first class officers of the Civil Administration, Police Service, Taxation and Customs officials. Their combined corruption costs the country a loss of some 30-40 billion Taka a year (equivalent to approximate US$500-600 million).

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7 Abdur Rob Khan, “Election Campaign Funding in Bangladesh: A Preliminary Study”, Paper Presented in the Workshop on Election Campaign Funding in Bangladesh, organized by the Centre for Development Research, Bangladesh [CDRB], Dhaka, November 09, 1995.
Inadequate pay and allowances in the Public Administration Sector further stimulates corruption. During 1947-71 period, the emoluments of a Secretary to the Government (the highest position for a permanent civil servant) stood at Rupees 3,000 per month. This was equivalent to the price of approximately 2,830 kgs of rice. Today, the emoluments for officials of the level of Secretaries stand at around Taka 28,000 equal to the price of approximately 1000 kgs of rice! The need to give the public servants “enough remuneration to lead a decent life in the present day social environment” is urgent.

Corruption in Business

Corruption in business and industry also flows from politico-administrative instability and uncertainty.

Nature of Corruption and Ways to Reduce/Remove it

In South Asia, corruption seems to be “negative” on account of lack of vision and effective leadership. Corruption cannot even work as “the engine of development”. Controlling corruption needs dedicated, committed, honest and competent politico-administrative leadership. The Elite must take the long-term view of security and development in the political, economic and social dimensions. Values and ethos need to be revitalized. The faces of the elites need to be turned towards the sun.

If such a positive transformation of the mindset of deviant elites can be effected, strategies and procedures can be designed and implemented to reduce corruption to the minimum. It would then be possible for major political forces to reach a consensus that nomination to candidature in elections would be made on the basis of merit, honesty and loyalty and not on grounds of the candidate’s wealth and
power to mobilize muscles. It would also be easy to set workable sealing on election campaign expenditures. In such a situation, cash will not be able to convert itself into power and power would not be the instrument for amassing wealth.

The question is who can and will bring about such a transformation and how will it be done. The answer is not easy to find but history of democracies is replete with instances of politicians with vision and capacity to change the ugly face of rotten and corrupt political systems. This has been done in many western European countries including the UK in recent centuries. Nearer home, countries such as Malaysia have shown how democracies which are successful in reducing corruption have made epoch-making transition from underdevelopment to the state of impressive development.

A democracy needs to free itself from the shackles of corruption by democratic political means and not by extra political interventions. Such interventions, without commitment and participation of political and social stakeholders have only limited effects. Their impacts do not endure. Experience shows that if anything, the after-effects tend to distort the system and this makes it even more difficult to tackle corruption, which is a symbol of the sickness of the system itself.

Political leaders themselves must rise to the occasion. If they fail governance will fail further and politics would remain unable to realize the purposes of democracy and freedom. In consequence, they themselves will be outflanked by new political forces working from within and outside their own organizations. While reassertion of values in social and political life is a relatively long-term process, some measures may be taken in the short and intermediate terms to effectively reduce the scope and opportunity of corruption. Some of these are mentioned as follows:
The Political Level

Many of the ills in political parties including largely illegitimate funding of political activities arise from lack of legally permissible avenues of mobilization of financial resources.

Political Parties Grants Commission: The concept of an above-board, transparent and accountable State funding of political parties and their election campaigns may be seriously considered. Healthy politics is the key to welfare and development of the people. Developing countries such as Bangladesh are compelled to pay covertly for distorted politics through widespread corruption resulting from abuse of power. To prevent this it may be considered worthwhile to build structures such as independent Political Parties Grants Commission (PPGC) for funding political parties on the basis of clear and transparent criteria. These may include the proven membership of a party in terms of members, the party’s own level of mobilization of funds from member’s subscriptions, the performance of the party concerned in different elections, local and national, over time. These and others can be the bases of determining the amount of funds to be received from the Political Parties Grants’ Commission by concerned political parties.

Database: It is suggested, that “computerized database on different political parties, leaders and activities should be available on-line. This may be termed as Political Information System.”

