

**ETHICS OF POLITICAL LEADERS:  
THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GEORGE W. BUSH & THAKSIN SHINAWATRA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

We all have an image of our better selves-of how we are when we act ethically or are “at our best”. We probably also have an image of what an ethical community, an ethical business, an ethical government or an ethical political leader should be.

Ethics requires leadership from the top - leadership from the highest administrators like the President or the Prime Minister of the country. Because the public trust is at stake, ethics should be the highest priority for the administration.

What happens when political leaders behave unethically? The public becomes cynical and suspicious, people morale suffers, and confidence in government is shattered.

The problem of unethical practices in the public sector persists, however, and will continue as long as government leaders continue to tolerate and, even worse, contribute to the problem.

The fact that government leaders continue to contribute to the problem is the primary motivation for this paper.

Although governments of the two countries i.e. the United States of America and Thailand have different cultural, political and administrative environments, both President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra confront similar ethical challenges and are not viewed as ethical political leaders.

Ethical issues faced by these two political leaders and their unethical practices during their administrations include conflicts of interest; abuse of power; obstructions of justice; corruptions; favoritism, cronyism, and nepotism; lies, frauds and deceptions; the plundering of public assets for private gain; insider business deals; human right abuse; restricted press freedom and policy corruption.

To promote ethical conduct, political leaders must exhibit the old-fashioned virtues of honesty, respect, integrity, professionalism, accountability, fairness, competence, and responsibility.

## **Introduction and Purpose of this Report**

This report is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the “Political Leaders in the New Era” Program organized by King Rajadhipok’s Institute.

The purpose of this report is to examine the ethics of political leaders through the comparative study of the two business tycoon-turned-politicians President George W. Bush of the United States of America and Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra of Thailand.

In order to review paper systemically, the author will address the following topics: First, Framework of Ethics and Ethics of Political Leaders; Second, Biographies of President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra; Third, Ethical Issues on George W. Bush and Thaksin Shinawatra as political leaders; Fourth, the comparative study of unethical practices of these two political leaders and Finally, Conclusion and Suggestions.

To explore these research questions, the author uses a descriptive analysis method on the basis of data collection and review. In addition, in order to explore key problems of this study, she focuses on the key ethical issues faced by these two political leaders and explores their unethical practices during their administrations.

Applied or Practical Ethics focused on subjects that invite ethical questioning such as conflicts of interest; abuse of power; obstructions of justice; corruptions; the plundering of public assets for private gain; favoritism, cronyism, and nepotism; lies, frauds and deceptions; and insider business deals will be used to identify the ethical issues in this paper.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Framework of Ethics**

Simply stated, ethics refers to standards of behavior that tell us how human beings ought to act in the many situations in which they find themselves as friends, parents, children, citizens, businesspeople, teachers, professionals, government officials, and political leaders.

However, it is helpful to identify what ethics is *NOT*:

- Ethics is not the same as feelings. Feelings provide important information for our ethical choices. Some people have highly developed habits that make them feel bad when they do something wrong, but many people good even though they are doing something wrong. And often our feelings will tell us it is uncomfortable to do the right thing if it is hard.
- Ethics is not religion. Many people are not religious, but ethics applies to everyone. Most religions do advocate high ethical standards but sometimes do not address all the types of problems we face.
- Ethics is not following the law. A good system of law does incorporate many ethical standards, but law can deviate from what is ethical. Law can become ethically corrupt, and some totalitarian regimes have made it. Law can be a function of power alone and designed to serve the interests of narrow groups. Law may have a difficult time designing or enforcing standards in some important areas, and may be slow to address new problems.
- Ethics is not following culturally accepted norms. Some cultures are quite ethical, but others become corrupt-or-blind to certain ethical concerns.
- Ethics is not science. Social and natural science can provide important data to help us make better ethical choices. But science alone does not tell us what we ought to do. Science may provide an explanation for what human are alike. But ethics provide reasons for how human ought to act. And just because something is scientifically or technologically possible, it may not be ethical to do it. (1)

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(1) Michael J. Meyer and Kirk O. Hansom, Framework for Ethical Decision Making, Issues in

### **What is Ethics?**

Ethics (sometimes known as moral philosophy) itself is not easily defined and philosophers provide differing explanations of it. It is certainly a subject that is used to discussions about how we should live, what is right and wrong and what we mean when we use words like right and wrong, good and bad.

As you can see, ethics covers a wide range of topics. The answers to these questions have been hotly debated for thousands of years and are still debated today. They affect every aspect of the way we live. They cover issues as diverse as whether we should pay our taxes to how we treat our pets.

We can make a broad distinction between two different kinds of ethics: Ethical Theory and Applied or Practical Ethics.

Ethical Theory examines the different philosophies, systems, ideas or principles used make judgments about right/wrong/good/bad things or what we mean by those words.

Applied or Practical Ethics is more focused on subjects that invite ethical questioning such as whether it is right to have an abortion or help someone who is terminally ill to die.

Of course the two things are related. The theory we use affects the decision about a particular moral issue. For example, I may believe in a set of principles that include one which states that life is sacred and no one can ever take it. This principle may lead me to think that capital punishment is wrong. So the ethical theory (the principle about life) leads me to a view about the moral issue (the death penalty).

Before going any further, some definitions would not go amiss. Ethics comes from the Greek word “ethikos ” which in its root form “ethos ” means character or custom. For the Greeks it referred to the appropriate or customary way to behave in society.

Morality comes from the Latin word “Moralis ” and is concerned with which actions are right and which are wrong, rather than the character of the person. Today the two terms are often used interchangeably.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(2) [http:// www.rsweb.org.uk](http://www.rsweb.org.uk)

### **Ethics of Political Leaders:**

We all have an image of our better selves-of how we are when we act ethically or are “at our best”. We probably also have an image of what an ethical community, an ethical business, an ethical government or an ethical political leader should be.

Ethics really has to do with all of these levels-acting ethically as individuals, creating ethical organizations and governments and making our society as a whole ethical in the way it treats everyone.

Ethics requires leadership from the top - leadership from the highest administrators like the President or the Prime Minister of the country. Because the public trust is at stake, ethics should be the highest priority for the administration.

What happens when political leaders behave unethically? The public becomes cynical and suspicious, people morale suffers, and confidence in government is shattered. To combat this cynicism, the political leaders must exhibit the old-fashioned virtues of honesty, respect, integrity, professionalism, accountability, fairness, competence, and responsibility.

