

An Analytical Study of Conflict and Democracy in Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

Bangladesh (East Pakistan during 1947-71) is an important country of South Asia. In 1971, a civil war broke out in East Pakistan and resultantly it became an independent country. In the start, the ruling power of the country was transferred to Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman, the most prominent leader of that time in Bangladesh. After coming in power he introduced some amendments in constitution according to his own will. He also used an ethnic policy against the Pro-Pakistanis who were residing in Bangladesh that time. This led to a long military rule that was initiated by Zia ur Rehman. With the passage of time, the democratic rule revived in 1990 when both of the major political parties of Bangladesh decided to form a caretaker government to hold the general elections. The caretaker government played important role in the formation and smooth process of Bangladesh democracy. But the current ruling government has dismissed the intervention of caretaker government by 15th amendment in constitution. In the current scenario of democracy in Bangladesh there are many drawbacks which explain that the true spirit of democracy is not being applied in the country. Secondary or document analysis technique is adopted in current study. Researchers tried to explore the critical findings of Bangladeshi democracy.

Key Words: **Democracy, Good Governance, Bangladesh Awami League, Bangladesh National Party**

Introduction

Good governance is a determinant of societal well-being that has become a part of the development institutions and used in various national, global, institutional and local level contexts. The subject matter of good governance is democratic system, crisis prevention and service delivery. Local governance system is key feature of good governance (Islam & Haque, 2015).

The most widely accepted and desirable form of governance is democracy. In South Asian countries democratic governance is in dire need of vigilant scrutiny. During last two decades parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh analytically raised many questions about institutionalization of democratic governance and related problems using good governance framework. Deterioration of democratic rule and disruptive institutionalization raised the major question of coexistence of

democracy and good governance, this interrelationship is worth analyzing in the case of Bangladesh (Khan & Islam, 2014).

Conceptual Analysis

Democracy

Democracy is a form of Government which means “power of the people” derived from two Greek words “Demos (The people)” and “Kratos (Power)”. In this form of government, people rule over people. “Democracy is government of people, by the people, for the people. (Abraham Linclon)”. (Kapoor, 1993)

Seeley says,

“Democracy is a government in which everybody has a share” (Agarwal, 1991).

Democracy is the way of governance which allows people to select their representatives through direct intervention. Those representing agents formulate laws and policies to run the country on behalf of the public. Public select those government representors through vote but public hold authority in such form of government (Wolf, 2005).

In India during Buddhist Xriods----Vajji Singh and in ancient Greek states’ direct democracy was established in which people make laws in mass meeting to deal all public matters. Presently it is established only in four constituencies of Switzerland because this form of democracy could not be established in today’s large and complex societies (Hossain, 2003).

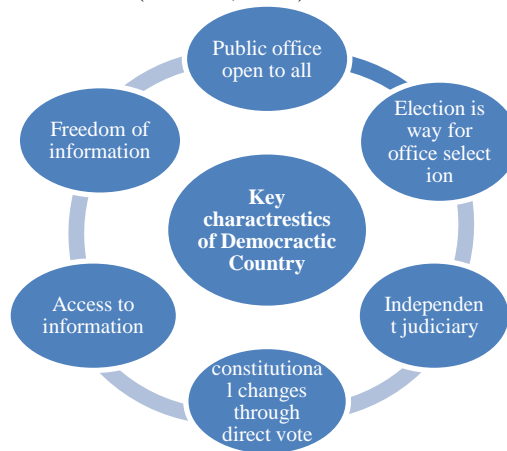


Figure No: 01 Key Characteristics of Democratic Country

Source: Prepared by the Researchers

As democracy is about majority, despite allowing everyone to become part of majority stream through open competition, minority become oppressed. In democratic system during election process money is important factor to get party affiliation/nomination and votes, so the rich get more chances to be representatives of the poor one in this system of government (Azad & Crothers, 2012).

Basic Principles of Democracy

Democracy is based on liberty and equality of citizens and it tolerates and encourages maximum criticism of the people. In democratic society there is no disparity among the people on the basis of caste, color, religion and position or status because for successful democratic setup socio-economic and political equality is essential. In a democracy, the government derives its power from the people because ultimate sovereignty belongs to the people. Fundamental rights are given to the people granted by the constitution of a country. Judiciary is responsible for the protection of fundamental rights and it is only possible in case of independent judiciary. Democracy pays special attention to the welfare of people (public) not to a specific class. Democracy needs a peaceful environment to develop successfully (Hossain, 2003).

