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**Reading Assistance
for DEV101**

এ কেমন বিচার?



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[Note that this is just a reading material made with the help of the book and class lectures. It is highly recommended that you go through the book first. This note is not an alternative to the book]

YOU ONLY TARC ONCE. MAKE YOUR PRESENCE FELT.

Lecture 03

British Colonial Bengal

Aspects of Nationalist Politics during Colonial Rule (1757-1857 AD)

Battle of Plassey

Details:

1. Was held on 23rd June, 1757 at the mango orchard of the village Plassey.
2. The British army was led by General Robert Clive.
3. Sirajuddaulah lost the battle & was eventually killed.

Reasons Behind the war:

1. The British did not send any gift to Nawab Sirajuddaulah when he succeeded his grandfather Alivardi Khan.
2. High ambition & greed of power of British East India Company.
3. Frequent violation of laws by the British.
4. Shah Suja allowed the British to conduct their business in Bengal. But Nawab Sirajuddaulah did not agree with this policy. He ordered the company to ask him for permission before doing business but the company did not pay any heed to him.

Reasons behind Nawab's loss:

1. Palace conspiracy & betrayal of chief generals. Some of the traitors were: Mir Zafar, Roy Durlav, Raj Ballabh, Manikchand, Yar Latif, Jagat Seth, Umi Chand.
2. Lack of experience, organization, decision making ability & proper planning.
3. Heavy rainfall damaged the arms & explosives.
4. Believing in people who betrayed him before.

Results:

1. It ended the ruling period of Nawab Sirajuddaulah.
2. It established a formidable foundation for British East India Company in Bengal & they ruled Bengal for the next 190 years.
3. The company gave the throne to Mir Zafar & later on to Mir Qasim who were supposed to be puppets to the company.

Battle of Buxar

Details:

1. In 1764 the battle of Buxar took place.
2. Mir Qasim who lost the battle of Buxar, was Mir Zafar's son in law.
3. Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II joined forces with Mir Qasim to fight the British.
4. It was the last battle where Bengal Emperors showed real courage.

Results:

1. British Supremacy was established & the company took the administration of Bengal into their own hands.
2. Robert Clive became in charge of tax collection.
3. 'The Dual System' was introduced.

The Dual System

The Dual System was the system where the Company was in charge of tax collection and the administrative power rested on the hands of the Nawab.

After the battle of Buxar Robert Clive set up the infamous dual system of administration in Bengal wherein the company acquired the real power but the responsibility of administration rested on the Nawab of Bengal. The Company became the Diwan.

As the Diwan, the company was authorized to collect revenue.

Reasons For Imposing Dual System:

1. Insufficient manpower.
2. Linguistic difference.
3. Collecting revenue from the local people & traders from other countries.
4. For having power without responsibility.

Why Dual System Was Abolished:

1. Corruption of the company's employees which led to imposing over taxation on the common people.
2. Draughts & floods of 1769-70 which led to the epic famine known as 'Chhiyattarer Manbantar'.

Great Famine of 1770 (১১৭৬ বঙ্গাব্দ)

(Chhiyattarer Manbantar)

Reasons:

1. Over taxation of the company.
2. Having no rain for eight months followed by the devastating floods.
3. The British stored food & goods.

Consequences:

1. The Dual system was abolished.
2. About one third of Bengal's population (10 million people) died.

The Permanent Settlement Act

This act was a new system of land taxation in which Zamindars became *de facto* landowners, the tax demand was fixed in perpetuity & the state would not enhance the rate in future. Therefore, they were able to sell, donate & use their lands for other purposes. In return, the Zamindars were bound to pay their taxes with clockwork punctuality or their lands would be auctioned off.

This was a failed experimentation just like the dual system.

Details:

1. Lord Cornwallis introduced this act.
2. It was introduced in 1790 & was codified in 1793.
3. It survived with modifications till 1950s.

Features of This Act:

1. Zamindars could sell, mortgage or donate their lands.
2. Fixed amount of tax was imposed on the Zamindars & it would never be increased. Therefore, the more revenue that the Zamindars could extract from the peasants, the more it would profit them.
3. Zamindars could not do any judicial work.
4. Zamindars had to pay taxes in the last day of Bengali year before sunset. It was known as the 'Sunset Law'.

Objectives of This Act:

1. Ensuring a developed way of taxation & collecting revenue.
2. Making the Zamindars enthusiastic in cultivating different crops in their lands which would result in a significant development of the agricultural system.

Outcomes:

1. A loyal class of Zamindars came out. They became the mainstay of colonial control & extraction.
2. Many aristocrat Zamindars lost their lands due to being unable to pay taxes within the allotted time.
3. New Banyan class of people came out.
4. Farmers or peasants were deprived of their land rights & were victims of torture, squeeze & domination by the Zamindars.
5. Frequent peasant movements.
6. Agricultural development did not happen to the extent it was supposed to as the Zamindars lacked government support.
7. Various cash crops were cultivated at a large scale.

Cash Crops:

Cash crops forged new ties between Bengal's rural economy & Asian & European markets. Some of these crops were sugarcane, tobacco, tea, silk, indigo, jute & opium. Eastern Bangladesh became the heartland of jute production; sugar & silk were concentrated in Western Bengal.

The Sunset Law:

The Sunset Law was a part of the permanent settlement act in which Zamindars had to pay taxes in the last day of Bengali year before sunset or their lands would be auctioned off.

Why is The Permanent Settlement Act significant?

Ans. The Permanent Settlement Act was significant for several reasons.

Firstly, the Permanent Settlement act molded social & economic relations of the delta to such an extent that contemporary Bangladesh society cannot be understood without referring to it.

Secondly, this act initiated the development of a very hierarchical social

structure dominated by an extensive leisured class known as the Zamindars.

Thirdly, this act had many momentous consequences which led to many peasant movements & many aristocrat Zamindars lost their lands.

Moreover, this act led to the arrival of few new classes of people.

Sub-Infeudation System: Intermediaries & Sub-Intermediaries:

As the Zamindars' income grew, they began to distance themselves from agriculture & tax-collecting. They turned into rentiers & shifted their responsibilities to intermediaries. In this way a multitiered system of leisured tenure-holders developed. This system was known as the Sub-Infeudation (Pattanidari) .

New Institutions of Rule:

Although Mughal rule brought important administrative innovations to Bengal Delta, British rule introduced further & long lasting changes.

1. By 1830s Persian which was the Mughal language of rule was dropped as the state's official language.
2. Two modern universities were set up in Kolkata & Dhaka & quick academic reputation was established.
3. Due to British period, people had better access to medicines, hospitals & knew more about hygiene.
4. Roads, bridges, transports made Bengal delta less dependent on waterways.
5. The span of state control improved as the police & army became better funded & organized.

The Rise of Kolkata:

- Was established by the British in 1690.
- Government of India resided here from 1757 to 1931.
- From 1858 the British monarch appointed the Viceroy (head) of the government of India & Kolkata was the nerve centre of colonial administration.

Warren Hastings became the first Viceroy.

- It also emerged as the commercial & economic hub. Valuable cash crops were produced (Jute) & exported (Opium, Indigo & Tea) from it's port.
- From the 1850s a network of railway lines played a huge contribution in transporting goods.

Rise of Bhadrak (Gentlefolk):

Many people engaged in English education & took up professions or posts in the colonial state. Some of the upper-caste Hindus became the Bhadraks. They became pre-eminent cultural brokers between the population of Bengal & their British overlords, not just in Kolkata but also in the provincial towns & Zamindari mansions of the East Bengal countryside.

Things to keep in mind:

While Kolkata was developing rapidly, other industrial centres such as Dhaka's condition was degrading. Dhaka's exports of fine textiles have halved and population shrunk dramatically. However Dhaka did recover gradually.

By 1850's all of South Asia was ruled from Kolkata & the Indian Ocean had become a British sea.

Colonial Conflicts:

The revolts were inspired religiously or because of oppression, economic exploitation, class difference etc.

Fakir-Sannyasi Resistance, Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah revolt, The Faraizi revolt took place mainly because of religious beliefs being hurt.

The Santal Rebellion was the result of economic exploitation.

Sepoy Mutiny was a combination of religiousness, oppression & discrimination.

Indigo/Blue Mutiny was inspired because of oppression or the forceful cultivation of indigo.

Fakir-Sannyasi Resistance (1760-90):

Fakir and Sannyasi are terms for Muslim & Hindu religious men respectively. As the collection of alms was banned by the ill-advised government policy of British rule, these people decided to revolt. They used guerilla tactics & mass battles in which thousands participated. These rebels took place all over Bengal & Bihar from the early 1760s to 1790s. It was a communal movement.

Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah Revolt (1831):

Titumir was the founder of this revolt. He spent five years in Mecca & after coming back he witnessed the Muslims being oppressed by landlords. He built a fort made of bamboo at Narkelbaria. On 14th November, 1831 A.D. the battle between Titumir's force & British army began & on 19th November Titumir was killed. Later on his commander Golam Masum was hanged. It was also a communal movement.

Faraizi Revolt (1837):

It was another communal movement. Haji Shariatullah who was in Mecca for nineteen years, came back & saw the Muslims being engaged in forbidden rituals. He tried to bring them to the righteous path. Later on, his son Dudu Miah took up the mantle.

The Great Santal Rebellion (1840-50):

This movement was done by an indigenous group of people from West Bengal, the Santals. The reason behind their revolt was the economic exploitation that made their life miserable. This exploitation was done by the Bengalis as the Santals were different from them. So, the revolt of Santal was basically against the Bengalis. It was a non-communal movement.

The Sepoy Mutiny (1857):

Sepoy mutiny was led by Mangal Pandey & the reasons behind this revolt was greased cartridges, discrimination of salary, attacking religious beliefs. For example, forcing Hindu soldiers to cross sea during war which was forbidden for them. However, the majority of the Bengali landowners, middle classes & the peasantry did not support this movement as they were happy with the British rule for their economic interests being tied with the British rule. To some nationalists it was 'The First War of Independence'. It brought near collapse of British rule in many parts of northern & central India. Mangal Pandey along with many other rebellion soldiers were hanged & others were given lifetime imprisonment.

Blue/Indigo Mutiny (1858-62):

Indigo production & export was booming in the early 19th century. It became uneconomic at raiyat & peasant level. Peasants were forced to produce indigo by European planters. Raiyats imposed strict social ostracism against the planters by cutting down their necessities. Later on indigo movement became violent & raiyats were encouraged by missionaries. Raiyats made detailed reports on oppressing indigo production system. Government later prohibited indigo production. It was a non-communal movement.

Lecture 04

British Colonial Bengal:

Aspects of Nationalist Politics during Colonial Rule (1905-1947)

First Partition of Bengal:

In 1905 the British divided the huge province of Bengal into two parts: western part (Bengal) & eastern part (Eastern Bengal & Assam) which were almost equal sized.

Reasons:

1. Administrative advantage.
2. Break the anti-colonial movement.
3. Getting political benefit through 'Divide & rule' Bengali speaking population.
4. Socio economic development for Muslims.

Divide & Rule Policy:

The British planned to divide the Bengali speaking population so that they cannot form any sort of huge alliance against the colonial rule. They also wanted to create a distance between the Hindus & Muslims so that this two sides cannot get on the same page with the anti-British issue.