### **Unethical Practices of Political Leaders:**

Sometimes it’s easy to see when things go wrong in government: elected officials take bribes; candidates lie about their opponents; government officials make important public decisions in secret meetings.

Unethical practices in the public sector especially the political leaders have been with every country for thousands of years. Since then, no period in the world history has been without its own kind of fraud, waste, and abuse by the public officials mainly the political leaders appointed by the political party in power, or by the acts and misdeeds of elected or career public servants.

Changing times bring changes in unethical practices and to some extent, a change in their focus. Although common threads such as political spoils, political influence, and insider information about procurements continue to poison the practice of government, changes in public perception about politicians of any persuasion have led to a narrowing of the opportunities and incentives for unethical practices.



The problem of unethical practices in the public sector persists, however, and will continue as long as government leaders continue to tolerate and, even worse, contribute to the problem.

The fact that government leaders continue to contribute to the problem is the primary motivation for this paper.

Although governments of the two countries i.e. the United States of America and Thailand have different cultural, political and administrative environments, both President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra confront similar ethical challenges and are not viewed as ethical political leaders.

This paper deals with ethical issues faced by these two political leaders and explores their unethical practices during their administrations.

Applied or Practical Ethics focused on subjects that invite ethical questioning such as conflicts of interest; campaign ethics; abuse of power; obstructions of justice; corruptions; gifts and bribes, favoritism, cronyism, and nepotism; lies and deceptions; and insider business deals will be used to identify the ethical issues.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Biography of President George W. Bush**

#### **Personal Data:**

George W. Bush, the forty-third president of the United States and the former governor of Texas (1994-2000) was born on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1946, in New Haven, Connecticut.

Bush — often referred to as simply "W" — is the eldest son of former President [George Herbert Walker Bush](#) and [Barbara Pierce Bush](#). He grew up in Midland, Texas, where his father worked in the oil business.

His siblings include Jeb ( Governor of Florida), Neil, Marvin, and Dorothy. Another younger sister, Robin, died tragically of leukemia in 1953 at the age of three.

Like his father, Bush attended the prestigious Philips Andover Academy in Massachusetts before matriculating at Yale University. He graduated from *Yale* with a bachelor's degree in 1968, then returned to Texas and joined the Texas Air National Guard, where he learned to fly fighter jets. He eventually became a lieutenant, but was never called on to fight in Vietnam.

But unlike his father, who was captain of the baseball team and graduated Phi Beta Kappa, Bush did not excel as an athlete (he did not make the freshman baseball team), or a scholar. Once referred to as “the life of the party”. Bush instead made his mark on the university's social scene. He was elected the president of his fraternity and joined the exclusive and secretive Skull & Bones Society.

The early 1970s marked a distinctly unfocused period in Bush's life, as he moved back to East Texas and worked intermittently as a management trainee at an agricultural firm and on U.S. Senate campaigns in Florida and Alabama. (In response to questions from reporters about possible drug use and heavy drinking during his bachelor days in Midland, Bush has called the early 1970s his "nomadic" period and has somewhat evasively stated that he would pass a background check going back as far as 1974.) (3)

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(3) <http://www.biography.com>

In 1972, Bush entered Harvard Business School, earning his M.B.A. in 1975 and returned to Midland to find his own fortune in the oil fields. He married Laura Welch, a former teacher and librarian, in 1977. In 1981, she gave birth to twin daughters, Barbara and Jenna.

### **George W. Bush and his business venture:**

Still following in the footsteps of his father, Bush decided to try his hand in the oil business. Bush had no experience, but he had some seed money from his parents and a network of well-heeled family friends, who became the principal financiers of his oil ventures. He set up an oil-exploration firm – Arbusto Energy Inc. From 1979 – 1983, dozens of investors poured millions into the company. Unfortunately for the investors Arbusto, however, turned out to be a financial failure. By April 1984, the company was \$ 3.1 million in debt.

In 1984, Bush sold his business to another Texas oil and gas exploration firm, Spectrum 7. As part of the deal, Bush became Spectrum 7's chief executive officer. But once again, business success eluded Bush and those around him. Two years after the merger, in 1986, world oil prices decline had hurt many Texas oil producers, plunged even further. Spectrum 7, deeply in debt, was in need of a bail out. Bush found one.

In 1986, Harken Oil & Gas, an oil exploration company based in Irving, Texas bought Spectrum 7. For his part Bush earned \$600,000 from the initial sale. He also became a director and was paid as much as \$120,000 in annual consulting fees and received stock warrants worth \$ 131,250 even though he spent much of 1987 and 1988 working on his presidential campaign.

Harken ran into financial problems while Bush served on the company's board. In August 1990, Harken posted a quarterly \$23 million loss from its consolidated operations, sending its stock price on a downward spiral. Bush had unloaded two-thirds of his holdings on June 22, 1990 for \$ 848,560. He used his money from the sale to pay for his share of the Texas Rangers.

On April 21, 1989 Bush and a group of investors who are supporters of his dad and who also bailed out his failing oil company bought the Texas Rangers Baseball Team for \$75 million. Bush paid \$ 606,000 for his stake – 1.8 percent of the team – but played a far large role in running the enterprise as managing partner. Bush became a fixture in the stands at the Rangers' home games and earned a name for himself in Texas aside from his family's impressive legacy. He also earned a good deal of money — after an initial outlay of only \$606,000, Bush walked away with nearly \$15 million when the team was sold in 1998.

The important point is his status as the team's spokesman gave him exposure to the Texas public, visibility that allowed him to launch a campaign.

### **George W. Bush and his political career:**

George W. Bush's interest in politics began in 1978 just slightly before going into business when Bush took a quick detour into politics to run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. After a tough victory in the primaries, Bush ran in the general election against Democratic State Senator Kent Hance. He displayed prodigious fundraising capabilities, setting a new Texas record for a House candidate. In the end, however, he lost to Hance by six percentage points.

Shortly after his 40th birthday in July 1986, the sometimes-wayward Bush reached a turning point in his personal and professional life. He quit drinking altogether and became more religious, turning to his wife's Methodist faith (his family is Episcopalian). He also became noticeably more serious and driven professionally, a change many pegged to his father's decision to run for president in 1988.