Specifically, the following recommendations are made with a view to achieving a low cost electoral process and at the same time, a transparent political process:

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i. The ceiling of election campaign funding needs to be revised upwards and be re-fixed at least Tk. 1,000,000/- (Tk. One million).

ii. Efforts should be made for reaching a broad consensus about minimizing unnecessary expenditures like construction of election arches, printing of costly, multi-colored posters and making of costly banners.

iii. The period for election campaign should be reduced to help cut down election expenses.

iv. All efforts should be made to curb the activities of the Mastans (hired hooligans) and all illegal arms and weapons be recovered without delay.

v. All possible steps need to be taken to make the election commission strong and effective.

vi. There should be transparency in election campaign expenses. There should be a system for monitoring the election campaign and expenses of each and every candidate.

vii. The political parties should be encouraged to submit annual balance sheets, showing clearly their annual income and expenditure.

viii. The legislations pertaining to election campaign and elections required to be reformed and updated to suit the need of the day. There ought to be adequate legislation to make it obligatory for each of the candidates to submit his/her electioneering expenditure returns and there should be provision for cross checking of these returns.

ix. Lawmakers need to find out ways of restraining the ruling party candidates from influencing the voters in direct or indirect manners by using their official positions.

x. An 'Independent body' may be constituted for monitoring the election expenses of all candidates.
xi. Special tribunals may be set up to deal with election disputes, if the Appellate Division of the High court is too much preoccupied with pending cases.

xii. Steps need to be taken to control undisclosed and clandestine' sources of finance on the part of the political parties.

xiii. A sort of 'regulatory framework' is needed to keep electioneering expenses at a minimum.

xiv. Government ought to keep the spending spree that usually precede elections within controllable limits and all political parties ought also to keep an eye on the impact of their election spending on the country's inflationary situation.

xv. The law enforcing agencies should be allowed to discharge their responsibilities without any interference or fear.

xvi. Violators of election rules need to be punished, be they hooligans, political party members, workers or officials or representatives of the Election Commission.

xvii. People in general need to be made aware of the various legislations, rules and regulations guiding the elections through the use of various channels of mass communication media.

xviii. Transporting voters by vehicles hired by candidates should be stopped. Instead it may be considered if such transportation can be possible by vehicles arranged by government.

xix. The EC should be empowered to debar a candidate from contesting the elections, if he or she is found to have violated the election rules and laws. Legislation is required to that end.

It is heartening to note that many of these measures are being proposed by the Election Commission as it has emerged
as an independent and competent body after the advent of the present Caretaker government on January 11, 2007.

**The Administrative Level**

Immediate practical steps, which can significantly help reduce corruption in the public administration sector were outlined in the report by four secretaries entitled, "Towards a Better Government" (September 1993). The report suggested revamping the core government administrative system. The recommendations are as follows:

- Creation of Task Force by Ministry of Home for efficient police administration;
- Revival and strengthening of performance standard for Deputy Commissioners (chief civil functionary in the districts);
- Initiation by other Ministries of measures to link performance with incentives;
- Installation of an Efficiency Unit in the cabinet division.

It also recommended improvement of efficiency through financial management by:

- Preparation of a set of sector-based criteria for cost efficiency;
- Making public the annual shopping list of large departments and parastatals;
- Making maximum use of market and price mechanism in the public sector;
- Updating delegation of authority.

The report further suggested measures for greater accountability and transparency in administration. These included following recommendations:
- National and local level projects be made public;
- Standards of the performance of the Ministries/Divisions be made public;
- Task Force for Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG);
- Quick introduction of office of Ombudsman.

The report especially focused on measures to combat corruption in the Public Administration Sector. The steps suggested are:

- Update and print the Anti-Corruption laws and rules;
- The Anti-Corruption Council be revived;
- Increase the number of prosecuting staff;
- Make full use of the Anti Corruption Body’s own investigators as prosecutors;
- More Special Judges to clear back log;
- Monthly monitoring to be revived;
- Consider setting up a full time Commission headed by a Judge of the High Court.

It may be mentioned that after the promulgation of Emergency and inception of the present Caretaker government on January 11, 2007, the independent Anti Corruption Commission (ACC) has been effectively reconstituted and strengthened. The ACC is doing an encouraging job in bringing the corrupt elements of the society belonging to various levels to book.

- The ‘Four Secretary’s Report’ further suggested that a ‘Task Force’ may be set up to revise the Government Servants (Conduct) Rules, 1979;
- Instead of existing three sets - Central Services Rules (CSR), Fundamental Rules (FR), Bangladesh Services Rule
(BSR) only one set of rules be printed in a consolidated form and made applicable to all government servants;

- Considerations be given to develop the convention of Ministerial Responsibility in Bangladesh.

The Private Business and Industrial Sector

The private sector is often compelled to resort to or participate in corrupt practices because of pressures from dishonest politicians in power and corrupt State officials. If, therefore, corruption is reduced at the political and public administrative levels, it would have a significant effect on reduction of corruption in private sector business and industry.

However, further measures that can help reduce corruption in the private sectors may include the following:

- Existing regulatory bodies such as the Bangladesh Standard Testing Institute (BSTI), Security and Exchange Commission (SEC), Bangladesh Bank, Office of the Controller of Insurance, Directorate of Drug Administration etc. should be streamlined and strengthened.