Basic Conditions for Successful Democracy

For successful democracy basic condition is sound system of education because generally it is believed that education produces ideal students. For successful democracy awareness among the citizens about the fundamental rights and political awakening to elect their representative properly is essential. Democracy guarantees the citizens the freedom of expression, profession, religion and to form associations. There is need of free and fearless press to check autocratic activities of government. Another essential condition for successful democracy is the maintenance of law and order in society. In democracy the Prime Minister or the President cannot act arbitrarily but they have to find the solution of problems according to the wishes of the Parliament. These problems can be solved by the co-operation of the people (Agarwal, 1991).

Decentralization is an essential factor for successful democracy and it brings efficiency in the administration through division of power between the provinces and Centre. High moral standards (patriotism, discipline, self-control, honesty, payment of taxes and willing obedience to the laws of land) of the people and government are important for successful democracy. Economic and social security are essentials of democracy; provision of employment, shelter, clothing and food is responsibility of government. People are responsible to make democracy a success. In case of national crisis or foreign aggression people should join together despite the differences of religion, caste, language and provinces to preserve freedom of their country with spirit of sacrifice and devotion (Ahmed, 1995).

Independence of judiciary in a democratic system is necessary because it is guardian of the constitution and fundamental rights. Impartial, periodical and independent elections help in establishing faith of the opposition and people on a democracy. On contrary people and opposition try to change the government by a revolution (military or violent force). Political security is essential to make democracy a success. If democratic government is unable to protect the integrity

and sovereignty of the country at the time of foreign invasion people start feeling the need of dictatorship (Hossain, 2003).

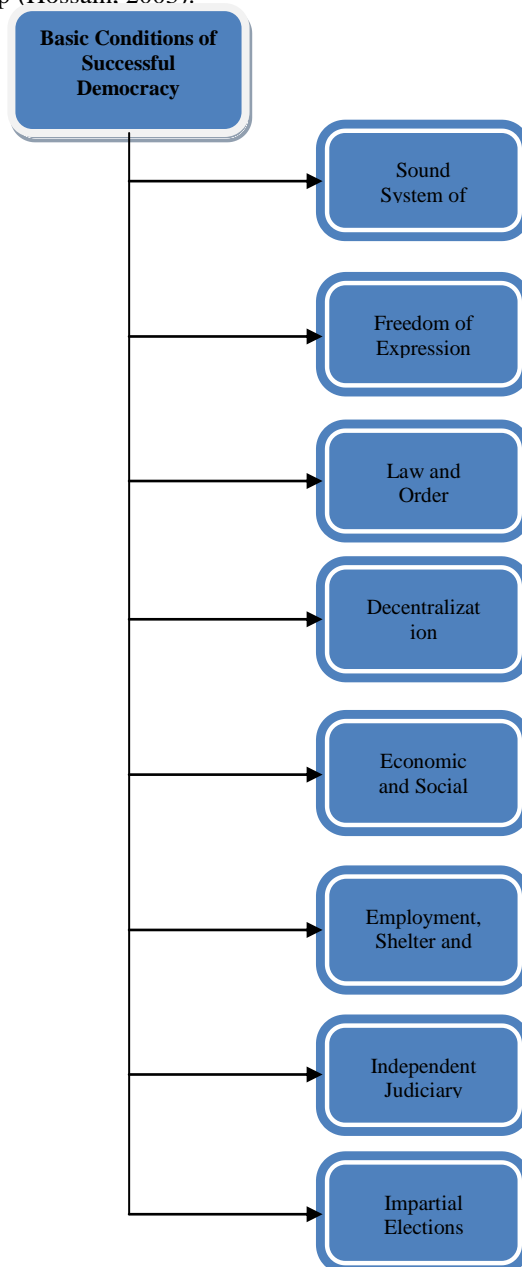


Figure No: 02 *Conditions for Successful Democracy*
Source: *Prepared by the Researchers*

Democracy in Bangladesh: An Overview

Bangladesh is striving hard to attain economic growth target and institutionalization of democratic order for development. So economy and democracy has to progress in parallel which is not an easy task with higher rate of poverty, starvation, malnutrition, and illiteracy. Democracy in Bangladesh has been in crisis since its inception in 1971. In the constitution 1972 of the country democratic rights of the people were secured. But unfortunately the first elected parliament changed the structure and role of fundamental law and country's political system in less than two years of their tenure. After dissolution of all political parties, country adopted one party monolithic structure. All newspapers were banned except only four state newspapers. Fundamental rights were suspended and the judiciary became the submissive of the executive branch (Ahmed, 1995).