Drawn by the challenge of national politics, Bush moved with his family to Washington, D.C., in the fall of 1987 to work on the elder George Bush's successful campaign. Though George W. Bush had no official title on the campaign staff, he was his father's most trusted confidant and a major point of contact for his colleagues. He also became known as a talented speaker and as the campaign's chief liaison to Christian conservatives.

In 1993, Bush entered the race for Texas Governor. In his first race for political office in sixteen years, he went up against Governor Ann Richards, a sharp-tongued veteran of Texas Democratic politics. During his campaign, he dodged her mudslinging and stuck to his campaign themes: property taxes, frivolous lawsuits, welfare reform, and education. His focused message succeeded and he won the race with 54 percent of his vote.

Showing enviable composure and focus during the campaign, Bush triumphed on a platform including increased local control of schools and welfare reform. During his first legislative session in 1995, Bush achieved most of his goals, including important steps towards tort reform—or limiting the ability of plaintiffs to bring lawsuits, which especially appealed to Texas's big business interests.

His affable nature and ability to appeal personally to nearly everyone across party lines made him the most popular big-state governor in the country by the end of his

first year—even the Democrat-controlled legislature found him agreeable to work with.

In 1997, Bush backed a huge tax reform plan that would have lowered property taxes by a staggering \$3 billion per year, among other cuts. It was a great political risk that would please neither conservatives nor liberals — his fellow Republicans in the state legislature defeated the bill. In the end, however, taxes were cut by \$1 billion from reforms made from the remnants of his plan, and Bush emerged from the failure relatively intact.

In November 1998, Bush became the first Texas Governor to be elected to consecutive four-year terms, winning by an impressive margin of 65% to 35% and drawing a record number of black and Hispanic voters to the Republican ticket. His success in Texas, especially among minority voters, peaked the interest of the Republican Party's national organization, which saw the younger Bush as a viable choice to challenge the incumbent Democrats and their anointed candidate, Vice President [Al Gore](#), at the national level.

In June of 1999, George W. Bush officially announced his intention to run for president of the United States, billing himself as a "compassionate conservative." Basing his campaign on promises to make the Republican Party more inclusive and to restore dignity to what Republicans saw as a tarnished White House, Bush placed a strong emphasis on his desire to improve education — his most passionately felt cause — and his commitment to limited government and welfare and tax reform.

Critics pointed to his relative inexperience in politics and his focus on protecting only wealthy individuals and big business interests, while supporters saw him as a much-needed dose of good-natured Middle American reality for the often-nasty realm of Washington politics. Liberals who scoffed at the "compassionate" nature of Bush's conservatism point to the Texas governor's support of the current death penalty system (which they saw as deeply flawed), his anti-abortion stance, and his opposition to hate-crime legislation that would protect homosexuals.

Despite a few early blunders — including his failure to identify several world leaders when asked by a reporter and a primary campaign visit to Bob Jones University, an institution known for its anti-Catholic views — and an unexpectedly strong challenge from Senator [John McCain](#), Bush emerged triumphant on "Super Tuesday" in early March 2000, winning both New York and California among other states. His success forced McCain to suspend his campaign indefinitely (he later formally endorsed Bush).

In July 2000, Bush announced his choice of running mate: [Richard B. Cheney](#), a former congressman from Wyoming who served as defense secretary under Bush's

father. Bush and Cheney were formally nominated at the 2000 Republican National Convention in Philadelphia on August 2.

Their battle for the White House against Gore and his running mate, Connecticut Senator [Joseph Lieberman](#), was one of the closest and most disputed presidential elections in the country's history.

On January 20, 2001, George W. Bush was inaugurated as the 43rd president of the United States. Since taking office, his Administration has been marked by the political success of his campaign to cut taxes and the waning of the economic boom.

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11th, Bush declared a war against **terror** marking the rise of a unilateral and muscular approach to U.S. foreign policy.

In November 2004, Bush won a second term as President of the United States after a victory over Massachusetts Senator [John Kerry](#). Though the campaign leading up to the election was often bitter and divisive, Bush claimed a more decisive win than in 2000.

Bush's second term has received harsh criticism, particularly with regard to the NSA warrantless surveillance controversy; 2003 invasion of Iraq; possible involvement in the CIA leak; improper politicization of the United States attorney offices; abuse of power, corruption; and insider business deals. According to Gallup polls, his domestic approval rating plummeted to 26 percent in June 2007, the lowest for any sitting president in 35 years. (4)

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(4) <http://www.publicintegrity.org>

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Biography of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra**

#### **Family Background:**

Thaksin Shinawatra - Thai business tycoon, politician, the former Prime Minister of Thailand and the former leader of the populist Thai Rak Thai Party, was born on July 26, 1949 in San Kamphaeng district, Chiangmai.

Thaksin is the second son of Lert Shinawatra and Yindi (Ramingwong). In 1968, Lert Shinawatra entered politics and became MP for Chiangmai and deputy leader of the now defunct Liberal Party, Lert Shinawatra quit politics in 1976.

Thaksin's great grandfather Seng Sae Khu, a Hakka Chinese immigrant from Meizhou, Guangdong, made his fortune through tax farming. The Khu/Shinawatra later found Shinawatra Silks and then by moving into finance, construction and property development.

Lert Shinawatra opened a coffee shop, grew oranges and flowers in Chiangmai's San Kamphaeng district, and opened two movie theatres, a gas station, and a car and motorcycle dealership.

By the time Thaksin was born, the Shinawatra family was one of the richest and most influential families in Chiangmai. (5)

#### **Early Life:**

As a young boy, Thaksin helped his father brew and serve coffee. Thaksin grew up in the village of Sankamphaeng until he was 15, after which he moved to Chiangmai city to study at Mongfort College. At 16, he helped run one of his father's cinemas.

#### **Police Career:**

Thaksin attended the 10<sup>th</sup> class of the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School. He then attended the Thai Police Cadet Academy and upon graduation, he joined the Royal Thai Police Department in 1973.

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(5) <http://www.thaksin.net>.

In 1975, he went on to obtain a master's degree in criminal justice from Eastern Kentucky University in the United States.

In 1978 he received a doctorate in criminal justice at Sam Houston State University in Texas.

Returning to Thailand, he reached the position of Deputy Superintendent of the Policy Planning Sub-division, General Staff Division, Metropolitan Police Bureau.

In 1987, Thaksin quit the police force having ascended to the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel.

