

The Role of BNP in the Political Development of Bangladesh
(1991 – 1996)

GIFT

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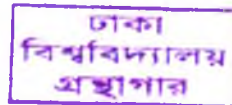
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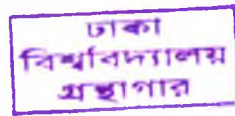
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Preface

The role of BNP in the political development in Bangladesh (1991-1996) is an essential part of political reading. As the BNP, is a grass root level political party, was born in 1 September in 1978, after long struggle for about a decade against autocratic Ershad who had to quit in the face of mass upsurge for democracy, it came in power on 19 March 1991 through free fair and peaceful election held in 27 February in 1991 under neutral care taker government headed by Acting president of Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. He was nominated by the leaders of three party alliances, Jamaat as well as other political parties on 5 December in 1990. Surprising all opinion polls, the party, funded by late President Ziaur Rahman, winning the election formed the government under the leadership of widow Begum Khaleda Zia. After having taken power, it played a significant role to establish the parliamentary form of government in stead of Presidential form of government in the 12th amendment bill to the constitution.

Besides, it established the education for all i.e compulsory education, non payment education for girls in the higher secondary education, highest allocation for education, poverty alleviation program, human development in every sphere of government.

However, after the formation of government by Begum Zia, the long struggle for parliamentary democracy evidently fell in to trouble when the main opposition parties led by Awami league staged violent movement demanding all national elections under a Care taker government. The 6th parliamentary election led by the BNP amended the constitution as the 13th amendment to the constitution bill for the Non-Party Care taker government (NPCTG) to institutionalize democracy in the country. Through this amendment bill, the BNP advanced to take a new journey of democracy. The NPCTG makes to hold free fair and peaceful election 1996 by which Awami league, the arch rival of BNP, came in power to rule the country up to 2000, which bears the testimony the role of BNP in the political development in Bangladesh 1991-1996.

The desire to undertake the research work has been succeeded when Professor Dr Shawkat Ara Husain (Department of Political science University of Dhaka) has affectionately agreed to supervise my research work. So my first and foremost gratitude goes to her as my guide. I am deeply indebted to her for her indispensable guidance. Her encouragement led me to undertake and pursue this challenging investigation. But for her valuable guidance, constructive criticism, discussion and suggestion, it would not have been possible for me to crystallize my ideas and prepare manuscript of this M Phil thesis.

I am immensely indebted to the librarians included Abdul Mannan, M.Amanullah, Rina Rani Sarker, officers and staffs of the Dhaka University

Library; the Election Commission Library, Dhaka; Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics Library, Dhaka ; Bangladesh public Library , Dhaka; Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), Dhaka; Asiatic Society Library , Dhaka ;United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Library, Dhaka.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Dr. Emajuddin Former Vice-Chancellor, University of Dhaka. Professor Dr. Nurul Amin Bepari, Department of Political Science University of Dhaka. , as well as Professor Abdul Mannan Department of Government and politics Jahangirnagar University for their warm encouragement . I also must acknowledge the warm encouragement that I received from Professor Mr. Ferdous Hossain, Pro, Dr. Dalaim Chandra Barmon, Dr. UAB Razia Akter Banu, Dr. Harun-or- Rashid, Farid uddin Ahamed ,Mohammad Shohrab Hossian Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka. .

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I deeply respect and am grateful to my father , late Abdul Latif who inspired and prayed for me from the after earth to write this thesis.

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List of Abbreviation

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AL	Bangladesh Awami league
B.N.P	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BKSAL	Bangladesh krishak Sramik Awami league
CAB	Constitution Amendment bill
CAS	Chief Army Stalf
CEC	Chief Election Commission
CMLA	Chief Martial law Admanistitive
CPB	Communist Party of Bangladesh
CTG	Care taker Government
DC	Developing Countries
DCMLA	Deputy Chief Martial law Admanistitive
EC	Election Commission
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
JIB	Jamaat Islamic Bangladesh
JP	Jatiya Party
JS	Jatiya Sangsad
JSD	Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal
MP	Member of Parliament
NAP	National Awami party
NPCTG	Non party Care taker Government
NSC	National Security Council
PPR	Political Party Regulation
SC	Selected Committee
UPP	United People Party
USA	United State of America
VAT	Value Added Text
WP	Workers Party

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction:

The role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-1996) is an essential part of the political study. After having military rule for nine years long, the B.N.P. came in power through free, fair and peaceful election. It was held on 27 February in 1991 under neutral caretaker Government headed by Acting President Chief justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. He was nominated by the leaders of three party alliances and Jamaat- e- Islam as well as other leaders of political parties on 5 December in 1990.

The cause of coming in power of B.N.P. is the uncompromising attitude and leadership of Khaleda Zia towards former president Ershad who ruled the country as a dictator for nine years long. "The armed forces under leadership of Ershad, toppled the Government of Satter in a bloodless coup on 24 March in 1982 within less than five months of expensive Presidential election in which Satter was overwhelmingly mandated by the people,"¹ This lost power was got back by the B.N.P. which won the considerable respect through holding election in 1991. After having formed the Government with the consent of Jamaat-e- Islam, the B.N.P, first and foremost, played a significant role for constitutional development. It introduced the 12th amendment bill 1991 in the parliament to replace the Presidential form of government which was "buried by late Sheik Majibar Rahman through 4th constitutional amendment bill"² on 25 January in 1975.

The last constitutional development of B.N.P. on 26 March in 1996 was the 13th amendment bill of Non-party caretaker government, which consists of "an 11 member headed by a chief adviser."³ Though the bill was passed in the sixth parliament, there was the massive movement of all opposition political parties outside the parliament. This non -party caretaker government played an important role to institutionalize democracy in the political development of Bangladesh. Not with standing that, in this study, from 19 March 1991 to 30 March 1996, the B.N.P. that held a large number of contributions in the case of political, administrative as well as economic development of Bangladesh in the various stages, will be reviewed and sought out in this research.

1.2 Objectives of the study:

The main objective of the study is to assess the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-96). As the BNP, is a political party, was born on 1 September in 1978, it came in power (after long struggle for nine years against autocratic Ershad) on 19 March 1991 through free and fair election. After having taken power, it played an important role to establish

1. Mohammad Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics and the Shahabuddin interregnum University press Ltd. Dhaka P-11.

2. S.M. Wahiduzzaman- Khaleda Zia's regime in the political development . A review -2000 p-1

3. Arun Kumar Goswal- Institutionalization Constraints of Democracy in Bangladesh 1990-96, p-377.

the parliamentary form of government instead of presidential form of government in the 12th amendment to the constitution . Besides, It established the education for all, ie. compulsory education, non payment education for girl in the higher secondary education, highest allocation for education. poverty alleviation programme, human development, industrialization, urbanization, communication as well as economic development in every sphere of government. In the 6th parliament, it established constitutional development in 1996. i.e Non party caretaker government. Thus this study is very important in view of above development of BNP in 1991-96. So the following issues will be examined . as

- (i) To examine the accepted paces of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh after it came in power in 1991.
- (ii) To evaluate administrative, agricultural, political and economic development of BNP.
- (iii) To assess re-establishment of parliamentary form of government in lieu of Presidential form of government.
- (iv) To appraise the non party caretaker government.
- (v) Finally, the successful process of BNP in the political development, can yield a sustainable democratic political order.

Accordingly, this study reflects the continuing interest among the student of comparative politics on the study of BNP 's politics in the political development of Bangladesh.

1.3 Hypothesis of the studies:

The present study is an attempt to test the hypothesis by Lucian Pye. Lucian Pye's model set forth in his essay , Aspects of Political Development is issued as an analytical basis .According to . Lucian Pye the "political development as the political pre-requisite of economic development"⁴.Here Pye argues that first and foremost requisite of political development is the economic development which "refers to the growth in the total economic activity and output of society . It may be measured by per-capita gross natural product level of industrialization and the level of individual welfare gauged by such indices as life expectancy caloric intake supply of hospitals and doctors."⁵

In this regard, Daniel Lerner Says that "economic development gives citizens the fundamental ability and leisure needed for participation the growth of literacy and the increase of media participation capable people to acquire mobility empathy, opinion, and thereby participation orientation."⁶

The hypothesis of the present study is to test the role is BNP in the political development of Bangladesh on the basis of above definition. As BNP plays a significant role to establish the democracy and economic development in Bangladesh .So this study is an attempt to test the validity of this hypothesis when applied to case of Bangladesh (1991-96)'

4. Lucian W Pye, Aspects of Political Development. Boston little Brown 1966, P-33-34.

5.S.P Huntington, Political order and changing societies New Haven and London, Yale University press P-34.

6.Daniel Lerner, the passing of traditional society P-43.

1.4 Importance of the study:

There are several reasons for choosing the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-1996, for a ample ratiocination. Generally speak little research has been done on the role of BNP. However, among the host of authors, no author has yet attempted to caress the contribution of BNP. Although, the function of BNP in the political development occupies a central position in the political discourse of Bangladesh, very few scholarly studies have adequately examined the favorable activity of BNP in the development of Bangladesh. Almost all of these studies are not strictly about the role of BNP. For this reason, I choose to research at this point. However, the following questions immediately arise for testing the hypothesis and find out the role of BNP in the political development.

- (i) What is meant by political development?
- (ii) What is the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96?
- (iii) What are the influencing functions which play a significant role in the political development and economic development?

1.5 Methods of study:

The methods and Techniques are key components of any study: The outcome of research depends on methodological base, its appropriateness and proper implementation over the whole process of the study. The method must be consistent with the objectives of the study that can cover the whole area of interest. Sometimes, single method can not address the area of the study. Then it becomes an essential to select more than one method with social survey, and tools and techniques of qualitative method, namely in question, depth interview, focus group discussion, community discussion and analytical method.

1.6 Data collection of the study:

This study utilizes the data and information extracted from both primary and secondary resources. The primary resources are (i) field survey (ii) Reports published by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) (iii) Reports published by Bangladesh Election Commission (EC) (iv) information included in reports published in different print media i.e. Daily newspaper(both broad and abroad) and electronic media (natural and foreign Radio services and Television and Email internet etc. (v) information gathered from conversation and interview with different person and (vi) other government and non-government documents .

Besides these, to maintain the sequence and size of the analysis only the name and the other particulars have been mentioned in the appendix and in Bibliography section.

However, the main secondary sources are

- (i) Different published books articles in different book, journals, daily, weekly, fortnightly and monthly newspaper and news magazines.
- (ii) Different unpublished research works. It can be mentioned that data and information on the role of BNP in the political development.

1.7 Limitation of the study:

Every research study encounters some problem in terms of time management availability of relevant information, documents and literature access to information etc. This study is not free from those limitations. The given time frame for this study was not adequate in comparison with the magnitude of the problem. No allocation fund for such a study can be regarded as another hurdle in carrying out the study within given time frame. Apart from this, Because of being a college teacher in political Science, no leave has been gathered from the institution. So it is quite difficult to delineate the actual trend of benefit of the study population.

1.8 Thesis Structure/Scope of the study:

In devising an appropriate structure for the thesis, the researcher has followed as far as possible conversation prescribed by his Supervisor. Thesis comprises five chapters. The present chapter which forms chapter-1 is introductory chapter. It consists of introduction, objective of the study, hypothesis and importance of the study. It also provides an account of methodology data basis used in the study as well as literature review and gaps identified in the review literature.

Chapter –2 may be seen as the back ground of the present study as it has been carried out on the preceding period of the study i.e. the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-96). This chapter presents and analyses the formation of BNP as the political party in the political development of Bangladesh on the basis of 19 points development program. This chapter has been divided into three sections.

The section 2.1 deals with the formation of BNP as the political party, which was found by, late President Ziaur Rahman, emerging as the undisputed strong man in political arena of Bangladesh.

The Section 2.2 evaluates the political development regarding BNP's political activities.

The section 2.3 analyses the BNP's 19 points development program which bears the testimony to the rule of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh.

Chapter 3 has been designed as to try the establishment of democracy and development. This period spreads from 29 November 1976 to 19 March 1991. It has five sections.

Section-3.1 deals with from 29 November 1976 to 21 April 1977 when Zia, the founder of B.N.P was vested with the responsibilities of the Chief Martial Law administrative (CMLA) on 29 November in 1976 from the Deputy Chief Martial Law administrative (DCMLA) On 8 November after taking place

coup counter coup – continuing April 21 in 1977 when he finally assumed the highest post of the state ie the presidency .

Section-3.2 has been drawn up from 21 April 19977 to 30 May 1981.

Section-3.3 describes the role of BNP from 30 May 1981 to 23 March 1982.

Section 3.4 examines the movement of democracy and development through BNP's uncompromising movement during from 24 March 1982 to 6 December1990.

Section 3.5 deals with formation of caretaker government under acting President Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed after the end of nine year old autocratic rules of ex- president Ershad in accordance with there alliances joint declaration. The event is a remarkable for Bangladesh's political development and democratic dispensation .

The chapter 4, this chapter presents and analyses the main period of the thesis. The title of the thesis is “ the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-1996). In view of the back ground its wide scope, the chapter has been divided into four sections.

The section 4.1 deals with the eleventh and twelfth amendment bill of the constitution which ushered a new journey in the path of democracy as the part of political development in Bangladesh and witnessed the so called presidential democracy and restoration of parliamentary one.

The section 4.2 deals with the paces of economic development of Bangladesh during 1991-1996.

The section 4.3 examines working of the parliament which become the supreme body and power center in democratic polity, as “the building democracy”⁷ is the precondition of the political development.

The section 4.4 presents the installation of the caretaker government through 13th amendment bill of the constitution under 6th parliament by which BNP saved democracy to provide for election under a caretaker government. In the final chapter,

Chapter 5 the researcher presents the concluding remarks, this chapter has two sections. One is success of findings and other is failure .

1.9 Review of Hypothesis:

No research has been done in the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-96) . It is the recent burning question. Though there have been adequate literature works and research studies on the Khaleda Zia's

7. Lucian Pye, Aspect of the political development. P.33.

regime during that time, very few studies are conducted so long on the activity of BNP in the political administration, economic development during the 5th parliamentary session. However some related past literatures have been reviewed, are written by Abdul Matin, translating title's is Khaleda's regime .

A review which is a critical book on the regime of Khaleda Zia. In this book no study and no analytical work has been in the role of BNP during 1991-96 in the case of political development.

Another related past literature translating headline, parliamentary system in Bangladesh: A new tendency written by Dr. Hasanuzzaman. This book examines the replacing the parliamentary democracy after passing the 12th amendment of the constitution. In this essay, he described the functions of three

sitting of parliament including problem of parliamentary democracy, obstacles of parliamentary democracy. Democratic attitude of the leaders of all political parties. But he did not discuss about the role or function of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh.

One of the another related past literature named Khaleda Zia's regime in the politics of Bangladesh. In this study, author mentions the some development activity of Khaleda Zia's regime. But he did not describe the contribution of BNP in the political development as a political party.

Another related past thesis title Institutionalization Constrain's of Democracy in Bangladesh (1991-96) had been written by Arun Kumar Guswami, was details reviewed by me. In this thesis, he described institutional obstacles of democracy in the Khaleda Zia's regime. He did not recognize that BNP is a political party at the grass root level. It has a large number of contributions to establish the democratic culture and take economic development during (1991-96).

1.10 Gapes identified in the review literature:

Though the related past literatures gave a comprehensive and critical study on the regime of Khaleda Zia, yet it has not emphasised on the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh. Besides, no remarkable research was conducted on this point, the books that are published are not complete, in adequate and non informative to analyse the function of BNP. As a result there has made a wide gap between the related past literature and the present study. For this reason, there is very essential to research in this point so that the students and seekers of the political study can get benefit from this point.

Chapter –2

This study requires and examines the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991 –1996, which is the most significant for the students of political study. To assess the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh, at first we have to evaluate the sequence of formation of the B.N.P as the grass root level of political party. As “democracy can not run without political parties”¹ the political development can not be imagined without democracy which is, according to Lucian Pye, precondition of political development. Political party is the essential tool to survive the democracy in institutional shape and establish the political development in Bangladesh. On 25 January in 1975, Late President Sheikh Mujibor Rahman “formed the single national party”² i.e BAKSAL through 4th amendment of the constitution and established the presidential form of government instead of parliamentary form of government. In this amendment bill he decided to seize the all power and responsibilities of the state in order to carry out his program for establishing new order. He “banned all the political parties including his own Awami League and out of the created BAKSAL suspended fundamental rights shifted the freedom of the press and made the judiciary subservient to executive organ of the state.”³ Mujib was three years too late. His activities put out a serious political vacuum in the country.

In this total political vacuum Mujib was still the most popular and dominant personality in the country but he was alone in his new crusade. Taking advantage of the situation, the army opted to fill the vacuum through forming the political party. “It was significant in the political development of Bangladesh that military rulers would form a political party to provide a civilian facade for the regime.”⁴

It would be interesting to assess the role of the soldier turn politician, Ziaur Rahman in this contest. However, this chapter presents and analyses the formation of B.N.P as the political party in the political development of Bangladesh on the basis of 19 points development programs. This chapter has been divided into three sections. The section 2.1 deals with the formation of B.N.P as the political party, which was founded by late Ziaur Rahman, emerging as undisputed strong man in political arena of Bangladesh. The section 2.2 evaluates the definition of political development regarding to B.N.P’s political activities and the section 2.3 analyses the B.N.P’s 19 points development programs which bears the testimony to the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991 –1996.

1. Abdul Latif Masoom, Dilemmas of a Military Ruler, A political study of the Zia Regime P-145.

2. Ibid P-55,

3. Ibid P-

4. Ibid P-145.

Section 2.1

The formation of B.N.P

The B.N.P (Bangladesh nationalist party) was born by late President Ziaur Rahman. In this regard it is very essential to be mentioned about Ziaur Rahman who emerged as undisputed strong man in the political arena of Bangladesh, before discussing of formation of BNP as the political party. However, "Ziaur Rahman joined the Pakistan army in 1953 and was commission in 1955."⁵ He received training in a special intelligence course and served in the intelligence branch from 1959 to 1964. During the Indo-Pak war of 1965, "Zia was commander of company of a first Bengal Regiment and fought gallantly in the Kheuskaran Sector."⁶ In 1966 he was appointed instructor in Pakistan military academy at Kakul and later in the same he joined the staff college Quetta. He had been to west Germany for training and later spent a few months with British Army in 1969. In March 1971, he was with the newly raised Eight East Bengal Regiment at Chittagong, as stated earlier, "on March 27, 1971 he revolt and made historical announcement of independence of Bangladesh."⁷

When Zia fought for the liberation, he formed the first Brigade of Bangladesh army with the Jawans of the First, Second and Eight Bengal Regiment. It was popularly known as Z- force. After having emerged Bangladesh as an independent state on 16 December in 1971 through an armed struggle against Pakistani Occupation forces. President Sheikh Mujibar Rahman "made him Deputy chief of Army staff"⁸ though he was senior to Safiullah.

However, on 15 August in 1975, father of the nation, Sheikh Mujibar Rahman and almost all family's members except Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana were brutally killed by a dozen mid level Military officers some of whom had been dismissed by Mujib while in active service. However, he was appointed, on 25 August in 1975, "as the chief of army staff in the place of Major General Shafiullah who was appointed as the chief of army staff then political leadership. However, he became the CAS and the DCMLA on 8 November in 1975 after having taken place coup counter coup.

However, after having emerged as the CAS and DCMLA "less than nine months after coup counter coup, " Zia tried to legitimate his activity and consolidated in order to sustain himself further in power. Apart from this,

" every military regime perceives a threat to its position from existing political parties which view military rulers as usurpers of power"⁹ All military regimes, therefore invariably attempt to curb political party activities even to the point of ultimate emasculating them. Zia also followed the same pattern he was in a

5. Talukder Moniruzzaman, the Bangladesh Revolution and its aftermath P-199.

6. Ibid P-199.

7. Ibid P-200.

8. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a Military Ruler, A political study of the Zia Regime, P-37.

9. Ibid - P=109

position to allow the political parties to start operating again. " On July 28, 1976 his government issued a Proclamation called the Political Party Regulations (PPR).¹⁰

Regarding political parties and their activities in the country;- The PPR required "the political parties to seek the government's permission to function"¹¹ Under the PPR, the government had the final authority to allow license to the political party to function ¹² After the promulgation of these Regulations all existing political parties were declared inoperative and asked to apply for fresh registration either in their own or in different name" nearly a hundred political parties applied to the law and parliamentary affairs Ministry out of which 72 were given permission to register. These registered parties could operate only indoors as "martial law and restrict on political freedom were still in force"¹³

The political parties registered under PPR were not permitted to hold public meetings or organize any form of mass movement . However, on July 27, 1976 President Sayeem had dialogues with eight political parties, where he assured their leaders about holding the general election by the month of 1977. It was also assured that " Political activities would be revived by August 15, 1976".¹⁴

After having assured the reviving the political activities, "from October, some of the political supporters of the regime, started demanding postponement of the parliamentary election scheduled for February 1977".¹⁵ on grounds of economic crisis and national emergency."¹⁶ According to the demanding the postponement of election. On 21 November, President Sayeem postponed the parliament election. "To meet political turmoil and unrest in the constabulary, Major General Ziaur Rahman decided to step forward as the front man of the regime. On November 30, 1976, he became the chief Martial Law Administrator".¹⁷ and on "April 21 1977, at the age of 43, Zia became the 7th President of the Republic of Bangladesh."¹⁸ Immediately after his assumption of the office of President, Zia by proclamation, order No.-1 of 1977, introduced a significant amendment of the constitution . In a nation wide address on April 22, 1977 over the radio and television President Zia "assured the nation that the general election on the basis of adult franchise would be held in December 1978."¹⁹ " But he would seek peoples support in a referendum on May, 30, 1977."²⁰ However after taking his post of president, he amended the constitution changing four principle of 1972 constitution. Having amended to

10. "Bangladesh Gazzatte, BG Press Dhaka, July 29, 1976. see M.L.R. No.XXII of 1976.

11. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P-203,

12. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a military ruler A political study of the Zia Regime P-109,

13. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P-203,

14. Ibid. P 203.

15. Ibid. P 205 "

16. Bangladesh Observer" Dacca November 8, 1976.

17. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P-203,

18. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a military ruler A political study of the Zia Regime 106

19. Bangladesh Observer, 23 April, 1977.

20. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P-205,

the constitution under cover of Martial Law, Ziaur Rahman on May 1, 1977, called for a countrywide referendum of a certain confidence in him. which was "held in May, 30, 1977 on the basis of adult franchise in which he won a massive vote of confidence."²¹

It is notable that before holding referendum, he announced a broad based election manifesto of his 19 points programs of development. (was detail discussed in the section 3 of the chapter 2) "to seek a centrist majority support in the referendum ."²²

Though "Zia held a referendum , he was still undecided on whether to join an existing party or float his own Party."²³

From the very beginning to come in power, Zia observed that the "resurgence of various forces arising out of an anti-Indo-Soviet-phobia."²⁴ helped him to take over power. These forces included (I) the communal anti-independence forces or democratic pro independence forces (II) the rightist and Leftist forces which encouraged profoundly him to launch "as the principle of vehicle of political journey."²⁵

He argued to form political party that central theme of his politics was "the development and self-reliance."²⁶ He also wanted to minimize the antagonism of 1971. He also argued that "since the economic uplift of masses should be only the objective of the nation."²⁷ Zia wanted to accomplished his political front on politics of unity. His first step was to float a party of his own. For this reason, in a nation wide broadcast in December 1977. "Zia announced his decision to launch political front and underscored the need to initiate a democratic process to fill up the prevailing political vacuum."²⁸

In order to fill up the prevailing Political Vacuum, In February 1978, he formed a new political party called "Jatiyatabadi Gonotantrik Dal JAGODAL) was organized his supporters under his directives."²⁹ JAGODAL's motto was Bangladeshi Nationalism as opposed to Bengali Nationalism upheld by Awami League.³⁰ "JAGODAL also favoured a presidential form of government."³¹ Zia did not joint the JAGODAL and also "kept quite about the form of government secretly."³² "He had talks with a number of political party leaders to feel other

21. Ibid- P-206

22. Bangladesh Observer, Dacca May 26, 1977.

23. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P

24. Moudud Ahmed, Democracy and Challenge of Development. P.72

25. Ibid. P.72

26. Ibid-72

27. Ibid-72

28. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues. P

29. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a Military Ruler, A political study of the Zia Regime P-140.

30. Ibid P-113

31. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P-207, see the constitution of JAGODAL published by the party, February 18, 1977 in Dhaka.

32. Ibid P-207.

important issue.”³³ Some analysts argue that “the information of JAGODAL was essentially an experiment to measure and mobilize in favour of the regime.”³⁴ Though the party activities remain “indoors” “the formation of JAGODAL spurred the opposition political parties to organization work”³⁵ But before either the JAGODAL or opposition political parties could become organized “ Zia announced a presidential election to be held on June 3, 1978, on the basis of direct vote.”³⁶ Political parties being highly polarized on the eve of the proposed presidential election, Zia felt it inadequate to contest the presidential election through his party, JAGODAL. After having of exercise Zia’s supporters succeeded in giving shape to a broad based political forum named Jatiyatabadi Front (JF). “ Zia contested presidential election as nominee of the JF, an electoral alliance of both leftist and rightist parties” .³⁷ “ It contested of the six political parties the newly formed

- (1) JGD.
- (2) NAP(Pro-Peking)
- (3) United people’s party (UPP)
- (4) Bangladesh Muslim League.(BML)
- (5) Scheduled cast Federation. (SCF) And
- (6) Bangladesh Labour Party.” (BLP)³⁸

“His major opponents were Major General Osmany a nominee of Gantantrik Oikkay Jote contested of (1) Awami League.

- (2) NAP
- (3) People’s League
- (4) JJ Party
- (5) Krishak Sramik Party and
- (6) Jatiya League.”³⁹

The communist party of Bangladesh (CPB), which was banned at the time of election secretly supported the GOJ candidate for presidency”⁴⁰

On the other hand “ the former member of Jamaat-e-Islam who now formed a separate political party called Islamic democratic League also supported Zia.”⁴¹ Osmani contested the election mostly issue of form of government included returning “parliamentary democracy” .⁴² and “restoration of the four state principles enshrined in the constitution of “1972”⁴³ on the contrary, General Zia promised to establish a stable democracy, which would guaranty economic

33. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a Military Ruler, A political study of the Zia Regime 140.

34. Political reports published in the holiday on May 27, 1977.

35. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P-207.

36. President’s address the nation on April 22, 1977 over radio and television.

37. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P- 207.

38. Talukder Moniruzzaman, the Bangladesh Revolution and its aftermath P-222

39. “ Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P 208,

40. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a Military Ruler, A political study of the Zia Regime 114

41. Ibid P-141

42. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P 208

43. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a Military Ruler, A political study of the Zia Regime 115.

progress. Constantly, reminding the people of the corruption, inflation, famine and deterioration in the law and order situation during the Mujib regime, Zia swayed the people in his favor.

He campaigned hard but emphasized on few themes, Some of which “were reminiscent of Ayub’s motions of political development.”⁴⁴ First, Zia talked a Bangladesh nationalism that there was no place for any foreignism in the country and it would have to develop it’s own model. The theme was acceptable enough.

Second, Zia proclaimed that he wanted to people’s democracy doing away with the plan politics practiced by the so-called politicians.

Third, Zia emphasized on economic self-reliance where the country have to develop and depend on it’s own material and human resource. However, “in June 3, 1978 the presidential election 53% of the eligible voters cast their ballots. Zia won 76 % of votes”⁴⁵ of the total votes cast.

The formal political legitimacy having now been won, Zia formed his cabinet of ministers. For a five years term, “Zia transformed himself from a soldier to politician.”⁴⁶ The election to the presidency was an important triumph for him. It gave him a nationally durable stature and established his credibility in the mind of people. It undoubtedly influenced and inspired the subsequent political trends in Bangladesh.

Formation of party

After having successfully held of the presidential election Zia attempted “to impart a civilian look to his power base by trying to organize a political party to his own by bringing together different cross section of people under it’s banner”⁴⁷ Zia realized that if he were to depend on the support of these groups, he would have to integrate them into a single party. He wanted a broad based political platform of like minded political groups and parties. The prevailing uncertain political situation, he created through his massive victory as “ the right man for the right man” helped him to turn a new party for the regime. “Another factor helping the pro-Zia elements to consolidate their position was the promised parliamentary election. Zia thought that JAGO DAL, the political party he initiated, was not enough to counteract the political movement launched against him by the opposition. On the contrary some leaders of the Muslim League included Shah Azizur Rahman and other rightist as well as

44. For a more detail discussion of Ayub Khan’s model of political development. See Failure in National Integration, PP-91-165.

45. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P

46. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a Military Ruler, A political study of the Zia Regime 116.

47. Ibid P-117.

leftist political leaders expressed their willing eagerness to join Zia if he formed/ made a new political party. For the formation of this party and ensuring it's mass support Zia accepted a centrist role. He was advanced in his political thinking particularly in modernization and economic reforms. So dissolving the view of the JF according to one of his veteran colleagues, he chose the people "right from the left and left from the right"⁴⁸ Zia now founded a new party " called the Bangladesh Nationalist party (B.N.P) headed by the President Ziaur Rahman himself" ⁴⁹

"01 September in 1978." ⁵⁰ The JAGO Dal, NAP (B), UPP, Muslim League, Some non political personalities joined the new party.

48. Professor Abdul Baten, a senior BNP leader, used the expression in an interview which held on March 15, 1984, in Dhaka.

49. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues P 209,

50. F. Jaman, Bangladesh Government and politics.

Section 2.2

To assess the role of B.N.P in the political development in Bangladesh 1991 – 1996, In the Section 1 of the chapter 2, we discussed the genesis of B.N.P. In this study, I will analyze the definition of political development, as the objective of any political party is the development of any country. To run the state by any political party, political development is an essential part of the political program. So the B.N.P is the grass root level political party which was founded by Major General Zia, undisputed army strong man in the arena of political development in Bangladesh. He came in power through a series of coup and counter coup as the CAS and DCMLA. He was vested with the responsibility of the CMLA on 29 November in 1976. After taking the responsibility of the CMLA to legitimize his regime, he announced the referendum on 1 May which held on 30 May 1977. Before holding the referendum he announced his 19 points political program on April 30 in 1977. Apart from this, as the B.N.P has been running the state for a long time, it plays an important role in the political development of Bangladesh. Thus, in this study, before the examining the role B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh, we will explore the definition of political development according to Lucian Pye as well as other political thinkers.

The concept of the political development

political development which is the outcome and positive result of political, social as well as economical change which is “inherent in political process.”¹

It is needed to be said that the result of political change is the political development and decay. In this regard, Huntington conceptualises the political development in the terms of institutionalisation which he defines as “the process by which organization and procedures acquire values and mobility. The level of institutionalisation of any political system can be defined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of its organizations and procedures.”² The stability of political system, he argues depends in the relationship between political participation and political institutionalization. Rapid modernization according to Huntington, produces not political development that political decay. Therefore he argues the if the system can not absorb change the rate of participation must be reduced to maintain stability.

On the other hand, some social analysts say including G.A. Almond and Powell say that the concept of political development covers the aspect of political decline and decay.³

1. Roy C, Macrides Berand E, Brown, comparative politics, the Joursy press Chicago P-422.

2. SP Huntington, Political Development and Political Decay, World. politics Vol No.17, No-2, 1965. P-394.

3. GA Almond and Powell, comparative politics; A Development Approach, P-175.

So we will apply our mind to analyse the concept of political development that in a quite large measure, was spoken about first by the statesman and policy makers and then by the scholars of economic and sociology, has a very important place in the field of comparative politics. In spite of the fact that there is still considerable ambiguity and imprecision in the use of this term.⁴

The term political development lacks a precise and standard definition the reason of which should be traced in the abundant studies made from the inter-disciplinary point of view all impinging the subject of growth, "modernization" and development of the new states of the third world.

The names of Lucian W Pye G,A Almand James, Coleman. W. Howard Higgins, Leonard Binder, Herbert Fieth, Myron Weiner, David Apter, Harold Lasswell, Karl Deutech, Daniel Lerner, Talcott Parsons Robert F Boles., A.F.K Orgamki, John H. Kautsky. CE Black, Cloud E.Welch, Jr, FW Riggs, Revert-A. Pakenham, S.M. Lipset. S.N. Eisentadt, Samuel. P Huntington. Rovert.T Holt and a host of other social theorists may be referred to this connection .

They have made vast empirical studies of the nations of the third world in particular from economic, social, political, psychological anthological and political standpoints in order to deserve the process of change that has been taken over by the students of comparative politics.

However Lucians Pye should be regarded as the leading light of the earlier batch of writers to analyse the concept of development in depth, and has kept on evolving his ideas on the subject and has left an abiding impression on the entire literature of political development.⁵

Pye virtually set the pace in 1963 when he thought of political development in terms of cultural diffusion and of adapting, fusing and adjusting old patterns of life to new demands.

He emphasized that the first step towards system which he treated as a "basic concept supporting the gradual diffusion through all socialists of what we might call world culture"⁶

In this stage he told us the signs of the political development could be traced at three different levels with respect to the population as a whole, with respect to the level of government and general systemic performance with respect to the organization to polity"⁷

4. Lucian Pye, Aspect of Political Development, Boston, Little Brown 1966. P-33.

5. SP Varma; Mordern Political Theory. P-270.

6. Lusian Pye, Communication and Political Development. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, P-19)

7. Ibid, P-

So Lucian Pye presents ten definition of political development in a quite elaborate from his Aspect of Political Development.

- (1) Political development as the political prerequisite of economic development. It should be taken as the result of the economic development which- “refreshes to the growth in the total economic activity and output of a society. It may be measured by per capita gross national product of individual was fare ganged by such indices as life expectancy calorie intake supply of hospitals and doctors,⁸

In this regard, Daniel Lerner says that economic development gives citizen the fundamental ability and leisure needed for participation, the growth of literacy and the increase of media participation in capable people to acquire mobility, empathy, opinion and there by participation orientation,⁹ Economics like Paul A Barun, Normans Buchanan Howarad S Ellis. Benjamin Higgeins Alber.O.Hirschman and Barbara Word have laid stress on the point that political and social condition can play a quite decisive role in impeding or facilitating the economic growth”¹⁰

It can be recognized that political development is as prerequisite to analyse the political change as economic development.

- (2) The politics typical of industrial society.
- (3) Political modernization.
- (4) The operations of a nation state.
- (5) Administrative and legal development
- (6) Mass mobilization and participation
- (7) Building of democracy.
- (8) Stability and orderly change.
- (9) Mobility and power.
- (10) One aspects of a multi-mentional process of change.¹¹

Both Huntington and Rustow have criticized Pye;s ten defination with Hantington arguing that “ if there are ten definition of political development, Here are ten too many and the concept in all likelihood superfluous and dysfunctional”¹²

Huntington further argues that the identification of political development with modernization world restrict the use of the concept of political development in both time and space” Therefore political development with modernization in world restrict the use of the concept of political development should not be defined in term of modernization.

8. S P Hungtington; Political Order and Changing SocietiesP-34.

9. Daniel Lerner, the passing of traditional society. P-43,76.

10. Lucian Pye, Aspect of Political Development, Boston, Little Brown 1966. P-33-34.

11. Ibid P-33-34

12. S P Hungtington; “ The change to change”. P-303

A look at the literature on political development shows that the process of political development can be viewed from three perspectives: (1) Historical
(2) Typological
(3) and evolution.

The historical perspective assumes that the forces of history move in a unidirectional manners. Karl Popper defines historicism as “an approach to the social science which assumes that historical prediction is their principal aim and which assumes that this aim is attainable by discovering thereby the patterns, the laws or the trends that underlie the evolution of history”.¹³

Other writers like Marx, Comte, Maine, Spengler and Durkheim model also maintain the development both follows the Western model and coverage toward it. According to Marxist, all society move through four stages before coming to rest in communism: primitive communism, feudalism, capitalism and socialism. Marx observes that “the nation that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future”.¹⁴

This idea of unilinear growth has had a tremendous impact on the literature on political development, Following Marx. WW Rostow delineated “five stages of economic growth traditional society, the preconditions for take off, the take off the drive toward maturity and the age of high mass consumptions.”¹⁵

Rostow adds another stage which he calls “The search for equality”¹⁶

Rostow’s model of development has been criticised by Horowitz, who argues that his “only real model of development in U.S. since it is highest on the measures of economic growth he deems crucial”.¹⁷

Horowitz furtherer argues that Rostow has over looked imbalances in the American economy and the increasing disparity between rich and poor. Whatever the case may be, Rostow’s stage of economic development were employed by the other writers in the study of political development. Organiski, for example, delineates four stages of development the politics of primitive unification the politics of industrialization the politics of industrialization, the politics of national welfare and the politics of abundance.¹⁸

The idea of development by stages implies that the new development countries were originally under developed, and that the developing countries by the same process of growth, with attain development. According to this history, under- developed countries are still in the early

13. Karl Popper; *The poverty of historicism* (London 1944) coated in HT Hilson, *the American Ideology*.

14. Quoted in RA Nesbet, *Social Change and history*, (New York) P-178.

15. WW Rostow, *the Stage of Economic Growth*, a non-communist manifesto, Cambridge University Press, 1960 PP-4-11.

16. WW. Rostow *politics and stages of economic growth* , Cambridge 1971.

17. L I Horowitz, *three worlds of developments of Oxford*.

18. AFK, Organiski, *the Stages of Political Development*. (New York) 1963, P-7

stages of growth now developed countries experienced long ago Western values are clearly reflected in such a concept of political development. A.G Frank criticizes "such a concept and argues that under development is not original or tradition and that neither the past nor the present of under developed countries resembles in any important respect the past of the new developed countries."¹⁹

Neo Marxists argue that the now developed countries were never the satellites of any metropolis²⁰

A.G Frank also argues that " underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortages in regions that have remained isolated from the streams of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very historical process which also generated economic development; the development of capitalism itself."²¹

Whatever one thinks of Franks criticism, the assumption of stage theorists regarding a single course of development for all countries cannot be accepted if only because these are several patterns of development and modernization rather than just one. In the book *Political modernization in Japan and Turkey*, Rustow and Ward rejected a unilinear stage theory of political development showed that Japan and Turkey, after passing their take off stage, developed quite differently.²²

They also argued that the rates and patterns of development are determined by the environmental conditions of the society. The second perspective on political development is typological. It assumes that the developing countries will coverage toward a western model of development, such economic fineness among political scientist can be attributed to the influence of sociologist like Weber, Paruns and FX Sultan upon political scientific like Almond , Pye such ethnocentric are also a product of the values held by cities in western societies.²³

Such notions are also accepted by corporate elite in developing countries interested in undertaking development activities. These two perspective on political development can be criticized because they envisage development as unilinear not reversible, and that they

19. AG Frank, the development and under development in Latin America, Under Development and Revelation (New York) Monthly Press, P-4 .
20. (Aidan Foster Carter, Neo Marxists Approach to Development and under Development in ED, Kadat and G Williams (ED). Sociology and Development) Tavistock Publications 1974
21. AG Frank, the development and under development in Latin America, Under Development and Revelation (New York) Monthly Press, P-9 .
22. DA Rustow and RE Ward, *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, Princeton University Press 1974.
23. See Carl Mansheins, *Ideology and Utopia*, (Rouledge 1959).

imply an identifiable historical point of departure and terminus. For this reason, Coleman has advocated an evolutionary perspective, which sees political development as a process by which a system can be changed and improved. Implicit in this approach is the idea that political development is a “continuous interaction among the process of structural differentiation, the imperatives of equality, and the integrative, responsive and adaptive of equality, and the integrative, responses and adaptive capacity of a political system”²⁴ These Three variables Differentiation Equality, Capacity- constitute the Development syndrome.”²⁵

The heart of the sequential concept of development offered by the SSRC committee lies in its focus on certain crises such as identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation and distribution which all societies must face in their attempt to realize equality capacity and greater differentiation. The sequential concept of development points out that the appearance of various crises simultaneously reduces the ability of the leaders to respond to any one of them effectively Sidney Verba states that if a country can resolve its identity crises first it can easily resolve other crisis such as legitimacy, penetration, participation and distribution”²⁶

Almond and Powell have defined political development as “the increased differentiation and specialization in political structure and increased secularisations of political culture.”²⁷

They argue that political system must perform three types of function, namely (1) conversion functions (2) capability functions and (3) system maintenance and adaptation function. According to them. the “the development of higher levels of system capability is dependent upon the development of greater structural differentiation and cultural secularisation”²⁸

It is important to note that, structural differentiation without integration may undermine the capacity of system. Almond and Powel made no attempt to operationalize their concept of capability in term of which performance levels could be measured. Almond and Powel also argue that during long process of modernization and political change, political systems are bound to face specific crises related to state building, national building, participation and distribution, By focusing on system level crises, both Almond and Powel and SSSC committee have produced the nation of historical inevitability into development

pattern. Other writers like Huntington, Diamant and Eisendt also deal with capacity of the systems institution to adopt to the changing demands of society.

24. James, S Colman, The Development Syndrome, Differentiation Equality, Capacity in SSRC Committee, Crises and sequences in political Development, Princetone University Press, 1977. PP-73-74.

25. Ibid 47.

26. Sidney Verba, Sequences and Development SSRC committee P-10.

27. GA Almond and GB Powel, Comparative Politics; A development Approach, P-74.

28. Ibid, P-105.

Huntington conceptualizes political development in terms of institutionalise, which he defines as “the process by which organization and procedures acquire values and stability. The level of the institutionalization of any political system can be defined by the (1) adaptability (2) complexity (3) autonomy (4) and coherence of its organization and procedures.”²⁹

The stability of political system, he argues, depends on the relationship between political participation and political institutionalisation. Rapid modernization according to him, products not political development but political decay. Therefore he argues that if the system can not absorb change, the that participation must be reduced to maintain stability. In this regard we can not but say that political participation and institutionalisation are analytical tool for defining the political change. However Huntington argument contrasts with that of Deutch Who argues that the increasing participation enhances the capabilities of the system. He states. “ the process of mobilization generate strong pressures towards increasing the capabilities of government, by increasing the volume and range of demands made upon the government and administration and by widening the scope of politics and the membership of the politically relevant strata”³⁰

Deutch also deals with the factor which increase the political participation but he does not show the impact of political participation on the stability of the system. The concept of the capacity is also used by Diamond and Eisenstadt in their definition of political development. Both Diamond and Eisenstadt place considerable emphasis on the responsive capacity of political system. However, regarding to education and political development, James S Coleman says “ education is the key that unlocks the door to modernization”³¹

He also says that “ Education has acquired such high visibility in the developing countries not only because it has been an important criterion for political elite recruitment of the present generation and it’s regarded as the prime mover in economic growth but also because it is quite tautologically highly visible”³²

Regarding to modernization and political development, S.P Huntington, referring to Daniel Lerner, the passing of traditional society says that “the principal aspect of modernization, urbanization, industrialization, secularisation, democratisation, education, media participation do not occur in haphazard and unrelated fashion”³³

29. SP Huntington, Political Development and Political Decay, World. Politics Vol No.17, No- 2, 1965. P-394.

30. Karl Ductes, “social mobilization and political development” American political science review 1961 P –494.

31. James S Coleman, Education and political development, New Jersey Princeton University press 1965 P-3

32. Ibid P5

33. S.P Huntington, political order and changing societies P-32.

Professor M. Sayefullah Bhuyan, an eminent political thinker, keeping up with the view of W.W.Rustow and others about the developments says that “developments with growth measured in such as GDP, GNP or per-capita income socio-economic development, infact encompasses a broader concept that transcends the narrow quantative perspective”

Hunting ton gives an importance on the mobilization an economy development for political development. He say “ Mobilization involves changes in the aspiration of individual, groups and society, economics development involves changes in their capabilities, modernization requires both. From above for going exploration in the definition of political development , it can be decided that the political development can be measured by (1) the achievement of the economic growth i.e. economic development (ii) expansion of education (iii) urbanization (iv) industrialization (v) democratisation (vi) stability and orderly change and (vii) social change.

³⁴ M. Sayefullah Bhuyan, Under development of Bangladesh. An analyses of soci-economic policy implication, Journal of the Asiatic society of Bangladesh, Vol-35, no-2 December 1990 P-11.

Section-2.3

In order to examine the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96. In the section 2 of the chapter 2, we would analyze the definition of the political development to evaluate the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh. In this study, we would examine the 19 points of developments program of B.N.P which bears the testimony to the role of B.N.P in the political development that means how the B.N.P's 19 parties development program contains and bears witness in the political development of Bangladesh. However, the B.N.P's 19 points development program which was announced by Late Ziaur Rahman an undisputed strongman, on 30 April 1977 before holding the referendum to legitimize his regime. Before evaluating the 19 points program of B.N.P regarding to political development it is essential to know the B.N.P's development program which are as below :

(1) To Preserve the independence integrity and sovereignty of the state at all cost. This development program of the B.N.P bears witness to the political development of the BNP in Bangladesh. Because the integration crisis in the most formidable problem of the political development of the new state like Bangladesh. To meet successfully this problem before a society can become a modern nation state. Every government should preserve the sovereignty integrity and independence. In this regard Lucian Pye said that political development in the new states involves six crises. The crises of identity legitimacy. Penetration, participation, integration and distribution. These six crises may appear in different sequences but all of them must be successfully met before a society can become a modern nation state,"¹For this reason, it can be said that B.N.P's first step for development in recognized the role of B.N.P in political development of Bangladesh.

(2) The second step for development of B.N.P, is to reflect in all sphere of our nation's life the four fundamental principle of the constitution, i e complete faith in and reliance on the Almighty Allah, democracy, nationalism, socialism meaning economic and socialistic . This program of B.N.P also certifies the role of B.N.P in the political development in Bangladesh. Because the building of democracy" ,² is the pre condition of political development. So late president Ziaur Rahman include the democracy to reflect in the all sphere of national life. This is why it can be said that second pace for development is suitable for the establishment of political development. Another development program of B.N.P is to ensure people's participation at al level of administration development programs and in the maintaining of law and order which undoubtedly recognize the role of B.N.P in the political development. Because According to L. Pye "mass mobilization and

1. L. Pye Aspect of political development. (P.P 33)

2. Ibid.. (P.P 33)

participation as well as stability and orderly change.³ is the pre requisite of the political development, Apart from this, Huntington conceptualize the political development in terms of institutionalization which he defines the process by which organization and procedures acquire value and stability. The level of the institutionalization of any political system can be defined by the (1) “adaptability (2) complexity (3) autonomy and (4) coherence of its organization and procedures.”⁴

However, the stability of a political system depends on the relationship between political participation and institutionalization. From this analysis we can say that mass mobilization, participation, “stability and orderly change” reflects the role of B.N.P regarding to ensure people’s participation and maintain law and order.

A large number of political thinker thinks rural economy and national economy by according priority to agricultural development is the greatest sector of any kind of developing countries. Accordingly, the founder of B.N.P, included the following development program which is to strengthen our rural economy and national economy by according priority to agricultural development which bears testimony the role of B.N.P in the political development. In this regard he also included the country to make self sufficient in food and ensure that nobody has to starve.

Modernization is the pr-requisite of the political development. It is consisted of “urbanization, industrialization, secularization, democratization, education, media participation”.⁵

For this reason, to set up cloth production, industrialization has no alternative. So the B.N.P’s founder included to set up cloth production so as to ensure supply of a least coarse cloth for everybody which can not but recognize the role of B.N.P in the political development. In this regard giving an importance on urbanization, he thinks to take all possible measures so that no one remain homeless,

Education is a vital agent for human resource development. It is the backbone of a nation. No development can not be imagined without education, Regarding to this, Jam’s Colman says that “education is the key that unlocks door to modernization”. Not with standing that modernization involves the tremendous expansion man’s knowledge about his environment and the diffusion of this knowledge through out the society through increased literacy, mass communication and education. Accordingly, late Ziaur Rahman comprised “to rid the country of the curse of illiteracy as the part of political development.”

3. Ibid. (P P-33)

4. SP Huntington, Political Development and Political Decay, World. Politics Vol No.17, No-2, 1965. P-394.

5. S.P Hunting ton, political order and changing societies P-32.

Economic development is the prerequisite of the political development which “as prerequisite of economic development”⁶ It should be taken as the result of the economic development which- “refers to the growth in the total economic activity and output of a society. It may be measured by per-capita gross national product, level of industrialization and level of individual of welfare gauged by such indices as life expectancy calorie intake supply of hospitals and doctors,”⁷

In this regard, Daniel Lerner says that economic development gives citizen the fundamental ability and leisure needed for participation, the growth of literacy and the increase of media participation in capable people to acquire mobility, empathy, opinion and there by participation orientation,⁸ Economics like Paul A Barun, Normans Buchanan Howarad S Ellis. Benjamin Higgeins Albest.O.Hissechman and Barbaraword have laid stress on the point that political and social entities can play a quite decisive role in impeding or facilitating the economic growth” ,”⁹

So To set up the economy development of country he included “ a significant development program which is to ensure minimum medical care for everybody and to give necessary incentives to the private sector for the economic development of the country. Therefore, economic development of a country is formidable development step of the B.N.P in the political development of the Bangladesh.

Women are the participants to development in the developing countries. They are half participator in the nation building. As political development means mass participation, Zia placed women at their rightful position in the society and organize and inspire the youth for nation building.

As political development means the industrialization where employers, workers labor hard, he includes suitable for age development step to improve the condition of the workers and the develop healthy employer workers relation in the interest of increase production.

Since corruption is the tremendous obstacle to development. Not with standing that the government employees play vital role to develop the nation building, he comprises the improvement of their financial condition to create an urge for public service and nation building among the government employees and takes an effort to establish a social system on justice and fair play and free from corruption. From above forgoing analyses, we can say that maximum development program of B.N.P placed by late Ziaur Rahman, bear the testimony a significant role in the political development of Bangladesh.

6. L.Pye Aspect of political development P-33.

7. S.P Hunting ton, political order and changing societies P-34.

8. Daniel Lerner, the passing of traditional society.P-43.75

9. L. Pye Aspect of political development. PP-33.34

Chapter 3

As burning question of my research work is “the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991 – 1996”, I, in the Chapter 2, analyzed for the formation of B.N.P, evolution of political development regarding to 19 points political program of B.N.P. In this study, I will examine that how the B.N.P played an important role to remain in power through a continuous process of a civilianization and legitimization of the regime as well as to establish democracy and political development of Bangladesh from 29 November 1976 to 19 March 1991. This periodic study has five sections. Section 3.1 deals with 29 November 1972 to 21 April 1977. When Zia, the founder of B.N.P, was vested with the responsibility of the Chief Martial law administrative (CMLA) on 29 November 1976 from the Chief of Army staff (CAS) / the Deputy Chief Martial law administrative (DMLA) on 8 November 1975 taking place coup counter coup, continuing till April 29, 1977 when he was finally assumed the highest position of the state i e the presidency. In this study I will show that Zia, before having vested with the CMLA, was assigned the leadership of soldier as the Chief of the Army staff (CAS) and as the DMLA. He acted more like military man and ruled essentially through Martial Law to create a way which is the “bringing stability and orderly change,” issuing proclaimed called the political parties regulation (PPR) and after having taken the responsibility of the CMLA on 29 November 1976 from the CAS/DMLA after taking place coup counter coup, he consolidated his power through arranging the local council elections as the part of national election and was authorized to amend the proclamation as well as empowered to take any other actions, as he deemed necessary in the national interest.

The section 3.2 deals with from 22 April 1977 to 30 May 1981 which witnessed the transformation of Zia the soldier into Zia politician. In this study I will show that he took a number of steps to legitimize his regime to establish the democracy and political development of Bangladesh.

Section 3.3 deals with from 30 May 1981 to 24 March 1982 which witnessed to try the establishment of democracy and political development through sixth amendment of constitution and holding presidential election led by B.N.P under the leadership of Acting President A. Satter. Section 3.4 deals with movement of democracy and development through B.N.P’s uncompromising movement during from 24 March 1982 to 6 December 1990. Section 3.5 which evaluates the formation of caretaker government under Acting President Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed after the end of nine years old autocratic rule of Ershad in accordance with three alliances joint declaration, which is very remarkable for Bangladesh’s political development and democratic dispersion.

Section 3.1

To assess the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991 – 1996 In the chapter 2 ,we have already noted the genesis of B.N.P as a political party and the exploration of political development regarding to 19 points program of development. In this study I shall analyze that how the founder of BNP initially played an important role to legitimize his regime as well as maintain “the stability and orderly change”¹from the 29 November, 1976 to 21 April 1977 as the leader of soldier. It is to be noted here that “any political system must be legitimized and consolidated in order to sustain itself further in power”² in the case of political system where Army is in power, this becomes more difficult, when it comes to power, it does so on the plea that “the earlier civilian system had broken down and law and order needed to be restored.”³

This very reasonability makes all army regimes transitory in nature because when law and order is restored and stability maintain the Army’s rationale to remain in power becomes tenuous. However in Bangladesh when the army came in to power, they took some popular measures which we mean development measure to “enlist the support and acceptance the people. However, the founder of B.N.P, General Zia was fully conscious of these imperatives for military rule. He emerged as the undisputed strong man in the political arena of Bangladesh. His immediate task was to bring discipline and order into chaotic and fragment army which was the first political development measurement of Zia.

However, now I will show that how he took political developments measurement to bring discipline and stability among the military as the leader of soldiers before having vested with the responsibility of the CMLA from the CAS/DCMLA after taking place coup counter coup, and issued a proclamation called political party regulation (PPR) on 28 July 1976 and material benefit which he adopted in order to bring back control over the army. Initially it was President Khandakar Mostak Ahmed who made him the CAS, by virtue of which position Zia assumed the leadership of soldier a time when there was an extremely chaotic condition in the cantonment and also in society. After Coup and counter coup the soldier made him the defacto leader of the country. It became itself a challenge to his leadership. In order to tackle this challenge Zia moved cautiously and determined with systematic attempts to consolidate his own position within firstly army and secondly government and society. From the position of a leader of the soldiers, Zia utilized the situation within a short period of time he emerged as a leader of a nation.

1. Lucian Pye,Aspect of Political Dedelopment,P-33

2. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a military rular A political study of the Zia Regime 109,

3. Ibid P-100,

In order to face the problem he accepted a two –pronged development strategy. On the one hand he suppressed all disobedient and indiscipline. On the other hand , he offered material incentive and also issued a proclamations called political regulation before the taking the responsibility of the CMLA.

Repressive measures

As the part of first political development, Zia and his commanders assessed the situation after taking coup and counter coup of the military discipline and authority, which if not checked, might force a threat to the security of the nation. Consequently the military and internal security forces in Bangladesh were considerably strengthened since 7 November 1975.”⁴

From the very beginning he reshuffled command structure an army as a whole was recognized. In March- April 1976 to dilute the concentration of dissident group, they are redeployed among the cantonments and bridges. A part from that a new division was created specially to protect and guarantee the security of the capital. To bring discipline and peace “1500 soldiers and officers had been dismissed or tried for their sympathy with rebel soldiers”⁵ He admitted himself that by November 25, 1975, two of the Army battalions were disarmed to restore peace and order. Zia was compelled to take corrective actions. To save the army from disintegration, he began to undertake measures to isolate from the army those with officers in the cantonments having no role or authority. He commanded to re-arrest the JSD leaders included Cornel Taheer, most prominent leader of PSS, who was put behind bars, was sentenced to death and executed in Dhaka central Jail on 21 July, 1976 by a special tribunal headed by Col Yeosuf Haider, 13 other JSD leaders were sentenced to rigorously imprisonment for verifying terms for their alleged attempt to destroy the army and conspiracy against the state. In course of Tawab’s drive against the dissidents within armed forces, Zia also forced the recognition of one of his DCMLA as right oriented by Vice martial MG Tawab on April 1976 on the accusation of his organization a counter coup with pro-Islamic elements in the country. ‘The changes were not substantiated but Tawab was forced to leave the country immediately.’⁶ By removing Tawab known as an extreme rightist and Taher known as an extreme leftist, “Major Zia manage to win over the moderate and centrist support in the army.”⁷

In spite of such drastic measures against certain sections within the army, Zia continued through a difficult time. He took a number of measures to put a check on the growth of rival factions within army and to establish strict control

4. Alan Lindquist “Military and development in Bangladesh IDS Bulletin No – I, Vol-9 July 1977,P-17.

5. Abdul Latif Masum, Dilemmas of a military ruler A political study of the Zia Regime102,”

6. For Dramatic Episode, C. Anthony Mascarenness Bangladesh, A legacy of blood Hodder and Stoughton London 1968, PP-144-145.

7. The economist, London, September 1976.

over it so that various political and other interested group might not exercise their influence over the soldier in General. A famous political scientist observed “ Zia used a Napolian strategy first going along with the rebel soldier and later turning his guns against him.”⁸ In course of time “this same officer had the fortune to become the armed chief of Bangladesh and succeeded as it’s president”⁹

Material benefit

The second political developments measures that Zia accepted to bring back control over the army was distribution of material benefits among the soldiers and appease them there by. He adopted the demands for increased salary and fringe benefits and abolished the erstwhile batman system. As a result the soldier trusted to Zia and he became the only officer cum- leader acceptable to them. However, before having vested with the responsibility of CMLA, after having emerged as the CAS and the DEMLA “ less than nine months after the uprising “ Zia tried to legitimate his activity and consolidated in order to sustain himself further in power. Apart from this, “ every military regime perceives a threat to its position from existing political parties which view military rulers as a suppress of power”¹⁰ All military regimes, therefore invariably attempt to curb political party activities even to the point of ultimate emasculating them. Zia also followed the same pattern he was in a position to allow the political parties to start operating again. “ On July 28, 1976 his government issued a Proclamation called the Political Party Regulations (PPR).¹¹

Regarding political parties and their activities in the country;- The PPR required “the political parties to seek the government’s permission to function”¹²

Under the PPR, the government had the final authority to allow licence to the political party to function ¹³After the promulgation of these Regulations all existing political arties were declared inoperative and asked to apply for fresh registration either in their own or in different name” nearly a hundred political parties applied to the law and parliamentary affairs Ministry out of which 72 were given permission to register. These registered parties could operate only indoors as “martial law and restrict on political freedom were still in force¹⁴ ,”

The political parties registered under PPR were not permitted to hold public meetings or organize any form of mass movement . However, on July 27, 1976

8. Zillur Rahman, *Martial Law to Martial Law, Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh* (UPL, Dhaka, 1984.) P-180.

9. Abdul Latif Masum, *Dilemmas of a military rular A political study of the Zia Regime* 105, 10. Ibid P-109, ”

11. “Bangladesh Gazzatte, BG Press Dhaka, July 29, 1976. see M.L.R. No.XXII of 1976.

12 Rounaque Jahan, *Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues* P-203,

13. Abdul Latif Masum, *Dilemmas of a military rular A political study of the Zia Regime* 109,

14. Rounaque Jahan, *Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues* P-203,

President Sayeem had dialogues with eight political parties, where he assured their leaders about holding the general election by the month of February 1977. It was also issued that “ Political activities would be revived by August 15, 1976”.¹⁵

However, after having taken of the responsibility of the CMLA, he consolidated his power through arranging the country wide village council in the early 1977 as the part of national election was authorized to amend the proclamation as well as empowered to take other action as he deemed the necessary national interest.