- Strong independent regulatory bodies should be set up to regulate business in food and other areas.

- Income tax, Customs, Excise and Value Added Tax (VAT) need to be procedurally simplified to reduce scope of discretion by administering officials.

- Some commercial and industrial regulatory functions should be transferred from government bodies to private sector representative organizations such as, Chambers of Commerce and Industry and business associations. These
functions may include issue of trade license, issue of dealership license, allocation of export quotas etc.

It may be noted that the Caretaker government has set up a Regulatory Reforms Commission to reform and update the regulatory previsions. The work of the commission, when completed, is expected to revitalize and strengthen regulatory bodies which in turn would have positive impact on preventing and reducing corruption both in the public and private spheres.

**Strengthening of Local Self-government**

Despite having a rich heritage in local self-government Bangladesh in recent times has witnessed a significant decline in this sphere. During one and a half decade of revived parliamentary democracy (1991-2006) local government suffered a great setback. It seems to have virtually disappeared. The only tier of the local government system that maintains an enfeebled existence is the lowest one, the Union Parishad. Despite pre-election promises by both major parties, the Upazila system could not be revived. The District Councils have also seen no election for more than a decade and a half.

The present Caretaker government instituted a Local Government Committee to recommend ways of renewing and strengthening the various levels of local government. The report of the committee may help revive the tradition of strong and smoothly functioning local government in the country. This may have a positive impact in reducing corruption as a lively and strong local government system will help greater people's participation in and oversight of government and administration at regional and local levels.
Concluding Remarks

Specific steps at political and administrative levels and concrete measures in private sector business may go a long way in the prevention and reduction of corruption in Bangladesh as in other developing countries. Nevertheless, it is important to have the holistic vision and approach to shape and determine appropriate strategies to combat and reduce corruption. The leaders of the society, within the government and without, need to get together and tackle the problem with foresight and firm resolve. The process has begun in Bangladesh during 2007. It now needs to be further strengthened and sustained in order to achieve the objective of a corruption-free developed and thriving society.
Discussant

Governance in Combating Corruption

Barrister Manzoor Hasan Khan

- There is a crisis of political governance in Bangladesh today. The politicization of public administration and corruption obstructing the private sector investment and public service delivery were key elements of this widely deemed crisis.

- There is a need for paradigm shift in improving political governance today, one which is not merely concerned with fine tuning and tinkering with operational details, but one that will address real fundamental issues, a fundamental shift with a trajectory of change, that promises to take the nation over the next decades into a new pathway from this pernicious cycle of paucity in governance.

- A route map is required which will include outlining a futuristic vision and goals for Bangladesh both for its people and its position among nations, reopening of dialogue of some fundamental issues in the constitution of Bangladesh and the need for constitutional rearrangement that would be necessary in creating an environment to achieve the declared goals, a strategic direction and measures of effective political processes that will ensure the active political participation of people. In this regard, reforms could include provisions for the re-call of members of parliament for poor performance and misconduct based on petitions for constituents. In this process he also included the growing and nurturing of new leaders and leadership.
• For battling with corruption in Bangladesh what is needed is reforms in electoral process, public awareness campaign, democratic governance in political parties and a national integrity strategy with the mobilization and participation of the citizens at the centre and crucial to this change agenda.

• Election reforms could include caps on election spending, measures for accountability and transparency in spending, taking appropriate measures to address issues of force, corruption and violence during elections and expeditious resolution of election disputes.

• There should a commitment to change and managing that process may require changes in leadership, in cultural ways of working, changes in styles of communication and allocation of resources. Anti-corruption measures would need to include people centered national integrity strategy.

• Private sector should follow self-regulated practice based on ethical codes of conduct and accreditation like the developed countries.
Discussant
Governance in Combating Corruption
Dr. Elizabeth Van Wie Davis

- The internal aspects of good governance in each country have unique set of circumstances existing within a unique culture. The external aspects of good governance means other countries organization remind us when we are deviating too far from the norm of good governance—but also as a community to develop the over changing norms of good governance.

- To some good governance means political and social stability. Good governance is an ideal that is difficult to achieve in totality, but is a useful and noble guiding light.

- Limited corruption is behind many of the principles of good governance and principle of governance is a system of participatory, consensus oriented, inclusive and accountable with fair elections.

- Transparency, freedom of speech and press, rule of law as other principles of good governance.

- Government investment in basic social services also included in the principles of good governance. Investment in basic social services, especially literacy, can be the best long-term protection against corruption.