He married Potjaman Damapong, the daughter of a police general in 1980 and has one son, Panthongtae and two daughters, Pintongtha, and Peathongtarn.

### **Business Career:**

Thaksin and his wife ventured into several businesses while Thaksin was still in the police force which included a silk shop, a movie theatre, and developing an apartment building. All of these ventures were failures, and left him over 50 million baht in debt.

In 1982, he established ICSI which leased computers to government agencies and was a modest success.

However, later ventures in security systems (SOS) and public bus radio services (Bus Sound) were failures.

In April 1986, he founded Advanced Info Service (AIS), which started off as a computer rental business.

In 1987, after resigning from the police force, he marketed a Thai romance drama called “ Ban Sai Thong ”, which became a popular success in theatres.

In 1988, he joined with Pacific Telesis to operate and market the PacLink pager service, which was a modest success, although Thaksin later sold out his stake in PacLink to establish his own paging company.

In 1988, Thaksin launched IBC, a cable television company, which lost money and as later acquired by the CP Group's UBC.



In 1989, Thaksin established a data networking services, Shinawatra Data Com, which was a failure. It is today known as Advanced Data Network, and is owned by AIS and the TOT.

In October 1990, Advanced Info Service (AIS) launched analog 900 Mhz mobile phone services after receiving a 20 year concession from the Telephone Organization of Thailand. AIS grew rapidly and was listed on the Stock Exchange of Thailand in November 1991. It established a GSM Network in 1994 and eventually became the largest mobile operator in Thailand.

The Shinawatra Computer and Communications Group was found in 1987 and listed in the Stock Exchange of Thailand in 1990.

In 1990, Thaksin also found Shinawatra Satellite, which has developed and operated a total of four Thaicom communications satellites.

In 2000, Thaksin acquired the ailing ITV television station from the Crown Property Bureau, Nation Multimedia Group, and Siam Commercial Bank.

### **Entry into Politics:**

#### ***Political debut as Foreign Minister in the first Chuan government:***

Thaksin entered politics in late 1994 under the invitation of Chamlong Srimuang, who had just reclaimed the position of Palang Dharma Party (PDP) leader from Boonchu Rojanasatien. Thaksin was appointed Foreign Minister in December 1994.

#### ***PDP Leader and Deputy Prime Minister in the Banharn government:***

When Chamlong retired from politics he hand-picked Thaksin as new PDP leader.

In July 1995, Thaksin ran for election for the first time winning a parliamentary seat from Bangkok.

Thaksin joined the government of Banharn Silpa-acha and was appointed Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Bangkok Traffic.

In August 1996, Thaksin and the PDP pulled out of the Banharn-government.

### ***Deputy Prime Minister in the Chavalit government:***

On August 1997, Thaksin was invited to become Deputy Prime Minister in Chavalit Yongchaiyudh's government. This occurred soon after the Thai Baht was floated and devalued in 2 July 1997, sparking the Asian Financial Crisis.

Thaksin held the position for only 3 months, leaving on November 14 after Chavalit resigned.<sup>(6)</sup>

### ***Formation of the Thai RakThai Party and the 2001 elections:***

In 1998, Thaksin found the Thai Rak Thai (TRT) party along with Somkid Jatusripitak, PDP ally Sudarat Keyuraphan, Purachai Piumsomboon and 19 others.

TRT won a sweeping victory in the January 2001 elections, the first election held under the People's Constitution of 1997.

Thaksin formed a broad coalition with the Chart Thai Party and the New Aspiration Party while absorbing the smaller Seritham Party and become Thailand's 23<sup>rd</sup> Prime Minister.

### ***2005 Re-election for premiership:***

In February 2005 elections, Thaksin and the TRT won landslide victories sweeping 374 out of 500 seats in Parliament and continue the premiership for the second term in the office.

### ***Political Crisis of 2005 – 2006:***

The political crisis was catalyzed by several accusations published by media mogul Sondhi Limthongkul who led the Anti-Thaksin protestors under the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD).

The protests were joined by academics, students, supporters of the controversial Santi Asoke Buddhist sect led by Thaksin's former mentor Chamlong Srimuang, followers of the controversial monk Luang Ta Maha Bua and the state enterprise employees opposed to privatization.

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(6) Pasuk Phongpaichit & Chris Baker, Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand, (Chiangmai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2004 )

According to his opponents- who highlighted his intolerance of criticism and his failure to end separatist violence in the country's south – his fall can be traced back to his family's decision at the start of 2006 to sell their entire stake in Shin Corporation to Temasek holding.

The sale, which netted family members and others \$1.9 billion, angered many urban Thais, who complained that the family avoided paying tax and passed control of an important national asset to Singaporean investors.

### ***House Dissolution and the April 2006 Legislative Election:***

On 24 February 2006, with calls mounting for him to resign over the issue and large-scale street protests, Thaksin announced a House dissolution in a bid to end the political crisis.

Thaksin called a snap general election for April 2006 but main opposition parties announced a boycott of the election on 27 February.

### ***September 2006 Coup and the exile of Thaksin Shinawatra:***

Following months of political uncertainty, in the evening of 19 September, 2006 Thai Army Chief Sonthi Boonyaratglin led a coup which stripped Thaksin's government of all powers.

Thaksin has remained abroad since the coup, and amid talk of arrest if he returned to Thailand. His family's business dealings and criminal charges against Thaksin and members of his deposed government are now under investigation.

### ***The Dissolution of Thai Rak Thai Party:***

In May 2007, Thaksin and 110 other senior party officials were banned from political office for five years. The Constitutional Tribunal also ordered Thaksin's Thai Rak Thai Party to be dissolved after finding it guilty of violating electoral laws. (7)

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(7) <http://www.en.wikinews.org>

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Ethical Issues on George W. Bush as Political Leader**

George W. Bush subscribes to the Great Man Theory, the notion that bold leaders rather than impersonal economic and social forces shape the course of history. “It is human choices that move events,” he triumphantly declared at his second Inaugural.

But events have a way of slipping the reins of human control, even of someone as powerful as the U.S. President. So Bush, who launched his second term with the outsize goals of ending tyranny in the world and establishing a permanent Republican majority in America, finds himself with public-disapproval ratings higher than any other Presidents since Richard Nixon chose resignation over impeachment.