DCMLA to CMLA

The non party interim government of ASM Sayem had been looking after the day to day administration of the country and from time to time, promising general election to satisfy popular demand. To face political turmoil and indiscipline in the constabulary, the military authorities felt that “Major General Ziaur Rahman, the CAS should also be vested with their responsibility of the CMLA.”¹⁶ On November 29, 1976, ASM Sayem President and CMLA felt or “ had been obliged to feel”¹⁷ in the national interest that Zia should be the CMLA. Thus on April 21, 1977, at the age of 43 Zia became the 7th President of the Republic of Bangladesh. After becoming 7th President of Republic of Bangladesh, the soldier turned politician as well as the military elite, consolidated their power in the cantonment and also the grass root level through local council election. However, the local council election, were another political development program for the regime in the early 1977, are, union Parishad election and urban Municipal elections. The union Parishad is country old traditional grass root level institution in the country and people participation is maximum at this level. In spite of being claimed to be a partyless election. “the party affiliated candidates” were elected to these local level bodies. The election were also held Municipalities in August and September in 1977. After election, majority of elected person joined Zia and helped him civilianization process through various political maneuvers like political party formation and election.

However, from above discussion I can say that Zia was the leader of soldier as the CAS and DCMLA after taking place coup counter coup and before having vested with the responsibility of the CMLA, he was undoubtedly and strongly able to control the indiscipline and disobedience among the soldier and society and after having taken of the responsibility of the CMLA, he consolidated his power through arranging the wide village council in the early 1977, which were primary step to bring stability and orderly change i.e to establish the political development of Bangladesh.

15. Ibid. P 203.

16. For details, see Talukder Moniruzzaman, Bangladesh Revolution and it's after math P-214, 215.

17. Alim-Al-Rezce, Constitutional glimpse of Martial Law in India , Pakisten and Bangladesh P-79

Section 3.2

In order to examine the role of B.N.P in the political development in Bangladesh 1991-1996, in the section 1 of the chapter 3, we analyzed that how Zia, the founder of B.N.P, played a significant role as the leader soldiers to establish national security and integration of the state bringing discipline and maintaining law and order. In this study I will examine that how Zia, as a leader of nation, took a number of steps to legitimize his regime to establish the democracy and political development during 22 April 1977 to 30 May 1981. However, soon after assumption of the office of the President Zia by Proclamation Order number one of 1977 introduced a “significant amendment”

In a nation wide address on April 22, 1977, over radio and Television, President Zia, founder of B.N.P, assured the nation that the general election on the basis adult franchise would be held in December in 1978.

By eliminating all possible threats to his position from the disgruntled elements, he had already established his supremacy within arm. To secure his legitimacy as the leader of nation, he devoted his attention on the consolidating his position as a constitutional President as well as on the establishing a base of love and respect of the people of grass root level.

Constitutional Amendment

To create a facade of popular goodwill, the regime permitted to the people some concessions which were taken as the political development of Bangladesh. Once an army regime gets involved in politics, it comes forward with popular constitutional amendment, administrative change, promise of referendum and elections and forming a political platform it self. In addition this the first military ruler in Bangladesh, the founder of B.N.P, made addition an alterations in the constitution just after the assumption of Presidency on April 21, 1977.

According to the proclamation order no 1 of 1977, he inserted on the top of the constitution above preamble the words (Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim = by the name of Allah). It was declared that the citizens of Bangladesh would, henceforth, be termed not as Bangalees but as Bangladeshi. He replaced the four fundamental principles of the constitution vis nationalism, secularism, democracy, socialism with the high ideals absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah, nationalism, democracy and socialism meaning economic and social justice. These ideals would henceforth be the fundamental principles of state policy. Where as absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah would be the basis all actions, there were some guarantee also in the amendment to constitution. It was declared that would be no nationalization or regularization of private property without compensation. The promotion of local government

institution and participation of women national affairs were also upheld by the constitution.¹ These constitutional amendments were hailed by the people at large particularly by rich wing political parties.

Dr. Aleem al Rajee, a distinguished constitutional expert of the country, called the amendment a theological politics introduction.²

The referendum

Having thus amended to the constitution under cover of Martial Law, Ziaur Rahman on May 1, 1977, called for a countrywide referendum of a certain confidence in him. which was “held in May, 30, 1977 on the basis of adult franchise in which he won a massive vote of confidence.”³

Expressing confidence in his leadership an actions. He wanted to gain this popular support for his government.

19 points programs

It is notable that before holding referendum he announced broad based political manifesto his 19 points programs of developments on April 30, 1977 (was details discuss in the section three of the first chapter.) To seek a centrist majority support in the referendum.⁴ he included the constitutional amendments already enacted and policies like promotions of the private sector, achieving self-sufficient in food, strengthening rural economy and the checking the people explosion. He announced this program, Zia launched a four week mass contact over through out the country during which he addressed 60 public meetings and innumerable way side gatherings, high lighting his ideas on rural development and self help. See appendix (A)

Jatiyatabadi Gonotantik Dal (JAGODAL)

In the last week of February 1978, a new political party called Jatiyatabadi Gonotantik Dal (JAGODAL) was organized his supporters under his directives.

1. For the total picture of the constitution after amendments. See the constitution of People Republic of Bangladesh, Published by the Law and Parliamentary Affairs, BG Press, Dhaka 1977.
2. (See Bangladesh observers April 23, 1977.)
Dr. Aleem al Rajee, constitutional glimpses of martial law in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh UPL Dhaka, 1988, P- 76)
3. Rounaque Jahan, Bangladesh politics; Problems and Issues p-206
4. See Bangladesh observer Dacca May 26 1977

JAGODAL's motto was Bangladeshi Nationalism as opposed to Bengali Nationalism upheld by Awami League.

JAGODAL also favoured a presidential form of government. Zia did not join the JAGODAL and also kept quite about the form of government secretly, he had talks with a number of political party leader to fill other importance issue. Some analysts argue that information of JAGODAL was essentially an experiment to measure and mobilize in favour of the regime. Though the party activities remain 'indoors' the formation of JAGODAL spurred the opposition political parties to organization work. But before either the JAGODAL or opposition political parties could become organized Zia declared a presidential election to be held on June 3, 1978, on the basis of direct vote. Political parties being highly polarized on the eve of the proposed presidential election, Zia felt it inadequate to contrast the presidential election through his party, JAGODAL. After having of exercise Zia's supporters succeeded in giving shape to a broad based political forum named Jatiyatabadi Front (JF). Zia contested presidential election as nominee of the JF, an electoral alliance of both leftist and rightist parties. It contested of the six political parties the newly formed

- (1) Jatiyatabadi Gonotantrik Dal(JGD)
- (2) NAP pro-pekong
- (3) United people's party (UPP)
- (4) Bangladesh Muslim League.(BML)
- (5) Scheduled cast Federation. (SCF)
- And(6) Bangladesh Labour Party. (BLP)

On the other hand, his major opponents was Major General Osmani a nominee of Gantantrik Oikkay Jote contested of (1) Awami League. (2) NAP(3) People's League (4) JJ Party(5) Krishak Sramik Party and Jatiya League.

The communist party of Bangladesh (CPB), which was banned at the time of election secretly supported the GOJ candidate for presidency. On the other hand the former member of Jamaat-e-Islam who now formed a separate political party called Islamic democratic League also supported Zia.

Osmani contested the election mostly issue of form of government included returning parliamentary democracy and restoration of the four state principles enshrined in the constitution of 1972

on the contrary, General Zia promised to establish a stable democracy, which would guarantee economic progress. Constantly, reminding the people of the corruption, inflation, famine and deterioration in the law and order situation during the Mujib regime, Zia swayed the people in his favour.

He campaigned hard but emphasized on few themes, Some of which were reminiscent of Ayub's motions of political development. First, Zia talked a Bangladesh nationalism that there was no place for any foreignism in the country and it would have to develop its own model. The theme was acceptable enough.

Second, Zia proclaimed that he wanted to people's democracy doing away with the plan politics practiced by the so called politicians.

Third, Zia emphasized on economic self-reliance where the country have to develop and depend on it's own material and human resource. However, "in June 3, 1978 the presidential election 53% of the eligible voters cast their ballots Zia won 76 % of votes" of the total votes cast.

The formal political legitimacy having now been won, Zia consisted of his cabinet of ministers. For a five years term, "Zia transformed himself from a soldier to politician."⁵ The election to the presidency was an important triumph for him. It gave him a nationally durable stature and established his credibility in the mind of people. It undoubtedly influenced and inspired the subsequent political trends in Bangladesh.

Formation of party

After having successfully held of the presidential election Zia tried "to impart a civilian look to his power base by trying to organize a political party to his own by bringing together different cross section of people under it's banner"⁶ Zia thought that if he were to rely on the support of these groups, he would have to integrate them into a single party. He wanted a broad based political platform of like minded political groups and parties. The prevailing uncertain political situation, he created through his massive victory as "the right man for the right man" helped him to launch a new party for the regime. "Another factor helping the pro-Zia elements to consolidate their position was the promised parliamentary election. Zia thought that JAGO DAL, the political party he initiated, was not enough to counter act the political movement launched against him by the opposition. On the contrary some leaders of the Muslim League included Shah Azizur Rahman and other rightist as well as leftist political leaders expressed their willing eagerness to join Zia if he formed/made a new political party. For the formation of this party and ensuring it's mass support Zia accepted a centrist role. He was advanced in his political thinking particularly in modernization an economic reforms. So Zia dissolved the view of the JF, according to one of his veteran colleagues, he chose the people "right from the left and left from the right" Zia now founded a new party "called the Bangladesh Nationalist party (B.N.P) headed by the President Ziaur Rahman himself" "01 September in 1978. The JAGO Dal, NAP (B), UPP, Muslim League, Some non political personalities joined the new party.

Having formed a political party of his own, he approached each and every party leaders included right or left, big or small to join his party. He took certain

5. Abdul Latif Masum, *Dilemmas of a military ruler A political study of the Zia Regime* 116,

6. *ibid* p – 117

measures to build B. N. P. into a disciplined loyal, dedicated, honest and patriotic body. This was reflected in his personal diary.⁷

The measures included the establishment of a political training school for the party workers, ideological orientates and political psychological tests. He hoped that the new party would be nationalist in character, modern in outlook and balanced in its composition. Once he pronounced that he would make politics difficult.⁸

However, the B. N. P was a unique party in many ways. It was created by the military ruler within the framework of the military junta's scheme of respective politics. "It attempted some form of civilian and legitimization for the respective regimes of"⁹ developing countries. However the founder of B. N. P decided to restore democracy and civilianize this system in Bangladesh through party.

The formal legitimacy for regime was to be ensured through the presidential election. To restore democracy and to establish the political development in Bangladesh, creating a political party of his own, the President of B.N.P proceeded to redeem his pledge for the parliamentary election which was held on 18 February 1979. In this election, his newly formed B.N.P participated and contested to cast vote for 298 seats. On the contrary, other political party belonging to A. L (Malek) A.L (Mizan) , J.S.D and ML, IDL alliance also contested to win in this election. B.N.P shunned all references to socialism and secularism in this election and insisted on their pledges to social justice. production oriented politics, people's democracy, Bangladesh nationalism and the presidential form of government with a sovereign parliament as well as the program of economical development which was the first requisite of political development of Bangladesh.

After the holding the parliamentary election, B.N.P won more than two third of the seats that is 206. A.L (Malek-Mijan) included the rest of all parties won the 94 seats. The following table shows the over all result of the election.

7. (President Zia's short note type dairy in his own handwritings (photocopies now in the possession of the authority) is sufficient proof of his desire. Sample copies are included in the Appendix D

8. (Bichitra Dhaka 5 January 1979)

9. Talukder Muniruzzaman, "Civilization of military regime" A comparative analysis, BISS journal (Dhaka) Voll-no-1, 1980 P-45-57.

Table NO – 1

Parliamentary Election Result (February- 1979)

Party	Seats contested	Seats won	% of seats	Voter
B.N.P	298	206	68.3	41.2
AL. Malek	295	39	13.3	14.4
ML-IDL	265	19	6.3	10.0
JSD	240	9	3.0	4.9
AL-Mizan	183	2	0.7	2.8
Other parties	419	7	2.3	1.7
Independent	425	17	6.1	12.9
Total	2125	300	100	100

Source: Report on parliamentary Election 1979, Bangladesh Election Commission B-G press –Dhaka-1979.

The newly formed five months old B.N.P remarkably begged the majesty's support which brought the restoration of order and stability. A series of fortuitous circumstances advanced the career of B.N.P in Bangladesh. During this period, B.N.P gathered sufficient support from common masses. Since B.N.P was the official party, it had certain in built advantages and the party fully utilized these to earn for its candidates. Finally, B.N.P was to be eradicated for rushing through the process of civilianization an democratization. The founder of the B.N.P withdrew Martial law, civilianized the government, set in motion of a parliament, permitted open political functions and became a civilian himself. The election rehabilitated those political forces which military backed regime wanted. The election of 1979 created a situation for placing the country on the read to civilian rule and political process. However, after having successfully conducted the state as the leader of a nation, on 30 May, 1981, Zia was killed in an abortive puctch spearheaded by a handful of disgrunted officer of Chittagong Cantonment.

From above forgoing discussion, we can decide that immediately after assumption of the presidency on 21 April, 1977, as the leader of the nation, the founder of the B.N.P forming political party i.e. B.N.P, took a number of steps to legitimize his regime to ensure the democratic process to establish the political development through the presidential referendum of 1977, the presidential election of 1978. and parliamentary general election of 1979, during 22 April, 1977 to 30 May, 1981.

Section 3.3

In order to assess the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-1996). In the second section of the third chapter, we analyzed that how the founder of B.N.P as the leader of nation, took a series of steps to legitimize his regime before and after having formed a political party of his own to establish the civilization and democratic process during 22 April to 30 May 1981. In this section, I would describe that after having killed Zia in an abortive puctch spearheaded by a handful disgruntled officer included Major Monjur, how B.N.P played significant role to hold up the democratization of the constitution both of the party and country under the leadership of president justice A Satter through six amendment-bill of the constitution on 8 July in 1981 and presidential election on November 1981 during the 30 May 1981 to 24 March 1982.

The former of the B.N.P, martyred President Ziaur Rahman was killed in a abortive pucth spearheaded by a disgruntled officer in the cantonment on 30 March in 1981. Immediate after having reached the news of Zia's death, to ensure the continuity of the government in spite of not having an elected post of the office of vice president-under constitution , Vice- president chief justice A Satter had been appointed by Zia, was appointed as an acting President of the Bangladesh government. He took the oath of office and started a new journey in politics. "Bangladesh seemed have set a unique example of establishing continuity in the constitutional process."¹

However, after taking over the post of the acting president, he declared not to be contested the office of the presidential because of his illness. But it was said under Article 123 of the constitution, " The presidential vacancy caused by death was to be filled by an election within 180 days of the vacancy occurring."²

According this Article , It was decided to be held the presidential election on 15 in 1981. On the other hand, less than three days after his announcement, an ailing Satter indicated that he wanted to be the elected chief-executive of the country. There had been created a large number of problems within B.N.P. The first related to the question of party leadership and the second crisis related to the question of the nomination of a presidential candidate on the behalf of the party. These problems were discussed in a parliamentary party meeting of B.N.P as a compromise formula the ruling coterie and those who demanded democratization of constitution both of party and country. Wanting to be elected for the post of president by an acting President raised the question of amending the countries constitution to make the management of the government more effective. As a result, constitution

1. Moudud Ahmed, Democracy and the challenge of development P.1.83

2. Ibid p-183

Amendment committee of the parliamentary party was formed consisting of seven members to examine the proposal and make recommendation. Once the meeting had started with the arrival of the acting president. Prime minister of then government led by Shah Aziz began directing the proceeding and asked the youth Minister, Abul Kashem, to speak. Kashem stood up and proposed the name of Satter. In this circumstance, a week already had passed, In the mean time 'a matter of a more/serious nature come to the notice of the government'³-

A week after Satter's nomination was announced, but the constitution barred him to contest the election as he was holding an office of the profit and was not exempted by any constitutional provision to enable him to seek election while holding the substantive office of the Vice President. "Under Article 66 (dd) a person would be disqualified for election as a member of Parliament if he was holding an office of profit in the vice of the republic-other than an office which is declared by law not to disqualify such holders. There was no law stating that the office of service of President was not an office of profit. On the contrary, in Article 66 (2a) some offices were exempted from being an office of profit, such as Prime Minister Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of state, Deputy minister. It was therefore quite clear that the office of the Vice President continued to be an office of profit and this debarred Satter from standing in election; However, on 30 June, a draft bill called the sixth (constitutional amendment) bill was placed before the Parliamentary party so that Justice A Satter could candidate for the post of presidential election. The sixth amendment bill of the constitution was that some offices were not exempted from being an office of profit"-such as President, Vice President, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime minister, Minister, Minister of state and Deputy minister. On that 8 July bill was passed by constitution Amendment committee with majority of votes of the Parliamentary members of B.N.P by Parliament passed the sixth Amendment bill which enabled Satter to stand in the election and preserved the constitutional continuity as well as democratic process which reflects the political development of Bangladesh.

Presidential Election on 15 November in 1981 :

After having passed the sixth Amendment bill of the constitution which confirmed the election of Justice Abdul Satter to the post of country's Presidency. The B.N.P nominated him and said that Presidential vacancy caused by the death was to be filled by an election within 180 days of the vacancy occurring. For this reason, the government led by B.N.P declared the date of the Presidential election on 21 September in 1981. Subsequently, with consultation of the opposition party including A.L with their associates, the date of the President election was confirmed on 15 November in 1981 "After a lot of tension and bitter campaigning among the candidates specially between

A Satter and Kamal Hossain. The officially accepted 39 candidates, eight had retired from the race leaving 31 candidates contesting the election in a country of 90 million people.”⁴ In this election, “Satter won a landslide victory over nearest rival, Kamal Hossain by a margin of 8.52 million votes announced unofficially by the Election Commission.”⁵ It was stated that 55.47 percent of the votes were cast, of which A. Satter received 65.8 percent and Kamal Hossain received 26.35 percent. All other 29 candidates lost their deposits. –⁶

After having been “a much more peaceful election than any previous”⁷ in Bangladesh, constitutional process was sustained and this was a source of pride for democracy. During this ten months, including less than five months after Presidential election, he tried to save democracy forming the cabinet for two times in order to free the administration from corruption and stagnation and he also tried to rectify the situation in order to lead the country in the path of effective democratic order. On the other hand, during his shortest time, the chief of the Army was H.M Ershad who was the member of National security Council formed by A.Satter, played an important role in the Presidential election. After having the election Ershad did not co-operate with A.Satter’s activities and always engaged to “hatch conspiracy for creating political and administrative unrest in the country.”⁸

However, showing the inner brawling of B.N.P not solving economic and administrative crisis, and because of weak leadership of Justice Satter, H.M. Ershad with formal forces declared to take up the direct responsibility instead of becoming the partner of discredit of B.N.P government. Satter tried to resist Ershad’s encroachments President’s authority but he lacked the leverage to effectively deal with the problem.”⁹

Being vexed by different unreasonable demands and displeased with the behavior and acts of General Ershad, Satter declare to appoint a new chief of the Army. But It was too late. Apart from this, at that time Ershad’s leadership in he Army was consolidated and unchallenged as well as highly admired. For this reason, he had to resign under the pressure from the existing army chief, before any notification from the President to undo General Ershad. So President Justice Satter gave up the power on 24 March in 1982. At the conclusion of this section, we can say that during the 30th May 1981 to 24 March 1982, The elected President Justice A.Satter tried to save democratic system and constitutional way through sixth Amendment bill of the constitution and the Presidential election on 15 November in 1981, which was the contribution of the BNP

4. Ibid P-205

5. (Bangladesh Observers 1-8.1981)

6. Moudud Ahmed, Democracy and the challenge of development P.1.83

7. Ibid P-208

8. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –189.

9. Lawrence Zering Bangladesh from Muzib to Ershad. An Interpretation study.- University Press limited Dhaka 1992 P152.

Section 3.4

In order to examine the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96. In the section 3 of the chapter 3 , I analyzed that how B.N.P led by President Justice A. Satter was overwhelmingly mandated by the people, during 30 May 1981 to 24 March 1982, Played an important role to sustain the democratic exercise and tried to save the constitutional process through the sixth amendment bill of the constitution and the presidential election on 15 November 1981. In this study I would show that how B.N.P, under the leadership of Khaleda Zia, a widow of late President Ziaur Rahman, after having toppled the government of A. Satter by the armed forces under the leadership Ershad in a bloodless coup on March 24 in 1982 within less than five months an expensive presidential election,¹ played a significant role to reestablish the people's lost sovereignty and restore the democracy as well as constitutional responsibility through uncompromising attitude to autocratic Ershad boycotting the Ershad led the referendum 1985, the parliament election 1986, the Presidential election on 15 October 1986, the fourth parliamentary election in 1988 and forming the joint declaration of 1990 for care taker government during 24 March to 6 December 1990.

However in the early hours of March 24, 1982 the armed forces led by Ershad toppled the government of Satter and placed country under the martial law. He stepped to ban all democratic institutions including suspension of constitution. He himself assumed the responsibility of the chief martial Administration and appointed the chief of navy and Air-force and after then he dissolved the parliament in which majority members of it are members of B.N.P whose majority members are the members of B.N.P, suspended the constitution, He banned the procession strikes, public meetings and all other political activities. After having banned on the political exercise, he conveniently used the military as his principal support constituency. "But things were not so quite on the civilian front"²

In acute legitimacy crisis that stemmed from Ershad's usurpation of state power through unconstitutional means threw the nation in a situation of protracted confrontation between the ruling group and its political opponents. The first major instance of confrontation occurred in mid February 1983 when the student included Chhatra Dal , "politically the most vocal and volatile section of the people"³ protested against the proposed education policy of the government. Five students died, which intensified the agitation against the military regime. As a result, it was the lifting of restriction on

1. Mohammad Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics : Shahabuddin Interregnum

P-11

2. Ibid p-18

3. Ibid p-18

political activities by granting permission of indoor politics from April 1-1989 . After having passed a year in hibernation due to moratorium on political activities, major political parties including B.N.P proposed their demand for withdrawal of martial law and restoration of democratic system,” The mid February confrontation precipitated the emergence of two major political alliance included B.N.P backed seven parties, “which substantially mounded the subsequent cause of political development of Bangladesh.”⁴

However, the B.N.P backed seven parties alliance, included leftist parties such as the United people’s party and communist league and rightist parties such as Jatiya league and Krishak shramik party ...and other vital alliance led by AL demanded the withdrawal of martial law and transfer of power through free and fair election. Despite of disagreement on some issue, they agreed on five points demand as the basis of movement against the military rule. The demands were immediate withdrawal of martial law, restoration of fundamental rights parliamentary election preceding all other elections, release of political prisoners and the trial of persons responsible for the mid February student-killing.⁵

Taking no notice of the demand of the opposition parties included B.N.P Ershad declared the referendum to test people’s confidence upon him to legitimize his regime. The referendum held on 21 March 1985 in which B.N.P and other political alliances did not support autocratic Ershad as the legal ruler. With the passage of time, the intensity of anti regime movement increased. Ershad declared the parliamentary election on 7 May 1986 with forming Jatiya party, but the opposition alliances led by B.N.P boycotted the general election in 1986, His demand was the “one point and one demand” which was “when will you (Ershad) give up the power? In that election” Ershad Jatiya party received 153 seats with 42.34% of casting votes. However, the 1986 parliamentary election recharged the anti regime movement which discouraged the opposition parties not to participate the future further election. But Ershad decided “at least a veneer of legitimacy through presidential election.”⁶ Scheduled for October 15 1986, the opposition parties including B.N.P learnt from their experience in the parliamentary election held a few months ago that a fair and free election under Ershad was unthinkable. They decided not only boycott, but also resist the presidential election in which Ershad won getting 83.57 percent of the casting votes. On the other hand, Ershad decided to earn political legitimacy for himself. Dissolving the 3rd parliament on 6 December 1987 and announced the date for fresh parliamentary election on 3 March 1988. In this election, “given the foul nature of 1986”,⁷

4. Ibid P-19

5. M Ataur Rahman. Bangladesh in 1989. A Turning point of the military, Asian survey 24.2 (February 1984) P-240.

6. Mohammad Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics : Shahabuddin Interregnum P-27

7. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –194.

major opposition parties including the B.N.P decided to boycott the fourth parliamentary election on 8 March 1988 which were marked by unprecedented rigging and failed to generate mass enthusiasm. To save his prestige Ershad floated some people to form combined opposition so that they participate in the election which his party JP got 68.44% and got 12.66 of casting votes.

However, after having failed to persuade the main line opposition parties including B.N.P to participate in the election and frustrated by the failure to acquire legitimacy through electoral process. The regime restore to widen its support base by explaining the religious sentiment of the country is overwhelming majority of Muslim population. On June 1, 1988 the eight constitution amendment bill, proposing on the state religion of Bangladesh, was placed before the illegal parliament from treasure balances, which was passed by the parliament on the 1988 which 254 votes in favour. Commenting on the amendment, Khaleda Zia, un compromised leader of B.N.P, said that “illegal parliament had no right to bring any constitution amendment or even to pass any law”⁸

Keeping up with the commitment of Khaleda Zia Sheikh Hasina viewed the amendment as “a heinous move to destroy the sprite of liberation war and reunite Bangladesh with Pakistan”⁹

However, It seemed in 1989 that opposition parties were gradually losing their protracted political battle against the Ershad regime. But the movement got back it’s momentum on October 10, 1990 in a fierce confrontation between the ruling party and political activists under the leadership of Khaleda Zia, during massive demonstration by opposition parties, five person were killed and hundred including Khaleda Zia injured.¹⁰

The killing and injuring of Khaleda Zia provoked 22 major students organizaionto form the All party student unity (APSU) led by Jatiyabadi Chhatra Dal, student wing of B.N.P and vowed to continue their agitation until the country was emancipated from the clutches of autocratic Ershad and his regime.¹¹

Yielding to the pressure of APSU, AL led eight party alliance, the B.N.P backed seven party alliance and the left leaning five party alliances on 19, 1990 signed a joint declaration which outlined the formula of Transition from an autocratic to a democratic polity. Briefly the four parts of joint declaration .

- (1) “Opposition Parties and alliance would not only boycott but also resist all election under Ershad.

8. Far Eastern Economic Review June 23/1988 P-14

9. Ibid Fast Easter

10. Holiday, October 12, 1990.

11 Mohammad Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics : Shahabuddin Interregnum P-32.

- (2) Ershad must resign and hand over power to a caretaker government.
- (3) The caretaker government would restore the credibility of the election system and ensure fundamental right to all citizens and
- (4) The interim government would handover power to sovereign parliament elected through free and fair election.”¹²

The joint declaration was a milestone in the movement for restoration of democratization which determined to create the democratic environment for ever in Bangladesh. It came after a pains taking and at times frustrating, drag over unity of the alliances.

“The movement against the Ershad regime gained momentum the joint declaration that created an institutionalized coordinating body of the movement.”¹³

The people’s long drawn struggle for democracy had at last triumphed with President Ershad offering to relinquish. The main stream three alliances included B.N.P 5 December 1990 nominated chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed as their consensus Vice President to lead the caretaker government.¹⁴

They also asked President Ershad to resign and hand over power to Justice Shahabuddin immediately” They asked him to dissolve his cabinet and this illegal parliament as well. Ultimately Ershad had to yield the united and uncompromising movement of B.N.P led seven parties and other opposition parties and on 6 December 1990 handed over power to caretaker government headed by chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. The chief Justice accepted the offer only after he had got the assurance from the three alliances that after the fifth parliamentary election, the alliances would make all necessary constitutional arrangements for his safe return to his office of the chief Justice of Bangladesh.

At the conclusion of this study we can say that uncompromising attitude of B.N.P toward autocratic regime, boycotting the election (i.e.) presidential and parliamentary elections, joint declaration of these alliances compelled to resign the Ershad regime to restore the democracy which was the first succession of power in the political development of independent Bangladesh non-military means. In this regard, B.N.P chairperson said, “It is the victory of the people at the end an autocratic rule.”¹⁵

12. For the joint declaration of three alliances see Appendix (G)

13. Mohammad Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics : Shahabuddin Interregnum P-33.

14. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –205.

15. See The Bangladesh Observer December 7, 1990 P1.

Section 3.5

In order to probe the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-1996. In the fourth section of the third chapter, I showed that how B.N.P had played a vital role to restore the democratic way and re-establish the people's lost sovereignty through its uncompromising attitude to Ershad regime, not participating in the presidential and parliamentary elections and forming the Joint election of three alliances during from the 24 March 1982 to 6 December 1990. In this study, I would examine that how B.N.P had helped the formation of caretaker government, under acting president chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed through leading the free and fair election on 17 February 1991 for the establishment the democracy, constitution as well as the will of the people during the 6th December to 19 March 1991.