Outcomes:

Reaction of the Muslims:

At first, Muslims opposed it as Hindu dominated areas received the developed parts but after proper guidance from Nawab Sir Salimullah they welcomed the partition. They realized that Dhaka would be a capital & they would be economically benefited as new job opportunities would be created.

Reaction of the Hindus:

Why Hindus Reacted: Hindus showed no support to the partition for several reasons.

- Competition: If Bengal is divided then there will be another capital for the Muslims & they will be equal to them.
- Economic loss: They feared a loss of economic power as tea & jute exports might now go through the port of Chittagong.
- Inconvenience: As East Bengal's many landlords like Rabindranath Tagore had settled in Kolkata.

How Hindus Reacted: started protesting. Conventional methods of protesting such as campaigns, petitions, meetings and conferences did not work. So, they adopted new strategies.

- Swadeshi Movement: It entailed a boycott of British goods, administration, education & advocated self-help in the form of Indian-owned industries, reviving handloom & craft production, setting up national schools & developing village improvement scheme. It was inspired by some aristocrat personnel such as Rabindranath Tagore.
- Bengal Terrorism or Political Assassination: When all other methods of protesting failed, political assassination was adopted. They used the public display of violence against high ranked British individuals

& local collaborators. This movement proved to be highly successful. These created some revolutionary heroes such as: Khudiram Basu (hanged in 1908), 'Masterda' Surya Sen (organized an elaborated raid in the Chittagong armory in 1930 & was hanged in 1934) & Pritilata Waddadar (helped the Chittagong raid & committed suicide in 1932).

Things to keep in mind:

1. Congress leader Gokhale opposed the partition.
2. After the 1st partition Muslims left congress & they formed Muslim league with their elites.
3. The new provincial government won the heart of Bengali Muslims by appointing a huge number of new posts in the provincial & subordinate services.
4. They appointed Nawab Sir Salimullah to control Dhaka & he was the one who established 'Muslim League' to support the Muslims.

Ashraf-Atrap People:

Ashrafs were Arab, Persian or Central Asian descendants & considered themselves as aristocrats. They also considered themselves as guardians of authentic Islamic culture. They looked down upon the Islamic beliefs, idealistic, language & lifestyles of local people known as Atrap or Ajlafs. Ashrafs wanted to ashrafise the Islamic practices in the Bengal countryside.

On the other hand Atraps or Ajlafs (Low-born) were 95 percent of the Muslims of Bengal.

As time went on educated Muslims continued to be reluctant to accept the the Atraps as true Muslims but by then British India was on the verge of division.

Annulment of the First Partition

In 1911 the first partition was annulled.

Reasons of the annulment:

1. Majority of the elite Hindus wanted the annulment & it was safe for Britain to be in their favor as Hindus were the majority.
2. Royal classes like Jamindars, lawyers, businessmen & news agencies were opposing it.

Impacts of the First Partition:

1. Muslim league was formed.
2. After the first partitions Dhaka was the capital of Eastern Bengal & a number of impressive buildings were constructed such as Governor's Residence & Curzon Hall.
3. Hindus & Muslims became clear-cut political categories.
Muslims formed a clear majority in Eastern Bengal & Assam whereas Hindus in Western Bengal.
4. Brought out a significant revival of handloom silk & crafts.

Rise of the Krishak Praja Party:

In 1928 Sher-E-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq formed the Krishak Praja Party (KPP). He realized that Congress & Muslim League were being dominated by elite Hindus & Muslims. So, he decided to create a party for the common lower class people & this idea quickly became popular. The tagline for this party was 'Daal-Bhat for all'.

KPP won the 1937 election but did not get the majority. After the election A.K. Fazlul Huq was proposed to be the governor of Calcutta but he refused it.

Later they formed the government with the Muslim League but after one year the government collapsed. Later on another election was held & KPP won it again & Fazlul Huq became the Prime Minister of Bengal.

Results of the Election of 1937:

Independent Candidates: 32

Muslim League: 21

Congress: 16

Other Parties & Groups: 31

Famine of 1943 (Second Greatest Famine in Bengal)

Reasons:

1. The government was weak.
2. Shortage of food.
3. Disruption of food supply from Burma.
4. Destruction of a huge number of boats by the British army.
5. The British stored food & later on sold those at a high price.

Results:

1. A good number of people (almost 150,000) died.
2. Conflicts between Hindu & Muslim ministers.
3. Fazlul Huq resigning from the post of prime minister.

The Lahore Resolution:

It was a formal political statement adopted by the All-India Muslim League & was presented by A.K. Fazlul Huq, Prime Minister of Bengal. A three-day general session was held in Lahore on March 22 to 24, 1940. It talked about having separate states for Hindus & Muslims. The North Western part for the Muslims & the Eastern for the Hindus.

Direct Action Day:

After the 2nd world war the British government proposed to handover the power to an interim government. Muslim League agreed with the proposal provided that later the country will be divided according to Zinnah's two nation theory. But Congress opposed it. To protest the stance of Congress, Muslim league held a general strike on 16th August, 1946 stated as 'Direct Action Day'. Later on, it turned out as a massive mass killing which was called 'Great Kolkata Riot'. More than 4000 people were killed. It lasted for four consecutive days.

The Two Nation Theory:

This theory was introduced by Muhammad Ali Jinnah which states that British India will be divided according to the majority of Hindus & Muslims. He proposed 'Independent States' for Muslim in north-western & Hindus in Eastern of British India. Later on, based on this Pakistan & India got independence on 14th & 15th August, 1947 respectively.

Lord Mountbatten was the last governor general of British India.

Lecture 05

Post-Colonial Nationalist Resistance:

Pakistan Period & the Growth of Nationalism in Bangladesh

Why was Pakistan considered as a special/experimental state after 1947?

Ans. Pakistan was considered as a special state for three reasons.

1. It was the first modern state that was founded upon religious nationalism & this religion was supposed to cement a new national identity.
2. Pakistan was a state administering two discrete territories, separated from each other by about 1500km of Indian terrain. In terms of size, West Pakistan was larger but in terms of population, East Pakistan had the majority of people.
3. Pakistan did not become heir to any of the colony's central state institutions. India on the other hand received the capital New Delhi as well as most of the civil bureaucracy, armed forces & police & port cities.

In conclusion Pakistan was uniquely experimental as it had to govern two unconnected territories, suffer the loss of its administrative hub & find a religious national identity.

Language Movement:

- The Pakistan Educational Conference of November 1947 proposed Urdu as the national language.
- Urdu was spoken by only 3 percent of all Pakistanis whereas Bangla was spoken by 56 percent of them.
- The movement had declined after 1948 but it was ignited when the new Prime minister of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, came to Dhaka

& declared that East Pakistan could only choose the provincial language but only Urdu would be the state language.

- Dhaka University went on strike & a number of organizations called a protest meeting.
- Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan who broke with the Muslim league in 1949 to form 'Awami Muslim League', was a long-term supporter of the idea of Pakistan & also chaired the protest meeting.
- The meeting sharply denounced the decision to make Urdu the State language & also rejected a government plan to introduce Arabic script for written Bengali.
- The meeting decided to a general strike or hortal & demonstrations throughout East Pakistan on 21st February, 1952.
- A ban was imposed on this demonstrations & many killings& arrests took place. The first killing was on 21st February in which 5 people died. A memorial was hastily created on the place where the first killing took place.
- This memorial was recreated several times before it was replaced by a concrete monument, the Martyrs' Memorial (Sahid Minar) in 1962.
- From March 26, 1956, Bengali was recognized as a state language alongside Urdu in the first constitution of Pakistan.
- UNESCO announced 21st February as the International Mother Language Day in 1999.

Why was Urdu selected as the sole state language at first place?

Even though only 3% People of all Pakistanis spoke in Urdu whereas Bengali was the mother tongue of 56% people, the Pakistan government insisted on making Urdu the sole state language. But of course there were logics behind it that would benefit West Pakistan.

- According to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the governor-general of Pakistan at that time, without one state language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together & function.

- If Bengali was made the state language instead of Urdu, West-Pakistanis would not be able to compete with the East-Pakistanis in many sectors.
- In West Pakistan the Bengali Muslim were considered socially inferior because of not practicing North Indian Islamic culture. Therefore, they were not fully considered as Pakistanis because of their Bengaliness. Imposing Urdu on the East Pakistanis was part of a mission to 'Islamise' East Pakistan.

What were the groups that endorsed 'North Indian' view?

There were two groups that endorsed the 'North Indian' view: The Muhajirs & the Muslims from Punjab.

The Muhajirs (Migrants): They were largely members of Urdu speaking people who moved to Pakistan's cities from North India. They expected the locals to adapt to them instead of the other way around. They took hold of almost all higher positions. Most of these people made settled in West Pakistan but over 100 thousand made their new homes in East Pakistan.

Muslims of Punjab: They were heavily overrepresented in the armed forces, manned the state administration & controlled valuable irrigated land. The Punjabis progressively outflanked the Muhajirs to become the hegemonic power in Pakistan.

United Front (Jukta Front)

The provincial (took place only in East Pakistan) elections of 1954 were won by an alliance known as the United Front & its style of politics has dominated politics in Bengal delta ever since. This style is best described as mobilising the street: it depends heavily on drumming up popular support through fiery speeches delivered at enormous public rallies, organizing protest marches & general strikes & issuing political manifestos. The United Front's election manifesto consisted of 21 points. Four of these

were related to language, others dealt with autonomy, citizens' rights & economic emancipation. This alliance won 302 out of 309 seats. Leadership was provided by veterans like Suhrawardy, Bhasani, Fazlul Huq & Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The United Front consisted of these parties:

1. Awami Muslim League
2. Krishak Sramik Party (KSP)
3. Ganatantri Dal
4. Nizam-i-Islami

& several leftist splinter groups.

In 1955 Awami Muslim League renamed itself Awami League to stress its non-communal character.

Why was United Front formed?

As there was no strong political party to compete with Muslim League, United Front was formed. In the 1954 provincial elections Awami Muslim League won maximum seats but they failed to get the minimum requirements of seats to form the government. Therefore, Awami Muslim League & few other parties merged together & created United Front.

What were the reasons for the downfall of Muslim League?

- Unpopularity: They failed to bring basic needs & benefits to the people. The peasants & middle class all were unhappy as they thought their standard of living will go up & new job opportunities will open up but these didn't happen.
- Muslim League & Congress were formed by high class Muslims & Hindus respectively. So, there was no party for the common & lower class people. From that point of view Krishak Praja Party (KPP) was formed. Later on KPP renamed themselves Krishak Sramik Party (KSP). This party joined with other parties to form the United Front. That's why supporters of Muslim League decreased.

First Constitution of Pakistan:

The first constitution of Pakistan was put into force on March 26, 1956. It took Pakistan almost 9 years after liberation to construct a constitution.

Traits:

- The constitution declared Pakistan as an Islamic Republic.
- It also recognized Bengali as one of the two state languages.

First Martial Law (1958):

In a blatant violation of parliamentary procedure, Governor General Iskander Mirza forced Suhrawardy (Prime Minister) to resign in September, 1958. On October 27, General Ayub Khan assumed total control of the government. He introduced 'Basic Democracies Order' in 1959.

In 1960 union councils were asked to confirm the presidency of Ayub Khan. There was no other challenger & the prudence was confirmed.

Second Constitution of Pakistan:

The second constitution was put into force on June 8, 1962.