The cause of Bush’s fall from favor are multiple and compounding leading to the movement for his impeachment based on his unethical practices which include the misuse of power on the NSA warrantless surveillance controversy; lies, fraud and deception on 2003 invasion of Iraq; leaking of classified information on possible involvement in the CIA leak; improper politicization of the United States attorney offices; abuse of power, corruption; and insider business deals. (8)

#### ***The Misuse of Power : NSA Warrantless Surveillance Controversy***

In the context of War on Terror, President Bush ordered the wiretapping of certain international calls to and from the U.S. without a warrant.

Whether this is legal is currently debated, since the program appears to violate the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which was adopted to remedy similar actions in the past.

Additionally, it may violate the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution, which prohibits unlawful searches and seizures of US citizens, including electronic surveillance.

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(8) <http://www.time.com>

In addition, the American Bar Association, in February 13, 2006, issued a statement denouncing the warrantless domestic surveillance program, accusing the President of exceeding his powers under the constitution.

Others have stated that the Bush administration's justification of the program, using its interpretation of presidential power, overthrows the Constitutional system of checks and balances and ignores other provisions of the Constitution mandating that the President "shall take care that the Laws be faithfully executed" and vesting Congress with the sole authority "

### **Lies, Fraud and Deception : 2003 Invasion of Iraq**

Before considering each of the dozens of individual deceptions, lies and misleading statements that Bush and his aides used to push the US into war in Iraq, let's not lose track of the big picture. The Bush administration justified war, immediate war, because alleged weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Those weapons do not exist. They have not existed for years. The Bush administration knew this but they kept that information secret.

And weapons of mass destruction (WMD) were not the reason the Bush Administration wanted to invade Iraq. Top officials have even admitted this, saying flat out that they had other reasons but chose WMD because it was the most effective argument politically.

There were many other deceptive charges by the Bush Administration – about unmanned drones, orders to use chemical weapons, aluminum tubes, links between Iraq and Al Qaeda, etc. But don't forget the big picture; the Bush Administration knew that there were no WMD in Iraq. They deliberately and consistently lied to the American people about this, to justify war in Iraq. And 300 US soldiers have died as a result. (9)

### **Leaking of Classified Information : Possible Involvement in the CIA leak**

On April 6, 2006, court papers were filed in the CIA leak grand jury investigation, stating that Lewis "Scooter" Libby has testified that President Bush authorized the disclosure of select portions of the then classified National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) on Iraq.

The position of the Bush Administration is that a presidentially authorized release of material is not a "leak" in the sense that Presidents are authorized to de-classify material and the release of de-classified material is not leaking. Some argue that

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(9) <http://www.impeachpac.org>

this contradicts previous statements by Bush in which he made clear that leaking information is unacceptable.

Bush's misrepresentations on this point and his allegedly declassifying of information for a political purpose, is seen by some as impeachable offense.<sup>(10)</sup>

### **Inserting Politics into Justice : Improper Politicization of the United States Attorney offices**

In March 2007, it became known that eight United States Attorneys were dismissed. The Bush administration has issued changing and contradictory statements about the timeline of planning of the firings, persons who ordered the firings and reasons for the firings.

Congressmen investigating these dismissals stated that sworn testimony from Department of Justice officials contradicts internal Department memos and emails.

Because of that, and the uncommon nature of these firings, critics suggest hidden motives. Among them Elizabeth Holtzman and Cynthia L. Cooper from the San Diego Union Tribune wrote that: "We may be witnessing criminal acts of obstruction of justice at the highest levels of government". They allege that the attorneys were fired as retribution for prosecuting Republicans, or for failing to prosecute enough Democrats, for non-existent voter-fraud. <sup>(11)</sup>

### **Abuse of Power:**

President Bush has asserted broad executive powers, attributing them to his position as Commander-in-Chief and to the war on terror. These have been used to justify policies connected with the war.

Constitutional law expert Glenn Greenwald attributes Bush's interpretation of the authority of the president is based on combining the powers of all three branches of government in the single person of the President, and is therefore the diametric opposite of the text and the Founding Father's intended meaning of the U.S. Constitution.

Bush has exceeded constitutional or other legal limitations on such war powers. The impeachment movement advocates this abuse of power as impeachable offense.

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(10) <http://www.washingtonpost.com>

(11) <http://www.cbsnews.com>

John Nicholas, in his book “ The Genius of Impeachment : The Founder’s Cure of Royalism ” has argued that “ If Bush and Cheney are not held accountable, this administration will hand off to its successors a toolbox of powers greater than any executive has ever held – more authority, concentrated in fewer hands, than the Founders could have conceived or would have allowed ”

### **Corruption in Texas Government : State Money to Big Contributors**

Bush’s administration has consistently shoveled large amounts of state controlled money to men who have either contributed large amounts to Bush’s campaign, or who have made George W. Bush personally rich through sweet insider business deals, or both.

For example, the University of Texas Investment Management Company (UTIMCO) invests \$ 1.7 billion of state money. Most of this comes from profits from oil discovered on Texas state land. Bush’s cronies dominate this board, and in return investment funds controlled by these very cronies or their friends have received nearly a third - \$ 457 million – of that massive investment pool. There may even be more, but this obscure group – created under Bush – cloaks its operations in a thick veil of secrecy.

UTIMCO is not the only Bush Administration agency funneling money and favors to his supporters and cronies. The state teacher retirement fund sold three office buildings to Rainwater’s real estate company at bargain prices, and without bids in 2 of the cases.( Rainwater owned by Richard Rainwater, the billionaire Texas investor who made Bush’s original involvement in the Texas Rangers deal possible and Bush had several other personal investments in Rainwater controlled companies). The fund invested \$90 million in the Frost Bank Plaza in Austin, and sold it to Rainwater Crescent Real Estate for \$35 million.

Bush signed a law that will give his former baseball team co-owners including Rainwater a \$10 million bonus payment when a new Dallas arena is built.

Bush also proposed a cap on business real estate taxes that would save Rainwater millions on his various properties (but it lost in the legislature). (12)

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(12) <http://www.bushwatch.com>

### **Insider Business Deals:**

During his administration as Texas Governor, George W. Bush had made a lot of money off three business deals. In each one, his contribution is hard to perceive, yet he walked off with hundreds of thousands and millions of dollars in deals arranged by his father's political cronies. The deals were

- the sale of Bush's struggling oil company
- Bush's sale of oil stock just before the Gulf War
- getting a cheap slice of the Texas Rangers baseball team, which he sold in 1999 for a huge profit (he paid \$606,000 and sold for almost \$15 million)

The general pattern here is just as important as the details. Bush did no work in his business career that can clearly be called "excellent" or even "solid". The money he made is tangential to his efforts at best – the oil companies lost a great deal of money during his tenure, and the Rangers cut a lot of corners – which makes the cronyism that much more suspicious.