Consecutive army interventions by Zia and Ershad (Military Leaders) deepened the crisis of democracy in Bangladesh. During Zia and Ershad regimes (1976-1990) all the laws and events were shaped according to personal needs which ignored the needs of nation and resulted in failure of economic progress. This long military rule also damaged the strength and structure of famous political parties. In these regimes, political parties with money power and no specific ideology were created as a democratic support to military ruler's elections. However, a popular man-movement knocked down Ershad regime in December 1990 (Khan & Islam, 2014).

In Bangladesh a new democratic journey started in search of constitutionalism through historic 5th parliamentary elections. In 1991 (after 16 years) country reverted again to parliamentary form of government by 12th amendment in constitution. This celebrated 5th parliament failed to complete its duration and dissolved under pressure of the opposition movements. The beginning of second parliamentary democracy seemed enthusiastic but the ruling BNP failed to make a positive constitutional and political development. Awami League the major opposition party boycotted the 5th parliament for not giving enough time for parliamentary negotiations. The ruling elite BNP run the parliament without opposition for long two years. The decision about election for 6th parliament by BNP government with few small parties without including major opposition party was a deliberate wrong act of government and showed the lack of political foresight resulted in only 7 days life of 6th parliament. This trend of political intolerance proved a challenge for development of constructive leadership in Bangladesh (Halim, 1998).

Interestingly, in elections of 7th parliament (supervised by care-taker government) majority voted for Awami League. Awami League Government (1996) practiced as previously BNP government did. Awami League government ignored the opposition and avoided to use parliament for policy making. Majority of the decisions (Water treaty, Chittagong hills tract agreement, Quota system in public services for freedom fighters and their families of 1971 civil war etc.) using

ordinance making powers declared in public gatherings and press to provoke opposition to boycott elections. Thus this trend still exists and the most important institution of democracy (the Parliament) remains a dream. Mass media is used as mouthpiece by government. Promises related to separation and independence of lower judiciary from executive has not been fulfilled. But this government completed its 5 years term and 8th parliamentary elections (under caretaker Government) held in 2001 and BNP formed coalition government (Hossain, 2003).

Bangladesh an Umpired Democracy

Two-archrival political forces (Bangladesh Awami League & Bangladesh National party) introduced caretaker government system with mutual consensus in 1990. The National elections of 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2008 held under supervision of care taker government were generally accepted as free and fair elections though opposition (losing party) criticized the election results.

Since 1991 systematic transition, country pursued the democratic system except the army-backed government (2007-08). But in Bangladesh democratic government has meant to conduct parliamentary election under caretaker government. In fact, parliament became futile due to absence of majority opposition, strikes, and resignation demands from elected government with destructive behavior. On the other hand, the ruling party uses the government machineries/resources to suppress oppositions. This destructive behavior is most important phenomenon of 1991. Caretaker government is a unique agreement between two conflicting parties and umpire during general elections (Azad & Crothers, 2012).

Present Features of Bangladesh Democracy

Bangladesh lacks a political democratic culture, even in educational and political line spacing institutions democratic learning opportunities are not available. Rule of law is an absurdity in Bangladeshi democracy; the most trending political culture is to turn blind eyes to the real offenders and took action against oppositions. The attitude of Police and judges in responding bail cases of political masters and their activities remained disappointing. Caretaker government arranges national election is an example of lack of political morality among politicians. It is failure of state in establishing trust and a strong civil society to ground liberalism. There is dire need of strong patriotic political leadership for national growth and stability in Bangladesh. The current political leadership considers them as party leader not as national leader. There is lack of consensus on national interests among political leaders. Political institution or incapable of providing services required for political development and democratization. Continuous boycotts by opposition's make role of parliament ineffective. Corruption, terrorism, double standards and intolerant attitude discourages democratic development. Elections are fair only when results are favorable, otherwise it is unfair (Hossain, 2003).