Traits:

1. The constitution renamed East Bengal to East Pakistan & West Pakistan was constituted as one unit.
2. Basic Democracies was imposed.

Indo-Pakistan War:

The war took place in 1965. The core of the war was Pakistan's intervention in Kashmir. Pakistan's tangle in Kashmir was mostly dictated by a romantic urge to rescue the Muslims of the valley from India's control. The war ended in January, 1966.

Six Points Demand:

- ❖ A federal parliamentary system of government elected by direct universal adult suffrage with legislative representation on the basis of population.
- ❖ The federal government only to be responsible only for foreign affairs & defense.
- ❖ Freely convertible separate currencies for each wing.
- ❖ Power of taxation & revenue collection to be vested in the provinces with guarantees of adequate funding for the federal government.
- ❖ Separate foreign exchange accounts for each wing.
- ❖ Each wing to raise & maintain a militia.

If the six points demand were implemented, it could lead to the disintegration of Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman presented the six points demand & was arrested & was sent to jail.

Agartala Conspiracy Case:

In 1968 the Pakistan government filed a false case against 28 persons including Sheikh Mujib. He was already in prison & was charged with master mining conspiracy with India to divide Pakistan in a meeting with Indian intelligence bureau in Agartala, Tripura (India). The tribunal failed to establish their claim. Then on 22 January, 1969 Sheikh Mujib & others were released due to the mass upsurge.

Mass Upsurge or The Anti-Ayub Movement (1969):

When Mujib & others were arrested because of the conspiracy case the student committee came out with eleven points demand which had shades of the six points demand. Although this student led movement received peripheral support from the political parties, it received active support from all segments of society including industrial workers, peasants & the middle class. Student leader Asad was killed on 20 January, 1969. Suddenly this student movement turned into violent anti-Ayub

movement. Under this immense pressure most the basic democrats resigned, Mujib & other politicians were unconditionally released & eventually Ayub Khan was forced to resign.

Second Martial Law (1969):

Ayub Khan left the power on the hands of the military & another dictator by the name of Yahya Khan rose to power. Yahya Khan introduced the LFO.

BDO & LFO

- BDO (Basic Democracies Order)

There will be 40000 people elected by the local people from each of the province (West & East Pakistan) & these 80000 people will progressively elect the president of Pakistan. Thus a pyramidal five tiers of institutions were set up.

In 1962 Ayub Khan formed the 2nd constitution & legalized BDO.

- LFO (Legal Framework Order)

It was nothing but a series of rules & regulations on the basis of which the election of 1970 will be held. Yahya Khan introduced it.

Some of the rules are:

1. Elections will be held on the basis of adult franchise (One person one vote).
2. East Pakistan will get 162 seats(& West Pakistan will get the remaining seats.
3. Participants cannot participate in the elections with a menifesto that goes against the spirit of Pakistan.
4. The President will become the most powerful man & will have the final say.

So basically BDO was replaced by LFO.

Election of 1970:

A devastating cyclone & tidal bore lashed an area of 8000 square kilometers of the coastal low lands & its outlying islands in the Bay of Bengal on November 12, 1970. More than 350,000 lives were lost. In utter disregard to Bengali sensitivity, less than four weeks after the cyclone, on December 7, 1970. Awami League got 167 out of 169 seats in the election. The People's Party of Pakistan, led by Bhutto came out as a poor second with 81 out of 138 West Pakistani seats, mostly in the Punjab & Sind. As Awami League won the majority of seats, they were eligible to bring constitutional changes.

Awami League did not win any seat in West Pakistan & People's Party of Pakistan (PPP) did not win any seat in East Pakistan. So, it became clear that the county was more or less divided.

Operation Searchlight:

Pakistan government decided to deal with the East Pakistan issue through military invasion. The planning was made during February 1971.

Yahya abruptly flew back to Islamabad in the afternoon of 25 March. The Pakistan army was ordered to launch an operation on Bengali people at midnight. Lieutenant General Tikka Khan was the overall in charge of the operation. West Pakistani Navy Officer Admiral Ahsan & military governor of East Pakistan Yakub Khan opposed to it. Moments before being arrested, in a daring act, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman proclaimed Bangladesh as a sovereign independent nation & asked the people to participate in the war of liberation.

Operation Searchlight focused on some certain areas. Some of these are:

Dhaka University, East Pakistan Rifles (Peelkhana), Police Headquarters at Rajarbag (Rajarbag Police Lines), Old Dhaka, Ansar Headquarters at Khilgaon, Shakhari Bazar.

Timeline Overview

14 August, 1947: Pakistan became independent.

1954: Provincial election took place & United Front won.

1955: Awami Muslim League renamed itself Awami League

26 March, 1956: 1st constitution was put into force. Bengali became a state language.

1958: 1st martial law.

1962: 2nd constitution was put into force. Martyrs memorial was created.

1965: Indo-Pakistan war took place.

1966: Six points demand was introduced.

1968: Agartala conspiracy case was imposed.

20 January, 1969: Student leader Asad was killed.

1969: End of Agartala conspiracy case & Second martial law.

1970: General Election under Yahya Khan & Awami League won.

25 March, 1971: Genocide.

26 March, 1971: Mujib arrested, war of liberation declared.

Lecture 06

Emergence of Bangladesh: Liberation War of 1971

Prediction of the military invasion:

At the government level, some of the Awami League leaders apprehended a military invasion to suppress the non-cooperation movement and contacted a top official of Indian Deputy High Commissioners office at Dacca in the first week of March 1971. The concerned official then went back to Delhi, on the pretext of his daughter's illness and came back on March 8 after having consulted with "appropriate authorities". AL leaders were assured of some help in terms of food supply and political asylum for AL leaders across the border if need be.

Why did India not go for a military invasion initially to help Bangladesh rebels?

- Indian armed forces were unprepared at that moment.
- The Chinese might also have created trouble for India on the Tibetan border and North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) regions in the East.
- The five year defense plan launched in 1964 to stop simultaneous attacks from Pakistan and China was yet to be completed.
- About four division of the Indian army of Eastern Command were busy in meeting the demand of Internal security.
- If the struggle continues until winter, the land will get harder and it would be easier for the Indian army to move into East Pakistan with heavy weaponry and motorized vehicles.

Therefore, instead of interfering with a military action initially, India helped the AL leaders with financial aids, shelter to the refugees, supplying arms and training to the Mukti Bahini and Mujib Bahini.

Why did Sheikh Mujib not flee despite being requested?

- He may have expected that the ruthless attempts of the army to surpass the moment for autonomy would be temporary.
- His arrest would initiate a massive movement throughout East Pakistan.
- While fleeing he might get himself killed.
- He thought if he fled, the Pakistan army would initiate and continue massive killing and Destruction.

That is why he decided to stay and requested other AL leaders to hide or flee.

Formation of Provincial Government-in-exile:

It was a government that was located in India was set up only for the time being to lead the freedom fighters. On 10 April the original government took hold in India. But later on as a symbolic gesture, on 17 April the Constituent assembly was held on Bangladeshi soil in a mango grove at Baddayanattala (Named "Mujibnagar" by the government-in-exile), a village in Meherpur sub-division bordering West Bengal.

With a declaration of independence, the assembly proclaimed the sovereignty of Bangladesh.

The assembly elected:

- Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the President.
- Syed Nazrul Islam as the Vice-President.
- Tajuddin Ahmed as the Prime Minister.
- A cabinet consisting of the senior most members of the AL including Khandokar Mushtaq Ahmed, Mansur Ali and A.H.M. Kamruzzaman.

The cabinet then appointed Colonel Ataul Ghani Usmani as the Commander in chief of the liberation armed forces.

Financial Condition of the Government-in-exile:

- The AL Government-in-exile had a fund of Rupees 135 million initially through looting banks and treasuries of East Pakistan.
- Rupees 40 million of this fund was converted to Indian currency.
- The rest of the money consisted of currency notes which were demonetized by the Pakistan government.
- Rupees 15 million was received by the exile government from voluntary organizations and Indian government.
- All foreign tours of the exile government were financed by the Indian government.

Factionalism within the Government-in-exile:

The first faction was led by Khandokar Mushtaq who was Minister in charge of foreign affairs. He was in favor of some sort of compromise with the Pakistan rulers on the basis of an agreement that would ensure the release of Sheikh Mujib and the autonomy of Bangladesh in the context of one Pakistan.

The other section led by Tajuddin Ahmed who was opposed to the idea. He managed to isolate Mushtaq Ahmed and pursue a tough line toward Pakistan. He was also able to establish a close relationship with Indian government. Siddhartha Sankar Roy who was a Minister in the Indian government, was the main liaison between the Bangladesh government-in-exile and Indian government.

Contributions of Razakars:

- Killed the freedom fighters.
- Backstabbed the country through passing information.
- Tortured and raped many women.
- Helped the Pakistani army to kill our intellectuals.

Teliapara Document:

Teliapara Document was the document that contained the strategy of the liberation war. It was approved by the government-in-exile and Indian staff officers at Teliapara, Sylhet. It was a three layered/phased strategy:

- **Strategic Defensive:** A large guerrilla force would be raised and trained. They would use 'Hit and Run' tactics, destroy communication lines to immobilize the Pakistan forces and create perpetual tension for them.
- **Strategic Stalemate or Equilibrium:** The regular units of Mukti Bahini would be enlarged, divided into sector troops and placed in certain areas to cover the guerrilla operations. In this phase both 'Hit and Run' tactics and conventional confrontation would be applied.
- **Strategic Offensive:** The best material among regular units of Mukti Bahini and guerrillas would be recruited to form a force which would launch full scale direct attacks on the Pakistani army once they are isolated and demoralized due to the first two phases.

To implement the Teliapara strategy, Bangladesh was divided into 11 sectors:

- ❖ **Sector one:** Led by Major Ziaur Rahman at first, then by Major M. Rafiq.
- ❖ **Sector two:** Led by Major Khaled Musharraf at first, then by Major M. Haider.
- ❖ **Sector three:** Led by Major Safiullah at first, then by Major Mohammad Nuruzzaman.
- ❖ **Sector four:** Led by Major Chittaranjan Dutta.
- ❖ **Sector five:** Led by Major Mir Shawkat Ali.
- ❖ **Sector six:** Led by Wing Commander M.K. Bashir.
- ❖ **Sector seven:** Led by Major Nuruzzaman.
- ❖ **Sector eight:** Led by Major Osman Chowdhury at first, then Lieutenant Colonel Mohammad Manzur.
- ❖ **Sector nine:** Led by Major M.A. Jalil.
- ❖ **Sector ten:** Led by Major Joinal Abedin.
- ❖ **Sector eleven:** Led by Major Abu Taher.

Why were youths/volunteers screened before they could be recruited?

Indian government and AL decided to only recruit volunteers to the freedom fighter forces who were ideologically loyal to AL. As youths were a favorite target of the Pakistani army, many crossed into India. Several hundreds of reception camps were set up and there they were screened. Those who were loyal to parties other than AL were screened out. It was because people not loyal to AL could cause problems within the army and may not follow orders of AL leaders.

Mukti Bahini:

From May 15 the Indian army began to help build the Mukti Bahini. After proper screening people were inducted.

Mujib Bahini consisted of these units: Guerrillas, Sector troops, Brigade Forces, Artillery batteries, Naval wing and a small airforce.