However, after having nominated as the head of the first caretaker government, "the government of interim period for conducting parliamentary general election in the country"¹

By the leaders of the historic joint declaration of three alliances on 6 December 1990 chief Justice Shahabuddin was sworn in with 10 advisers. The CTG of 1991 had to discharge in great deal of responsibility to hold a reliable free and fair and peaceful parliamentary general election which was a vital step to democratization. However, after taking oath as the head of CTG, Shahabuddin Ahmed announced that the nation would go to polls on 27 February 1991,²

Because "Election is the basis of democratic governance, periodical election is a must for institutional democracy. It is the foundation any democratic system, Principle of free and fair election is an essential postulate of democracy"³

Which is, Schumpeter has defined as, a competitive struggle for the people vote, among politicians to acquire the power to decide politics⁴

To restore the institutional democracy an unprecedented degree of enthusiasm was shown by the political parties including B.N.P and voters during the 5th parliamentary election. This was only because the election itself was the outcome of prolonged movement by the opposition parties for the restoration of democracy and also it was the first election in the political history of the country to be held under a caretaker government. The voters were confident that their votes would determine, who would represent them in the parliament

1. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –231.
2. Mohammad Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics : Shahabuddin Interregnum P-42.
3. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –231.
4. (Joseph A Schumpeter, Capitalism, socialism and democracy (New York, Harper and Row 1900) P-269

and formulate the vital policies of state. To assess the amount of the parties popularity among the voters, the political parties including B.N.P and nominated a total of 2787 candidates including 424 independent in the election race for the 300 seats. Unicameral Jatiy Sansed. In addition to this number 300 seats were reserved for women who were to be elected by 300 directly selected members of parliament.

As many as 75 political parties, contested the 5th parliamentary election which was the highest number since independence. The B.N.P was the only party that nominated candidates in all the electoral districts of the country. However how many candidates of political parties were nominated in the election was in the following table.

Table No -2

Number of seats Contested by Political Parties/independence in the 1991 Parliamentary elections.

Parties/independents	No. of Seats Contested
Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)	300
Jatiya Party (JP)	272
Bangladesh Awami league (AL)	264
Zaker Party.	251
Jamaat-E-Islami Bangladesh (JI)	222
Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal (JSD ROB)	161
Bangladesh Krishok-Sromic Awami league (Bkhal)	68
Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal (JSD INU)	68
Freedom Party.	65
Bangladesh Muslim league (Kader)	62
Islami Oikya Jot (IOJ)	59
Bangladesh Janata Dal	50
Communist party of Bangladesh (CPP)	49
Bangladesh Khalafot Andolan.	43
Others Party.	429
Independence	424
Total 2787	

61 parties each of which nominated less than 40 candidates.

Source: Election Commission.⁵

5. Mohammad Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics : Shahabuddin Interregnum P-33.

After having nominated by all political parties contesting in the 1991 election, drafted elaborate election manifestoes, weak before the election day which is a statement of the assess, which the party considers of the greatest importance and an indication in more or less précis terms. Of the party's policies to meet them.⁶

The Bangladesh Nationalist party declared it's manifesto in 28 January 1991. The manifesto had been drafted by a party Think-Task which was headed by Professor Badoroddojja Chowdury, was a modified version of B.N.P's 19 part program of development details discussed in the 2nd chapter which was launched by it's assassinated founder chair person of B.N.P during the 1978 presidential election.

The eight page manifestoes envisaged on house of government, rule of law, independence of judiciary, a free press and guaranteed fundamental rights by repealing all black law and pledged to multi-party democracy which is liable feature to run the state by B.N.P. The party committed to resolve all sorts of governmental issues in parliament. It also pledged to ensure the five basic needs of food, shelter, clothing, education and media care to build the country into a self-sufficient nation. The manifestoes would work towards implementation of the four fundamental principles of constitution which was amended after the assumption of presidency on April 21, 1977. (in details discussed in the second section of the third chapter) in short, absolute trust and faith in Almighty Allah, democracy, Nationalism and social and economic, justice. In a marked departure from it's previous and of the private sector as well as that of foreign investment to blooster the economy, the party wanted to implement free market economy, make a profitable public sector, encouraging foreign investment or rapid industrialization of the country, self-sufficiency in food through canal digging program of Ziaur Rahman.

However, it made it clear that heavy industries would remain in the public sector and promised to revamp the economy with appropriate industrialization and by making the public enterprise profitable.

To priority was to given to agriculture, The B.N.P manifestoes also pledged to exempt the farmers of land tax 8.1 acres of land and farm loans and interests up to taka-5000. It promised to harvest domestic resources for the task in it's manifestoes the party had termed the period of it's previous six years rule from 1975 to 1981 as golden era. The party also promised to weed out corruption from administration and to creates strong and disciplined army for the protection of the country's independence and sovereignty. A non aligned foreign policy on the basis of friendship with the countries particularly Muslim countries and neighbors, was the thrust of party's foreign policy promises. The B.N.P committed to reintroduce the program village government, which was

6. (R.L Leonard guide to general election forward by David Buter, Pan Book LtD London 1964. P=7)

introduced by Zia. The manifestoes branded the five years of rule as the golden era of Bangladesh.⁷

Another political parties included AL .J.I and J.P drafted the election manifestoes which was comparatively shown in the Chart

Table – 3

Ideological Orientation and Programmatic Stand of some Major Parties in the 1991 parliamentary election.

Bangladesh Nationalist Party	Bangladeshi Nationalism Islamic Principles Multi-party democracy. Pro-Western Leaning. Open Market Economy. Presidential Form of Government 19 points program of developments
Bangladesh Awami league	Bangali Nationalism. Secularism. Friendly relation with India. Mixed Economy. Parliamentary Form of Government Trial of Muzib killers.
Jatia Party	Bangladeshi Nationalism Islamic Principles Pro-Western Leaning. Balance between powers of President and Parliament
Jamat-E-Islam of Banladesh. (JI)	Islamic State based on sovereignty of Allah. Anti-Indianism. Friendly relation with Muslim Countries Islamisation of life and society

8

7. Bangladesh Nationalist Party (B.N.P) Election manifestoes. Election 27 February 1991. No date and place of publication the manifestoes. The manifestoes were announced in a press conference on January 28 1991. For a brief out line of the manifestoes See the Bangladesh observers 29 January 1991. Appendix (H)

8. M. Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics : The Sahabuddin interregnum P-50-51.

Chart indicates that in the term of ideological orientation and programmatic stand that their was more deference between B.N.P and other political parties which contributed a vital role to come in power.

After having put up the election manifestoes by all political parties, the acting president Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed repeatedly expressed his government's firm determination to make the parliamentary election free and fair. The government took several measures to reestablish the people's confidence in the election process. In response a long-standing demand B.N.P as well as other political parties, The EC was reconstituted with sitting Judges to ensure free fair and impartial polls. The measures taken by the non-partisan caretaker government (NPCTG) were the empowering of the EC to suspend Returning and presiding officers for election offices to deploy the all government and semi-government officers and employees for election work were put under the jurisdiction of the election commission, to resist all activities directed against the holding of fair election, to resist all attempt to harm any symbol related the election, to resist any attempt of violating election laws and rules on the day of the election and to suspend or dissolve any Union Parishad or Pauroshava where people was disrupted.⁹

However, The measures taken by the CTG to make 1991 election free and fairs considerably assured the voters that they would be able to express freely their political preferences and their votes would produce a legitimate government accountable to them.

After having taken the necessary measurement by the (N.P.C.T.G) the general election was held through out the country in an atmosphere of unprecedented peace except for some stay incidents at some places of the country. Local and foreign observers found the election most peaceful, free and fair in the 20 year's history of independence Bangladesh. The four members election observation team of the British parliament, the Japanese team and four country's SAARC team visited many polling station through out the country on the election day and found the polling to be free and fair and impartial.¹⁰

After having held the 5th general election in Bangladesh, Bangladesh Nationalist Party had emerged as the single largest party in the parliament. The B.N.P was a total of 141 seats out o 298 seats. The widow of former president, who drew much of her support from the millions of Bangladeshi. Khaleda's B.N.P took almost 10507549 votes to 10259866 votes for her arch rival party's Awami league, according to result announced by the Bangladesh Election Commission.¹¹

9. The Bangladesh observers January 19,1991.

10. (The Daily Ittefaq March 2, 1991.)

11. Nirbachan karjakram protibedan, Jatiya Sangashad Election 1991, 27 February 1991

The Election result gave the B.N.P led by Khaleda Zia 30.81 percent of votes a 0.73 percent lead over Hasina's A.L. The A.L led by Hasina got 30.8% votes despite expectation of winning two-thirds seats. A.L was defeated to B.N.P wide margin capturing a total of 88 seats, which was less than one-third. The JP of Ershad got 35 seats with 11.92 percent votes and J I Bangladesh won 18 seats becoming the fourth largest party in the parliament with 12.13 percent votes.

Party wise result of February 27, 1991 was shown
in the following table - 4

Party	Seats received	Percentage of total votes cast
Bangladesh Nationalist party (B.N.P)	141	30.81
Bangladesh Awami league (A.L)	88	30.08
Bangladesh Jatiya Party (J.P)	35	11.92
Jamaate Islami Bangladesh (J.I)	18	12.13
Communist party of Bangladesh	5	1.19
BAKSAL	5	1.81
ISLAMI OIKYA JOTE	1	0.79
Warkers Party	1	0.19
J.S.D (Siraj)	1	0.25
NAP (Mozaffar)	1	0.76
Ganatantra Party	1	0.45
N.D.P	1	0.36
Independent	4	4.39

Source : (Nirbachan karjakram protibedan, Jatiya Sangashad Election 1991, 27 February 1991 P48=50) Bangladesh Election Commission

After having published the result of election which belied all pre-election speculation. Even the B.N.P leaders were not really emotionally prepared for such a triumph. There were many reasons and factors which did work to earn the spectacular victory of B.N.P in the 1991. Parliamentary elections are discussed below. The uncompromising attitude of Khaleda Zia toward former President Ershad his semi dictatorial regime won her considerable respect across the country.¹²

Under the leadership of Khaleda Zia, B.N.P. during 24 March, 1981 to 6 December 1990, did not participate the presidential and all parliamentary elections respectively. Where the autocratic Ershad was in power. Coupled with Zia's clean image as far as corruption was concerned, This gave B.N.P the political credibility needed to win the election Nevertheless, The B.N.P's 19 point program of development, previous activities of late president Ziaur Rahman during 29 November 1976 to 30 March 1981 and subsequently

patriotic mind for Bangladesh during 30 May 1981 to 24 March 1982 encouraged the voters to cast the votes in favour of B.N.P.

The popularity of Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal, the student wing of the B.N.P among the students and its control over most the college and university student Union including the Dhaka university central student union (DUCSU), helped the B.N.P to take its message to remote villages,¹³

The B.N.P was highly successful in exploiting the anti Indian and pro Islamic sentiment of the electorate. The B.N.P succeeded in making the people convinced that the word (in the name of Allah, The beneficent the merciful) in the constitution were safe with its party in power. It would be wiped off if the AL were voted to power.¹⁴

The B.N.P is boycotting in all election on the interregnum of the coup in 1982 and full of Ershad made it extremely difficult to have reasonably clear idea about the popularity of the party among the voters. Apart from this, that the B.N.P was the grass root level political organization. So it attempted to make its electoral campaign in fawed, well planned, cohesive, and consistent. The B.N.P had so far maintained the record of winning every presidential and parliamentary election it contested.

However, The 1991 parliamentary election under the CTG was a grand success in re-establishing people's confidence in the sanctity of the electoral process. It was also the beginning of a process of democratization of government and politics after a long period of autocratic rule.¹⁵ Thus 5th parliamentary election ushered in a new era in the political development of Bangladesh.

After the successful holding of general election for the 5th Jatiy Sangshad on February 1991, it was the time for the next constitutional steps in the direction transition of power to the electoral Members of the parliament. So the immediate problems in this regard were summoning of parliament and administering the oath of the office of the members of the parliament. On the other hand, On 1 March 1991,

The Acting president addressing the nation said that since he was not sure which member of the parliament would command the confidence of the majority members" under the present party position" it was not possible to form a cabinet at this moment under Article 58 of the constitution¹⁶

13. Dhaka Courier March 8-14 1991-P-8-9

14. Ibid

15. M. Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics: The Sahabuddin interregnum P-60.

16. See Bangladesh observers March 2 1991.

To be sure the Acting president, in a crowded press briefing on the same day, Khaleda Zia expressed her party's readiness to form a coalition government with any patriotic and nationalist force.¹⁷ By Patriotic and nationalist force she meant those who love the soil and believe in upholding country's independence and sovereignty.

On 3 March 1991, the B.N.P elected unanimously Khaleda Zia caucus chief A delegating of AL leaders headed by the party chief called on the Acting president on March and expressed the view that if the Acting president appointed a Prime Minister from the B.N.P before the completing of the formation of parliament, he would be lose his neutrality and became a part of the B.N.P government¹⁸

On the other hand on 5 Mach the acting president summoned the first session of the 5th parliament to meet at the Sangshad Bhavan on 5 April 1991.¹⁹ On 11 March 1991, to complete in the formation of the government in a letter signed by Abbas Ali Khan Acting Ameer of J.I. The Acting President was informed that they would fully cooperate with and support the B.N.P parliamentary Party.²⁰ A copy o the letter was handed to the secretary general of the B.N.P Abdus Salam Talukder which reviewed the Acting President's doubt as to which member of parliament would command the confidence of the majority members. The AP Justice Shabuddin Ahmed dissolved the council of his advisor on March 15, 1991 and a council of headed by Khaleda Zia with 11 cabinet and 21 state ministers was sworn in 19 March 1991,²¹

Summing up to this study, which ushered the new era in the political development of Bangladesh and restore the democratic and constitutional process which reminded the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh through the un-compromised leading of B.N.P to autocratic Ershad, boycotting the previous election during the Ershad regime as well as the establishing the multi-party democracy during Zia's regime.

17. Ibid p-1

18. (See Daily Bangladesh observers –5 March 1991)

19. (see observers 6 March)

20. The Bangladesh observers March 1991,P-8)

21. (See Daily Bangladesh observers –20 March 1991 P-1

Chapter 4

The role of the BNP in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-1996) and its evaluation.

In order to examine the role of the BNP in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-96), in the chapter 3. I analysed that how the founder of the BNP, before forming the political organization after building up a political party during 29 November 1976 to 19 March 1991, played a significant role to institutionalise the democratic process and to establish the political development of Bangladesh. In this study (chapter-4). I would examine that how the Government led by BNP, after having sworn on in 19th March 1991 kept the vital contribution for the establishment of the people's aspiration and expectation i.e. the political, economical and administrative development in which it declared and committed in the election manifesto and its 19 points political program of the developments. It is needed to say that the elaborate discussion regarding to political development and BNP's 19 points political programs of the development were interpreted on the second chapter. Regarding to the periodic study 19 March 1991. 30 March 1996. I would analyze the developing adopted paces of the BNP Government including the democratic stability, economic development in the every sphere of the state, as well as the administrative responsibility to the nation which will usher a new journey in the path of democracy as the part of political development of Bangladesh.

However, this chapter presents an analyses the main period of the thesis. The title of the thesis is " the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh (1991-1996). In view of the back ground its wide scope, the chapter has been divided into four sections. The section 4.1 deals with the eleventh and twelfth amendment bill of the constitution which ushered a new journey in the path of democracy as the part of political development in Bangladesh and witnessed the so called presidential democracy and restoration of parliamentary one. The section 4.2 deals with the paces of economic development of Bangladesh during 1991-1996. The section 4.3 examines working of the parliament which become the supreme body and power center in democratic polity, as "the building of democracy"¹ is the precondition of the political development. The section 4.4 has to presents the installation of the caretaker government through 13th amendment bill of the constitution under 6 parliament by which BNP save democracy to provide for election under a caretaker government.

1. Lucian ,W Pye, Aspect of the Political Development. P.33.

Section 4.1

The objective of the first and foremost of this chapter is to give democracy as institutional shape under the BNP government which took oath on 19 March 1991 with 11 Ministers and 21 state Ministers. The council Ministers headed by BNP chief, Begum Khaleda Zia who took the power as the Prime Minister after having held free and fair and peaceful parliamentary election on 27 February 1991 under acting president chief justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. However the holding of free and fair election is needed to be followed by the BNP Government for functioning on the basis of an unstinted co-operation between those forming the government and those running opposition role. This election inspired the BNP Government to “build the democracy and bring stability and orderly change” which is the prerequisite of the political development. To build up democracy and bring the stability and orderly change, the BNP, before holding the election committed to the nation to establish an honest government and run the multi-party democracy. They also pledged to implement the four principals including democracy and economic justice. Soon after having taken the power, BNP perplexed that what decision it will take to run the state. Whether it will lead the presidential form of government, which was according to party constitution. or it will lead parliamentary form of democracy which was included in the joint declaration of three alliances. Apart from this, “the essence of the declaration was that parliament must be sovereign and the government is made answerable to the parliament”,²

On the other hand, the country was anxiously awaiting to hear the announcement regarding to the constitutional change. Beside this expectation, the AL, its allies in the eight party alliances and the five party alliances renewed their commitment to establish sovereign parliament, which “is set to ensure transparency and accountability to the government”³ as embodied in the joint declaration of three alliances. Five party alliances warned that if the parliament failed to play an effective role to materialize the promises of the three alliances, it would organize movement in the street again.⁴ Shaikh Hasina vowed “to continue her struggle inside and out side the parliament to establish the right of the people and to give democracy an institutional shape.”⁵ All political parties included the AL and JI advocated the parliamentary form of government in their election manifestos, frequently reminded the majority party ie. the BNP that it should honor its commitment to join declaration. These parties asserted that there was no alternative to parliamentary form of government to establish real democracy.

2. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –283.

3. Ibid P –283.

4. See Bangladesh Observer, 10th April, 1991

5. M. Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics: The Shahabuddin interregnum P-60

The pressure of the ruling party i.e. the BNP for sovereign parliament mounted the first session of the fifth parliament. Addressing the augural session of the parliament on 5 April 1991, the acting president emphasized the need to consider actively the promises of the joint declaration. He categorically said “though the joint declaration does not carry any constitutional validity, it has sufficient political significant.”⁶ In the first session of parliament, many opposition members of several parties and the pressure group demanded the amendment of the constitution to establish a government accountable to the sovereign parliament. On April 14 1991 Abdus Samad Azad of the AL served “a notice of the constitutional amendment bill to Parliamentary Secretary for processing and security.”⁷ this bill proposed to switch over to the parliamentary system from the presidential system introduced over sixteen years ago in 1974 through the fourth amendment bill by the AL. “Ziaur Rahman and his government led by BNP democratized”⁸ The presidential system. It further proposed a provision to facilitate acting president Shabuddin Ahmed’s return to the office of the chief justice of Bangladesh. It is interesting to note that BNP chair person, Khaleda Zia, Prime Minister and leader of the house, maintained a stoic salience over the issue of constitutional amendment.⁹

However some prominent leaders of BNP vehemently opposed the idea of amending the constitution. The argument, they frequently put forward in favour of retaining the presidential system, were

- (i) “the joint declaration of the three alliances aimed at establishing a sovereign parliament but it did not essentially indicate a parliamentary form of government”¹⁰
- (ii) In the 27 February election, the electorates voted in favour of presidential form of government.¹¹
- (iii) Both presidential and parliament systems could be democratic and both could give rise to autocracy as well.”¹²

The BNP parliamentary party on 18 May 1991, initiated an inner debate on the form of government in which three different opinions emerged. Among them, some pleaded for parliamentary form of government, some favoured the retention of the presidential system, and still other voiced their opinion for a mixture between the presidential and parliamentary forms.¹³

6. See the Bangladesh Observer, April 6, 1991.

7. For Full text of the constitution Amendment bill of AL submitted by Abdus Samad Azad to parliament secretariat. See Appendix – (I)

8. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –284.

9. The Ittefaq, January 29, 1991.

10. See the speech of Nazmul Huda, State Minister for food in the Jatia Songsad, The Daily Star, May 13, 1991.

11. M. Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics: The Sahabuddin interregnum P-74.

12. Ibid. P-74.

13. See Daily Star, May 19, 1991

“J,I, the party that supported BNP to form the cabinet, began to plead for the parliamentary system.”¹⁴ In the late April, the members of all opposition parties in the parliament decided to work unitidely to pressurize the BNP into bring a bill to change the form of government.¹⁵ The acting president, on June 5, 1991. in a nation wide address over television and radio called for an immediate settlement of the form of government issue which, “created a lot of speculation.”¹⁶ He insisted on settling the issue in the budget session which commenced on June 11, after having pressurized from all quarters of the political parties, It is quite clear that a strong public sentiment in favour of parliamentary system had emerged. It was politically an uncomfortable situation for the BNP, the ruling party. However to build parliamentary democracy and for bringing stability and orderly change, having put BNP under tremendous pressure by the opposition community. the meeting of BNP central executive committee attended by 300 members from all over the country expressed their opinion in favour of parliamentary system. See The New Nation, June 10, 1991. In the BNP parliamentary party meeting, also the members overwhelmingly advocated a constitutional amendment to go back to the parliamentary form. The BNP chair person, Khaleda Zia, clear indicated in her presidential speech that majority opinion would be honoured in taking the final decision, See The Daily Star, 11 June, when the public sentiment tremendous pressure by opinion of the opposition party and the view of majority in the BNP itself heavily titled in favour of parliamentary system. The ruling party, BNP decided to build democracy i.e. parliamentary system which paved the way for ensuring unhindered process of the transparency and accountability of the administration. As a result, on 20 June 1991, Law and justice Minister Mirza Golam Hafiz presented two amendment bill submitted earlier from the opposition bences” one by the AL and other buy the workers party. Nevertheless the Prime Minister in her address to the nation on July, 01, said “ We have decided to introduce parliamentary government in accordance with the need of time.”¹⁷ Shaikh Hasina dubbed the majority part’s decision as” yielding to the people.”¹⁸ On July 02 Mirza Golam Hafej, Law and justice Minister introduced the constitution (Eleventh Amendment) bill 1991 to remove the constitutional hurdles to the acting presidents return to his previous post in the supreme court. The same day Prime Minister Khaleda Zia moved in the parliament the constitution (Twelfth Amendment) bill 1991 to replace the presidential system by a parliamentary system.¹⁹ The AL’s constitutional amendment bill was moved in the parliament on July 04 (private member’s day) although the notice of the bill have been served a month before that of BNP. After many days of heated discussion. The parliament on July 09 decided

14. M. Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics: The Sahabuddin interregnum P-75

15 Ibid, April 24, 1991

16. See-Bangladesh Observer, 6 June, 1991.

17. M. Abdul Hakim, Bangladesh Politics: The Sahabuddin interregnum P-76.

18. See Azker Kagoj July 2, 1991.

19. For Full Text of the constitution (12 Amendment bill) 1991 moved by Khalida Zia, See Appendix. – (J)

unanimously to send the opposition and BNP bill to a 15 members, select committee (SC) comprising the treasury and opposition members and headed by Mirza Golam Hafiz, the BNP members in the SC were²⁰ The SC was asked to report, back to house by July 14. After a lot of discussion and disagreement during the discussion, all the members of the SC. finally agreed with the draw their notes of dissent and as a result a unanimous decision as to the amendment of the constitution Amendment Bill (CAB) had been reached. On 28 July, 1991 law and justice Minister Mirza Golam Hafez presented unanimously adopted reports of the SC. on the CAB, before Jatyia Songsad amidst applause both from the treasury and opposition benches, excepting JP, the historic document of the 12th Amendment to the Constitutional Bill, switch over parliamentary system of Government after 16 years of the Presidential form.²¹

The constitution (Eleventh Amendment) 1991. The constitution (Twelfth Amendment) bill were put the decision vote on August 06, 1991. The Eleventh Amendment bill was passed by 278 votes in favour and non-against.²² The twelve-amendment bill proposed a reversion to the parliamentary system. It was put to the decision vote twice. These results were 306 in favour and non against in the first voting while 307 in favour and non against the second voting.²³

However the bill was thus unanimously adopted. Sheikh Hasina said that despite her party dissent relating to certain provision, the party accepted the bill since we (AL) are committed to restoration of parliamentary democracy²⁴ The Prime Minister viewed the passage of the bill as a new journey in the path of democracy.²⁵ The people in a referendum had further accepted the amendment on September 18, 1991 as per Article (14) A of the constitution. The rate of voter turn out in this referendum was 34.42 percent. Among them 84.42 percent favoured the amendment with “Yes” while only 15.68 percent put “No” against the motion.

20. Bodruddza Chowdhury, Mazidul Haque, Abdus Slam Talukder, Shaikh Razzak Ali, Khondoker Delwar Hossain, Nazmul Huda and Rafiqul Islam Mia. the four AL members were Abdus Samad Azad, Mazbauddin Khan, Sudhangso Shakhor Hawladher and Saykot Ali and Maudod Ahmed, Shaikh Answer Ali and Rashed Khan Manon of J.P, J.I and workers party respectively were the three other members of the SC.

21. See Ibid, 29 July 1991.

22. The JP members and Salauddin Kader Chowdhury of National Democratic Party (NDP) abstained from voting.

23. OF the 330 seats in the parliament 11 were vacant, four JP member were in prison awaiting trial on different charges ranging from misuse of power to embezzlement of public funds. The speaker and Deputy speaker did not participate in voting, 6 members were absent for non political reasons. Col (Rtd) Saykot Ali of AL was absent but participated in the second.

24. The Morning Sun, August 7, 1991.

25. The New day 8 Augsut 1991.

In view of our above analyses we may conclude at this point that from the successful holding of parliamentary election in 27 February 1991 to the restoration of the parliamentary democracy, the intention of the emerged forces i.e. Instability had been contain democratically through consent and debate, which is identified as the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh. It may also be mentioned that “ the building of democracy and stability and orderly change” are approved by the BNP to build parliamentary democracy and bring the stability in the country. Nevertheless, parliamentary democracy had been marked as the hallmark and first stage of the democratization. Not with standing that. the general election for the 5th JS. was held under this NPCTG, which is the second stage of the demoralization i.e. democratic consolidation that means institutional democracy which “ acquires value and stability. In this regard Huntington conceptualizes the political development in terms of institution which he defines as the process which organization and procedures acquire values and stability”²⁶ last not but least, the above analytical discussion reflects the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh to give democracy an institutional shape.

26. SP Huntington, Political Development and political Decay, world politic, Vol-7, No, 2, 1965, P.394.

Section-4.2

In order to evaluate the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-1996, the section-II of the Fourth chapter deals with the accepted paces of the economic development of BNP Government because economic development is the precondition of the political development. So if we want to analyze the economic activities of the BNP government the concept of the political development can be achieved. It is need to achieve the concept of economic development before the discussion of economic activities. Not with standing that, as the political development is the prerequisite of economic development, we should analyze the economic development what it means. Regarding to the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-1996 is essential to discuss the economic development Therefore this study examines the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-1996 on the basis of definition economic development. In this regard, I would briefly discuss the political development which depends on economic development that promotes the political “stability and orderly change”. In this context, Lucian Pye presents ten definition of political development Among these one is very essential to interpret economic development. He said that political development is the political requisite of economic development”. He also said in the Aspect of Political Development “ the economists were quick to point out that political and social conditions could play a decisive role in impeding or facilitating advanced in per capita income and thus it was appropriate to conceive of political development as the state of polity which might facilitate economic group.”¹

S.P Huntington gave an importance the political stability for economic development. He said that “ American thinking the causes chain was economic assistance promotes economic development, economic development promotes political stability”.² Not with standing that the political development as the political prerequisite of economic development. It should be taken as the result of the economic development which- “refreshes to the growth in the total economic activity and output of a society. It may be measured by per capita gross national product of individual was fare ganged by such indices as life expectancy calorie intake supply of hospitals and doctors,³

In this regard, Daniel Lerner says that economic development gives citizen the fundamental ability and leisure needed for participation, the growth of literacy and the increase of media participation in capable people to acquire mobility, empathy, opinion and there by participation orientation,⁴

1. Lucian Pye. Aspect of Political Development.

2. S.P Huntington, Political Order and Changing society, p-34

3. Ibid. P-34,

4. Daniel Lerner, the passing of traditional society. P-43

Economics like Paul A Barun, Normans Buchanan Howarad S Ellis. Benjamin Higgeins Albest.O.Hissechman and Barbaraword have laid stress on the point that political and social entities can play a quite decisive role in impeding or facilitating the economic growth” In this context it can be seen that in the developing countries, the economic development. can be prevented by the political instability by which the political development can not be imagined. Regarding to this theory, Dominick Harrod said that politics and economics are in extricable bound up with one another when politics is taken to mean the framework of ideas for running.⁵

Relating to this study Professor Snider said that the economic development is the increase of per capita income for a long time.⁶

Adam Smith Model: He believes the economic development in the light of free market economy.⁷

According to him, in the field of economy, Laissez Fair theory or let alone theory can promote the economic theory.⁸

Keynesian Model: He said in his study General Theory of Employment, interests and money, these essence of this model is that the total income of the country depends on the existing full employment i.e when employment is increased, the national income also will be increased. Besides this, Keynesian gives an importance on the saving; According to him, because of saving investment will be increased. So There have been created a new employments. As a result, economic stability will be increased which promotes economic development. On the above going discussion regarding to economic development as the model of political development, the adopted economic paces of BNP who run the government during 1991 to 1996, can be analyzed. We know in that regime, in spite of having political instability, the economic development already continued. According to Adam Smith’s Model, the regime achieved the free market economy. Not with standing that, the economy of Bangladesh in heretically diverted from mixed economic to capitalist economy. It can also be mentioned that according to Keynesian Model, the increase of national income and employment had already been run. So it can be said that the above model of economists had been continued during the BNP regime 1991-1996 which evaluated the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh.

With the advent of democratization, since 1990s and taking over the power by democratically elected Government under leadership of BNP on 19 March 1991, the age economic problem of the country had been expected to be solved,

5. Dr. Wadud Bhuyan, *Bangladesher Raznoitik Unnoyan*, P-53.

6. *Ibid.*P-53

7. *Bangladesher Orthonyity*, 1998, P-20.

8. *Ibid.*, P-20.

“few problems in the transitional states are regarded as more than problems of economic developments.”⁹ (Kahl 1968:324). On the other hand, a flourishing economy is essential to the stability of democracy¹⁰. Thus in this context of this study, take closer look on the economic development of the country is essentially important. However for our present purpose we briefly state the economic development of Bangladesh 1991-1996. It may be mentioned that during this period, the country witnessed the performance of the fourth five years plan 1990-1996 which was planned for the economic development of the Ershad regime. The responsibility for the implementation of this plan naturally depended on the BNP Government. However the main objectives of this plan were:

1. Accelerating economic growth to achieve an over all annual GDP growth rate of 5 percent.
2. Poverty alleviation and employment generation through human resources development and
3. increase self reliance.