Moreover, every major business deal he had been involved with included wealthy supporters of his father; and many of those investors later received favorite treatment from either the federal government that time under his father's presidency Bush, Sr. or the Texas administration under George W. Bush.

### **Movement for impeachment :**

The movement to impeach George W. Bush includes some Democratic and Republican members of the United States Congress, various other politicians and government officials, demonstrators, scholars, authors, members of the media, and according to the polls, a segment the American people and international community.

The reasons they offer for Bush's impeachment include concerns about the legitimacy, legality, and constitutionality of the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the controversy surrounding the National Security Agency's electronic surveillance of American citizens.

Proponents for impeaching President George W. Bush assert the one or more of his actions qualify as "high crimes and misdemeanors" under which the president can be constitutionally be impeached. (13)

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(13) Elizabeth Holtzman, The Impeachment of George.W.Bush, (The Nation, January 2006)



Although American Opinion polls have shown public support, generally ranging between 26% and 46% of the respondents in favor of impeachment, The House of Representatives Judiciary Committee has not considered the impeachment of President Bush and the House of Representatives has taken no action to do so. (14)

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(14) Ralph Nader, The Impeachable Mr. Bush: An Aggregation of High Crimes and Misdemeanors (Counter Punch, January 2006)

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **Ethical Issues on Thaksin Shinawatra as Political Leader**

On 19 September 2006, a military junta known as the Council of National Security (CNS) overthrew Thaksin Shinawatra's government in a bloodless coup while he was attending a UN Meeting in New York.

A CNS-appointed tribunal dissolved the Thai Rak Thai Party and banned Thaksin and the TRT's executive team of 111 politicians from engaging in politics for 5 years.

The CNS then established a committee that froze all of his bank accounts, claiming that he had become unusually wealthy during his term of government, and demanded that he returned to Thailand to face charges of corruption.

Thaksin Shinawatra faced allegations of corruption, conflicts of interest, nepotism, tax evasion, irregularities in implementing government project, policy corruption and hostility towards a free press.

Independent bodies, including Amnesty International, have also expressed concern at Thaksin's human right record. Human Rights Watch described Thaksin as “ a human right abuser of the worst kind ”, alleging that he participated in media suppression and presided over extrajudicial killings.

#### **Allegations of Corruption:**

In January 2007, the Financial Institutions Development Fund complied with an Assets Examination Committee request to file a charge against Thaksin and his wife over the purchase of four 772 million baht plots of land on Ratchadapisek Road from the FIDF in 2003.

The charge was based on alleged violation of Article 100 of the National Counter Corruption Act, which specifies that government officials and their spouses are prohibited from entering into or having interests in contracts made with state agencies under the authorization.<sup>(15)</sup>

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(15) <http://www.bangkokpost.net>

**An unlawful cabinet resolution:**

The Assets Examination Committee also accused Thaksin of issuing an unlawful cabinet resolution approving the spending of state funds to buy rubber saplings worth 1.2 billion baht.

**Scandal on the purchase of CTX bomb scanners:**

Thaksin was also charged of irregularities in implementing government project on the purchase of CTX bomb scanner machines for Suvarnabhumi Airport worth 1.5 billion baht.

**Scandal on the lottery project:**

Thaksin's approval of the two-and three-digit lottery project worth 38 billion baht which was believed to indicate a probable cause for corruption.

**Tax Invasion:**

In March 2007, the Office of the Attorney-General charged Thaksin's wife and brother-in-law of conspiring to evade tax of 546 million baht in a 1997 transfer of Shin Corp shares.

**Malfeasance for obstructing competition:**

The Assets Examination Committee ruled that Thaksin was guilty of malfeasance for obstructing competition by passing an executive decree that imposed an excise tax for telecom operators.

Thaksin's cabinet approved an executive decree in 2003 that forced telecom operators to pay an excise tax of 10% on revenues for mobile phone operations, and 2% for fixed-line operations. Amounts paid in excise taxes could be deducted from concession fees that the operators had to pay to state-owned telecom operators.

Most operators had to pay a concession fee of 25% of revenues; however, the 1997 Constitution stipulated that Thaksin-founded Advanced Info Services was exempted from the concession fee because it was founded before the 1997 Constitution was promulgated. (16)

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(16) <http://www.nationmultimedia.com>

The Assets Examination Committee ruled that the executive decree obstructed free competition in the telecom sector.

The exemption of concession fees for Thaksin's telecom company caused the loss of governmental revenue of 30.2 billion baht.

### **Asset Concealment:**

The Department of Special Investigation claimed that the Shinawatra family reported that they held 60.82% of shares in SC Assets Corp Plc, but that percentage excluded their de facto ownership of two overseas nominee companies that held another 19.05% of SC Assets' shares.

On June 19, 2007, the police department's DSI ordered Thaksin and his wife to return to Thailand within 10 days to hear charges of asset concealment in person.

A cross-border warrant has been issued for their arrest after they failed to show up.

### **Conflict of Interests:**

Opposition politicians and democracy groups perceived the increasing conflicts inherent in cosy ties between public and private interest under the premiership of Thaksin Shinawatra.

Thaksin's cabinet included several former leaders of big business. While the Thai Constitution required them to personally divest all holdings when they entered government, their families have retained interests in everything from entertainment and media to finance and telecoms. Critics note that the spouse of several serving ministers have reported big increases in their wealth in recent disclosure notices.

They have pointed the move by Thaksin's family, which consists of ownership by his wife and son, into the residential-property market, a sector which Thaksin's government had supported with an array of incentives for developers and buyers.

As a result, Thaksin's own family enjoyed a 2-billion-baht windfall upon listing a 20% stake in its property company at the end of 2003.

Moreover, the family-controlled Shin Corp's joint venture with Air Asia to establish Thailand's first budget airline is cited as another potential conflict of interest. Thaksin unveiled plans to transform the northern city of Chiangmai, in his home province, into a regional aviation hub. Air Asia intended to use Chiangmai as a base for flights to China.