By the end of November, some 100,00 guerrillas had been sent to Bangladesh and another 100,000 were still being trained in Indian camps. By the end of November the total number of sector troops was 10,000. By October, three Brigade forces were raised:

- Z force: Led by Major Ziaur Rahman.
- K force: Led by Khaled Musharraf.
- S force: Led by M. Safiullah.

These Brigades were formed by the East Bengal Regiment (EBR) battalions. Their fire power was heavier than the ordinary sector troops.

Two artillery batteries were also raised. The first battery was armed with some old wartime guns. The second battery was armed with better quality heavy guns supplied by the Indian army.

A naval wing of the Mukti Bahini, consisting of 400 naval commandos, was raised. They were trained in underwater sabotage and in the use of gun boats. Two helicopters, an Otter aircraft and a one-engine Dakota were provided by the Indian air force.

Mujib Bahini:

Because of the popularity that guerrilla forces received, AL leaders apprehended that the leadership would be taken over by Liberation Armed Forces if Sheikh Mujib does not return. Tofael Ahmed, Sheikh Fazlul Huq Moni, Serajul Islam Khan and Abdur Razzak formed the Mujib Bahini explicitly to preserve the interests of Sheikh Mujib and his closest supporters. In November they recruited 7000-8000 people.

These units were given training by Indian army and the training period was 45 days. Besides training on guerrilla warfare, these men were also given special courses on “Mujibism”- projected as Mujib’s ideas on nationalism, secularism, socialism and democracy.

Kader Bahini:

While Mukti Bahini and Mujib Bahini were trained and equipped by Indian army, there were a few forces organized within Bangladesh and equipped primarily with the weapons snatched from Pakistani army. The most effective force was the Kader Bahini, led by Abdul Kader Siddiqui. Ultimately Kader Bahini became a force of some 17,000 men. The auxiliary volunteer force of the Kader Bahini numbered over 72,500 people.

Kader Bahini killed 16 Pakistani soldiers in June making a surprise attack on a Pakistan outpost. On August 11, they robbed and destroyed a Pakistan boat carrying a large number of arms and ammunition. About 100 Pakistani soldiers on board were killed.

Was Teliapara Document a successful strategy?

We do not know whether it was an effective strategy or not. Because only the first two phases of the strategy was executed. Then the Indian army joined forces with Mukti Bahini and defeated Pakistani army very quickly.

So, there is no way of being sure whether this strategy would be successful if it was fully executed but we can assume that the liberation war would be lengthened and eventually bring us victory.

Why was it hard to fight guerrilla war in Bangladesh?

Or, why was Pakistani army favored?

- Small terrain: Bangladesh is a very small country and does not have the space ideally required for guerrilla maneuvers.
- Flat terrain: Bangladesh was an unfavorable terrain as most of the areas are flat. Therefore, most of the places were unusable by guerrillas as a place for retreat.
- Dense Population: Bangladesh has a high density of population. There were a great number of potential informers, military surveillance, security checkposts etc.
- Civilian Casualties: Guerrilla operations in a densely populated area could result in civilian casualties. As a result, guerrillas could be alienated.
- False Assumption of Immobilization: The assumption that Pakistan forces would remain immobilized during rainy season proved wrong. By using gunboats, the Pakistan army was more mobile than the guerrillas.
- Religious Appeals: Pakistan was favored as it could entice Muslims to its support by religious appeals.
- Offerings: The guerrillas had only blood, sweat and tears to offer whereas Pakistani army had loot of Hindu shops, lands and permanent possessions.
- Immaturity: The ideal age of the guerrillas should be from 25 to 35 so that they are young and matured enough but the majority of Bangladeshi guerrillas were below 25 years of age. These “Romantic Guerrillas” were susceptible to two “Politico-military” dangers:
 1. “Desperadoism”(Desperation) as Mao Tse-tung calls it .
 2. Possibility of easily being frustrated.

Indian Military Intervention:

Indian government kept the border open after March 25, allowing Bangladeshi evacuees to move into India's eastern part.

Unless Bangladesh became an independent sovereign state the evacuees could never go back to their homes and it would lead to serious communal riots, anarchy and chaos in India.

The most important factor was that the creation of independent Bangladesh was necessary for the protection of the political system of India.

Indian government trained the Mukti Bahini and the Mujib Bahini, all the while putting pressure on Pakistan government to release Sheikh Mujib.

From November 20 the Indian army, together with regular units of Mukti Bahini launched attacks on Pakistani army.

On December 3 the formal war between India and Pakistan started.

The role of Mukti Bahini:

- The quick success of the Indian army was made possible by the work already done by Mukti Bahini.
- Mukti Bahini guerrillas and sector troops would "outflank" and attack from the sides or rear.
- Furnished reliable information as to the exact positions of Pakistan bunkers, ambushes and road blocks.
- Many Pakistan troops were killed and captured.
- Several hundreds of razakars were captured.

The Mukti Bahini and Indian forces played equally important roles in bringing the liberation war to a swift end.

On December 16, 1971, General Niazi surrendered on behalf of Pakistan with 93,000 soldiers in Ramna Race Course in Dacca, right where Sheikh Mujib declared on March 7, 1971 that the struggle of the Bengalis this time was for "complete emancipation and independence".

Lecture 07

Political Development and Democratic Transition (1971-1990)

Post Liberation War Events:

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman returned to Bangladesh on 10 January, 1972 & took oath on the next day as the Prime Minister of the government. He was the second Prime Minister of Bangladesh after Tajuddin Ahmed.

The surrendering Pakistani army were taken to India where they would stay as prisoners of war.

What were the challenges faced by the government of Bangladesh (Particularly Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) after independence?

1. Creating a quick & effective constitution. ***
2. Bringing back the refugees & rehabilitating them. Nearly 10 million refugees were resettled. ***
3. Many people thought Bangladesh of a 'Manchukuo Government' (Puppet State). Therefore, ensuring a solid government by sending the Indian army back to India. ***
4. Establishing law & order by disarming the freedom fighters. Not all weapons were surrendered. **
5. Reconstructing the infrastructures damaged during the liberation war. **
6. Adequate food supplies had to be obtained to avert the threat of famine. **
7. Dealing with the JSD problem. *
8. Negotiating with other countries for foreign aids. *
9. Managing the industries left by the non-Bengali owners. *

Despite all the handicaps, the government managed to have significant achievements.

Anti-Indian Resentment:

Due to the smuggling and corruption in food supply that took place & Indians taking the weapons of Pakistan army, many Bangladeshi became unhappy. They thought even though India helped Bangladesh, those arms belonged to Bangladesh as it was Bangladeshis who fought the war.

Famine of 1974:

In 1972-73 the country suffered the most serious draught in recent times. At the end of 1973, the global economy was struck by a massive price increase. In July 1974, a sudden flood caused massive damage to the crops. All these led to the famine in the autumn of 1974.

Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) & Awami Jubo League:

The emerging strength of the students and youth led to the split in the Students League in 1972. A substantial section of members broke away & formed Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (National Socialist Party) & Awami Jubo League (Awami Youth League).

Rakkhi Bahini:

After independence efforts were made to strengthen the different disciplinary forces. Steps were taken to arrange for equipment and supplies for the army and the police. Initially, it was decided to absorb several thousand young freedom fighters into BDR to add to its strength. But it was refused by the BDR as they did not want young boys to be inducted into BDR. To normalize the situation, they formed a separate force called the Rakkhi Bahini **to handle internal security operations.**

What were the positive & negative aspects of the rule of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman?

Positive Aspects:

1. Creating the first constitution of Bangladesh in less than one year. The constitution was published in 16th December, 1972.
2. Making sure that Bangladesh was not considered as a 'Manchukuo State' by removing Indian troops from Bangladesh.
3. Rehabilitated nearly 10 million refugees.
4. Arranged parliamentary elections on 7 March, 1973.
5. Signed a peace treaty with India.
6. Making a good number of civilians surrender their arms.
7. Managed industries left by non-Bengali owners.

Negative Aspects:

1. Created Rakkhi Bahini which provoked resentment among the regular armed forces who felt their role would be diminished by the administration, which would favor the new force.
2. Failed to tackle the famine of 1974 which was somewhat beyond control.
3. In November he granted a general amnesty to the war criminals except who were punished or accused of rape, murders, attempted murder, arson or genocide. This can be considered as a negative aspect.
4. In the fourth amendment of the constitution, on 24 February 1975, he introduced Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (**BKSAL**) which was basically a one party system dissolving all other parties and asking people from all walks of life to join BKSAL. It did not attract much support outside of the party.
5. Allowed only four newspapers to continue publications & banned the rest. Those four newspapers were: *Dainik Bangla*, *Bangladesh Observer*, *The Daily Ittefaq* & *Bangladesh Times*. These were taken under the control of the government.
6. Ended the parliamentary rule & established Presidential government.

Fourth Amendment of the Constitution:

Without any discussion or debate the 4th amendment (The Constitution Act) was passed on 25 January, 1975 in which-

1. Parliamentary rule in Bangladesh ended & presidency form of rule began. The president became all in all.
2. BKSAL or the one party system was established.
3. Mujib was made president for the next five years.
4. All newspapers except four were banned.

Things to Keep in Mind:

- According to the United Nations, the liberation war caused a loss of about 938 million and reconstruction required 15 percent of the GDP annually for at least three years.
- On January 24, 1972, Kader Siddiqui & his troops surrendered their arms. On 30th January Mujib Bahini surrendered their arms.
- During the war a number of armed paramilitary forces were organized by Pakistani occupation forces who also supplied arms to **Jamaat-e-Islami** which organized AL-Shams & Al-Badr. The latter were responsible of killing at least 50 intellectuals in the last three days of the war (14-16 December).
- United Nations Relief Organization in Bangladesh (**UNROB**) & other organizations helped Bangladesh economically.
- A number of countries helped Bangladesh to avert the famine. For example United States, which had supported and aided the Pakistani regime in 1971, committed 287 million of reconstruction and relief in the first year.
- In the first six months 612 million was committed to Bangladesh. Another 886 million in 1972-73.

Assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman:

On the morning of 15 August, 1975, Mujib, 21 members of his extended family and his close associates were brutally murdered in a military coup. Sheikh Mujib's two daughters (Sheikh Hasina & Sheikh Rehana) were in a trip abroad and thus survived the coup. Some of the key planners of the coup were Syed Farook Rahman, Khandoker Abdur Rashid, Abdul Aziz Pasha et al. Thus, a prolonged era of military regimes began in Bangladesh.

Military Dictatorship

From 1975 to 1990, Bangladesh had undergone military dictatorship.

Khondoker Mushtaq Ahmed

Following the coup Khondoker Mushtaq Ahmed was installed as the president and a cabinet was hastily organized. It consisted entirely of AL leaders. No military officer was included but the real power remained with the coup makers.

Constitutional Changes:

1. Repealed a part of the constitution related to the BKSAL.
2. Abolished the scheme to make changes in local government.
3. Annulled the presidential order no. 9 of 1972 (Which enabled the government to dismiss any government officer without assigning any reason)
4. Withdrew the ban on the newspapers under the 4th amendment.