Table No-5

Implementation of fourth five year plan

Plan size, actual expenditure GDP growth rate of the different years (in million taka)

Plan	Plan Size			Estimated actual expenditure			Growth Rate	Realized growth Rate
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Total	public	private	Total	public	private	per cent	per cent
First five years plan	44505	39520	5030	20740	16350	4390	5.5	4.00
Two years plan	38610	32610	6000	33590	24020	5470	5.6	3.50
Second five years plan	172000	111000	16000	152970	103280	49690	5.4	3.80
Third five years plan	386000	150000	136000	270110	171292	98820	4.5	3.80
Fourth Five years plan	620000	347000	273000	59840	274083	324397	5.	4.15

Source Planning Commission, Bangladesh.

The above table gives us a comparative picture of plan size, actual expenditure and GDP, growth rate of different years. One of the main features of the development plans, since independence was increasing trend of private sector allocation. This increasing trend was significantly higher during the tenure of the fifth five year plan i.e. 1990-95.

9. Some social concomitants of industrialization and urbanization, in Harbey G. Kcsbschall politics in societies, the challenge of change in Asia, Africa and Latin America, P-329.

10. (David Gopp) 1999. –of David Goff, the idea of Democracy, Cambridge University. U.K. 1999, P-3.

Another feature of the different plans were that in none of the past plans the growth target was above 5% but the achievement was always less than 5 per cent. However during the 1990-1995, the growth target was fixed at 5 percent and achievement was 4.15 percent. This achievement was the highest among all other past plan, which treated the economic development as the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-1995.

Gross Domestic Products (GDP, Growth rate)

The average annual growth rate during 1991-1996 was 4.15 per cent. Though the growth rate of agriculture sector during this period was poor, the modest growth rate of 5.05 have been observed in the manufacturing sector, the energy sector had been developed in an accelerated growth of 15.31 percent. Though the public sector did not reach to show any remarkable growth rate, the housing and other service had reach marginally higher growth rate of 3.63 more than target of 3.62. Therefore this discussion undoubtedly treated the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-1995.

Table No-6

GDP Composition and growth rate in different years during 1991-1996.

sector	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	Annual Growth Rate	
							Target	Achievement
Agriculture	190254	193421	197662	201230	201915	190822	3.42	0.98
Industry	49322	50503	54144	59140	63787	69302	9.02	7.05
Electricity, Gas & Natural Resource	5561	6704	7876	8933	10184	11339	9.28	15.31
Construction	29349	31087	32471	34032	63074	38593	5.86	5.34
Transport & Communication	29024	60841	63349	66416	70089	74203	5.39	4.68
Trade & Other Service	105024	110237	115780	122041	129516	140115	5.00	5.92
Housing	38030	39316	40650	42187	43798	45457	3.62	3.63
Public Service	20369	22334	24184	26240	28484	30965	10.65	8.74
Total GDP	495727	51442	536189	560219	533840	609793	5.00	4.15

The above table gives us a comparative picture of GPD composition and growth rate in different years during 1991-96.

In another data which I collected from Bangladesh Ardhonoitik Somikha-1996, during 1991-1996 the economic growth, national income, per capita income of a country was considered under development. During the BNP, the GDP was high. During 1995-96 total GDP was 130118 corers. In this time the growth rate of GDP was 4.7 percent ¹¹

¹¹. Bangladesh Ardhonoitik Somikha-1996, Ardhonoitik Upodesta Anu Bibhag, Artho Bibhag, Artho Montranolay, Bangladesh Government June-1996, P-3.

when BNP Government under Khaleda Zia took the power i.e 1990-1991, then the DGP was 83839 corers and the growth rate was 3.8, 4.2% in 1991-92, 4.5 percent in 1992-93, 4.2 percent in 1993 to 1994 and 4.4 percent in 1994-1995. The above information give us that the growth rate of the GDP during from 1991-1992. To 1995-1996 indicated the economic development as the role of the BNP in the political development of Bangladesh.

Table No-7

Total Economic Indication, Financial Year 1980-1996:

	1980-84	1985-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
GDP Growth Rate	3.1	3.4	6.6	3.4	4.2	4.5	4.2	4.4	4.7
Per capita Income TK.	3066	5240	6861	7613	81.37	83.75	8913	9943	10821
Per capita Income US \$	145	174	208	213	213	214	223	247	265
Saving									
(i) Domestic Saving	1.6	2.9	2.7	4.1	5.8	7.0	7.5	7.7	7.8
(ii) National Saving	4.4	5.8	9.2	10.9	13.0	14.4	15.0	15.6	15.3
Investment									
(i) Total Investment	14.4	12.7	12.8	11.5	12.1	14.3	15.4	16.6	17.0
(ii) Government	6.2	6.2	6.4	5.7	5.5	6.4	7.6	7.2	6.3
(iii) Non-Govt.	8.1	6.2	6.4	5.8	6.6	7.9	7.8	9.4	10.7
(iv) Expenditure	0	968	97.3	95.9	94.2	93.0	92.6	92.3	92.2
Budget									
(i) Total Income	8.9	9.0	9.3	9.6	10.9	12.0	11.7	12.1	11.9
(ii) income from tax	7.2	7.2	7.8	7.8	8.8	9.6	9.2	9.5	9.4
(iii) Total expenditure	18.4	16.6	17.1	16.4	15.9	17.6	18.0	19.2	18.1
(iv) Total lack of Budget	-9.3	-7.5	-7.9	-7.2	-5.9	-5.9	-5.9	-7.1	-6.2
Balance of handling									
(i) Export	5.4	6.0	6.8	7.3	8.4	9.8	9.8	12.0	11.9
(ii) Import	18.3	1.58	16.9	15.0	14.8	16.8	16.2	20.2	20.4
(iii) Rate of inflation	13.4	10.1	16.9	8.9	5.1	1.3	1.8	5.2	5.0
(iv) Reservation of Foreign currency US \$	-		520	880	1608	2121	27.65	30.70	2039
(v) Exchange Rate	20.10	29.99	32.93	35.68	38.15	39.14	40.00	40.20	4084

Source: Bangladesh Ardhonoitik Somikha-1996, Ardhonoitik Upodesta Anu Bibhag, Artho Bibhag, Artho Montranolay, Bangladesh Government June-1996, P-3.

Per capita Income

According to this table, this per capita income was high during the BNP regime. In the regime, in 1990-91 the per capita income was 213 US \$ which had increased 265 US \$ in 1995-96. So this increasing growth treated the economic development of BNP during 1991-96.

Saving & Investment

Historically, the levels aggregate saving and investment has been very low in Bangladesh. However, there have been some in domestic saving and investment rate during 1990-95. The increased savings rate was due to higher savings by BNP Government as well as private sector. Compared to that in many development countries, though the investment levels in Bangladeshis economy is low, the rate of aggregate in 1990-91 was 11.50 per cent which rose to 16.63 percent in 1994-95. Thus there was 1.83 percent higher rate of investment. The increasing tend was is a positive development in resource mobilization for faster economic growth and socio-economic upliftment

Revenue Rules & Revenue Management

The over all economic condition, being directly linked with human development is no doubt an essential prerequisite for a fuller enjoyment of true democracy. The country had the need to achieve a faster rate of economic growth with a higher scale of economy, which depends of Revenue Rules & Revenue Management. After having taken power by BNP in 1991, the BNP lead the country's economic activities on the basis of Revenue Rules & Revenue Management. This were divided in the following way.

1. VAT
2. Relaxation of Custom Structure
3. Rationalization of custom Structure.
4. Direct & Indirect Tax, which played a significant role to achieve a faster rate of economic growth during 1991-96. The rule can be described briefly the following way.

1. VAT: (Value Added Tax) played a significant role to modernize revenue management which was introduced on 9th June in 1991, was approved by the president on 10th July 1991, which was acted on 1st July 1991. During 1991-95 there was significant rising in tax collection. Domestic resource Mobilization exceeded 33.55 percent from 000000 amount of TK. 119000 Million to generated amount TK. 158.920 Million at 1989-90 prices. Tax and Non-tax revenue grew at the average annual rate of about 8.76 percent and 16.15 percent respectively. During the BNP government, the 15 percent Vat was ascribed on the export commodities except agricultural and primary goods. Due to introduction to Vat had strengthened the tax structure of the government which promote the economic development during 1991-96.

Relaxation of Custom Structure : During 1991-92 to relax the custom and tax structure, "10% custom had been increased on all goods except some goods".¹²

¹² Bangladesh Ardhonoitik Somikha-1996, Ardhonoitik Upodesta Anu Bibhag, Artho Bibhag, Artho Montranolay, Bangladesh Government Junc-1996, P-3.

2. As a result Relaxation of Custom Structure is compelled to increased custom income during 1991-96.
3. Rationalization of custom Structure: In 1991-95 fiscal year, the Rationalization of custom Structure was a vital step as the part of tax reformation, which reduced the high rates to export car. As a result 1991-92 the average export custom rate was 85 percent which get down 22 percent in 1995-96. So due to reduction of custom rate, export was increased as a result revenue had also increased. Thus, this Rationalization of custom Structure played a vital role to strength the economic condition.

Annual Development Program (ADP) size:

During the period of 1991-96, a gradually increasing in the public sector allocation and realization was witnessed. the increased in ADP size was due many projects like Jamuna Bridge, Madhopara Hard Rock and Boropukuria coal development project, increased investment in education, particularly in primary mass education, stipend for female student, food for education and rapidly enhanced investment in rural roads, electrification, water supply etc. were domestic development of BNP as a political party. After taking over the power in 1991, the target of the ADP was 5686 TK in 1990-91 which had been increased 121000 in 1995-96 more than double in which domestic earning was 25 percent, which was 10 percent autocratic regime.

Table No-8

Implementation of Annual Development Program and Size of domestic financing ADP.

Fiscal Year	Target	Amendment Target	Actual Expenditure	Domestic Resource of ADP	Percent of ADP
1990-1991	5668	6126	5270	1328	25.20 %
1991-1992	7500	7150	6028	2128	35.33 %
1992-1993	8650	8121	6550	2183	33.19%
1993-1994	9750	9600	8983	3610	40.19 %
1994-1995	11000	11150	10303	4798	43.03 %
1995-1996	12100	10447	10016	4414	42.25%
1996-1997	12500	11720	11041	5725	48.96%
1997-1998	12800	12200	11037	5521	95.25%
1998-1999	13600	14000	12509	4347	31.05%

Source : Bangladesh Arthonayitik Samikkha 1996 and 2000. Zrthonaytik Updesta Anubivak, Artho bivak, Artho Mantronaloy Bangladesh Sarker. P28,29 and 26, 28.

The above comparative table gives us that the target of the ADP was 12000 during 1995-96. Because of having political instability, Hartal, the development activities were discontinued. In spite of that, during 1995-96, it was possible to finance 4414 corer tk from domestic resource among the amended target of 10447 tk. Compare to that during 1995 -96, in spite of having political instability, the target of ADP was 12100 corer tk and it's domestic earning was 42.25% on the contrary during 1998-99 under the Awami League regime the target of ADP was 19600 corer tk it's domestic finance was 31.05%. So it would be become possible due to take suitable economic policy of the B.N.P.

Reservation of foreign currency :

During 1991 -96 there were enough foreign currency to lead the country. However, the following table would help us that how much money the B.N.P government reserved during his regime.

Reservation of foreign currency 1981- 82 ----1998 - 99

Table No-9

Year		Year	
June	US dollar million	June	US dollar million
1981-82	121	1990-91	880
1982-83	358	1991-92	1608
1983-84	540	1992-93	2121
1984-85	395	1993-94	2756
1985-876	476	1994-95	3070
1986-87	715	1995-96	2039
1987-88	856	1996-97	1719
1988-89	913	1997-98	1739
1989-90	520	1998-99	1523

Source : Bangladesh Arthonaytik Samikha-2000 P-173

From this table, it could be mentioned that during Ershad regime, the foreign currency was reserved below about 1000 US dollar but after coming in power by B.N.P, it was increased 1608 US dollar in 1991-92. Hence, the preservation of foreign currency had been begun to increase. In spite of having political instability during 1995-96, the foreign currency was reserved 2039 USD on the contrary after having taken over the power by the AL, foreign reservation of currency began to reduce which was mentioned in the table no-

On this table, we can say that foreign currency of the country was reserved more during the B.N.P regime than that of AL regime, which witnessed the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh.

Inflation:

During the B.N.P regime i.e 1991-96, the inflation was lower than any other regime. During 1989-90 the rate of inflation was 9.3%. In fact, from 1990-91 to 1993-94 the rate of inflation was gradually decreased. “8.9% was in 1990-91, 5.1% in 1991-92, 1.3% in 1992-93 and 1.8% in 1993-94, 5.2% in 1994-95 and that rate of inflation was 6.6% during 1995-96.”¹³ The average rate of inflation during 1991-96 was 4% which was lower than many developed and developing countries.

Table 10

The rate of inflation of 7 industrialized and developing countries (SAARC)

USA	2.8%	India	5.9%
German	4.3%	Pakistan	7.5%
Japan	1.7%	Srilanka	9.9%
Canada	1.9%	Bhutan	13.0%
France	2.3%	Nepal	5.8%
Italia	4.2%	Maldip	17.2%
UK	2.8%	Bangladesh	-2.4%

Source : M.A Hannan, Bangladesh 1993 Dhaka, Agami prokashani P189.

From this table, which code suggest that the rate of inflation lower than any industrialized and developing countries which indicated the role of B.N.P in the economic development of Bangladesh.

Industrialization :

Industrialization is the precondition of “the modernization” which is the prerequisite of political development.¹⁴ In this regard, S.P Huntington said that “the principal aspects of modernization are urbanization, Industrialization, secularization, democratization, education, media participation”¹⁵

As industrialization is the part of modernization and political development, it is very essential tool for economic development. Apart from this Industrialization is very necessary for economic development of any country. After having taken over the power, the B.N.P took an initiative steps to industrialize through making investment rules and establishing the more industries in the private sector. The B.N.P government continued the privatization policy to increase the skill ness and production instead of state owned industry. During 1991 –95 the B.N.P government decided to sell at least 18 state owned industry through privatization board. Among these mills, 6 in

13. Bangladesh Arthonayitik Samikkha 1996 and 2000. Zrthonayitik Updesta Anubivak, Artho bivak, Artho Mantronaloy Bangladesh Sarker.

14. L.W. Pye, Aspects of political development. P 32.

15. S.P Huntington political order and changing society P-32.

BCIC, 7 in BTMC, 3 in BSC and 2 from BSF among these, 11 industries all ready (4 frm BCIC, 5 from BTMC, 1 in BSC) were handed over the public owners.¹⁶

Investment in the industry :

In a report published in the daily Ajker Kagoj, it has been said that annual foreign investment was “10 Lakh dollar in Bangladesh where is 20 corer dollar in India, 9 corer 8 Lakh dollar, 201 corer and 40 Lakh dollar in Thailand”¹⁷ So this investment proved that because of efficiently leading to the country by B.N.P, there had been a huge foreign investment.

Report of the registration under the board of investment during 1991-96 (in millions USS)

Table No-11

Industrial sector	1991-96		Total
	Domestic	Foreign	
Oil, Gas & Electricity	203	129	332
Textile	1116	639	1755
Engineering	271	373	644
Glass & Ceramic industry	165	175	340
Food based	154	89	243
Agro based	285	175	390
Chemistry industry	198	1061	1259
Leather & rubber	82	47	129
Printing & Publication	100	10	110
Miscellaneous	40	501	581
Total	2654	3129	5783

Source : UNCTAD report published in the Itteaq November 6, 2000 P 9.

This table showed that under board of investment a remarkable number of entrepreneurs have got registration which is a vital contribution of the government led by B.N.P.

Human resource development :

Human resource development is a vital element to run the state for economic development. It is an essential part like Bangladesh for socio economic development of the developing countries. The related factor of human resource development are education, health, child development, Youth development etc.

16. Bangladesh Arthonayitik Samikkha 1996 and 2000. Zrthonayitik Updesta Anubivak, Artho bivak, Artho Mantronaloy Bangladesh Sarker. P-59.

17. The daily Ajker Kagoj, 10 Decemder in 1993.

Regarding to this study, I would examine the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh. However, after taking over the power, B.N.P government, what type of steps took to develop the above factors.

Table -12

Allocation for social sector in the ADP.

Sector	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
Education & Religion affairs	320	535	651	985	1553	1389
Sports & culture	17	20	37	55	70	31
Health	179	216	279	312	410	315
Family planning	279	342	351	460	536	450
Labour & man power	9	11	9	14	15	7
Social welfare for Women affairs & Youth development	41	39	55	75	134	109
Sub Toatal	845	1163	1382	1901	2718	2310
Allocation for social sector in the ADP. (Revenue)						
Sector	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
Education & Religion affairs	1197	1393	1688	1770	2023	2169
Sports & culture	18	23	38	43	38	42
Health	387	431	516	607	685	730
Family planning						
Labour & man power	14	25	19	19	21	22
Social welfare for Women affairs & Youth development	47	51	54	61	73	79
Sub Toatal	1663	1913	2315	2500	2840	3042
Total (development & Revenue)	2508	3076	3697	4401	5558	5343

Source : Bangladesh Arothonayitik Samikha 1996 P-84.

From the above table we can see that the allocation for ADP was 845 corer tk during 1990-91. On the contrary, after having elected the democratic government led by B.N.P, this allocation was increased 1163 corer tk and it had reached 2301 corer tk during 1995-96. In the same time, the revenue allocation was 1663 corer tk and 1913 corer tk was during 1991-92 and during 1995 -96 , this allocation had been increased 3042 corer tk. So this increasing allocation for social sector helped to decide that during 1991-96 the effort of development was continued by the government led by B.N.P.

Development of education :

Education is a vital agent for human resource development. It is the back bone of a nation. No development i.e political, economical as well as social, can be

imagined without education. Regarding to this “education is the key that unlocks door to modernization.”¹⁸

He also says that “education has acquired such high visibility in the developing countries not only because it has been an importance criterion for political elite, recruitment of present generation and its regarded as the prime mover in economic growth but also because it is quite tautologically highly visible”¹⁹

However, after taking the power on March 19, 1991, the B.N.P government selected the education as the first and foremost step for the political development. So it allocated the highest budget for human resource development during 1991-96. the education was obliged in 1992 to ensure the education for all within 2000. A development named primary and mass education was established in 1992 and food for educational program was run to implement the compulsory education. Stipend for female students in high school was conducted. For higher education, National University, Open University, Non government University and Medical College were established during 1991-96. The government led by B.N.P tried to eradicate illiteracy through non formal education and ENFEP besides the formal education. To develop the standard education, increasing the number of teachers, the teachers training Institute had been augmented during 1991-96.

Accepted paces of the development of education:

During 1991 –96, the regime led by B.N.P continued the highest allocation for education. At the first budget of the government, 1382 corer tk was allocated for education and in 1992-93, 1674 corer already was sanctioned for education. In this way, in every budget, the allocation of the education had been increased, which identified or indicated the highest development during 1991-96 to build up the human resource.

Compulsory Primary Education :

In spite of having passed the compulsory law for primary education, then that government i.e Ershad regime did not implement this law. After coming in power by B.N.P who took the pragmatic steps to oblige the primary education. In 1992, the government opened the ministry in the name primary and mass education department to ensure the education for all within 2000. To implement the compulsory primary education a large number of non government primary school beside the government primary school had been established during this regime.

18. James S Coleman (edited) Education and political development, New Jersey, princeton University press 1965, P-3.

19. Ibid –P-5.

Table.13

Year	Government	Non government		Total
		REGISTERED	Non REGISTERED	
1990	37655	6266	3320	47281
1995	37710	17710	5033	59894

Source : Bangladesh Primary education, Department of primary education, primary and mass education division, Bangladesh Govt. 19997 P-13.

This table gives us comparative picture on the increasing number of educational institution. In 1990 the number of government primary school was 37655, which was increased 37710 during 1991-96 and the same duration in 1990, the number of non government school was 9586 which was had been increased 12598 (registered and non registered govt. primary school)

Food for education program :

Having been compulsory the primary education, the students are increasing day by day but because of living below poverty line most students drop out the school. To protect the dropping out of the school the government led by B.N.P initiated for education program “food for education program in 1993”²⁰

To implement this program, in 1993 –94 a project of 7197 Lakh was made. In that time, 549881 families of the 706519 students (male and female) of the 4914 educational institution were given 79661 metric tones Wheat. In 1994 –95, it had increased 177.478 metric tones wheat. In 1995 –96, the program had been expanded more in the time “345564 metric tones wheats were distributed among the 1729556 families of 1988659 students of the 15182 educational institution”²¹

Non formal education :

Non formal education program was taken by the government led by B.N.P during 1991-96 to increase the rate of the adult literacy beside the compulsory primary education and food for education. Under this program “in 1991, the rate of literacy was 32.32% which had increased 47.3% in 1995”²²

Stipend for women education program :

To expand the women education, to ensure women participation in the developing activities of the society, the female students were given stipend from class v to class x in 1994 and the program of demurrage was taken

20. Food for education program evolution : Chorata Shamikkha Protibedon written by BPC group of consultants and center for development resource Dhaka 2000.P-3

21. Shikkhar Janno Khaddo Karmosuchi Primary and mass education P-2

22. Bangladesh Arthonayitik Samikkha 1996 and 2000. Arthonayitik Updesta Anubivak, Artho bivak, Artho Mantronaloy Bangladesh Sarker. P-97

educational institutions. "In 1994, at about 7 lakh students (female) were given economic facilities. In 1995, about 15 lakh female students enjoy this economic facilities."²³

This program became able to prevent the dropping out the school and increasing the participation of female students in the school. So it is remarkable steps for B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh during 1991-96.

Development of secondary education :

"To develop the secondary education, the infrastructure of 1840 secondary educations and 131 higher secondary educations were developed" during 1992-93.²⁴

To augment the professional knowledge, efficiency of the teachers of higher secondary, in 1992, 5 higher secondary training institutes were established and the teachers of these institutions began to train, which is the vital contribution of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh during 1991-96.

Expansion of higher education :

After taking over the power, the government led by B.N.P took a remarkable step to expand the higher education because, "the higher study is trouble with politics and violence. Sometimes many educational institutions are closed down to avoid clashes between two rival groups students. Such closer badly affect academic progress."²⁵

As a result a large number of students go abroad to study. On the other hand, They waste time and money, which inspired the government to establish non government institutions. For this reason, the government formed by B.N.P on 5 August 1992, constituted a bill named private university bill 1992 through an act 34 of the national assembly. It was approved by the President of Bangladesh as a law on 9 August, 1992. Consequently, from 1992-93 at least 16 non government universities were established. Apart from this, National university bill 1992 was passed by the act 37 of National Assembly and was a approved by the President as a law, in which degree, honours and post-graduate course were expanded through the establishing the National University. To expand non formal education for men and women including employees, adult people etc, the B.N.P government established a University named Bangladesh Open University which was acted on the National Assembly through "Bangladesh Open University bill 1992" to expand secondary, higher secondary as well as higher education. This is why, it plays a vital role to increase the efficiency of the employees. From above for going discussion, it can be mentioned that after having taken the power, the B.N.P government

23. Ibid-80

24. Bangladesh Economic Survey P-98

25. English for today for class xi & xii – National curriculum Board Dhaka, P-.

took a large number of steps to develop the human resource through education by which the literacy as well as the development of education in Bangladesh has increased. According to many thinkers regarding to political development, the education is a vital agent for political development. As the expansion of education had brought about, it could be told that during 1991 –96, the political development led by B.N.P also had taken place in Bangladesh.

Women and child development :

The government led by Khaeda Zia, Chair person of B.N.P, played a mentionable role to develop the women and child. A separate ministry had been created for the development of the women and child. The name of the Ministry was “Women and Child Affairs Ministry” which was placed under a minister. The woman affairs division, Bangladesh female organization, had worked to develop the women and child. Under the leader of Prime Minister, a highly powerful “National Woman development Council” gave the indications about woman development affairs”²⁶

The women were preferred in the service. 60% women had been preserved to appoint for the primary school. The security of the woman and child had been arranged by 44 act of law passed by The National Assembly. So it could be seen that the government led by B.N.P played a sufficient role to develop the human resource through the woman and child development.

Social welfare and cultural development :

The government run by B.N.P played no less important role for the social welfare and cultural development. Under the social welfare activities, the rehabilitation and earning source of distress male and female, this child mental and physical obstructing and others were created by B.N.P government. During 1990-95, at about 5 lakh poor families were lent the loan of 416 corer and during 1995-96, “the lending program of 35 corer tk had been taken”²⁷

From this study, it could be understood that the B.N.P, during 1991- 96 did not but play no less significant role the social welfare and cultural development.

Poverty alleviation an employment creation :

Agriculture development :

Agriculture is the greatest sector in the Bangladesh economy and main agent for modernization and political development. The GDP growth rate in the last

26. Bangladesh Arthonayitik Samikkha and 2000. Arthonayitik Updesta Anubivak, Artho bivak, Artho Mantronaloy Bangladesh Sarker. P-82.

27. Ibid P-86.

three decades was 4% on an average. It picked up to an average 5% in 1990. The agricultural sector achievement are remarkable during concerned period of 1990-96, Agricultural sector was the single largest about one third contribution to the GDP of Bangladesh. "The agricultural contribution to the GDP was 32%"²⁸ "It also provided nearly 63% of the total employed persons in the country."²⁹ The subsector of the agriculture are crops, forestry livestock and fisheries. Among these 4 sub sectors of agriculture, the contribution of fisheries and live stock has increased considerably. During 1989-90 and 1990 – 91, the fisheries and live stock have contributed 3.5 and 3.3% respectively whereas it's contribution rose up to 4.2, 4.7, 4.7 and 5.0% respectively during 1992-93, 1993-94, 1994-95 and 1995-96 fiscal years. On the other hand, live stock contributes 3.5% and 3.2% during 1989-90 and 1990-91 respectively it also increased up to 3.5% during 1993-94, 94-95,1995-96 fiscal years respectively. All most all the sectors had grown up sharply from the first 3 fiscal years to the last three years. i.e from 1990 – 91, 1991-92, 1992-93, to 1993-94, 1994-95, and 1995-96.

Table : 14

Sector	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
Agriculture	63.8	63.00	35.9	30.5	29.7	30.9	30.0
i) crops	26.3	26.1	27.9	19.5	18.2	19.2	18.1
ii) forestry	3.6	3.4	2.4	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.3
iii) livestock	3.4	2.2	3.6	6.2	3.5	3.5	3.6
iv) Fisheries	3.5	3.3	2.8	4.2	4.7	6.9	5.0
Mining & quarrying	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Manufacturing	8.8	8.7	9.7	9.7	9.9	9.6	9.6
i) Large scale	5.1	5.1	6.0	6.0	6.3	6.2	6.3
ii) Small scale	3.7	3.6	3.7	7.3	3.6	3.4	3.3
Construction	5.8	5.7	6.0	6.0	5.9	5.9	5.9
Power, Gas, Water & sanitary service	1.2	1.3	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.2
Trans port shortage communication	10.2	11.7	12.9	12.9	12.5	11.9	11.4
Trade service	8.4	8.2	9.0	8.3	8.4	8.6	9.0
Housing service	9.0	8.8	7.6	9.2	9.4	9.1	9.6
Public & Ministry defense	4.4	4.6	4.5	5.2	5.3	5.3	9.4
Banking & insurance	2.1	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0
Professional & Miscellaneous Service	13.3	13.0	10.7	14.4	14.8	14.7	14.9
GDP at Market price.	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100

28. Ibid P-50.

29. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990-96, P -347.

Source : National income section, Bangladesh bureau of statistics (BBS)
Statistical pocket of Bangladesh 1992, P- 220, 1995 P-251 and 1997, P -278

The above table gives us a comparative picture that only one sector Banking and Insurance and three sub sector small skill, sub sector of manufacturing and crops and forestry sub sector of agriculture have diminished modestly. The falling of crop sub sector could be attributed to inadequate quality seeds, irrigation facilities, and extension services coupled with natural disasters like floods, drought, salinity etc contributed large to the sluggish growth of agriculture during 1990-96.³⁰

In spite of having slow down of agricultural growth the B.N.P government tried to continue the agricultural development. Apart from this, according to the declaration in the election manifesto 1991 in the parliamentary election, the government led by B.N.P exempted the tax of 25 bigha land and unrealized agricultural loan of 5 thousand as well as the interest of that loan. As a result the demurrage had increased. For this reason agricultural GDP, which grew at the marginal rate during 1996. In spite of having a huge obstacle the regime led by the B.N.P tried to continue the agricultural development.

Development of communication :

Economic development is the precondition of the political development. Political modernization and mobilization are another vital pre requisite of political development. So economic development depends on modernization, which "is related to a consequence of literacy, education, increased communication, mass media, exposure and urbanization"³¹

On the basis of Huntington and L.Pye's concept, we can say that economic development is depended on the development of communication. For this reason the development of communication is the indispensable part of the political development. The developed system of the communication depends on the rules of suitable communication. However, after taking over the power 1991 the B.N.P led a mentionable and remarkable role in the road transport sector. It could be seen in the survey of Bangladesh³²

"There were 16 thousands kilometer road way under the road and transport department 141014 in 14104 Km and 13629 in 1991 that means from 1990-96 2500 Km road was increased under Road and transport development division"³³"In speech Prime Minister said on 25 March in 1994 to the nation in the last three years, the fider road of 50103 Km and 26863 bridge and culvert

30. (Ministry of planning 1996 ; 16)

31. S.P Huntington, Political order and changing societies, New Havana and London, Yale University press, P-34.

32. Bangladesh Arthonayitik Samikkha and 1996. Arthonayitik Updesta Anubivak, Artho bivak, Artho Mantronaloy Bangladesh Sarker.