Shin Satellite, another company in which Thaksin's family holds a majority stake also won an eight-year tax holiday worth 16 million baht for its IPSTAR broad band satellite system from Thailand's Board of Investment. The tax break represented the first time the state agency, historically charged with attracting foreign investment, had offered such incentives to a Thai-owned company.

### **Nepotism:**

There have also been complaints that Thaksin appointed relatives to senior positions in the civil service and independent commissions, for example by elevating his cousin, General Chaiyasit Shinawatra, to Army Commander-in-Chief.

Thaksin was also accused of interference after the Senate appointed Wisut Montriwat ( former Deputy Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance ) to the position of Auditor General, replacing Jaruvan Maintaka.

### **Restricted Press Freedom:**

Thailand's historically vocal print media had been notably restrained in reporting allegations of government corruption or conflicts of interest.

One reason, some media executives contend, is that Thaksin's family companies have withheld advertising from publications perceived to be critical of the government. Similarly, some of Thailand's biggest state-owned enterprises – often key advertisers- seem to steer clear of publications critical of Thaksin.

Thaksin's government had also been accused of exerting political influence in its crackdown on licensed community radio stations.

### **Human Rights Abuse:**

Thaksin had to face the criticism over his methods of stamping out crime. The violent deaths of more than 2,500 people during a crackdown on drugs ordered by Thaksin in 2003 were reported.

Thaksin had also been widely criticized for his management of the South Thailand Insurgency. A resurgence in violence began in 2001 in the three southernmost provinces of Thailand which all have a Muslim, ethnic Malay majority. There is much controversy about the causes of this escalation of the decade long insurgency. (17)

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(17) Thailand: Grave Developments – Killings and Other Abuses, ( Amnesty International, Thailand, 2003 )

Thaksin has been accused for his management of the situation, in particular the storming of Krue Se Mosque, the deaths of civilian protesters at Tak Bai, and the unsolved kidnapping of Muslim-lawyer Somchai Neelapaijit. In October 2004, 84 Muslim human rights protesters were killed at Tak Bai when the Army broke up a peaceful protest concerning the mistreatment.

More than 2,000 people have died since an insurgency began in 2004.

### **Policy Corruption:**

On January 23, 2006, the Shinawatra family sold their entire stake in Shin Corporation to Temasek Holdings in Singapore. The Shinawatra and Damapong families netted about 73 billion baht tax-free from the sale, using a regulation that made individuals who sell shares on the stock exchange exempt from capital gains tax.

The sale angered many urban Thais, who complained that the family avoided paying tax and passed control of an important national asset to Singaporean investors.

The transaction made Thaksin the target of accusation that he was selling an asset of national importance to a foreign entity by using the legal loopholes and was considered as policy corruption.

Allegations of insider trading by other Shinawatra family members, Shin Corporation Executives, and major shareholders were also investigated. (18)

### **Thaksin's Assets Frozen:**

On June 11, 2007 The Assets Examination Committee has ordered that cash assets of ousted premier Thaksin Shinawatra and some of his associates be frozen for alleged corruption and misconduct; conflict of interest; abuse of power to benefit Shin Corp and irregularities in implementing government projects.

The Assets Examination Committee's decision came after months of investigation into corruption allegations made during Thaksin's five years in office.

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(18) <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk>

The Committee has frozen 21 bank accounts in the name of Thaksin and his wife containing 52.9 billion baht acquired from the sale of Shin Corp. to Temasek Holdings. Billions more had already been withdrawn presumably moved abroad.

If a competent court decided that Thaksin is guilty as charged, the assets will be forfeited.<sup>(19)</sup>

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(19) <http://www.thaiembdc.org>

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **Comparative Study of Unethical Practices of George W. Bush & Thaksin Shinawatra**

Although governments of the two countries i.e. the United States of America and Thailand have different cultural, political and administrative environments, both President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra confront similar ethical challenges and are not viewed as ethical political leaders.

Applied or Practical Ethics will be used as in this chapter in order to explore the ethical issues by comparing the unethical practices of these two political leaders during their administrations which include conflicts of interest; abuse of power; allegations of corruption; lies, fraud and deceptions; and insider business deals.

#### **Unethical Practices of George W. Bush & Thaksin Shinawatra :**

##### **Conflicts of Interest in Government:**

Conflicts of interest occur when an officeholder especially the political leader put his personal or financial interest ahead of the public interest. In the simplest terms, the political leader reaps a monetary or other reward from a decision made in his public capacity.

In the case of George W. Bush and Thaksin Shinawatra, who are both business-tycoon-turn-politicians, have been accused of protecting only wealthy individuals and big business interests of their business associates.

Thaksin's cabinet included several former leaders of big business. The closer ties he has encouraged between big business and politics often create the appearance of conflicts of interest.

During Thaksin's administration, there were also growing indicators of policy corruption among senior politicians and the companies that their families own and manage.



Although Thailand's 1997 Constitution included provisions to prevent conflicts of interest between elected officials and big business, including an unprecedented bar on politicians holding shares in companies, but loopholes remain.

On taking office, Thaksin and other former businessmen in his camp divested shares in the companies they owned. But the fact that the Thai constitution doesn't bar family members of politicians from owing shares in companies that do business with the government. It was noted that the spouse of several serving ministers have reported big increases in their wealth after the investigation.

The conflicts of interest under Thaksin also included his property business, his joint venture in Air Asia, his tax-free investment on Shin Satellite.

### **The Misuse of Power:**

Both George W. Bush and Thaksin Shinawatra faced the allegation of the misuse of power during their Administrations.

George W. Bush was accused of exceeding his powers under the constitution as well as overthrowing Constitutional system of checks and balance and ignoring other provisions of the Constitution on the NSA warrantless surveillance controversy.

Moreover, Bush abused his power by asserting broad executive powers, attributing them to his position as Commander-in-Chief and to the war on terror to justify policies connected with the war.<sup>(20)</sup>

Thaksin was accused of issuing an unlawful cabinet resolution approving the spending of state funds to buy rubber saplings worth 1.12 billion baht.

The Assets Examination Committee also ruled that Thaksin was guilty of malfeasance for obstructing competition by passing an executive decree that imposed an excise tax for telecom operators.

### **Allegations of Corruption:**

Of all types of unethical practices the most commonplace type dealt by the two political leaders George W. Bush and Thaksin Shinawatra is the allegations of corruption.