Other Actions:

1. To preclude any political resistance from any AL loyalists, some 35 prominent AL leaders including Tajuddin Ahmed, Mansoor Ali, Syed Nazrul Islam, Kamruzzaman & Tofail Ahmed were arrested.
2. Four prominent AL leaders were killed with Mushtaq's approval.
3. Promised that political restrictions would be lifted on 15 August 1976 and parliamentary elections would be held on 28 February, 1977.
4. Merged Rakkhi Bahini with the army.

Assassination of the Four Prominent AL Leaders:

In the early hours of 3 November inside Dhaka Jail at the instruction of the August coup-makers with the approval from Mushaq, four prominent AL leaders were brutally murdered by some army men.

The leaders were:

Syed Nazrul Islam, president of the government-in-exile.

Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of the government-in-exile.

Monsoor Ali, a minister in the ousted government.

Kamruzzaman, the political secretary of Sheikh Mujib.

Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem:

A section of coup leaders angrily reacted to the killings of the AL leaders and forced Mushtaq to resign. He was replaced by Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem as the president.

Soldiers' Mutiny of 1975:

On November 5 the Biplobi Sainik Sangstha (BSS, Revolutionary Soldiers Union) which was supported by JSD and led by Colonel Taher, called upon the soldiers to revolt against the army officers who had been exploiting them for their own ambitious reasons. The soldiers were moved by the call. On the night of 6 November they began to rise with a force that would eventually shake the state of Bangladesh. It was the first soldiers' mutiny on the scale of 1857 against the British in colonial India. At least 33 other officers, some of their families and nearly 100 enlisted men including Khaled Musharraf and Lieutenant-Colonel A.T.M. Haider were killed. Ziaur Rahman who was put under house arrest, was freed by the sepoys.

On the first speech after the 7 November uprising, President Sayem dissolved the parliament and suspended the constitution.

Ziaur Rahman (1975-1981)

Although Ziaur Rahman did not assume the precedence until 1977, he emerged as the *de facto* ruler of the country from 7 November 1975. The rise of Zia appropriately reminds us of the situation in France between 1848 and 1851 leading to the emergence of Louis Bonaparte (Commonly known as Napoleon III). Zia was the ultimate beneficiary of the Eighty-four days of anarchic situation where he did not engineer or participated in any coup.

Constitutional Changes:

1. The word secularism was substituted with- 'absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah' should be 'the basis of all actions.'
2. The words 'Bismillah-ar-Rahman-ar-Rahim' were inserted above the preamble.
3. Included redefining the state principles and identifying citizens of Bangladesh as 'Bangladeshi'.
4. In the Fifth Amendment, he brought constitutional legitimacy to the regime.

Other Actions:

1. The military was made a powerful factor.
2. Initiated capitalism instead of socialism.
3. Close ties were made with China and Saudi Arabia.
4. Established Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).
5. Held a presidential elections in 1978 but it was blatantly rigged.
6. Had to deal with 22 military coups.
7. Highlighted the idea of SAARC.

What were the challenges, positive & negative aspects of Zia's regime?

Challenges:

1. Legitimacy: Ziaur Rahman brought necessary constitutional changes, then established BNP & held presidential elections. However the elections of 1978 were blatantly rigged.
2. Series of Coups: Zia had to deal with 22 military coups with authority to retain his rule.
3. Development: In order to ensure development, Zia initiated capitalism instead of socialism.

Positive Aspects:

1. Highlighted the idea of SAARC.
2. Made close ties with China and Saudi Arabia.
3. Allowed the private sectors to become more important through initiating capitalism which is still being followed in Bangladesh.

Negative Aspects:

1. Abolished secularism from the constitution.
2. He brought the collaborators into politics. A large number of collaborators were released & the ban imposed on some of the parties were lifted.
3. Changing the term Bengali to Bangladeshi resulted in the conflict between the tribal and the ordinary people. The tribal people who were previously referred as Bengali, were not considered as Bangladeshi.

Assassination of Ziaur Rahman:

In May 1981 in a military coup, Zia was murdered. Vice president Abdus Sattar succeeded Zia as the new President. Abdus Sattar was the first directly elected civilian president. In March 1982 another military coup took place and Army Chief General Hussain Muhammad Ershad took over power as the president.

Hussain Muhammad Ershad (1982-1990)

Constitutional Changes:

The eighth amendment was passed in 1988. In this amendment-

1. Islam was declared as the state religion.
2. The judiciary was decentralized by setting up six permanent benches of the High court outside of Dhaka.
3. Amended the word 'Bengali' into 'Bangla' and 'Dacca' into 'Dhaka'.

What were the challenges, positive & negative aspects of Ershad's regime?

Challenges:

1. Legitimacy: Just like Ziaur Rahman, Ershad too faced legitimacy problem. So, he held elections and formed Jatiya Party.
2. Resistance from political parties: Unlike Zia, Ershad faced challenges from political parties who formed two alliances- one centred on the AL and another on the BNP.
3. Proving Islamic credentials: To prove Islamic credential, Ershad made another amendment to the constitution which declared Islam as the state religion.

Positive Aspects:

1. Brought stability in Bangladesh. The coups and counter coups ended.
2. Started a lot of development activity in Bangladesh. Road communications developed. Big projects like Jamuna Bridge was initiated during his rule.
3. He initiated the establishment of pharmaceutical industries and drug policy which brought revolutionary changes in the medicine sector.

Negative Aspects:

1. Strengthening the dismissal of secularism by Stating Islam as the state religion.
2. A number of elections took place which were boycotted by the other parties.
3. Declared martial law which eventually backfired.

Similarities Between Zia's and Ershad's Regimes:

1. Both Regimes faced legitimacy crisis.
2. Developed similar policies to earn legitimacy which was to form a party and hold elections.
3. Both regimes showed repression, curtailment of democratic rights and manipulation of the constitution.
4. Both regimes brought religion in the political arena.

End of the Ershad Regime

The regime collapsed on 4 December, 1990. The military which was the source of Ershad's strength, decided to step away from his side.

The end of dictatorship in 1990 was a new beginning for democracy. That is why it is described as the 'second liberation' by many.

Lecture 08

Political Development and Democratic Transition (1990-Present)

Fifth Parliament Elections: BNP Won

Under the caretaker government of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, the fifth parliament elections was held in February 1991. The elections were highly acclaimed as “free and fair”. BNP led by Begum Khaleda Zia won the elections as the single largest party with 140 seats. AL captured 92 seats, JP captured 35 seats and Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh got 19 seats.

1. First Regime of Begum Khaleda Zia (1991-1996)

Khaleda Zia was the first female prime minister of Bangladesh.

1.1 Challenges:

- Economic: The economy was shattered after the previous regime. So, they had to come up with the challenge of recovering the economy.
- Political: The government wanted to follow the footsteps of Ziaur Rahman and retain the presidential system but after opposition from the oppositions they had to bring back parliamentary system. A grand boycott by all opposition members on the issue of caretaker government took place in the middle of 1994.
- Tackling Calamities: The government had to tackle the major infrastructural damages due to the cyclone & tidal wave in 1991.
- Being Dissolved: Being forced to go for the sixth parliament elections due to the prolonged boycott and massive subsequent resignations of AL led opposition members from the Parliament.

1.2 Successes:

- ✓ The most remarkable achievement of this government was passing the **Twelfth Amendment (September, 1991)** which included the re-introduction of the parliamentary system in Bangladesh.
- ✓ Passing the **Antiterrorism Act(1974)** which was acclaimed as a “Black Law”. Though it was passed with the participation of the opposition parties, it earned the confidence of the people as an effective measure against violence and physical damages to life and property.
- ✓ The shattered economy from previous regime developed gradually. Per Capita income, GDP and the GNP marked credible improvement.
- ✓ Despite the cyclone and tidal wave of 1991, her regime managed to recover the economy programs.

1.3 Failures:

- ❖ Lack of administrative experience of the Ministers. They showed hesitancy in making decisions which allowed the government to be criticized.
- ❖ Failed to contain curbing terrorism in the University Campuses and administrative corruption as the parliamentary committees and sub-committees were operationally ineffective.
- ❖ Not being able to reason with the opposition party which led to the boycott of the parliament by other parties.
- ❖ Allegation of vote rigging in Magura by-elections in 1994 which paved the way for the demand of a Neutral Caretaker Government.

Sixth Parliament Elections: BNP Won

Held on 15 February, 1996. All other major parties boycotted the elections and BNP got two-third majority and could now bring constitutional changes. But only 20 percent voters turned to vote. As a result, after passing the thirteenth amendment (CTG), the sixth parliament was dissolved in March 1996.

Seventh Parliament Elections: AL Won

Under the caretaker government the seventh parliament elections took place on 23 June, 1996 & AL emerged victorious with 146 seats with the support of JP and JSD. BNP won 116 seats & became the single largest opposition party in the seventh parliament. AL created a “Consensus” Cabinet of 44 members.

2. First Regime of Sheikh Hasina (1996-2001)

The Hasina regime completed its term in 2001, the first regime in history of Bangladesh to do so.

2.1 Challenges:

- Political: A series of boycotts of Parliament by BNP parliamentarians took place. BNP was a formidable opponent as they held 116 seats.
- Economical: Maintaining the economic growth was a great challenge. Savings and investments declination, downward share price index forced the government to restructure certain agencies.
- Ganges Water Sharing Treaty: The government had to take effective measures to ensure the signing of the Treaty with India on 12 December, 1996 which ensured Bangladesh's right over the Ganges Water.
- Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord: The government had to put an end to the two-decades of bloody conflicts between the government and the tribal rebels of Chittagong Hill Tracts known as the Shantibahini through signing a Peace Accord with Parbatta Chittagong Jono Sanghati Samiti (PCJSS) on 2 December, 1997.
- Ensuring Law and Order: Ensuring law and order became a tough challenge during this regime as there was much corruption and terrorism.

2.2 Successes:

- ✓ Foreign investments increased considerably.
- ✓ Agricultural sector marked all time high growth rate in 1997.
- ✓ Bangladesh's right over the Ganges Water was established through signing a Treaty with India.
- ✓ Two decades of bloody conflicts between the government and the shantibahini ended due to the signing of the Peace Treaty.
- ✓ It was the first government to complete its term.

2.3 Failures:

- ❖ Country's domestic savings and gross national savings declined.
- ❖ All sectors except agricultural sector declined considerably.
- ❖ Stock market got bogged down because of its faulty policy.
- ❖ Free style crimes, corruptions and favoritism increased significantly.
- ❖ The University campuses and residential halls became safe haven for the terrorists and hijackers.

Eighth Parliament Elections: BNP led 4-Party Alliance won

Was held on 1 October, 2001, under the governance of the Caretaker Government. BNP led 4-party alliance bagged 214 seats. BNP alone won 191 seats. AL won 62 seats. BNP alliance again received the majority. Begum Khaleda Zia was sworn in for the second time as the Prime Minister and formed a "Jumbo" Cabinet of 60 Members with 13 State and 2 Deputy Ministers.

3. Second Regime of Begum Khaleda Zia (2001-2006)

3.1 Challenges:

- Law and Order: Effective measures had to be taken to improve the fast deteriorating condition of law and order. Violation of human rights, extra-judicial murders had to be controlled.
- The Sluggish Economy: The declination of economy from the past regime was tackled to some extent.
- Terrorism and Corruption: Terrorism and corruption had to be dealt with firm hands but the government failed miserably.
- Political: The government faced continuous boycotts from the AL MPs. Professor Dr. Iajuddin Ahmed who was sworn in as the seventh president of Bangladesh, was not welcomed by AL.