33. Ajker Kagoj 26 March, 1994,

were built.”³⁴

After coming in power, the government led by B.N.P took a realistic step to establish a bridge which was inaugurated in the name of the Jamuna Multi purpose Bridge in the Ershad regime for the economic development of Northern side of Bangladesh. It is “ 4.8 Km long and 18.5 Metre wide. The bridge connects the district of Tangail and Shiraigonj is the longest even in Bangladesh and the eleventh largest in the world.”³⁵

The total cost of huge structure was more than 7 hundred millions \$ dollars which came jointly from the Bangladesh government led by B.N.P, the World Bank, the Asian development Bank and Japan. Apart from the Railway and Motorway communication, these Multi purpose bridge will also facilities, Gas, Electricity and the Telecommunication lines between the two parts of the country. It can be undoubtedly said that to build the Jamuna bridge is unrememberable contribution of the B.N.P. On 1 November, 1994, the B.N.P chair person inaugurated a bridge named Meghna Gomoti bridge which was 1.14 Km long for the connection between Dhaka and Chittagong, which played an important role to establish the economic development of Bangladesh. Not with standing that, to build Mahananda bridge, The Dhaleshawry 1 and 2 bridge, The strong decision was taken during 1991-92 and 1992-93 respectively.

From the above discussion on the development of the communication, we can say during the B.N.P regime (1991-96) which indicates the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh. In this duration the growth rate and per-capita income of the country has increased. The domestic financial help has undoubtedly grown up beside the increasing of the allocation in ADP. The reservation of foreign currency has augmented in this tenure. To develop human resource and build the efficient human group in the education sector, The government led by B.N.P takes the endurable policy. Apart from this, to progress human resource the paces of the development of the health service, woman and child, youth, social welfare as well as cultural development are taken in 1991-96 by the B.N.P government. Above all, the economist who defined the economic development means the increasing of the per capita income, the creation of employment, free market economy are remarkably implemented during 1996. So it can be said that economic developments means the political development of Bangladesh.

34. Election manifesto 7th parliament election 1996, Bangladesh Nationalist Party,

35. English for today for class xi & xii – National curriculum Board Dhaka, P-201

Section 4.3

Working of the parliament :

The section three of the four chapter deals with the working of the parliament, “ the Assembly of representative”¹, which becomes the supreme body in the parliamentary democracy. “ It is the power center in democratic politics as the fusion of executive and legislative powers in the parliament is established in the constitution”²

The executive heads of the government or minister are usually Members of Parliament. The collective body of ministers called cabinet. They are accountable to electorate. In this accountability comes from the working of the parliament, which must resist the temptation to usurp the function of government. Apart from this, the parliament is the elected voice of people. So working of the parliament is to ensure the accountability of the government through democratic exercise. To institutionalize the democracy, the ruling party plays as an important role as the opposition party. In the parliamentary democracy the opposition party is the indispensable part of the ruling party. So the opposition party is the essential tool to be successful the parliamentary democracy which is the another vital tool for the political development in Bangladesh. In order to examine the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh, the working of the parliament is needed to discuss. In this study, we will analyze that how much the B.N.P played a significant role to institutionalize the democracy through working of the parliament during 1991-96. However, after holding free, fair and peaceful election of the 5th parliament, the B.N.P came in power on 19 March in 1991 “ the 5th parliament of the country started it’s first session on 5 April in 1991 with inaugural speech of the acting President Shahabudin Ahmed”³

Under the presiding over Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, speaker of the 4th parliament. The working of the parliament was the handing over from former speaker to next speaker. The 5th parliament started through election of the speaker and Deputy speaker. In this election ruling party led by the B.N.P proposed the name of Abdur Rahman Biswas in the post of Speaker and Sheikh Razzak Ali as the Deputy speaker. On the other hand, to institutionalize democracy, the opposition party, the Awami League nominated the Saluddin Yusuf and Advocate Ashaduzzaman Jaman for the post of Speaker and the Deputy speaker respectively. The time would usher the election which is precondition of the democracy. In this election the candidate of B.N.P Abdur Rahman Biswas twice won East Pakistan Provincial Assembly election in 1962 and 1965, In the post of speaker and Advocate Sheikh Razzak Ali in the post of

1. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –307
2. Ibid P-307.
3. Ibid P-283-84.

Deputy speaker begged 187 votes in favour of them. On the contrary the Awami League backed candidates got 97 votes. As a result Abdur Rahman Biswas for the post the speaker and Advocate Sheikh Razzak Ali in the post of Deputy speaker were elected. This election established the parliamentary democracy which indicated the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991- 96.

Presidential election :

“After going people’s consent with the holding the September 15, 1991 referendum on the 12th amendment bill to constitution.”⁴

“A cabinet under the leadership of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia was sworn in on 19 September”⁵

Which marked the completion of the process of switch over to the parliamentary system. However, in a gazette notification issued by the EC on September 19, the schedule of holding the presidential election was announced under Article 5(1) of the presidential election act 1991. The first election of the office of the president, after the party reverted to the parliamentary system through 12th amendment was scheduled for October in 1991. Regarding this election of the president the ruling party, B.N.P had nominated Speaker Abdur Rahaman Biswas, recently elected as the speaker as her presidential candodate. On the other hand, with the an appeal of consensus, the main opposition party AL nominated Justice Badrul Haider Chowdhury as it’s president candidate. Besides AL leader Mokbul Hossain conceded defeat in that election to B.N.P candidate. Zamiruddin Sarkar had also submitted his candidature for presidential post. Moreover “Hossain withdrew his nomination on September 30 in 1991 in favour of Chowdhury”⁶ The ruling B.N.P announced an Ordinance terming presidential election as a part of parliament election. This law was an amendment to the presidential election law of 1991.

The leader of AL filled 3 writ petitions with the Appellate Division of the High Court on October 1 in 1991 against this Ordinance. However, the ruling B.N.P as democratic government proved it’s responsiveness to the opposition opinion. They withdrew the Ordinance on October 3 in 1991. Accordingly the leave bench in the High Court Division had rejected Awami League’s petition. The presidential election was held on October 8 in 1991 “for the first time in the history in Bangladesh.”⁷

4. Ibid P-308

5. Mohammad A.Hakim, Bangladesh politics : The Shahabuddin interregnum, University press Ltd. Dhaka. P- 87.

6. (See the Daily Star and Ajker Kagoj October 1 in 1991)

7. Mohammad A.Hakim, Bangladesh politics : The Shahabuddin interregnum, University press Ltd. Dhaka. P- 96.

under the supervision of the E.C. The members of parliament cast their votes to elect the head of the state under a parliamentary form of government. A total cast of 264 votes were cast. "The B.N.P candidate bagged 172 votes and the AL backed candidate got 92 votes."⁸

Biswas received all the 170 votes of B.N.P members and also the votes of two the independent members (two the independent members who voted for the B.N.P candidate were major (Rtd) Hafizuddin and Nurul Islam Moni). Chowdhury got the vote of AL members and the lone member of Gontantrik Party. (Akteruzzaman Chowdhuy) of AL could not cast his vote. He was out the country on the election day. As many as 66 members of parliament did not participate in the presidential election. In this election the M.Ps from the JI, JP and others small party refrained from voting. On October 9 in 1991 Abdur Rahman Biswas had taken oath as newly elected President. Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed returned to his former post on October 10 in 1991 and according to the provision of 11 amendments to the constitution. Throw being established the parliamentary democracy being elected Abdur Rahman as the President . The Deputy speaker Sheikh Razzak Ali and Humayun Khan Panni were elected as the speaker and Deputy speaker respectively on 12 October and 13 October in 1991 respectively.

Session and other statistics of the parliament :

It can be remarkably mentioned that the 5th parliament is the largest parliament in the history of Bangladesh since independence. The first session started on 5 April in 1991. It had had 22 sessions with 400 working days. Of which 13 sessions and 286 working days were participated by the ruling party and opposition members of parliament.

Session, duration, number of presence of the session, the number of submitted government bill and non government bill, the number of passed bill of the 5th Jatiyo Sansad.

8. The result was published in a gazette notification used by the election Commission on October 8 in 1991, See Bangladesh Observer October 9 in 1991.

Table : 15(A)

Session	Duration of session	Number of session	Total hour of session	Average presence of the session	Submitted govt. bill in the Parliament	Submitted non government bill	Passed bill in the parliament
1 st	5 Apr. to 15 May 1991	22	140.48	297.3	30	12	18
2 nd	11 jun to 14 Aug.	43	246.58	259.20	11	07	10
3 rd	12 Oct. to 5 Nov. 1991	14	70.31	234.02	12	04	04
4 th	4 Jan. to 18 Feb. 1992	27	147.36	222.21	16	06	18
5 th	12 Apr. to 19 Apr. 1992	6	33.07	235.67	01	03	0
6 th	18 jun. To 13 Aug. 1992	41	263.14	229.76	29	08	18
7 th	12 Oct. to 6 Nov. 1992	20	89.32	291.2	15	08	18
8 th	3 Jan. to 11 Mar. 1993.	32	133.31	201.29	10	09	12*
9 th	9 May to 13 May 1993	5	25.49	232.01	06	08	00
10 th	6 Jun. To 15 Jul. 1993	31	198.29	221.17	07	01	09
11 th	12 Sep. to 27 Sep. 1993	12	67.57	220.5	05	08	06
12 th	12 Nov. to , 8Dec. 1993	14	67.47	201.5	05	04	07
13 th	5 Feb. 5 March 1994	19	63.08	173.68	07	02	02
14 th	4 May to 12 May 1994	6	20.49	142.67	03	01	06
15 th	6 Jun. To 11 Jul. 1994	25	31.13	119.12	09	00	07
16 th	23 Aug. to 14 Sep. 1994	10	18.03	111.1	01	00	04
17 th	12 Nov. to 8 Dec. 1994	21	39.27	108	06	00	07
18 th	23 Jan. to 23 Feb 1995	18	32.37	108	12	00	09
19 th	24 Apr. to 27 Apr. 1995	4	12.00	129.75	02	00	01
20 th	15 Jun. To 11Jul 1995	17	62.46	124.05	09	81	08
21 st	6 Sep to 26 Sep 1995	10	25.51	119.4	05		08
22 nd	15 Nov. to 18 Nov. 1995	3	5.27	131.66	02		01
22 in numbers	Total	400	1836.00	180.15	203		173

Source : Summarizing of the working o parliament (1991-95) of the 5th Jatio Sansad Sachibaloy.

Another previous 4 parliament non had had more than 8 Session and 206 working days. However, the second JS during Zia regime had 8 sessions with 206 working days. It is mentionable here that if Zia was not assassinated by a number of disgruntled army. The second JS session would have completed.

The first JS of Muzib era had also 8 sessions with only 134 working days. The fourth JS had 6 sessions and 162 working days. While the third JS had only 4 sessions with only 4 working days. The third and fourth parliament were the hand-maiden of General H. M. Ershad.

Table : 15(B)

Number of Session and working days of different JS in Bangladesh.

Jatiya Sansad	Date of session		Number of session	Number of working days
	From	To		
First	7.6.1973	17.7.1974	Eight	134 days
Second	2.4.1979	3.3.1983	Eight	206 days
Third	10.7.1986	13.7.1987	Four	75 days
Fourth	25.4.1988	25.8.1990	Six	162 days
Fifth	5.4.1991	18.11.1995	Twenty two	400 days
Sixth	19.8.1996	25.3.1996	One	4 days

Source : Adopted from Parliamentary secretariat cited in Mustafa Kamal (1997) P-36

Never before in the parliamentary history of independent Bangladesh ranging from the immediate post liberation period to 1988, could a parliament hold so much sessions with so many working days. By hind sight lives of different parliament were cut short in varying degrees by promulgation of martial law, switch over to presidential system of government and rubber stamp assemblies. However, seen in this historical perspective with the near completion of the tenure with as many as 22 sessions and 400 working days. Bangladesh had added a half decade long parliamentary democratic experience from 1991-96 with the 5th JS that has also added to her democratic legacy (table A). Sixth JS that had one session and four working days in the (table B). It can be seen that total 1836 hours in 400 working days continued. In this parliament, average presence of the parliamentarians was 180.15 persons. The 5th JS among the last sixth parliament, passed the most bill. 173 bills with 1 non government bills were passed. 154 bills were accepted by the first JS and 142 bills by the fourth. 65 bills by second JS and 39 bills by third. The seventh JS passed 93 bills with 15 sessions. So It can be seen that the fifth parliament was higher in the function of parliament than any other of the last parliament. But no parliament had completed it's durations. Though the fifth JS did not complete his tenure, it reached near duration. this parliament ended before 4 months and 10 days of the completion of tenure. Nevertheless, Bangladesh had added a half decade long parliamentary democratic experience from 1991-96 with the fifth JS that had also added to higher democratic legacy.

Law making

The 5th JS played a significant role to make law. The total 173 bill with 2 amendments bills were received at the 5th JS. Among them 172 bills were government bills and 1 was non government bill. In the 5th JS, 203 bills government and 81 non government were placed. (Table A) Only one non government bill “the members of parliament (Numeration and allowances) (amendment) bill, 1993 was received on 4 March 1993 by the 8 sessions of the 5th JS. After having approved by the president 10 March 1993 it was made as an act -11. Apart from this, a terror protected act was mentionable. It was passed on 1 Nov 1992 by the JS in the absence of opposition party and was approved by the president on 6 Nov. 1992 for two years. Cost guard bill 1994 was passed in 1994 to control the terror activities in the costal area, which ensured the security of the costal area with the security of the independence and sovereignty of the country.

Election is an indispensable part to succeed the democracy. The election is led by the EC. To strengthen the EC for the establishment of democracy regarding to the EC strengthening affairs “the representative of the people (amendment bill) 1994” was passed in the 5th JS. This was placed on 30 November 1994 and approved by the president on 12 December 1994. After having approved by the president it was made in law.

Another bill named “the election polls (amendment bill) 1994 was passed on 4 December in 1994 to introduce the identity card. The 2 bills were sole step to institutionalize democracy. Not with standing these bills, there were many bills which were passed in the 5th JS are the local government bill (Union Parishad) (second amendment bill), (the Paurashava) (second amendment) bill. The government (Upzilla Parishad and Upzilla Administration Re-organization) repeal bill). Last not but least through passing these bills, the 5th JS played an important role to institutionalize the democracy, which identified the role of B.N.P in the development in Bangladesh 1991-96 .

Questions and answers section

In the parliamentary democracy, the question and answer is fascinated an attractive affairs. Through asking the questions, in the parliamentary democracy it is ensured the accountability to the government, which are accountable to electorate. However, there are three opportunities to ask the questions among the parliamentarians of the JS. These are (1) Star marked question (2) Star marked less question (3) the question of notice for short time. It can be seen from the questions and answer section in the 5th JS that in the 22 sessions, 37907 notice of the star marked question were got . Among these, 9391 star marked questions were received by the speaker. The accepted 8692

questions were placed in the JS and related Ministers answer to the questions. 770 star marked questions were rejected and 20567 questions were be barred by the limitation.

It can be observed in 22 sessions that 9463 notice of star marked less questions were got. Among these 3363 star marked less questions were adopted by the speaker and among the adopted questions, 3157 star marks less questions were placed in the JS and related Ministers answered to the questions. 2799 star marked less questions were rejected and 3443 were be barred limitation.

After having got 176 questions for short time, the speaker received 10 and 5 questions were placed. The relative minister responded to the questions.

From these researchable study, we can say that through questions and answer section, there can be seen the continuity of the parliament. It is possible to ensure the accountability and responsibility, which can be said to ensure the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96.

Section 4.4

In order to prove the role of B.N.P in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96, the section IV of chapter iv which presents the installation of care taker government through 13th amendment bill of the constitution under the 6th parliament led by B.N.P, saved the democracy to provide for election under a Non-Partisan Care taker government (NPCTG). As the election is the vital and successful condition to institutionalize democracy ie “the building of democracy”¹ is prerequisite of the political development. To establish the democracy, the government led by B.N.P amended the constitution (13th amendmend bill) in the 6th parliament which was held on 15 February 1996. However, in this study I would examine that how the B.N.P advanced to take a new journey of democracy through holding the 6th parliament, by which the “ 13th amendment bill of the constitution” was passed to hold free and fair and peaceful election under non party care taker government (NPCTG). However, the end of the B.N.P’s term, the opposition parties boycotted the sessions and started a serious political movement on the issue of by-election which was held in Magura in favour of the ruling party candidate. They alleged that armed hooligans and muscleman had turned the result of that election. They also alleged that the holding of parliamentary by-election under party in power showed “ the reputation of the past rigged election in modified manner”² which depended the intensity of the mistrust among the political force of the country. So they raised the demand for care taker government as the best alternative to rigged elections under any party government. The opposition parties included the AL and JI , demanded for free and fair and peaceful parliamentary election under the NPCTG had it’s roots in the instance of holding general election for the 5th JS in 1991. Finally demand for Non party care taker government had revived again during 1994.

Demand for caretaker government :

The forces of this agitation had only a single demand – a constitutional amendment for the provision of NPCTG which was necessary factor to ensure free, fair and peaceful election in the country. As a result, the two main opposition parties (the AL and JI) had tabled two separate constitution amendment bill to install a NPCTG. It was undoubtedly recognized that the concept of NPCTG was the brain child of the Jamaat Amir, Golam Azam. Regarding to this demand of NPCTG, there was no provision in the constitution. Not with standing that, the bill considered that the necessary constitutional amendment to be made so that the next 3 parliamentary election

1. L. W. Pye *Aspects of political development*, Boston Little Brown 1966, P-33-34
2. Arun Kumar Goswami, *Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96*, P – 370.

could be held under the NPCTG. In accordance with these 2 bills Prime Minister was to resign 90 days before the election date. He or She would hand over to the members of the NPCTG. The ruling B.N.P was not interested not only to hold parliamentary debate on the mentioned issue, the leader of the B.N.P but also argued that as an elected government it could not hand over power to un-elected government . On the other hand the opposition parties staged a walk out on March 1 in 1994, protesting the oblique hints of the B.N.P's information ministers during a debate on the massacre by Israel soldiers in a mosque of Havron known a Havron massacre³ They boycott against the oblique hints of the B.N.P's information ministers which ultimately strengthened demand for constitutional amendment for (CTG). The EC became a subject of vehement criticism by all major opposition parties to win the by-election the B.N.P's candidates with the help of wide spread ragging. This political deadlock accompanied by the natural disasters i.e. tidal surge an storm which lashed the entire costal bailed of the country on 16 May 1995. However, " Failing to get rid of the impasse through dialogue the government had been going ahead with preparations for elections"⁴ The election commission had been reorganized, the chief election commission (CEC) had been replaced. There was steady progress toward preparing voters list "but the opposition did not see any merit development"⁵ to avoid the political deadlock. They had insisted that the appointment of the CEC should have been by consensus. Taking no notice of the oppositions parties demand for the NPCTG by the ruling party B.N.P, the opposition had also thrown agitation program to realize demand. Ultimately opposition parties had jointly demanded the ruling B.N.P's consent to holding of the election under the NPCTG after the Prime Minister Had resigned before 90 days of the election of the 6th JS.

However, different quarters like speaker JS on June 1994, the Commonwealth Secretary General Chief Emaka Anyaoki had under taken steps to resolves the political impasse. The ruling B.N.P on 15 May in 1995 had formally proposed dialogue with the opposition to end the political impasse prevailing in the country. Later on, AL Secretary confirmed the B.N.P Secretary had formally put the proposal over telephone.⁶ Meanwhile, the ruling party had appointed the CEC. This appointment of the CEC of the ruling party had fuelled anger in the opposition camp. However, many prominent organization of the country, as well as the donor countries had also arranged a number of meeting for negotiated settlement to deadlock between the ruling and opposition parties. Both the initiatives of eminent citizen and donor countries had failed to resolve the crisis. Apart from this, the opposition parties and some other aggrieved

3. See the Daily Star 2 March 1994.

4. Arun Kumar Goswami, Institutionalization constraints of democracy in Bangladesh 1990 – 96, P –371.

5. See the Bangladesh Time , 19 May 1995 P-5

6. See the Bangladesh Times , 16 May 1995 P-1.

groups led many Hortalts for the NPCTG. The street agitation during the period became a regular scenario. All political parties of the country had been agreed that hereinafter, the parliament would be the center of all political activities. It had been found the situation was not advanced as per expectation. Accordingly, the opposition political parties had boycotted the parliament. On the other hand the government declared the 6th parliamentary election which was held on 15 February 1996. It was boycotted by major political parties included the AL, JI except B.N.P. This election was held under B.N.P government in which it won 278 seats of out of 300 seats.⁷

However, this parliament passed the most expected caretaker government bill of the country. The dilemma of the 13th amendment bill to the constitution was that it was passed in the hottest ever political stigma in the country.⁸ After having adopted the constitution (13th constitution) bill 1996 which provides for an 11 member non party caretaker government conducted by a Chief Adviser inter alias to aid and assist the election commission in holding free, fair and neutral General election within 90 days after the parliament is dissolved or stands dissolves. An ex- chief justice of the Supreme Court would preferably head the interim government.⁹ Thus 13th amendment bill of the constitution was approved by the President on 28 March, 1996. Appendix (K)

However, the parliament form of government in place of Presidential one has also been regarded as a remarkable achievement during 1991-96. Regarding to this caretaker government “both B.N.P led by Khaleda Zia and AL led by Hasina tried to project the final out come of the crisis as victories for their respective stands. Hasina argued that by forcing Khaleda Zia to accept the nation neutral caretaker government. She strengthened the democratic process. Khaleda Zia, on other hand, posited that she saved democracy by amendment to provide for election under a caretaker government¹⁰

However, from above going on discussion, we can say that the 6th parliamentary election led by the B.N.P amended the constitution as the 13th amendment to the constitution bill 1996 for the non party caretaker government (NPCTG) to institutionalize democracy in the country. B.N.P advanced to take a new journey of democracy. It makes to hold free, fair and peaceful election which bears the testimony the role of B.N.P in the political development in Bangladesh 1991-1996.

7. See the Daily Star 16 February 1996.

8. See the Daily Observer 27 March 1996.

9. See the Daily Observer 27 March 1996.

10. See the Bangladesh Times, 29 March 1996, P-6.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This chapter contains a summary of the result of this study, an evaluation of the rule of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96. In this chapter there have been discerned two broad conclusion i.e. The successfulness of the study and its failure. As BNP, was born by late President Ziaur Rahman, is a political organization at the grass root level in Bangladesh, it can play either a vital role in the political development or not. In this regard, in order to assess the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96, I started to analyses from the 29th November, 1976 when the founder of BNP, late President Ziaur Rahman, was vested with the responsibility of CMLA from the DCMLA/CAS. It was very essential to say that when Zia was emerged as the CAS & DMLA., he brought discipline and order into chaotic and fragmented army as the leader of soldiers. It can be identified as the first political development in the arena of Bangladesh politics. Before having vested with the responsibilities of the CMLA, after emerging as undisputed strong man i.e. as the CAS. & DCMLA. less than after coup and counter coup, Zia tried to legitimize his activities and consolidated in order to sustain himself further in power. Apart from this, every military regime perceives a threat it's position from existing political parties which view the military rulers as usurpers of power. As the part of that, all military rulers, therefore, invariably attempted to curb political party activities. So, on July 28, 1976, his government issued a proclamation called the political party regulation (PPR) which required the political party to seek the government permission to function. Under the PPR, the government had the final authority to allow license to the political party to function. After the promulgation of this regulation, all existing political parties were declared in operative and asked to apply for fresh registration, which is successful step for democracy and ensured freedom on political activities would be revived by August, 15, 1996.

After allowing lisencc to the political activities to function to meet to political term moil and unrest in the constabulary, he, the founder of BNP, elevated himself from the post of DCMLA to the CMLA on 29 November, 1967 and at the age of 43 on 21 April 1977, he became the 7th President of the Republic of Bangladesh.

Immediately after his assumption of the office of President, Zia, by proclamation order No- 1 of 1977, introduced a significant amendment to the constitution i.e the four fundamental principle of the constitution viz nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism with the high ideals of absolute trust and faith in the almighty Allah, nationalism, democracy, and socialism meaning economical and social justice.

Having amended the constitution, he called on May 1 in 1977 for the country wide referendum, to ascertain the confidence of the people to legitimize his regime, which was held on the basis of direct adult franchise. The result of referendum was 98.88% voters expressing confidence in his leadership and action.

Before holding a referendum, he announced a board based election manifestoes 19 points development program on April 30, 1977, to promote the private sector achieving self sufficiency in food, strengthening the rural economy and implementing the multi-party democracy.

After holding referendum and announcing his political program, he decided to form a new political party on February in 1978, called JAGODAL and announced a presidential election to be held on June 3 in 1978 on the basis of direct vote. Before holding the presidential election, he and his supporters formed a broad based political forum named JF consisting of (NAP, ML, UPP, LP, TJF,) and contested as the presidential candidate of JF. In this election, Zia secured 76.67% and had won formal political legitimacy. For five years term, Zia transformed himself from a soldier to a politician. This election to the presidency was an important triumph for him and gave him a nationally acceptable stature as well as established his credibility in the mind of the people. The presidential election undoubtedly influenced the latter political trends in Bangladesh.

After having successfully held presidential election, Zia attempted to impart a civilian look to his power based by trying to organize a political party. Finally he founded a new party called the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (B.N.P) On 1 September in 1978.

Through forming a political party, B.N.P led by its founder chairman began to be ensured formal legitimacy through presidential election. To restore democracy and establish a political development in Bangladesh, being a political party, B.N.P proceeded to redeem its pledge for parliamentary election which was held on 18 February in 1979. In this election, newly born B.N.P participated and contested to cast vote for 298 seats and other political parties included AL also participated in the election. After holding the parliamentary election, newly born B.N.P remarkably begged majority supporters which brought the restoration of order and stability. Finally, the founder of B.N.P was to be eradicated for rushing through the process of civilianization and democratization of the regime. He withdrew martial law and civilianized the government, allowed open political activities which are remarkable successful steps for democracy. However, after having killed Zia by disgruntled officers, President Satter came in power through the 6th amendment constitution and the presidential election on 15 November in 1981 but autocratic Ershad toppled him on 24 March in 1982. The country was placed under martial law. Hence after, B.N.P boycotted all functions (Presidential election and parliamentary election) of autocratic Ershad from 24

March in 1982 to 6 December in 1990 and formed the joint declaration of the three alliances and compelled to resign Ershad regime for restoration democracy which was the succession of power in the political development of independent Bangladesh non military means. This transfer of power from the autocratic ruler to a neutral caretaker government with a view to conduct a general election opened the channels for democratic transition.

After having resigned the autocratic regime, B.N.P helped the formation of caretaker government under the leadership of justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. He held free, fair and peaceful election on 27 February in 1991 to give the democracy institutional shape. In this election B.N.P had emerged as the single largest party in the 5th parliament. The B.N.P won a total 141 seats out of 298 seats. The 1991 parliamentary election under CTG with help of B.N.P was a grand success in establishing people confidence in the sanctity of the electoral process. It was also beginning of a process of democratization of government and politics after a long period of autocratic rule.

After having taken over the power on 19 March in 1991, B.N.P established the democratic stability i.e 11th and 12th amendment bill to the constitution, economic development every sphere of the state as well as administrative responsibilities. However, the 12th amendment to the constitution, which reintroduced parliamentary democracy, further accelerated democratization process in the country. The whole process was done on the basis of consensus among the political process of the country.

However, there had been remarkable successfulness under the leadership of B.N.P in the economic sectors during 1991 – 1996. The growth rate of GDP had gone up from 3.8 in 1990-1991 to 4.7 in 1991-1996. The per capita income was 213 US dollar which had increased 265 US dollar in 1995-1996. The target of ADP was 5668 Tk 1990-1991 which has increased 121000 in 1995-1996 more than double in which domestic achievement was 42.25% which was 10% in the autocratic regime. During the B.N.P regime i.e 1991-1996 the average rate of inflation was 4% which was lower than many developed and developing countries. The literacy rate increased 47.3% in 1995 which was 32.32% in 1991.

The life expectancy at birth reached to 61 years. The country was almost self-sufficient in the rice production. Rural areas were well connected with the cities, municipalities and growth centers with different modes of transport, industrialization and investment in the industry by which impressive success have been achieved in reducing human poverty.

The regime led by B.N.P during 1991 –1996 continued the highest allocation for building the human resource, compulsory primary education, food for education program, non formal education, stipend for women education program., development of secondary education, expansion in higher education, woman and child development, social welfare and cultural

development were the development program of B.N.P. In this program, the remarkable success have been obtained in reducing human poverty.

The rate of improvement in human index in Bangladesh during 1991-1996, was found to be faster in South Asia. Accordingly the incidence of human poverty declined from the past to periodic regime.

Another remarkable success is the working of parliament where the government led by B.N.P runs the parliament with 22 sessions and 400 days and never before the parliamentary history of independent Bangladesh ranging from the immediate past liberation period 1988, could a parliament hold so much sessions with so many working days.

The B.N.P played an significant role to make law with three amendment bills to restore democracy and ensure security and responsibility of the people.

The B.N.P's last successful step which presents the installation of caretaker government through 13th amendment bill to the constitution under 6th parliament to institutionalized democracy and it advanced to take a new journey of democracy to hold free, fair and peaceful election under the NPCTG, which bears the testimony the role of B.N.P in the political development in 1991-1996.