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(20) Mathew Rothschild, Grounds for Impeachment, ( The Progressive, March 2006)

George W. Bush was alleged with corruptions during his administration as Texas Governor by funneling large amounts of state money and favors to the businessmen's companies including UTIMCO and Rainwater with the large amounts of their personal and business money into Bush's pocket and political campaigns.

Thaksin's allegations of corruption include a major land purchase on Ratchadapisek Road, an alleged corruption of rubber seed purchase, the 2 and 3 digit legal lottery, and irregular Krungthai Bank Loan and the CTX bomb scanner machines purchases for Suvarnabhumi Airport.

### **Insider Business Deals:**

During his administration as Texas Governor, George W. Bush had made millions on insider business deals including the sale of Bush's struggling oil company, the sale of oil stock just before the Gulf War and the sale of the Texas Rangers baseball team. Every major business deal he had been involved with including wealthy supporters of his father and many of those investors later received favorite treatment from either the federal government under his father's presidency or the Texas administration under himself.

When Thaksin's family sold their entire stake in Shin Corporation to Temasek Holdings of Singapore and gained 73 billion baht tax-free from the sale.

Allegations of insider trading by Shinawatra family members, Shin Corp Executives and major shareholders are under investigation.

### **Lies, Fraud and Deception:**

Bush administration was alleged of lies, fraud and deception on the 2003 Invasion of Iraq with the misleading information on weapons of mass destruction (WMD) which do not exist in Iraq.

Thaksin was alleged of asset concealment on his 60.82% shares in SC assets Corp Plc which excluded their de facto ownership of two overseas nominee companies that held another 19.05% of SC Assets' shares.

### **Favoritism, Cronyism and Nepotism:**

George W. Bush during his administration as Governor of Texas had consistently shoveled large amount of state controlled money to Bush's cronies who have either contributed large amounts to Bush's campaign or who have made George W. Bush personally rich through sweet insider business deals, or both.

Thaksin was accused of nepotism by appointing relatives to senior positions in the civil service and independent commissions. He was also criticized of interference after the Senate appointed Wisut Montriwat to the position of Auditor General, replacing Jaruan Maintaka.

In the public sphere, favoritism, cronyism, and nepotism also undermine the common good. When someone is granted a position because of connections rather than because he or she has the best credentials and experience, the service that person renders to the public may inferior.<sup>(21)</sup>

Also, because favoritism is often covert, this practice undercuts the transparency that should be part of governmental hiring and contracting processes. <sup>(22)</sup>

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(21) Judy Nadler and Miriam Schulman, Introduction to Government Ethics, Markkula Center for Applied Ethics, (California: Santa Clara University, June 2006)

(22) After Thaksin, (Forbes, April 2006)

## **Conclusion & Suggestions**

Political leader as an officeholder in public service is always about protecting the common good, which may be defined as the common conditions that are important to the welfare of the public.

A political leader as a public servant must always put the common good ahead of any personal, financial, or political benefit they might receive from a decision about such matters.

Political leader should not take unfair advantage of his position by issuing policy that could benefit them at the expense of others. Conflicts of interest interfere with the basic ethical principle of fairness-treating everyone the same. Conflicts of interest also undermine trust. They make the public lose faith in the integrity of governmental decision-making processes and particularly in political leaders.

The ethical principles that apply generally to public life of political leader rules about conflicts of interest; campaign ethics; abuse of power; obstructions of justice; corruptions; gifts and bribes, favoritism, cronyism, and nepotism; lies and deceptions; the plundering of public assets for private gain; and insider business deals.

This report revealed the two businessmen-turned-politicians President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra who confront similar ethical challenges and are not viewed as ethical political leaders.

Although Bush, who launched his second term with the outsize goals of ending tyranny in the world and establishing a permanent Republican majority in America, finds himself with public-disapproval ratings higher than any other Presidents since Richard Nixon and even faced the movement for impeachment.

Whereas Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, a billionaire tycoon who headed the Shin Corp telecommunication firm, was elected prime minister in 2001 and re-elected in 2006. He was alleged of committing corruption and illegal acts as well as being unusually rich. He was also accused of illegally obtained wealth through abuses of power to benefit his business Shin Corporation. Thaksin was removed from the premiership in the September coup, his former party Thai Rak Thai was ordered dissolved and his cash assets were frozen. If a competent court decided that Thaksin is guilty as charged, the assets will be forfeited.

### **Suggestions:**

Ethics of political leader should not be a list of moral precepts, but a set of ideas, values and attitudes that would be adequate with actual problems. For example: limit spending in political campaigns and contributions; require political leaders to assume responsibility, public accountability and transparency; enforce equal penalties under the law; prevent officials and politicians from hiding their money abroad and laundering income from corruption; and ensure freedom of the judiciary..

Some ways to reduce corruption include full disclosure and limits on large corporate and private donations to political fund-raising; laws against nepotism within the ruling elite; laws against privileged forewarning of commercial opportunities; tendering favoritism; insider-trading; full disclosure by politicians, senior bureaucrats and executives of all personal financial interests and assets; improved foreign bank account disclosure requirements; clamp down on tax havens and international cooperation to close off transnational organized crime.

According to The PUMA Policy Brief No.4 suggested by the Public Management Committee to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Council; the Principles for Managing Ethics in the Public Service are as follows:

1. Ethical standards for public service should be clear.
2. Ethical standards should be reflected in the legal framework.
3. Ethical guidance should be available to public servants.
4. Public servants should know their rights and obligations when exposing wrongdoing.
5. Political commitment to ethics should reinforce the ethical conduct of public servants.
6. The decision-making process should be transparent and open to scrutiny.
7. There should be clear guidelines for interaction between the public and private sectors.

8. Public service conditions and management of human resources should promote ethical conduct.
9. Adequate accountability mechanisms should be in place within the public service.
10. Appropriate procedures and sanctions should exist to deal with misconduct. (23)

Political leaders should use these principles to review ethics management regimes and evaluate the extent to which ethics is operationalised to adapt to national conditions, and to find their own ways of balancing the various aspirational and compliance elements to arrive at an effective framework to suit their own circumstances. These principles are not sufficient in themselves – they should be seen as a way of integrating ethics management with the broader public management environment.

Political leaders must exhibit the old-fashioned virtues of honesty, respect, integrity, professionalism, accountability, fairness, competence, and responsibility.

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(23) Janos Bertok, Principles for Managing Ethics in the Public Service, Public Management Service, (May 1998)

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