3.2 Successes:

- ✓ Abrogation of the infamous Public Safety Act was a noteworthy success.
- ✓ Formation of Rapid Action Battalion (RAB).
- ✓ The government succeeded in developing the economy to some extent.

3.3 Failures:

- ❖ The violation of 'Human Rights' or sending of opposition workers under the bar increased.
- ❖ The cases of extra judicial killings increased alarmingly.
- ❖ Among the corruption-ridden countries of the Globe, the regime topped the list of the corruption which is a great shame for us.
- ❖ The government failed miserably to contain terrorism. Islamist militant groups such as Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami (HUJIB) & Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen rose in many parts of the country and unleashed a reign of terror.

Ninth Parliament Elections: AL led “Grand Alliance” Won

The elections were originally scheduled to be held in January, 2007 but it was ultimately held on 29 December, 2008. Awami League led “Grand-Alliance” secured 263 seats in which AL alone won 230 seats. BNP won only 30 seats and Jamaat-e-Islami bagged only 2 seats. AL came up with the brilliant concept ‘Digital Bangladesh’ which proved to be highly accepted. A Cabinet of 31 members was formed.

4. Second Regime of Sheikh Hasina (2009-2014)

4.1 Challenges:

- Law and Order: The mismanagement of the previous regimes had to be stopped.
- Terrorism: The government had to deal with the terrorist issues very seriously.
- Ensuring Justice for Bangabandhu: Proper punishments were ensured to the coup makers and killers of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.
- Ensuring Proper Judgement of the War Criminals: The government established the International Crimes Tribunal (ICT) in 2010 with a view to bringing the war criminals under justice.
- BDR Mutiny: Within a month of assuming power, the regime faced a serious challenge in the form of BDR Mutiny. 74 people including 57 military officers were killed. The government showed restraint and brought the rebellion to an end through negotiations.
- Digital Bangladesh: One of the principle promises during the elections, was digitalizing Bangladesh through the flourish of Information and communication technology.
- Padma Bridge: As promised in the elections manifesto, effective measures had to be taken to construct Padma Bridge.

4.2 Successes:

- ✓ During this regime Bangladesh became a role model in few sectors.
- ✓ Many infrastructure and development projects were initiated.
- ✓ The judgement of the war criminals were initiated.
- ✓ Handled the BDR Mutiny very carefully.
- ✓ The killers of Bangabandhu were punished.
- ✓ The way for 'Digital Bangladesh' was paved through amazing developments of technology & communication.

4.3 Failures:

- ❖ Lost control over its unruly supporters who were mostly engaged in tender-trading, terrorism, corruption, hijacking, kidnapping etc.
- ❖ The concept of 'Caretaker Government' was thrown out by passing the Fifteenth Amendment of the constitution which resulted in BNP not participating in the Tenth Parliament elections.
- ❖ Not being able to suppress terrorist activities.
- ❖ The construction of Padma Bridge was interrupted due to the massive corruption.

Lecture 09

Constitution of Bangladesh: Draft, Basic Features and Amendments

History:

- After the 1970 elections, the National Assembly was supposed to function as the Constituent Assembly.
- After independence the first Constituent Assembly was held on 10 April, 1972.
- The Constitution was put into force on 16 December, 1972.
- The Constituent Assembly consisted of 34 members.
 - Led by Dr. Kamal Hossain
 - Senior party leaders who were in the Assembly: Syed Nazrul Islam, Tajuddin Ahmed, Mansur Ali, Kamaruzzaman and Khandaker Mushtaque Ahmed.
 - A member of the opposition, Suranjit Sengupta, was also a member.
 - Razia Banu was included as a female member.

Four Fundamental Principles of the Constitution:

1. Nationalism: It represents the assertion by the people of their identity.
 2. Democracy: It expresses the right of the people to govern themselves, the right of being included in politics.
 3. Secularism: It stands for the rejection of communalism in all its forms and of the abuse of religion for political purposes.
 4. Socialism: It reflects the commitment to create a just society, a society where there would be no exploitation.
- ❖ The first part of the constitution declares the existence of Bangladesh as a unitary, independent, sovereign republic known as the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

- ❖ The second part of the constitution declares nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism to be the fundamental principles of the state policy.

Salient Features of the Constitution of Bangladesh:

- ✓ It is a written constitution.
- ✓ It is a rigid constitution. Without the votes of two-thirds of the total number of parliament member, no amendment can be passed.
- ✓ Constitutional supremacy has been ensured in the constitution.
- ✓ Nationalism, Democracy, Secularism and Socialism are the four fundamental principles of the constitution.
- ✓ It contains 153 articles and 4 schedules. 16 amendments are made so far.

Important Articles:

Article 7: All powers in the Republic belong to the people, and that their exercise, on behalf of the people, would be affected only under, and by the authority of the Constitution.

Article 8: Article 8 provides the four major fundamental principles of state policy which are **nationalism, democracy, secularism and socialism**.

Article 48: The president shall, as the head of the state, take precedence over all other persons in the state.

Article 56: The president shall act in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister.

Article 70: If a member of the parliament, who is nominated by a particular political party, will have to vacate his seat in the parliament if he-

- I. Resigns from his party. Or,
- II. Votes in the parliament against the party; but shall not thereby be disqualified for subsequent election as a member of Parliament.

Important Amendments:

Amendment	Passing Date	Important Statements
4 th	25 January, 1975	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential form of government introduced. 2. A one party system known as BKSAL instead of a multi-party system was introduced. 3. The judiciary lost its independence. 4. Extended the term of first Jatiya Sangsad.
5 th	6 April, 1979	All constitutional changes made between 15 August, 1975 and 9 April, 1979 by any Proclamation or Proclamation order of the Martial law Authorities had been validly made and would not be called in question in or before any court or tribunal or authority on any ground whatsoever.
8 th	7 June, 1988	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Declared Islam as the State religion. 2. Amended the word 'Bengali' into Bangla' and 'Dacca' into 'Dhaka'. 3. The Judiciary was decentralized. 4. Accepting any awards, title or honours from any foreign state is prohibited without the approval of the President.
12 th Most Important Landmark	6 August, 1991	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parliamentary form of government re-introduced. 2. Post of Vice-President was abolished. 3. President became the constitutional head and the Prime Minister became the executive head.
13 th	26 March, 1996	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A non-party caretaker government introduced. 2. The caretaker government, comprising the Chief Adviser and not more than 10 other advisers, would be collectively responsible to the President.
14 th	16 May, 2004	The retirement age of the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Auditor General, the Chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission (PSC) was raised.

Amendment	Passing Date	Important Statements
15 th	30 June, 2011	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Caretaker system abolished.2. Elections to be held under incumbent cabinet3. Islam as the state religion and Bismillah-Ar-Rahman-Ar-Rahim retained.4. Revival of article 12 to restore Secularism and freedom of religion.5. Basic provisions of the constitution are not amendable.6. The people of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangalees as nation and citizens of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangladeshis.7. Increasing the number of women reserve seats to 50 from existing 45.
16 th	17 September, 2014	To abolish the existing Supreme Judicial Council headed by the chief justice.

Logics Behind the 16th Amendment:

Article 7 of the constitution says that people are the source of all power. Therefore, the judges should also be accountable to people through legislature, which is elected by the people. Because the legislature can remove the President, the Prime Minister and Speaker of the Jatiya Sangsad, but not the judges of the Supreme Court.

****BKSAL= Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League**

PSC= Public Service Commission

Lecture 10

Public Administration in Bangladesh

Public administration means the management of affairs by public bodies.

Branches of Government:

There are three branches of government-

1. The Executive
2. The Legislature
3. The Judiciary.

Power Players/Actors of the Government:

Five power players/actors exist in a government. They are-

1. The Executive
2. The Legislature
3. The Judiciary
4. The Services of Bangladesh
5. The People.

1. The Executive:

The Prime Minister, the President, the Cabinet of Ministers and Secretary are the executives.

- **Prime Minister** is the executive head of the cabinet of ministers. Responsibilities of PM are:
 - Can constitute a ministry of one or more division whenever necessary.
 - Can anytime request a minister to resign or advise the President to terminate the appointment of that minister.

- **President** is the constitutional head of the state but has no executive power. Responsibilities of President are:
 - The President shall make rules for the allocation and transaction of business of Government. In reality, the orders are issued in the name of the President but PM is the one calling the shots.
 - The President can anytime terminate the appointment of a minister on the advice of the PM.
 - The President can issue a proclamation of emergency and ordinance due to being threatened by war or external aggression or internal disturbance.
- **Cabinet** is the group of Ministers. They are the political head of the ministry. There are three types of ministers: Full Cabinet Ministers, State ministers and Deputy Ministers. The ministers who are not MPs are called Technocratic Ministers. Responsibility of the cabinet is:
 - The Ministers are responsible for conducting the business of his/her Ministry/Division.
- **Secretary** is the administrative head of the ministry division. Technically he is not responsible to any body under The Rules of Business (ROB). Responsibilities of the Secretary are:
 - He shall keep the Minister informed of the working of the ministry.
 - Conducts the business assigned to him.

[Note: Therefore, even though the head of the Ministry Division is the Minister, Secretary does all the executive works. But Minister will be responsible for the business for his ministry.]

2. The Legislature:

Members of the Parliament (350), Committees, Ombudsman and Auditor General are the legislatures.

- **The members of the parliament** are elected by the people. Their responsibilities are:
 - Having oversight on public administration.
 - Making rules and regulations, bye-laws or other instruments having legislative effect.

- Types of **Committees** we have according to the constitution:

A public accounts committee, committee of privileges; and such other standing committees as the rulers of procedure of Parliament require.

The Parliament in Bangladesh has three types of committees:

Standing committee, select committee and special committee.

Responsibilities of Standing Committee:

- Examine draft bills and other legislative proposals.
- Review the enforcement of laws and propose such measures for enforcement.
- Maintain a bridge between the legislature and the executive branch.
- Inquiring into any activity or irregularity and serious complaint in respect of the Ministry.

[Note: Standing Committee Members (SCMs) are the only liaison between Parliament and the Ministers.]

- **Ombudsman (Nhaypal in Bangla)** originated in Sweden. 'Ombud' means one who acts as a spokesman or representative of another person. Ombudsman is a government official appointed to receive and investigate complaints made by individuals against abuses of capricious acts of public officials. 40 countries in the world have adopted Ombudsman under different names. His responsibilities are:
 - Investigate any action taken by the ministry.
 - Prepare an annual report and place it before Parliament.
 - Receive and investigate complaints made by individuals against abuses of capricious acts of public officials.
- **Auditor General** has the power to overview public expenditure. His responsibilities are:
 - Provides proper scrutiny of the government expenditure and bureaucratic decisions.
 - Audits public accounts of the republic and all authorities of the government.

Local Government:

As local government units we have: Zila Parishads (64), Upazila Parishads (488), Union Parishads (4,553), City Corporations (11), Municipalities (323).

Responsibilities:

- Administration and work of public officers.
- Maintenance of Public work and implementation of plans.

3. The Judiciary:

The Judiciary consists of the supreme court of Bangladesh comprising the Appellate Division and the High Court Division. The Chief Justice and Judges appointed to the Appellate Division sit only in that division and the other Judges sit only in the High Court Division. Responsibilities of this division are:

- Practise Judicial Function.
- Ensuring fundamental rights.
- Safeguard the equality of law.
- Review any judgement pronounced if necessary.