Failures

To assess the role of B.N.P in the political development in 1991-1996, the failures of the study where I found, are that though B.N.P is a grass root level organization and a unique party in many ways, Its founder is led President Ziaur Rahman. It was created by military ruler with the frame work of the military Janta's scheme of respective politics. It may be compared with some of the parties sponsored by authoritarian regimes of the other countries of the world. It is recognized that Zai decided to restore democracy and civilianize the system in Bangladesh through this party.

Before forming the party when, he was emerged as the CAS and DCMLA after taking place coup-counter coup and before having vested with the responsibility of the CMLA on 29 November in 1976, he ruthlessly suppressed the disobedient Army to consolidate his own position within army and finally the arms position within government and society. On the other hand he offered martial incentives, important position and promotion those who preferred to fall in line with him.

Though he issued a proclamation called the political party regulations on 28 July in 1997, the registered political parties under PPR were not permitted to hold public meeting or organize any form of mass movement.

From 29 November in 1976 to 30 May 1981, to legitimize his regime and civilianize the system, taken a number of the steps i.e certain preliminary initiatives like indoor politics, dialogues with political parties, constitutional amendment, the presidential referendum of 1977, the presidential election of 1978 and parliamentary general election of 1979, after all party formation were created and the cover of the military law and ruler which do not bear the good exercise for democracy in the political development of Bangladesh.

After having killed Zia by a handful of disgruntled officers who were highly misunderstood person to him within arm force, A. Satter came in power through wining a lands lead victory in the presidential election on 15 October in 1981 but after taking over the power, in spite of having formed cabinet for two times in order to free the administration from corruption and stagnation, he did not lead the country in the path of effective democratic order. Not with standing that during his regime, there had been seen the inner brawling of B.N.P leadership was very weak to lead them. As a result showing the inner conflict of B.N.B leaders and because of weak leadership of justice A. Satter, rapid corruption during his regime, deterioration of law and order, he had to resign under pressure from existing army chief before any notification from the existing army under leadership of Ershad. Finally on 24 March in 1982, he gave up the power in a bloodless coup within less than 5 moths and expensive presidential election.

After having toppled the government of Satter by armed force, Ershad ran the state till 6th December in 1990 because of not being the tremendous movement of the political parties. During the initial regime of Ershad, the B.N.P did not lead the movement owing to inner brawling of B.N.P. However, in accordance with the joint declaration of three alliances, B.N.P came in power on 19 March 1991 through free and fair election. During the periodic study 1991-1996, there had been observed a large number of failures politically, socially as well as economically.

Socially, there were many lacks of education, moral degradation, and terrorism, deteriorating law and order situation, lack of democratic culture, lack of parliamentary knowledge, attitude and behavior and different forms of intolerance.

Economically, at the end of B.N.P regime, I found the fertilizer crisis. Consequently the farmers all over the country were victimized not to produce more. Many farmers were killed for the demand of fertilizer which was not good governance for democracy.

Politically, at the end of B.N.P's term the opposition parties except B.N.P boycotted the parliament and started a vigorous movement on the issue of by-election which was held in Magura in favour of B.N.P's candidate. In this election the armed hooligans and muscleman had turned the result of that election. The opposition demanded the NPCTG as the best alternative to rigged

election but the leaders of B.N.P commented that they did not realized the concept of NPCTG. As a result there had been seen the lack of internal democracy with in the political parties of the country and the parliament did not mature with entirely democratic institution. During this tenure, there had been observed the political bickering, political interference in the public administration, lack of consensus on the basic national issues, abrupt change in the constitution, lack of transparency and accountability in the administration, Hartal as well as naked conflict of power.

Beside it was also found the process of globalization had brought forward some problems to the institution process of democracy in Bangladesh.

There was no denying that the 6th parliamentary election which was held on 15 February in 1996 under B.N.P government where no political party except B.N.P participated in this election which was a great failure of B.N.P and in the 6th parliament, the 13th amendment bill to the constitution which was passed by the ruling B.N.P but the existing political party did not take part the in this amendment. So it was not good evidence to exercise for democracy.

APPENDIX (A) Questionnaire

To inquire into the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh a sample survey was conducted among the cross section of middle class population in the capital city of Dhaka and in some other rural areas of Bangladesh. The interviewees were requested to answer the following set of questions. The total sample size was 125

Tick (✓) the appropriate box or write the correct answer:

1. Name:
2. Date of birth:
3. Age as on date of interview:
4. Education Qualifications:
5. Profession:
6. Religion: Islam ; Hindu; Buddhism; Christian ;
7. Gender/Sex : Male ; Female;
8. Income : Monthly-; Yearly-;
9. What is meant by political development?
10. What is the role of BNP in the political development of Bangladesh 1991-96?
11. What are the influencing functions which play a significant role in the political development and economic development?
12. Do you think that the government led by BNP is sufficient to develop the country 91-96.
13. Do you think that the leadership of BNP in the political development is sufficient to lead the state 1991-1996.

APPENDIX (B)

Zia's First Formal Address to the Nation After Take over on November 11, 1975.

My dear countrymen,
Assalamu Alaikum.

A history was created on the 7th of November through the demonstration of unprecedented solidarity among the Army, Navy, Air force, BDR, police, ansars, students, labourers and people from all walks of life. On that eventful day, I spoke to you through Radio Bangladesh.

I would like to remind everyone that country is under martial law but the Government is committed not to continue martial law beyond the time needed. The paramount need of the hour before the members of the Armed Forces and amity between the people and the administration.

I am not a politician. I am a soldier. I am surprised to see my name involved in propaganda of certain quarters. I would like to make it clear that I have no connection whatsoever with politics and ours is a completely non-party and non-political Government.

The self-seeking quarters are trying to harass the people by using fake identities and at times in the name of the Armed Forces. They are engaged in a heinous conspiracy to create a sense of insecurity and frustration among the people.

I earnestly request the people of all walks of life to remain vigilant against these conspirators. I also appeal to every citizen to help the Government wholeheartedly at this time. Self-seeking quarters are trying to be active in spite of that the country is under martial law. Their sole aim is to hinder efficient functioning of the country's administration. I hope our countrymen will keep themselves alive to the civil motive of the conspirators against our dear country. I am confident that every patriotic citizen will foil the civil designs of the anti-State elements.

My colleagues in the Armed Forces, today our all-out efforts are directed towards building up the Bangladesh Armed Forces as a modern and efficient force through enhancing your welfare and interests. You all know the state of the Armed Forces as it stood on the 14th of August. The members of the Armed Forces suffered a feeling of frustration as a result of the neglect meted out to them by the Government ruling the country till that date since Liberation. To

rectify all deficiencies, which accumulated during the last four years, will not be an easy task. But I hope we will be successful.

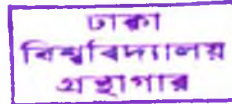
I believe that the members of the Armed Forces should keep aloof from politics. We are not politicians. We are working ceaselessly on a planned programme to revive political activities in the country.

In the end, I request all citizens and the valiant members of the Armed Forces not to be misled by any provocation from any self-seeking quarter.

At this vital hour of the nation, I fervently appeal to the patriotic people not to succumb to any pressure from any anti-State force. I hope all of you would extend wholehearted co-operation to me and to my colleagues.

Khoda Hafiz
Bangladesh Zindabad

403632



Appendix (C)
ZIA's 19-POINTS PROGRAMME OF DEVELOPMENT

1. Preserving the independence, integrity and sovereignty of the state at all cost;
2. Reflecting in all spheres of our national life the four fundamental principles of the constitution, i.e., absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah, nationalism, democracy and socialism meaning economic and social justice;
3. building ourselves into a self-reliant nation all possible means;
4. ensuring people's participation at all levels of administration, development programmes and in the maintenance of law and order;
5. strengthening rural economy and thereby the national economy by attaching priority to agricultural development;
6. making the country self-sufficient in food and ensure that nobody has to starve;
7. increasing cloth production with a view to ensure supply of at least coarse cloth for everybody;
8. taking all possible measures so that nobody remains homeless;
9. freeing the country from the curse of illiteracy;
10. ensuring at least minimum medicate for everybody;
11. confirming the rightful position of women in the society, and organizing and motivating the youths for nation-building;
12. providing the private sector necessary incentives for the economic development of the country;
13. improving the condition of the workers and developing good employer-employee relations in the interest of increased production;
14. increasing the spirit of public service and nation-building among the government employees and improving their financial condition;
15. checking population explosion;
16. building up friendship based on equality with all countries, and strengthening the relations especially with the Muslim countries;
17. decentralizing the system of administration and development and strengthening the local government;
18. establishing a social system based on justice and fairplay and free from corruption; and
19. safeguarding the rights of all citizens irrespective of religion, color and sect and consolidate national unity and solidarity.



4A



Build up party through Brother hood (সংগঠন)

How govt runs -- Council Committees & decentralisation

Trg of Party: Cadre & Cadre formation

Org Levs - union level upward full time of payment

Orgodals & their state of Org

'World economic sit & Price like

উৎসাহিত রাজনীতি

What we can do for the Party

Appendix (E)

FEBRUARY 1979 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULT

Party/ Independent	No. of Seats Won	% of Total seats	No. of Votes Received	% of Votes Cast
Nationalist Party	207	69	79,34,236	41.17
Awami League (Malak)	39	13	47,34,277	24.56
Awami League (Mizan)	02	0.66	5,35,426	2.78
Muslim League and Islamic				
Democratic League(Rahim)	20	6.66	19,41,394	10.07
Jatiya Samajntnic Dal	08	2.66	9,31,851	4.83
National Awami Party(Muzaffar)	01	0.33	4,32,514	2.24
Ganofront	02	0.66	1,15,622	0.60
Shammyabadi Dal	01	0.33	74,771	0.39
Jatiya League	02	0.66	69,319	0.36
Democratic Movement	01	0.33	34,259	0.18
Jatiya Ekota Party	01	0.33	44,459	0.23
Independent	16	5.33	19,63,345	10.19
Number of Candidates:			2,125	
Number of Political Parties contesting:		29		
Number of Voters:			3,83,63,858	
Number of votes Cast:			1,96,76,128	
% of Votes Cast:				50.24

Apoendix-(F)

(For chapter III)

Position of different political parties in the parliamentary general elections
(From 1st to 4th)

Parliamentary general elections	Name of political parties	Numner of seat(s) won in the elections
First, 7 March 1973	Bangladesh Awami League	293+15
	Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal(JSD)	1
	Bangladesh Jatiya League	1
	Independent	5
	Total	300+15 (reserved seat for Women) = 315
Second, 18 January 1979	BNP	220+30=250
	AL	39
	AL	12
	JSD	8
	Islamic Democratic League	6
	AL(Mizan)	2
	Jatiya League	2
	Bangladesh Ganatantrik Andolan	1
	Bangladesh Samyabadi Dal	1
	Jatiya Ekota Party	1
	NAP(Mozaffar)	1
	Independent	5
	Total	300+30(reserved seat for Women) =330
Third, 7 May 1986	Jatiya Party	183+30=213
	AL	76
	Jamaat	10
	CPB	6
	Oikya Pad	5
	Muslim League	4
	JSD(Rab)	4
	WP(Nazrul)	3
	JSD(Siraj)	3
	NAP(Muzaffar)	2
	Independent	4
	Total	300+30(reserved seat for Women) =330
Fourth, 3 March 1988	Jatiya Party	251
	Combined Opposition Party	19
	JSD(Siraj)	3
	Freedom Party	2
	Independent	25
Total	300	
No reserved seat for women		

Source : Bangladesh Election Commission Secretariat, Agargaon, Dhaka

Appendix (G)

NOVEMBER 1990 JOINT DECLARATION OF THREE ALLIANCES

“People from all classes and professions are waging a heroic struggle. The goals are : emancipation from the misrule of the autocratic Ershad regime; ouster of Ershad regime; establishment of a stable democratic process and way of life; and re-establishment of the consciousness and values of the War of Liberation.

“People have suffered jails, torture and repression and have even sacrificed their lives at various stages of the struggle. This they have done with the goal of establishing a genuine representative system of government.

“One of the main aims and purposes of the struggle, which the people have been waging at the cost of their blood, is to end the malpractice of changing government through unconstitutional means like killings, coups etc., and to ensure, instead, change of government through the constitutional means of free and fair elections.

“Every election held under this regime followed a regular pattern-vote stealing, false voting, forcible occupation of polling centres, hijacking of ballot boxes, vote-dacoity, media coup, and finally, announcement of the results of voterless elections. Under these circumstances, no free and fair election can be held under this regime.

“We, the 15-party alliance, the 7-party alliance and the 5-party alliance, shall not take part in any election held under Ershad and the illegitimate Ershad government – be the election presidential or parliamentary. We shall not only boycott such elections but also shall resist these elections.

“We, the 15-party alliance, the 7-party alliance and the 5-party alliance, shall participate only in an election to a sovereign parliament and only when such an election is held under a non-partisan, neutral government.

“Keeping this in view and reflecting the hopes and aspirations of the people as well, we are jointly issuing the following unequivocal declaration regarding the main demands and aims and aims of the current government.

“1. Wish a view to freeing the country from the clutches of autocratic Ershad and his regime which has been foisted on the nation through murders, coups and conspiracies, and establishing genuine democracy and democratic system of government in line with the consciousness and values of independence and war of liberation.

“(A) Ershad and his government will be forced to resign and a vice president, who will be acceptable to the three alliances which are engaged in the anti autocracy and anti communal movement, will be appointed while continuing the constitutional process and under the relevant provisions of the constitution, i.e., Article 51(A) clause 3 and Article 55(A) clause 1. The president will dissolve the present government and parliament and will himself resign and hand over power to that Vice-President.

“(B) An interim, caretaker government will be formed under that Vice – President; the prime responsibility of that government will be to ensure holding of a free fair election to a sovereign parliament within three months.

“2.(A) The head of caretaker government will be non-partisan and neutral, i.e., he will not be a follower or be associated, directly or indirectly, with any political party, and will not participate in presidential, vice-presidential or parliamentary elections no minister of his caretaker government will likewise participate in elections.

“(B) The caretaker government will only run the routine administration and will reconstitute the Election commission as well a view to holding free and fair elections.

“(C) The confidence of the voters has to be re-established that they will be able to exercise their right to vote freely and without any pressure in accordance with their own choice and conscience; and this has to be ensured.

“(D) The mass media , including the radio and television, will have to be made into independent and autonomous bodies so that they become completely neutral; and it has to be ensured that all parties participating in elections will get unhindered scope for publicity.

“3. The interim, caretaker government will hand over power to the sovereign parliament , elected through free and fair elections, and the government will remain accountable to that parliament.

“4.(A) In recognition of the sovereignty of the people , the process of constitutional rule in the country will be made safe and undisturbed , and all attempts at usurping power unconstitutional means will be resisted. An elected

government must not be unseated without election through any unconstitutional or extra-constitutional means or on any other plea.

“(B) The fundamental rights of the people, the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, the rule of law will be ensured.

“(C) All laws that confirm with fundamental rights will be rescinded.”

Appendix (H)

BNP'S Election Manifesto 1991

High lights of BNP Election Manifesto 1991

Following are the main features of BNP Election Manifesto 1991 announced on Man day by the party chief Bagam Khalada Zia.

Constitution al and administrative program:

1. Establishment of corruption free and honest government making the administrative dynamics and free of corruption, engaging the government employees in public welfare service and taking steps in this regard, taking strict action against the corrupt government employees for violation discipline.
2. Ensuring independence an neutrality of judiciary an rule of law , Ensuring all fundamental right of people by repealing all black lows.
3. Ensuring multiparty democracy , dissemination of the opinion of all parties and shades of opinion.
4. Protection of Independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of country , up holding the initiative of Shahid Zia for strengthening the defence force for safe guarding independence and sovereignty of the country from foreign aggression.
5. Pursuit of a neutral foreign policy and building up friendly relationship with all foreign countries, neighboring countries and special relationship with all Muslim countries. Adoption of an active policy against hegemonism , imperialism and colonialism
6. Function of Gram sharkar in every village to expand developmental and economic activities up to the village.
7. Ensure freedom of pres and adoption of measures to maintain neutrality of mass media by covering them into autonomous bodies.
- 8.Special measures for development of back word northern regions and hilly areas .
- 9.Creation of special opportunities for the freedom fighters .

10. Increasing faculties and opportunities for the students through radical change in the educational systems, removal of illiteracy and introduction of compulsory primary education, adoptions of practical measures to interrelate Madrasha education with main stream of the society .

11. adoption of realistic measures of removal of session jam in the universities Ensuring holding of examination on time .

1. Implement four fundamental principle namely, absolute trust and faith in the all mighty Allah, nationalism, democracy and ensuring social and economical justice .

2. Establishment of healthy , labor management of relationship in the of improving condition of workers and boosting production.

3. strengthening rational unity and solidarity by completely ensuring the rights of all citizens irrespective of religion, caste and creed .

Economical Program :

1. Adopting practical measures to realize the five basic needs of people food, clothing , education, Medicare and shelter
2. Rapid industrialization through introduction of open and competitive market economy and providing facilities for investment by national and foreign Entrepreneurs
3. Creation of strong economic infastructuring as a pre-condition for industrialization and over all economic prosperity.
4. Setting up small industries and other income generating projects for involving women in the overall development activities of the country and making them self reliant .
5. Establishment of moderns children's hospital in each division on an urgent basis and adoption and implementation of special programs for health , education and recreation facilities for the children.
6. creation of greater opportunities for employment through rapid industrialization by proportionate increase in financial allocation in the development of human resources and in education and health.

(Taken from the Daily Observer 29.1.1991)

Appendix (I)

TEXT OF CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT BILL OF AWAMI LEAGUE SUBMITTED BY ABDUS SAMAD AZAD TO PARLIAMENT SECRETARIAT ON APRIL 14, 1991.

A bill, to amend articles 11, 48, 59, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 58, 60, 66, 72, 73A, 88, 92A, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 141A, 142, 145A, 147, 148, 152, and certain provisions of the second, third and fourth schedules to the Constitution of the people's republic of Bangladesh.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend certain provisions of the constitution of the people's republic of Bangladesh for the purposes hereinafter appearing :

It is hereby, enacted as follows :

1. Short title and commencement : (1) This Act may be called the Constitution (Eleventh Amendment) Act, 1991; (2) It shall come into force at once.
2. Amendment of Article 11 of the Constitution. __ In the Constitution of the people's republic of Bangladesh, hereinafter referred to as the constitution , in Article 11 after the word "guaranteed" the comma and the words "and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels shall be ensured" shall be added .
3. Amendment of PART IV of the Constitution. __ In the Constitution in part IV for Chapters I and II the following shall be substituted , namely:-

CHAPTER 1- THE PRESIDENT

48 (1) There shall be a president of Bangladesh who shall be elected by Members of Parliament in accordance with the provisions in the Second Schedule. (2) The president shall, as Head of state, take precedence over all other persons in the State, and shall exercise the powers and perform the duties conferred and imposed on him by this Constitution and by any other law. (3) In the exercise of all his functions, save only that of appointing the prime minister pursuant to Clause (3) of Article 56, the president shall act in accordance with the advice of the prime minister, provided that the question whether any, and if so what, advice has been tendered by the prime minister to the President shall not be enquired into in any court. (4) A person shall not be qualified for election as President if he (a) is less than thirty five years of age; or (b) is not qualifies for election as Member of parliament ; or (c) has been removed from the office of president by impeachment under this constitution (5) The Prime minister shall keep the president informed of matter of domestic and foreign policy and submit for the consideration of the Cabinet any matter which the President may request him to refer to it.

Article 49 ; Prerogative of Mercy.

49. The President shall have power to grant pardons, reprieves and respites and to remit suspend or commute any sentence passed by any court, tribunal or other authority.

Article 50 ; Term of office of President.

50. (1) Subject to the Provisions of this Constitution the President shall hold office for a term of five years from the date on which he enter upon his office ; provided that notwithstanding the expiration of his term the President shall continue to hold office until his successor enter upon office. (2) No person shall hold office as President for more than two terms, whether or not the terms are consecutive (3) The President may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the speaker. (4) The President during his term of office shall not be qualified for election as a Member of Parliament and if a Member of Parliament is elected as President he shall vacate his seat in parliament on the day on which he enters upon his office as President.

Article 51: President's Immunity

51. (1) Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 52, the President shall not be answerable in any court for anything done or omitted by him in the exercise or purported exercise of the functions of his office, but this clause shall not prejudice the right of any person to take proceeding against the Government. (2) During the term of office no criminal proceeding whatsoever shall be instituted against the President in, and no process for his arrest or imprisonment shall issue from, any court.

Article 52: Impeachment of President

52. (1) The President may be impeached on a charge of violating this Constitution or of grave misconduct, preferred by a notice of voting signed by a majority of the total number of Members of Parliament and delivered to the speaker, setting out the particulars of the charge, and the motion shall not be debated earlier than fourteen nor later than thirty days after the notice is so delivered ; and the Speaker shall forthwith summon parliament if it is not in session. (2) The conduct of the President may be referred by parliament in any court, tribunal or body appointed or designated by parliament for the investigation of a charge under this Article. (3) The President shall have the right to appear and to be represented during the consideration of the charge. (4) If after the consideration of the charge a resolution is passed by parliament by votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members declaring that the charge has been substantiated , the President shall vacate his office on the date on which the resolution is passed. (5) Where the speaker is exercising the functions of the President under Article 54 the provisions of this article shall apply subject to the modifications that the reference to the speaker in clause (1)

shall be construed as a reference to the Deputy speaker, and that the reference in clause (4) to the vacation by the President of his office shall be construed as a reference to the vacation by the speaker of his office as speaker, and on the passing of a resolution such as is referred to in clause (4) the Speaker shall cease to exercise the functions of President.

Article 53 : Removal of president on Ground of Incapacity

53. (1) The President removed from office on the ground of physical and mental incapacity on a motion of which notice, signed by a majority of the total number of Member of parliament, is delivered to the speaker, setting out particulars of the alleged incapacity. (2) On receipt of the notice the speaker shall forthwith summon Parliament if it is not in session and shall call for a resolution constituting a medical board (hereafter in this article called " the Board", and upon the necessary motion being made and carried shall forthwith cause a copy of the notice to be transmitted to the President together with a request signed by the Speaker that the President submit himself within a period of ten days from the date of the request to an examination by the board. (3) The motion for removal shall not be put to the vote earlier than fourteen nor later than thirty days after notice of the motion is delivered to the Speaker, and if it is again necessary to summon Parliament in order to enable the motion to be made within that period, the Speaker shall summon Parliament. (4) The President shall have the right to appear and to be represented during the consideration of the motion, (5) if the President has not submitted himself to an examination by the Board before the motion is made in Parliament, the motion may be put to the vote, and if it is passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of Members of Parliament, the President shall vacate his office on the date on which the motion is passed. (6) If before the motion for removal is made in Parliament the President has submitted himself to an examination by the Board; the motion shall not be put to the vote until the board has been given an opportunity of reporting its opinion to Parliament. (7) If after consideration by Parliament of the motion and of the report of the Board (which shall be submitted within seven days of the examination held pursuant to Clause (2) and if not so submitted shall be dispensed with) the motion is passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of Members of Parliament, the President shall vacate his office on the date on which the resolution is passed.

Article 54 : Speaker to Act as President during Absence, etc.

54. If the vacancy occurs in the office of President or if the President is unable to discharge the functions of his office on account of absence, illness or any other cause, the Speaker shall discharge those functions of his office, as the case may be.

CHAPTER II. THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE CABINET

55.(1) There shall be a Cabinet for Bangladesh having the Prime Minister as its head and comprising also such other Ministers as the Prime Minister may from time to time designate.(2) The executive power of the Republic shall, in accordance with this constitution, be exercised by or on the authority of the Prime Minister. (3) The cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the parliament.(4) All executive actions of the government shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the president.(5)The president shall by rules specify the manner in which orders and other instructions made in his name shall be attested or authenticated, and the validity of the order or instruction so attested or authenticated shall nor be questioned in any court on the ground that it was not duly made or executed (6) The president shall make rules for the allocation and transaction of the business of the government.

Article 56 : Minister

56. (1) There shall be a Prime Minister, and such other Ministers, Ministers of state and Deputy Ministers as may be determined by the prime minister (2) The appointments of the prime minister and other ministers, and of the ministers of state and deputy ministers, shall be made by the president; provided that , subject to clause (3) The president shall appoint as prime minister the member of parliament who appears to him to command the support of the majority of the members of parliament.(4)A minister who at the time of his appointment within a period of six months from the date of such appointment, cease to be a minister. (5)If occasion arises for making any appointment under clause (2) or (3) between a dissolution of parliament and the next following general election of members of parliament, the persons who were such members immediately before the dissolution shall be regarded for the purposes of this clause as continuing to be such members.

Article 57 : Tenure of Prime Minister

57.(1) The office of the prime minister shall become vacant (a) if he resigns from office at any time by placing his resignation in the hands of the president; or (b) if he ceases to be a member of parliament. (2) If the prime minister ceases to retain the support of a majority of the members of parliament, he shall either resign his office or advise the president to dissolve parliament, and if he so advises the president shall dissolve parliament accordingly.(3) Nothing in this article shall disqualify the prime minister for holding office until his successor has entered upon office.

Article 58: Tenure of Other Minister

58. (1) The office of minister other than the prime minister shall become vacant-(a) if he resigns from office by placing his resignation in the hands of the prime minister for submission to the president; (b) if he ceases to be a member of parliament ; (c) if the president pursuant to the provisions of clause (2) , so directs; or (d) as provided in clause (4),(2) The prime minister may at any time request a minister to resign, and if such minister fails to comply with the request, may advise the president to terminate the appointment of such minister (3)Nothing in sub-clauses(a),(b) and (d) of clause (1) shall disqualify a minister for holding office during any period in which parliament stands dissolved.(4) If the prime minister resigns from or ceases to hold office each of the other ministers shall be deemed also to have resigned from office but shall , subject to the provision of this chapter, continue to hold office until his successor has entered upon office.(5)In this Article “Minister” includes minister of state and deputy minister.

4. Insertion of CHAPTER III in Part-IV of the Constitution. The following CHAPTER III shall be inserted in the Constitution.

CHAPTER III-LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Article 59: Local Government

59.(1) Local Government in every administrative unit of the Republic shall be entrusted to bodies, composed of persons elected in accordance with law.(2)Every body such as is referred to in clause (1) shall, subject to this constitution and any other law, perform within the appropriate administrative unit such functions as shall be prescribed by act of parliament, which may include functions relating to -(a) administration and the work of public offices; (b) the maintenance of public order; (c) the preparation and implementation of plans relating to public services and economic development.

Article 60: Powers of Local Government Bodies

60. For the purpose of giving full effect to the provisions of Article 59 parliament shall by law, confer power on the local government bodies referent to in that article, including power to impose taxes for local purposes, to prepare their budgets and to maintain funds.

Article 66: Qualification and Disqualification for Election to Parliament

5. Amendment of article 66 of the constitution. In the constitution, in article 66 for clause (24) , the following shall be substituted, namely :- “(3) for the purpose of this article a person shall not be deemed to hold an office for profit in the service of the republic by reason only that he is a minister, minister of state or deputy minister”.

Article 72: Sessions of Parliament

6. Amendment of article 72 of the constitution. – In the constitution , in article 72 clause (AA) shall be omitted.

Article 73A, 88, 92A, 119,122,123,124,125,
141A, 142,145A, 147,148 and 152.

7. Amendment of Article 73A of the constitution: - In the constitution, Article 73A shall be omitted.
8. Amendment of Article 88 of the constitution: - In the constitution, in Article 88 clause (AA) shall be omitted.
9. Amendment of Article 92A of the constitution: - In the constitution, for Article 92A the following shall be substituted, namely:-
10. 119(1) The superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of the elections rolls for all elections to parliament, the conduct of such elections and of election to the office of president , shall vest in the election commission which shall, in accordance with this constitution and any other law-(a) hold election to the office of president; (b) hold election of member of parliament; and (c) delimit the constituencies and prepare electoral rolls for the purpose of

elections to parliament.(2) The Election commission shall perform such functions, in addition to those specified in the foregoing clauses, as may be prescribed by this constitution or by any other law”.

11. Amendment of article 122 of the constitution – In the constitution, (a) in Article 122 the words” to the office of president and vice-president” shall be omitted, and (b) in article 122, clause (3) shall be omitted.

12. Amendment of article 123 of the constitution – In the constitution, for article 123 the following shall be substituted, namely :-

“123. (1) In case of vacancy in the office of president occurring by reason of the expiration of his term of office an election to fill the vacancy shall be held within the period of ninety days prior to the date of expiration of term: provided that if the term expires before the dissolution of the parliament by the members of which he was elected the election to fill the vacancy shall not be held until after the next general election of members of parliament, but shall be held until after the next general election of members of parliament, but shall be held within thirty days after the first sitting of parliament following such general election. (2) In the case of a vacancy in the office of president occurring by reason of the death, resignation or removal of the president , an election to fill the vacancy shall be held within the period of ninety days after the occurrence of the vacancy.(3) A general election of members of parliament shall be held – (a) in the case of a dissolution by reason of the expiration of its term, within the period of ninety days preceding such dissolution; (b) in the case of dissolution otherwise than by reason of such expiration, within ninety days of such dissolution; provided that the persons elected at a general election under sub – clause (a) shall not assume office as members of parliament except after the expiration of the term referred to therein.(4) An election to fill the seat of a member of parliament which falls vacant otherwise than by reason of the dissolution of parliaments shall be held within ninety days of the occurrence of the vacancy.

13. Amendment of article 124 of the constitution – In the constitution, for

Article 124 the following shall be substituted, namely:-

“124 subject to the provision of this constitution, parliament may by law make provision with respect to all matters relating to or in connection with elections to parliament including the delimitation of constituencies, the

preparation of electoral rolls, the holding of elections, and all other matters necessary for securing the due constitution of parliament”.