4. The Services of Bangladesh:

Civil servants, public servants, government officers, public officials and bureaucrats fall in this criteria.

Anyone who has a degree from any University of Bangladesh and passes the Bangladesh Civil Service Exam can become a Civil Servant.

Responsibility:

- Prepare and submit report of the performance office functions to the president.

5. The People:

By the term 'the people', the citizens of Bangladesh are meant. The people provide reason for the existence of all other power players. All the laws, rules, policies, programmes are intended to provide goods and services to the people. The people are the final judge and the jury who decide whether the same government should continue or not.

Responsibilities:

- Pay taxes.
- Elect public representative.
- Follow the law and order.

Constitutional Posts:

These are the people who cannot be fired so that they can work in an unbiased manner.

- The President
- The Supreme Court
- The Chief Election Commissioner
- The Public Service Commission
- The Comptroller and the Auditor General.

Lecture 12

State of Good Governance in Bangladesh: Characteristics and Problems

Governance: Governance means the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented.

Good Governance: The balance among powerful state, rule of law and accountability is Good Governance.

In order to create a powerful state but not too powerful, we need to bring in two concepts:

Rule of Law and Accountability.

Core Components of Good Governance:

There are four components of good governance. These are:

1. Accountability
2. Transparency
3. Predictability
4. Participation

- **Accountability:** Accountability is the capacity to call officials to account for their actions. Effective accountability has two components: Answerability and Consequences.

Answerability is the requirement to respond periodically to questions concerning one's actions.

Consequences should be predictable and meaningful to ensure that powerful people do not violate the laws. Without consequences, accountability is only a time consuming formality.

- **Transparency:** Transparency means low cost access to relevant information. Reliable and timely economic information is a must for the public. The information must not only be provided but also be relevant and understandable.
- **Predictability:** Predictability means the fair and consistent application of laws and implementation of government policies. The punishment for violating laws should be same for all. No person should be prioritized for being in a powerful position.
- **Participation:** Participation refers to the involvement of the citizens in development process. Participation in government can be promoted by:
 - Encouraging the participation of project beneficiaries and affected groups
 - Improving the interface between the public and private sectors
 - Using NGOs as vehicles for mobilizing and reaching project beneficiaries.

Other Components/Indicators of Good Governance:

Rule of Law: Those who make the law, better not think themselves above the law. In other words, no one is above the law.

Responsiveness: Institutions and process try to serve all stakeholders.

Consensus Orientation: Good governance requires meditation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is the best interest of whole community and how this can be achieved.

Equality: All men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being.

Effectiveness and Efficiency: Good governance means that process and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal.

Strategic Vision: Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical cultural and social complexities in what that perspective is grounded.

Components of Poor Governance:

Poor governance is characterized by these components:

1. Arbitrary Policy Making System
 2. Unaccountable Bureaucracy
 3. Unenforced or Unjust Legal System
 4. The Abuse of Political Power
 5. No Bridge Between the Civil Society and the Public Like
 6. Corruption.
- **Arbitrary Policy Making System:** This system never allows people's participation or their right to choose what they actually need.
 - **Unaccountable Bureaucracy:** Accountability is never found in poor governance.
 - **Unenforced or Unjust Legal System:** If justice is delayed, it is also denied. This type of legal system can never offer a remedy to the aggrieved person rather it creates unrest in the society.
 - **The Abuse of Political Power:** In poor governance, the political leaders always interfere in matters where they are not supposed to.
 - **No Bridge Between the Civil Society and the Public Like:** In poor governance, the civil society remains indifferent to the public.
 - **Corruption:** Corruption is the outcome of poor governance. Poor governance creates opportunities for corruption.

Question: Discuss the status of Bangladesh regarding Good Governance. Or, why has Bangladesh not been able to establish good governance?

Answer:

Considering some facts, it can be said that Bangladesh is facing poor governance. The facts are stated below:

- **Lack of Political Accountability:** Accountability is a part and parcel for good governance. In Bangladesh, there is lack of accountability in various sectors. **According to World Bank report on accountability, Bangladesh scored 29.3 whereas India scored 60.6 (World Bank, 2003).** It shows that Bangladesh has a lot to work on the accountability of the government officials.

These factors have shaped poor accountability in Bangladesh:

- **Dominant Executive:** Political institution building in Bangladesh over the years undoubtedly indicates that the executives have become too powerful.
 - **Weak Legislature:** The legislature division of Bangladesh is weak as majority of the legislatures are inexperienced. Secondly, the government is reluctant to subject itself or its plans to debate. Thirdly, the opposition party members oppose everything that do not serve their best interest.
- **Lack of Bureaucratic Accountability:** Accountability has a relationship with a job performance of any public officer. Although government officials are expected to be accountable to the public for all actions they take, but it does not happen in Bangladesh. Public are not strong enough to question government officials. On the other hand the transparency in decision making is very low.
 - **Nature and Character of Political Parties:** Political parties have significantly contributed to the decay of politics in our country. They have not been able to lead the people at crucial times.

- **Lack of Effective and Efficient Judiciary:** The Judiciary was supposed to establish accountability and rule of law. But lately in Bangladesh, the Judiciary has been inaccessible to the people. Often judicial interventions are too delayed. The Judiciary was also supposed to be independent. In Bangladesh, the lower courts, particularly the judicial magistrates are under the command of Deputy Commissioners (DCs).
- **Lack of Credibility of the Electoral System:** The electoral system of Bangladesh have often been questionable as many elections have been rigged and manipulated in the past in local, sub-national and national level.
- **Absence of Advocacy Role of Civil Society:** The citizens have not able to play vital role in influencing public policies and shaping behavior and actions of civil servants. Even their advocacy roles have been limited to holding meetings and organizing seminars with no follow up actions to determine the impact and recommendations.
- **Ineffective Local Government Structure:** There is no effective local government with capacity and resources to provide the public services.
- **Corruption:** It is one of the major roadblocks towards good governance. Transparency International (TI) rated Bangladesh as the most corrupt nation of the world in 2001 report. Bangladesh have continued to retain this unwanted position in the 2004 Transparency International Report. According to World Bank report on control of corruption, Bangladesh scored 7.7 whereas India scored 49.5 and Pakistan 29.9. Out of 79 countries Bangladesh stood 76th (World Bank, 2003).

Question: What are the measures Government of Bangladesh needs to take to be rated as good governance?

Answer:

To be rated as good governance, Government of Bangladesh has to ensure the following things:

1. Political parties need to practice the culture of democracy.
2. Citizen's awareness will have to be created about their rights and responsibilities.
3. People from all walks of life should be accountable.
- 4. Rule of law must be established.**
5. Existing law must be applied neutrally against every individual.
6. Civil society members need to be united and vocal about any kind of mismanagement or injustice.
7. Participatory budget planning should be introduced as early as possible.
- 8. Local government should be strengthened.**
9. The government must ensure people's safety.
10. Providing education to mass people to increase public awareness against social problems.
11. Gender inequality should not exist. Female education should be encouraged.
- 12. Appointment of Ombudsman and accountability of newspaper and mass media need to be ensured.**
13. New industries should be set up to solve unemployment problem.
- 14. Development project planning and management must be pragmatic and sustainable. Transparency should be ensured for the expenses and the project implementers should be made accountable for any mismanagement and misuse.**
15. Information technology should be incorporated for participating in the tender.
16. A radical change will have to be brought about in the state system. The gap between rich and poor must be reduced.

Lecture 14 & 15

Development Concepts & Sector Wise Development and Progress of the MDGs

Development Concepts:

- Modernization
- Elimination of Dependency
- Increased Welfare and Human Development.

Modernization:

In 1940s and 1950s, there were widespread conceptions of development as a process of modernization. Industrialization is the key to modernization. A country cannot become a modern country without industrialization. The traditional agrarian societies turned into industrialized societies which ultimately helped them become modern societies.

Problem with Modernization Theory: The modernization theory was not a universal theory. It was a western theory. It did not take realities of other societies into consideration.

Elimination of Dependency:

This theory became popular in the early 1960s. The dependency theory states that the developing countries can never be as developed as the Western countries due to their dependent relationship. Unless they stop being dependent, they can never catch up with the Western countries. Because they would allow the developing countries to develop but only to a certain extent and in the mean time they would exploit the developing countries.

Difference Between Underdevelopment and Underdevelopment:

Underdevelopment means a place where no development has taken place. But there is a potential that development may take place in the future.

Underdevelopment means a place where some sort of development has taken place but this development is somewhat distorted or unorganized. This created two different classes of people. The group of people who were touched by modernization and a tiny group of people who were deprived of the modernization. This situation is called **Dualism**.

Increased Welfare and Human Development:

Prominent economists such as Amartya Sen, Paul Streeten, Mahbub ul Huq and others believed that development should not only be calculated or regarded on the basis of the increase of income. Increased income should only be regarded as a means to improve human development, not as an end. The end is human development. We can measure 'Human Development Index (HDI)' by considering these indicators-

1. The longevity
2. The opportunity to acquire knowledge
3. The opportunity to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs):

These development goals were expected to be achieved by 2015.

- Goal 1.** Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger.
- Goal 2.** Achieve Universal Primary Education.
- Goal 3.** Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women.
- Goal 4.** Reduce Child Mortality.
- Goal 5.** Improve Maternal Health.
- Goal 6.** Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases.
- Goal 7.** Ensure Environmental Sustainability.
- Goal 8.** Develop a Global Partnership for Development.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs):

These sustainable development goals are expected to be achieved by 2030.

Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere.

Goal 2: End hunger, achieve food security and adequate nutrition for all people and promote sustainable agriculture.

Goal 3: Attain healthy life for all at all ages

Goal 4: Provide equitable and inclusive quality education and life-long learning opportunity for all.

Goal 5: Attain gender equality, empower women and girls everywhere.

Goal 6: Secure water and sanitation for all for a sustainable world.

Goal 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable and sustainable modern energy services for all.

Goal 8: Promote strong, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and decent work for all.

Goal 9: Promote sustainable industrialization.

Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries.

Goal 11: Build inclusive, safe and sustainable cities and human settlements.

Goal 12: Promote sustainable consumption and production patterns.

Goal 13: Promote actions at all levels to address climate change.

Goal 14: Attain conservation and sustainable use of marine resources, oceans and seas.

Goal 15: Protect and restore terrestrial ecosystems and halt all biodiversity loss.

Goal 16: Achieve peaceful and inclusive societies, rule of law, effective and capable institutions.

Goal 17: Strengthen and enhance the means of implementation and global partnership for sustainable development.

Sector Wise Development

Question: What are the developments in the Health sector over the years? Explain your answer with relevant statistics and special reference to the MDGs.

Answer:

There have been drastic developments in the health sector over the years. The developments are stated below:

After the liberation of the country, successive governments of BD have attempted to develop the health system initially through the public provision. The health system mainly included traditional healers and other informal and unqualified providers.

In 1979 the government had established its Expanded Program of immunization to fight vaccine-preventable morbidity and mortality- an initiative that was praised by UNICEF for its significant achievements.

e.g: Neo-natal deaths due to tetanus had dropped from 41 out of 1000 live births in 1986 to 2.3 out of 1000 by 2000.

In 1990 the government launched a national level primary health care policy to equip each Union with either a union sub Center of a Health and Family welfare Center to provide a health complex for every upazila and General Hospital facility for each district.

By 1995 over 40% of unions and rural Upazila had these facilities.

In 1998, the national health policy that was established produced a large scale Health and Population Sector programme (HPSP) that aimed to put a full time doctor and nurse in each HFWC, constructing 13,000 community clinics and developing means to ensure proper primary health and reproductive health services and controlling population growth (2 children per couple).

By 2000 due to contributions from the public sector and also private sector providers NGOs and philanthropic initiatives there were 2.5 Times as many hospitals as in the mid 1980s.

Along with this the number of doctors increased from 102 to 241 per million people. (Osmani 2006)

There has been a massive growth of public health care provision over the years: While in 1980, there were 510 government hospitals and only 39 private hospitals. In 1998 there were 626 private hospitals and clinics and 647 government hospitals.

Bangladesh have met great results in achieving the Millennium Development Goals related to health sector. There are 3 MDGs relate to health:

Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality

The under 5 mortality rate which was 151/1000 live births in 1990 came down to 41/1000 in 2013. The infant mortality rate came down to 94/1000 live births in 1990 to 32/1000 in 2013. Thus Bangladesh almost achieved this MDG goal ahead of time. Successful programs for immunization, control of diarrheal diseases and vitamin A supplementation are the most significant contributors in declining child and infant deaths.

Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health

According to BD Maternal Mortality Survey (BMMS), maternal mortality declined from 322 in 2001 to 194 in 2010, a 40% decline in 9 years, a rate grater than the average annual rate of reduction required for MDG achievement in 2015. Furthermore, in the last 2 decades, the overall population of births attended by skilled health personnel increased by more than 8 times.

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases

Prevalence of HIV/AIDS in BD is less than 0.1% and is still below an epidemic level. Significant developments have been made in fighting Malaria. Not only have deaths been reduced but also prevalence of malaria per 1000 thousand people have gone down from 776.9 in 2008 to 433.9 in 2014. The target to administer 90% of children under 5 with fever with anti-malaria drugs was achieved by 2014, ahead of the stipulated time.

Question: What are the Economic Growths Bangladesh faced over the years? Explain your answer with relevant statistics.

Answer:

After the liberation war, the economy of Bangladesh was completely devastated. But with effective measures taken by the various governments that came into power afterwards, the economy of Bangladesh saw significant growth almost in all her sectors. Some of these sectors include:

1. Agriculture
2. Infrastructure
3. Energy
4. Garments
5. Remittance
6. Shrimp

Agriculture:

It has four sub-sectors:

‘Crops & horticulture’, ‘Animal husbandry’, ‘Forestry’ and ‘Fisheries’.

Rice is the dominant crop of Bangladesh. The other main food grown is wheat, which has grown in popularity among growers since the 1970s, aided by new high-yielding varieties (HYVs) and boro irrigation facilities.

Rice production had increased from an average twelve million tons per year during the 1970s to eighteen million tons per year by the 1990s.

By 2000, agriculture was contributing 25.5 percent to the GDP, and the country was close to achieving food self-sufficiency.

Jute, an export crop grown in Bangladesh was second after rice on the basis of importance. But its importance as a global commodity has been in steady decline since 1960s, when close to 80 percent of global jute production came from Bangladesh. From 1973 to 1974, out of total export earnings of US\$454 million, a total of US\$378 million came from a combination of raw jute and jute manufactures. (Rashid 2005)

Infrastructure:

There has been considerable improvement in metal roads in 1980s.

Navigation of waterways has made life easier. It has increased people's physical access to almost every sub district.

Construction of new bridges like - 4.8 km long "Jamuna Bridge" and "Padma Bridge". The Jamuna bridge cost 750 billion dollars.

The country's telecommunication network, which was costly and inefficient, was superseded by new mobile-phone technologies from the mid 1990s onwards.

Energy:

The energy sector has also faced some significant change in the early 1970s. By 1977, half the country's electricity was produced using natural gas, and this had risen to 89 percent of electricity by the end of 1990s. By 2009, 45 percent of households had an electricity connection. The low level contribution of the electricity sector to the GDP had remained more or less constant for the decade, from 1.27 percent in 2001-2002 to 1.35 percent in 2006-2007. (Hossain 2005)

Garments:

In 1990 Bangladesh was exporting 0.64 billion dollar worth of garments per year, which increased to 4.68 billion by 2001 and 11 billion by 2009. This industry employs nearly two and a half million people of which nearly 90 percent are women. Bangladeshi garments are 40 to 100 percent cheaper than Chinese counterparts in European markets and 30 to 70 percent cheaper in US markets.

Shrimp:

The second export growth area has been shrimp. In 1993, the government began the promotion of semi-intensive shrimp farming. Between 1993 and 1994 and then between 1994 and 1995, the value of fish and shrimp exports increased by 30 percent. By 2005 to 2006, the fisheries sector was contributing 4.9 percent to Bangladesh's GDP and represented 4.4 percent of the country's export.

Remittance:

The third area of international economic integration is the remittance economy. The past ten years saw a rapid growth to remittance, which increased from 3 percent of the GDP in 1995 to close to 9.5 percent in 2009.

With the economic growth, Bangladesh was able to achieve the First Millennium Development Goal.

Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger

Bangladesh has made commendable progress in respect of eradication of poverty and hunger. Bangladesh has already met one of the indicators of target-1 by bringing down the poverty gap ratio to 6.5 against 2015 target of 8.0. The estimated figures suggest that MDG targets of having the population living below the poverty line has been achieved well ahead by 2012.

Suggestions For Viva

Lecture- 1 and 2

- **Explain the Frontiers**
- **Explain Matsyanyayam**
- Who put an end to Matsyanyayam? –Gopala.
- **State the Characteristics or differences of Pala and Sena Dynasty**
- State few notable rulers of Pala Dynasty- Gopala, Dharmapala, Ramapala.
- State few notable rulers of Sena Dynasty- Vijayasena, Vallalasena, Laksmanasena.
- Who was the first ruler of Pala dynasty? – Gopala.
- Who was the first ruler of Sena dynasty? – Vijayasena.
- Who was the last significant ruler of Pala dynasty?- Rampala.
- Who was the last ruler of Sena dynasty?- Laksmanasena.
- Who ended the rule of Sena Dynasty? – Ikhtiyar-ud-Din bin Bakhtiyar Khalji.
- **Explain Firuz Shah Dynasty and Hussain Shahi Dynasty [pg 62-64]**
- Who was Sher Shah Sur? Explain Karrani Dynasty [pg 65]
- Who was the last independent Nawab of Bengal? – Sirajuddaulah
- When was the battle of Plassey held? - 23rd June, 1757.
- Reasons behind nawab's loss

Lecture- 3

- **Explain the dual system. Who introduced it and when?**
- **Reasons and consequences of Great Famine of 1770.**
- **Features and outcomes of Permanent settlement act.**
- Name and places of production of the Cash crops.
- Explain Bhadrak class of people.

- Explain **Titumir's revolt**, Sepoy mutiny, Blue mutiny and santal rebellion.

Lecture- 4

- **When the first partition was held? -1905**
- Explain Reasons behind the first partition.
- Explain Divide and Rule policy.
- **Explain Swadeshi movement and Bengal Terrorism.**
- When and why was the first partition annulled?
- **Reasons and Consequences of the Famine of 1943.**
- **Lahore Resolution.**
- **Two nation theory.**

Lecture- 5

- Everything about language movement.
- Which parties did United Front consist of?
- Why was United front formed?
- **Features of the first constitution of Pakistan (1956)**
- **First martial law.**
- **Features of the second constitution of Pakistan (1962)**
- Indo Pakistan war of 1965.
- **Six points demand.**
- **Explain Agartala conspiracy case. Where is Agartala? – In Tripura, India.**
- **Second martial law.**
- **BDO and LFO.**
- Results of the Election of 1970.
- State some of the targeted areas in the operation searchlight. – Dhaka University, Rajarbag police lines, Shakhari bazar, East Pakistan rifles.

Lecture-6

- Why did India not go for a military solution initially in the liberation war?
- Names of the PM, President, Vice president of the government-in-exile.
- Who was the commander in chief of the liberation armed force?
- **Explain Teliapara Document.**
- **How many sectors were there? -11.**
- **Which sector was the naval sector? -10.**
- Leaders of the Z, K and S force.
- Regular Units in the liberation war- Mukti bahini
- Irregular Units- Kaderia and other unorganized forces.
- Explain Mukti, Mujib and Kaderia bahini.
- Was the teliapara strategy successful?
- Who surrendered on behalf of Pakistan army on 16 dec, 1971? Where? With how many soldiers? - General Niazi; Ramna race course in Dacca, 93000 soldiers.

Lecture-7

- **Challenges, achievements and negative sides of Sheikh Mujib's regime, Ziaur Rahman's regime, Hussain Muhammad Ershad's regime.**
- Similarities and differences between Zia regime and Ershad regime.
- Constitutional changes made by Sheikh Mujib, Zia and Ershad.

Lecture- 8

- Important achievements of Sheikh Hasina & Khaleda Zia regimes.

Lecture- 9

- **Four fundamental principles of the constitution- Secularism, Socialism, Nationalism and Democracy.**
- **What do understand by Secularism, Socialism, Nationalism and Democracy?**
- **History of the constitution.**
 - Constitutional assembly formed on - 10 April, 1972.
 - Constitution was put into force on – 16 December, 1972.
 - How many members were in the assembly- 34.
 - Who were the senior AL members- Tajuddin Ahmed, Syed Nazrul Islam, Kamaruzzaman.
 - Who was the female member- Razia Banu.
 - Who was a member from opposition party- Suranjit Sengupta.
- **Article 7 and 70 of the constitution.**
- **Important Amendments- 4, 5, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16.**
- **Which amendments were made in which regimes?**

Lecture- 10

- **Five power players/actors on public administration- The Executive, The Legislature, The Judiciary, The Services of Bangladesh & The people.**
- **How many types of committees are in the parliament of Bangladesh? – 3; Standing, Select and Special.**
- **Explain the responsibilities of the standing committee. [pg-369]**
- **Constitutional Posts- President, The Supreme court, Election commission, The public service commission and the controller and Auditor.**
- **The Ombudsman case [pg- 372]**
- **Role of PM and the President.**

- **Who is the current constitutional head of the state? – President Abdul Hamid.**
- **Who is the current executive head of the state?- PM Sheikh Hasina.**
- **Who is the current Speaker and the Chief Justice?**
- **How many seats are there in the parliament? How many reserved seats are there for women?**

Lecture-12

- **What are governance, good governance and poor governance?**
- **Components of good governance.**
- **Components of poor governance.**
- **What is the rule of law?**

Lecture- 14 and 15

- **Development concepts – Modernization, Dependency and Human Development.**
- **MDG and SDG.**
 - **Full forms- Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals.**
 - **How many are there? – 8 MDG and 17 SDG.**
 - **Time period- MDG (2001-2015) and SDG (upto 2030)**
 - **Memorize all the MDG and some of the SDG.**
- **HDI- Human Development Index.**
 - **Indicators of HDI- Longevity, Education, and Opportunity of access to resources through one can lead a decent life.**