14. Amendment of article 125 of the constitution – In the constitution, in Article 125 in clause (b), for the words “Offices of president and Vice-President” the words “Office of president” shall be substituted.
15. Amendment of article 141A of the constitution – In the constitution, in Article 141A, at the end of clause (1) the following new paragraph shall be added, namely: - “Provided that such proclamation shall require for its validity the counter signature of the prime minister.”
16. Amendment of Article 142 of the constitution- In the constitution, in article 142, the clauses (1A),(1B) and (1C) shall be omitted.
17. Amendment of Article 145A of the constitution- In the constitution, in article 145A, the words “Provided that no such treaty shall be so laid if the President considers it to be against the national interest to do so” shall be omitted.
18. Amendment of Article 147 of the constitution- In the constitution, in Article 147, for clause (4) the following shall be substituted, namely:- “(4) This Article applies to the offices of (a) President; (b) Prime Minister; (c) Speaker or Deputy Speaker; (d) Minister, Minister of State or Deputy Minister; (e) Judge of the Supreme Court;(f) Comptroller and Auditor General; (g) Election Commissioner;(h)Member of Public Service Commission”
19. Amendment of Article 148 of the constitution- In the constitution, in Article 148, Clause (1A) shall be omitted.
20. Amendment of Article 152 of the constitution- In the constitution, in Article 152, in Clause (1) , the words “The Vice-President means the Vice-President of Bangladesh elected or appointed under this Constitution” shall be omitted.
21. Insertion of new Second Schedule in the Constitution- In the Constitution, after First Schedule, the following Second Schedule shall be inserted, namely :-

SECOND SCHEDULE : ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

(Article 48)

1. The Chief Election Commissioner (in this Schedule referred to as “the Commissioner”) shall hold and conduct any election to the office of President, and shall be the Returning officer for such election.
2. The Commissioner shall appoint a presiding officer to preside at the meeting of the members of Parliament held pursuant to the provisions of this Schedule.

3. The Commissioner shall by public notification fix the time and place for delivering nomination papers, holding a scrutiny, making withdrawals, and (if necessary) holding a poll.
4. At any time before noon on the day fixed for depositing nomination papers any member of parliament may nominate for election as President a person qualified for such election, by delivering to the returning officer a nomination paper signed by himself as proposer and by another member of Parliament as seconder, together with a statement signed by the person or as seconder, more than one nomination paper at any one election.
5. A scrutiny of nomination papers shall be held the commissioner at the time and place fixed by him, and if after a scrutiny only one person remains validly nominated, the commissioner shall declare that person elected, but if more than one person remain validly nominated he shall announce, by public notification, the names of the persons validly nominated (in this schedule referred to as the candidates).
6. A candidate may withdraw his candidature at any time before noon on the day fixed for this purpose by delivering a notice in writing under his hand to the presiding officer, and a candidate who has so withdrawn shall not be allowed to cancel such notice.
7. If all but one of the candidates have withdrawn, that one shall be declared by the commissioner to be elected.
8. If there is no withdrawal or if, after withdrawals have taken place, two or more candidates remain validly nominated, the commissioner shall announce by public notification the names of the candidates and their proposes and decoders, and shall proceed to hold a poll by secret ballot in accordance with the provisions of the succeeding paragraphs.
9. If, before the choice of the poll, a candidate who has been nominated dies and a report of this death is received by the presiding officer, the presiding officer, if he is satisfied that the candidate has died, shall countermand the poll and report the facts to commissioner, and proceedings with reference to the election shall be commenced anew.
10. A poll shall be taken at a meeting of members of parliament and the presiding officer shall conduct the poll with the assistance of such officers as he may, with the approval of the commissioner, appoint.
11. A ballot paper, bearing the names of the candidates, shall be issued to every member of parliament who presents himself for voting at the meeting of parliament (hereinafter referred to as a person voting), and he shall exercise his vote personally by making the paper with a cross against the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote.
12. A ballot paper shall be invalid if – (a) there is upon it any name, word or make, other than the official number, by which the person voting may be identified; or (b) it does not contain the initials of the presiding officer; or (c) it does not contain a cross; or (d) a cross is placed against the names of two or more candidates; or (e) there is any uncertainty as to the identity of the candidate against whose name the cross is placed.

13. After the close of the poll the presiding officer shall, in the presence of such of the candidates or their authorized representatives as may desire to be present, open and empty the ballot boxes, count in the manner prescribed by law under Article 124 the number of votes recorded for each candidate on the valid ballot papers, and communicate the number of the votes so recorded to the commissioner.
14. If there are only two candidates the candidate who has obtained the larger number of votes shall be declared by the commissioner to be elected.
15. If there are three or more candidates and one of those candidates has obtained a larger number of votes than the aggregate number of votes obtained by the remaining candidates, he shall be declared by the commissioner to be elected.
16. If there are three or more candidates and the last preceding paragraph does not apply, a further poll shall be held in accordance with the preceding provisions of this schedule, at which the candidate who obtained the smallest number of votes at the previous poll shall be excluded.
17. The three last preceding paragraphs shall apply in relation to the further poll and any subsequent poll which may be necessary under the provisions of those paragraphs.
18. Where at any poll any two or more candidates obtain an equal number of votes then (a) if there are only two candidates for election, or (b) if one of the candidates who obtained equal number of votes is required to be excluded from a further poll under paragraph 16 of this schedule; the selection of the candidate to be elected or, as the case may be, excluded, shall be made by the drawing of lots.
19. When, after any poll, the counting of the votes has been completed and the result of the voting determined, the commissioner shall forth with cause it to be declared by public notification.
20. The commissioner may by public notification, with the Approval of the President, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Schedule.
21. Amendment of THIRD SCHEDULE to the constitution, - In the constitution, (a) in the Third schedule, paragraph 1A shall be omitted, (b) in the Third schedule, in paragraph 2, the words "Deputy Prime Ministers" shall be omitted, and (c) in the Third schedule, in forms 3 and 4 for the word "President" the words "Chief Justice" shall be substituted.
22. Amendment of FOURTH SCHEDULE of the constitution, - In the constitution, in the Fourth schedule, for paragraph 20, the following shall be substituted, namely :-

" 20. Special provision relating to President, - (1) On the commencement of this act, the person who as the vice-president of Bangladesh, was holding the office of acting president immediately before such commencement, shall become the president and shall enter upon the

office of President of Bangladesh and shall hold the office of president of Bangladesh as if he has been an elected president under the constitution as amended by this act, until a person, elected under article 48 of this amended constitution enters upon the office of president of Bangladesh. (2) of this articles has entered upon the office, the person mentioned in sub-paragraph (1) who was holding the office of the acting president before the commencement of this act, shall return to the office of the Chief Justice of Bangladesh and shall hold the said office under Chapter VI of the constitution.

It is necessary to handover power to a sovereign parliament and to ensure the accountability of the government to the parliament composed of the elected representative of the people, elected in an election held under a caretaker government formed by way of an achievement of popular upsurge, based on the programme of united movement of three alliances: the fifteen party alliance, seven party alliance and five party alliance, and to attain those objectives and to establish parliamentary form of government and to institutionalize democracy this amendment is necessary and indispensable.

Appendix (J)

TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION (TWELFTH AMENDMENT)
BILL, 1991 MOVED BY PRIME MINISTER KHALEDA ZIA
ON JULY 2, 1991.

A bill further to amend certain provisions of the constitution of the people's Republic of Bangladesh.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend certain provisions of the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the purposes herein after appearing.

It is hereby enacted as follow:-

1. Short title and commencement – (1) This act may be called the constitution (Twelfth amendment) act, 1991. (2) The provisions of this act, except the provisions of section 12 shall be deemed to have come into force on the 16th day of March 1991.
2. Amendment of article 11 the constitution – In the constitution of People's Republic of Bangladesh, herein after referred to as the constitution in article 11 , after the word “guaranteed” the comma and words, “and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representatives in administration at all levels shall be ensured” shall be inserted.
3. Amendment of part IV of the constitution – In the constitution, in part IV , for chapters I and II the following shall be substituted, namely:-

Chapter I – The President

48. The President. – (1) There shall be a President of Bangladesh who shall be elected by members of parliament in accordance in with the provisions contained in the fifth schedule. (2) The President shall , as head of state , take precedence over all other persons in the powers and perform the duties conferred and imposed on him by this constitution and by any other law. (3) In the exercise of all his functions , save only that of appointing the prime minister pursuant to clause (3) of article 58 , the president shall act in accordance with the advice of the prime minister: provided that the question whether any, and if so what , advice has been tendered by the prime minister to the president shall not be enquired into in any count.(4) A person shall not be qualified for election as president if he – (a) is less than thirty-five years of age; or (b) is not qualified for election as a member of parliament; or (c) has been removed from the office of president by impeachment under this constitution.

(5) The prime minister shall keep the president informed on matters of domestic and foreign policy, and submit for the consideration of the cabinet any matter which the president may request him to refer to it.

49. Prerogative of mercy. – The president shall have power to grant pardons, reprieves and respites and to remit, suspend or commute any sentence passed by any court, tribunal or other authority.

50. Term of office of president, - (1) Subject to the provisions of this constitution, the president shall hold office for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon his office : provided that notwithstanding the expiration of his term the president shall continue to hold office until his successor enters upon office. (2) No person shall hold office as president for more than two terms, whether or not the terms are consecutive. (3) The president may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the speaker. (4) The president during his term of office shall not be qualified for election as a member of parliament, and if a member of parliament is elected as president he shall vacate his seat in parliament on the day on which he enters upon his office as president.

51. President's immunity. – (1) without prejudice to the provisions of article 52, the president shall not be exercise or purported exercise of the functions of this office, but this clause shall not prejudice the right of any person to take proceedings against the government. (2) During his term of office no criminal proceedings whatsoever shall be instituted or continued against the president in, and no process for his arrest or imprisonment shall issue from, any court.

52. Impeachment of the President. – (1) The President may be impeached on a charge of violating this constitution or of grave misconduct, preferred by a notice of motion signed by at least one – half of the total number of members of parliament and delivered to the speaker, setting out the particulars of the charge, and the motion shall not be debated earlier than fourteen nor later than thirty days after the notice is so delivered; and the speaker shall forthwith summon parliament if it is not in session. (2) The conduct of the president may be referred by parliament to any court, tribunal or body appointed or designated by parliament for the investigation of a charge under this article. (3) The president shall have the right to appear to be represented during the consideration of charge. (4) The Speaker shall cease to exercise the functions of President.

53. Removal of President on ground of incapacity. – (1) The president may be removed from office on the ground of physical or mental incapacity on a motion of which notice, signed by not less than one – half of the total number of members of parliament, is delivered to the speaker setting out particulars of the alleged incapacity. (2) On receipt of the notice the speaker shall forthwith summon parliament if it is not in session and shall call for a resolution constituting a medical board (hereinafter in this article called “ the Board”) and upon the necessary motion being made and carried shall forthwith cause a copy of the notice to be transmitted to the president together with a request signed by the speaker that the president submit himself within a period of ten days from the date of the request to an examination by the Board. (3) The motion for removal shall not be put to the vote earlier than thirty days after notice of the motion is delivered to the speaker, and if it is again necessary to summon parliament in order to enable the motion to be made within that period, the speaker shall summon parliament. (4) The president, shall have the right to appear and to be represented during the consideration of the motion. (5) If the president has not submitted himself to an examination by the Board before the motion is made in parliament, the motion may be put to the vote, and if it is passed by the votes of not less than two –thirds of the total number of members of parliament, the president shall vacate his office on the date on which the motion is passed. (6) If before the motion for removal is made in parliament, the president has submitted himself to an examination by the Board, the motion shall not be put to the vote until the Board has been given an opportunity of reporting its opinion to parliament. (7) If after consideration by parliament of the motion and of the report of the Board (which shall be submitted within seven days of the examination held pursuant to clause (2) and if not so submitted shall be dispensed with) the motion is passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of parliament, the president shall vacate his office on the date on which the resolution is passed.

54. Speaker to act as President during absence, etc. – If a vacancy occurs in the office of president or if the president is unable to discharge the functions of his office on account of absence, illness or any other cause the speaker shall discharge those functions until a president is elected or until the president resumes the function of this office, as the case may be.

Chapter II – The Prime Minister and the cabinet

55. The cabinet, - There shall be a cabinet for Bangladesh having the prime minister at its head and comprising also such other ministers as the prime minister may from time to time designate. (2) The executive power of the Republic shall, in accordance with this constitution, be exercised by or on the

authority of the prime minister. (3) The cabinet shall be collectively responsible to parliament. (4) All executive actions of the government shall be expressed to be taken in the name of the president. (5) The president shall by rules specify the manner in which orders and other instruments made in his name shall be attested or authenticated, and the validity of the order or instruction so attested or authenticated shall not be questioned in any court on the ground that it was not duly made or executed. (6) The president shall make rule for the allocation and transaction of the business of the government.

56. Minister – (1) There shall be a prime minister, and such other ministers, ministers of state and deputy ministers as may be determined by the prime minister. (2) The appointments of the prime minister and other ministers and of the ministers of state and deputy ministers, shall be made by the president: provided that not less than four-fifths of their of their number shall be appointed from among members of parliament and not more than one-fifth of their number may be chosen from persons qualified for election as members of parliament. (3) The president shall appoint as prime minister the Member of Parliament who appears to him to command the support of the majority of the members of parliament. (4) If occasion arises for making any appointment under clause (2) or clause (3) between a dissolution of parliament and the next following general election of members of parliament, the persons who were such members immediately before the dissolution shall be regarded for the purpose of this clause as continuing to be such members.

57. Tenure of office of prime minister, - (1) The office of prime minister shall become vacant – (a) if he resigns form office at any time by placing his resignation in the hands of the president; or (b) if he ceases to be a member of parliament; (2) if the prime minister ceases to retain the support of a majority of the members of parliament, he shall either resign his office or advise the president in writing to dissolve parliament, and if he so advises the president shall dissolve parliament accordingly. (3) Nothing in this article shall disqualify the prime minister for holding office until his successor has entered upon office.

58. Tenure of office of other Minister. – (1) The office of a Minister other than the prime minister shall become vacant – (a) if he resigns from office by placing his resignation in the hands of the prime minister for submission to the president : (b) if he ceases to be a member of parliament ; (c) if the president pursuant to the provisions of clause (2) so directs; or (d) as provided in clause (4) (2) the prime minister may at any time request a minister to resign, and if such minister fails to comply with the request, may advise the president to terminate the appointment of such minister (3) Nothing in sub- clauses (a) , (b) and (d) of clause (2) shall disqualify a minister for holding office during any period in which parliament stands dissolved. (4) If the prime minister shall be

deemed also to have resigned from office but shall, subject to the provisions of this chapter, continue to hold office until his successor has entered upon office.
(5) In this article "Minister" includes Minister of state and Deputy Minister.

Chapter III – Local Government

59. Local Government. – (1) local government in every administrative unit of the republic shall be entrusted to bodies, composed of persons elected in accordance with law. (2) Every body as is referred to in clause (1) shall, subject to this constitution and any other law, perform within the appropriate administrative unit such functions as shall be prescribed by act of parliament, which may include functions relating to – (a) administration and the work of public offices; (b) the maintenance of public order; (c) the preparation and implementation of plans relating to public and economic development.

60. Powers of local government bodies, - for the purpose of giving full effect to the provisions of article 59 parliament shall, by law, confer powers on the local government bodies referred to in that article, including power to impose taxes for local purposes, to prepare their budgets and to maintain funds.

4. Amendment of article 66 of the constitution.- in the constitution, in article 66, - (a) in clause (2), for sub-clause (d) the following shall be substituted, namely:- "(d) has been, on conviction for a criminal offence involving moral turpitude, sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than two years, unless – (i) such conviction has been reversed on appeal or revision; (b) in clause (2A) the words and commas "President, Vice-President, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister", shall be omitted; and (c) in clause (4), the words and figure "or as to whether a member of parliament should vacate his seat pursuant to article 70" shall be omitted.
5. Substitution of article 70 of the constitution - (1) In the constitution for article 70 the following shall be substituted, namely:-

" 70. vacation of seat on resignation, etc. - if a person elected as a member of parliament at an election at which he was nominated as a candidate by a political party – (a) resigns from that party; (b) loses the membership of, or is expelled from, that party; (c) forms, together with some other members of that party, any group within that party; (d) acts in parliament against the decision of that party; or (e) votes in parliament against that party; and the leader of that party in parliament communicates this fact to the election commission in writing, the seat of that shall fall vacant on the date of such communication by the election commission.

Explanation, - if a member of parliament – (a) being present in parliament abstains from voting or (b) absents himself from any sitting of parliament, ignoring the direction of the party which nominated him at the election as a candidate not to do so, he shall be deemed to have voted against that party. (2) A member of parliament whose seat falls vacant under clause (1) shall be disqualified for election as a member of parliament for a period of five years from the election as a member of parliament for a period of five years be disqualified election as a member of parliament for a period of five years from the date his seat so falls vacant. (3) if at any time groups are formed by members of parliament of a political party and a question arises as to which group represents that party, the question may be referred to the speaker by any such group in writing for a decision, and the speaker shall, seven days of the receipt of the reference, convene a meeting of all members of parliament of that party and decide the question by putting it to vote and the decision of the speaker on the result of such voting shall be final (4) if the person, after being elected a member of parliament as an independent candidate joins any political party he shall for the purpose of this article be deemed to have been elected as a nominee of that party.”

6. Amendment of article of article 72 of the constitution. – in the constitution, in article 72 – (a) in clause (1) in the proviso, for the full stop at the end a colon shall be substituted and thereafter the following new proviso shall be added, namely :- “provided further that in the exercise of his functions under this clause, the president shall act in accordance with the advice of the prime minister tendered to him in writing”; and (b) clause 4(A) shall be omitted.
7. Amendment of article of article 73A of the constitution. – in the constitution, in article 73A, in clause (2), the words “ Deputy Prime Minister” shall be omitted.
8. Amendment of article of article 88 of the constitution. – in the constitution, in article 88, clause (AA) shall be omitted.
9. Amendment of article of article 109 of the constitution.– in the constitution, in article 109 after the word “courts” the words “and tribunals” shall be inserted.
10. Amendment of article of article 119 of the constitution.–in the constitution, in article 119, for clause (1) the following shall be substituted, namely:- “(1) The superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of the electoral rolls for all elections to parliament and the conduct to such elections shall vest in the election commission which shall, in accordance with this constitution and any other law- (a) hold elections of members of parliament; and (b) delimit the constituencies and prepare electoral rolls for the purpose of elections to parliament”.

11. Amendment of article of article 122 of the constitution.-in the constitution, in article 122.- (a) in clause (1) the words “to the office of President and Vice-President and” shall be omitted; (b) clause (3) shall be omitted.
12. Amendment of article of article 123 of the constitution.-in the constitution , in article 123.- (a) for clause (1),(2),(2A) and (2B) the following shall be substituted , namely:- “(1) in the case of a vacancy in the office of president occurring by reason of the expiration of his term of office an election to fill the vacancy shall be held within the period of ninety days prior to the date of expiration of term: provided that if the term expires before the dissolution of the parliament by the members of which he was elected the election to fill the vacancy shall not be held until after the next general election of members of parliament, but shall be held with in thirty days after the first sitting of parliament following such general election.(2) in the case of a vacancy in the office of president occurring by reason of the death, resignation or removal of the president, an election to fill the vacancy shall be held within the period of ninety days after the occurrence of the vacancy”; and(b) in clause(4),for the full stop at the end a colon shall be substituted and thereafter the following proviso shall be added, namely: “provided that in case where, in the opinion of the speaker and the chief election commissioner, it is not possible for reasons of an act of god, to hold such election within the period specified in this clause, such election shall be held within ninety days following next after the last day of such period”.
13. Substitution of article 124 of the constitution.-in the constitution , for article 124 the following shall be substituted, namely:- “124. subject to the provisions of this constitution, Parliament may by law make provision with respect to all matters relating to or in connection with elections to parliament, including the delimitation of constituencies, the preparation of electoral rolls, the holding of election, and all other matters necessary for securing the due constitution of parliament”.
14. Amendment of article of article 125 of the constitution.-in the constitution, in article 125, in clause (b), the words “and Vice-President” shall be omitted.
15. Amendment of article of article 141A of the constitution.-In the constitution, in article 141A, in clause (1) the following proviso shall added, namely: - “Provided that such Proclamation shall require for its validity the prior counter signature of the Prime Minister”.
16. Amendment of article of article 141C of the constitution.-In the constitution, the article 141C in clause (1) for the words “by order” the words and comma “on the written advice of the Prime Minister, by order” shall be substituted.
17. Amendment of article of article 142 of the constitution.-In the constitution, the article 142 , - (a) in clause (1A), the figures and commas “48,56,58”, shall be omitted; (b) after clause (1C), the

following new clause shall be inserted, namely: “(1D) Nothing in clause (1C) shall be deemed to be an expression of confidence or no-confidence in the Cabinet or Parliament”.

18. Amendment of article of article 147 of the constitution.—In the constitution, in article 147, in clause (4), - (a) sub-clause (aa) shall be omitted; (b) in sub-clause (b), the words “or Deputy Prime Minister” shall be omitted.
19. Amendment of article of article 148 of the constitution.—In the constitution, in article 148, in clause (1A) shall be omitted.
20. Amendment of article of article 152 of the constitution.—In the constitution, in article 152, in clause (1), the words “the Vice-President means the Vice-President of Bangladesh elected or appointed under this Constitution” shall be omitted.
21. Amendment of the Third Schedule to the constitution.—In the constitution, in the Third Schedule, - (a) form 1A shall be omitted; and (b) in form 2, in the heading, the comma and words “ Deputy Prime Minister” shall be omitted.
22. Amendment of the Fourth Schedule to the constitution.—In the constitution, in the Fourth Schedule, after paragraph 21, the following new paragraph 22 shall be added, namely: -

“22. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the Parliament functioning immediately before the commencement of the Constitution (Twelfth Amendment) Act, 1991 (of 1991) shall be deemed to have been duly elected and constituted in accordance with the Constitution and law and shall continue to function under the provisions of article 72 of the constitution”.

23. Insertion of new Fifth Schedule to the Constitution. – In the Constitution, after the Forth Schedule the following new Fifth Schedule shall be inserted : -

FIFTH SCHEDULE : ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

[Article 48]

1. The Speaker shall hold and conduct any election to the office of President , and shall be the returning officer for such election.
2. The Speaker shall President at the meeting of the members of parliament held pursuant to the provisions of this Schedule.
3. The Speaker shall, by public notification, fix the time and place for delivering nomination papers, holding a scrutiny, making withdrawals, and (if necessary) holding a poll.

4. At any time before noon on the day fixed for depositing nomination paper any member of parliament may nominate for election as president a person qualified for such election, by delivering to the returning officer a nomination paper signed by himself as proposer and by another member of parliament as seconder, together with a statement signed by the person nominated that he consents to the nomination: provided that no person shall sign, whether as proposer or as seconder, more than one nomination paper at any one election.
5. A scrutiny of nomination papers shall be held by the Speaker at the time and place fixed by him, and if after a scrutiny only one person remains validly nominated, the Speaker shall declare that person elected, but if more than one person remains validly nominated he shall announce, by public notification, the names of the person validly nominated (in this Schedule referred to as the candidates).
6. A candidate may withdraw his candidature at any time before noon on the day fixed for this purpose by delivering a notice in writing under his hand to the Speaker, and a candidate who has so withdrawn shall not be allowed to cancel such notice.
7. If all but one of the candidates have withdrawn, that one shall be declared by the Speaker to be elected.
8. If there is no withdrawal or if, after withdrawals have taken place, two or more candidates remain validly nominated, the Speaker shall announce by public notification the names of the candidates and their proposers by seconds and shall proceed to hold a poll in accordance with the provisions of the succeeding paragraphs.
9. If, before the close of the poll a candidate who has been validly nominated dies and a report of his death is received by the Speaker and the Speaker is satisfied that the candidate has died, he shall countermand the poll and all proceedings with reference to the election shall be commenced anew.
10. A poll shall be taken at a meeting of members of Parliament on such date and time as the Speaker may, by public notification, fix in this behalf and the Speaker shall conduct the poll with the assistance of such officers as he may appoint.
11. If there are only two candidates the candidate who has obtained the larger number of votes shall be declared by the Speaker to be elected.
12. If there are three or more candidates and one of those candidates has obtained a larger number of votes than the aggregate number of votes obtained by the remaining candidates, he shall be declared by the Speaker to be elected.
13. If there are three or more candidates and the last preceding paragraph does not apply, a further poll shall be held at which the candidate who obtained the smallest number of votes at the previous poll shall be excluded.
14. Where at any poll any two or more candidates obtain an equal number of votes, than the result of the poll shall be decided by the casting vote of the Speaker openly.

15. After the close of the poll the Speaker shall announce the result of the poll and shall forthwith cause it to be declared by public notification.
16. The decision of the Speaker on all matters relating to the election of the President shall be final.
17. The Speaker may, by public notification, with approval of the President, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Schedule”.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The present Parliament is the outcome of a persistent, severe and bloody people's movement for the last eight years which culminated into an unprecedented mass upsurge at its last stage. This unique parliament has, therefore, a distinct national appeal. The members of this parliament, who have been elected by direct adult franchise in a free, fair and impartial election held under a neutral non-partisan care-taker government in an ever peaceful atmosphere have, therefore, an undisputed and fervent appeal and prestige. To them the people's aspiration is immense. Such hopes and aspirations of the people could only be fulfilled by establishing a government accountable to Parliament through a democratic process based on the backdrop of realities and multiparty system. Thus, to odora democracy with an institutional shape this amendment bill of the constitution is deemed expedient and essential.

Appendix (K)

13th Amendment bill to the constitution (Non-Party care taker government-NPCTG)

The Non-Party care taker government-NPCTG (1) There shall be a Non-Party care taker government during the period from the date in which the Chief adviser of such government enters upon office after parliament is dissolved or stands dissolved by reason of expiration of its term till the date on which a new prime Minister enters upon his office after the constitution of

(2) The Non-Party care taker government shall be collection by responsible to the prescient.

(3) The 16 pound of the Republic shall during the period mentioned in clause (1) be expressed, subject, to the provisions of Article 58D (1), in accordance will this constitution, by or on the authority of the Chief Adviser and shall be exercised by him on accordance with the advice of the Non-Party care taker government.

(4) The prevision of Article 55(4),(5) and (6) shall (with the necessary adaptation) apply to similar matters during the period mentioned in clause (1) "s&c, composition of the Non-Party care taker government, appointment of advisors etc

(1) The Non-Party care taker government shall consist of the Chief Adviser and of his advisers at its head and not more than ten of her advisers, all of whom shall be appointed by the president

(2) The chief Adviser and other Adviser shall be appointed with in teen days after parliament is dissolve or stands dissolved, during the period between the date on which the chief adviser appoint the Pry-Minister, and his cabinet who were in office immediately before parchment was dissolved or stood dissolved shall continue to hold office as such.

- (3) The President shall appoint as Chief Adviser the person who among the retired Chief justice of Bangladesh retired last and who is qualified to be appointed as an adviser under this Article .

Provided that if such retired Chief justice is not available or is not willing to hold the office of Chief Adviser the President shall appoint as Chief Adviser the person who among the retired Chief Justice of Bangladesh retired next before the last retired Chief Justice.

- (4) If no retired Chief Justice is available or willing to hold the office of the Chief Adviser, The President shall appoint as Chief Adviser the person who among the retired Judges of the Appellate Division retired last and who is qualified to be appointed as an Adviser under this Article ;

Provided that if such retired judge is not available or not willing to hold the office of the Chief Adviser, The President shall appoint as Chief Adviser the person who among the retired next before the last such retired Judge.

- (5) If no retired Judge of the Appellate Division is available or willing to hold office of the Chief Adviser, The President shall, after consultation as far as practicable with the major political parties, appoint the Chief Adviser from among citizens of Bangladesh who are qualified to be appointed as advisers under this Article.
- (6) Not with standing any thing contained in this chapter, if the provision of Clause(3),(4) and (5) can not be given effect to , the President shall assume the functions of the Non-Party care taker government in addition to his own functions under this Constitution.”
- (7) The President shall appoint adviser from among the person who are (a) Qualified for election as Members of Parliament (b) Not members of any political party or of any organization associated with or affiliated to any political party;(c) Not, and have agreed in writing not to be , candidates for the ensuring election of Members of Parliament (d) Not over seventy two years of age.
- (8) The Adviser shall be appointed by the President on the Adviser of the Chief Adviser.
- (9) The Chief Adviser or an adviser may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President.
- (10) The President may terminate the appoint to the Chief Adviser or an Adviser if , in his opinion , he has ceased to be qualified to be appointed as such .”
- (11) The Chief Adviser shall have the status , and shall be entitled to the remuneration and privileges , of a Prime Minister and an Adviser shall have the status , and shall have entitled to the remuneration and privileges of a minister.

- (12) The Non-Party care taker government shall stand dissolved on the date on which the New Prime Minister enters upon his office after the reconstitution of parliament.

58 D functions of Non-Party care taker government :

- (1) The Non-Party care taker government shall discharge its functions of such government with the aid and assistance of persons in the services of the Republic and except in the case of necessity for the discharge of such function it shall not make any policy decision.
- (2) The Non-Party care taker government shall give to the Election Commission all possible aid and assistance that may be required for holding the general election of Member of Parliament peacefully, fairly and impartially among other amendment, Clause (3) of Article 123 of the Constitution the following shall be substituted.
“(3) A general election of Members of Parliament shall be held within ninety days after parliament is dissolved, whether by reason of the expiration of its term or other wise then by reason of such expiration.”

(Taken from Daily Observer 28.3.1996)

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