Institutionalization of Democracy in Bangladesh

There are various reasons that Bangladesh has been failed to establish pure democratic governance system. These impediments include subordinate status of executive and parliament, domination of major political parties, lack of democratic practices in the parties, dynastic leadership and opportunist nature of politicians. During Parliamentary elections, major political parties hire goons, use of black money, massive corruption and only public appearance of national leader to their voters are the popular trends. Election Commission and bureaucracy failed to play neutral role. Thus use of power and money are to major determinants for winning election in Bangladesh. Only influential and rich candidates of major political parties get nominations because they can spend money and control public voice. The state has failed to develop a corruption free, non-violent culture and to curb confrontational politics between National Party and Awami League. Unfortunately country is facing political unrest, extremist activities and intolerance among major political parties (Islam & Haque, 2015).

The power hungry two major political parties are major bewilderment in democratic institutionalization of Bangladeshi parliament. Resolutions/bills presented by the ruling party passed by the parliament without any opposition, due to long drawn absence of the losing party (main opposition) in parliament (Azad and Crothers 2012).

People of Bangladesh faced many upheavals for institutionalization of parliamentary democracy. Under Awami League (AL) and donor's pressure, BNP government introduced CG in 1996 but before 2006 election Awami League (AL) protested and demanded reforms in caretaker government (CG) (to reshuffle council of advisors). Due to political disturbance and violence in all over country a military backed Caretaker Government (CG) was formed until when next election held in 2008 (Islam & Haque, 2015).

The disgraced civilian president, the so-called caretaker government (CG) and a military backed rule (during 2006-08) weekend the chances of institutionalization of democracy in Bangladesh. To make 9th parliamentary election possible in 2008 the delegates of western countries intervened. Unfortunately the military backed caretaker government released the Sheikh Hasina and Khalida Zia arrested for exploiting powers and corruption charges. Despite distrust on these leaders, Bangladeshi people have no other alternative to elect as their representatives due to complex and expensive election procedure. Awami league came into power and abolished caretaker government putting democratic system at risk. BNP and other opposition parties demanded its restoration to ensure free and fair election because caretaker government is considered trustworthy for holding elections. BNP (major opposition party) threatened the government for not taking part in next elections (BBC 2013). It did so in 2014 elections and Awami League again came into power because of having no major opposition party.

Institutionalization of parliamentary democracy is not possible only through political participation of public although institutions should be developed enough to fulfil their needs. The people of Bangladesh struggled for two decades to defeat autocracy and restore democracy. After restoration of democracy in 1991, people of Bangladesh revived their expectations and aspirations to prosperity, development and good governance in country. The happiness faded away soon due to male-governance and misuse of public funds by the successive democratic governance. Even the parliamentarians found corrupt and dysfunctional parliament failed to check executive performance. Domination of bureaucracy by legislature, deteriorated Law and order, restriction on press and brutal murder of honest journalists by corrupt and powerful actors of society are confronting factors. “It appears that the institutionalization of parliamentary democracy during the last two decades turns from an exhilaration to exhaustion” (Khan & Islam, 2014).

Democracy and Good Governance in Bangladesh

Democracy and good governance are conceptualized as democratic governance which includes all elements of governance including all principles of democracy (Landman, 2009).

No one can detach the concept of democracy from governance, democratic institutions hold executive accountable to ensure transparency in government process. On the other side, even transparency and accountability in public service could be the feature of a non-democratic state. It is not compulsory that democracy is the only option for good governance because in democratic setup bad governance is possible (Chang & Chu, 2006).

Synchronicity of good governance pillars and aspects of democracy mismatch in case of Bangladesh due to colonial imprints on political and cultural structure of developing country (Khan & Islam, 2014).

Constitutional Provisions for Good Governance Equal Participation

Good governance ensures that there should be equal participation of both men and women because when both important components of society work together it will prosper surely. So, the Bangladesh Constitution provides provisions about equal participation. Some provisions are following:

Article 27 provides that all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law.

Article 28(2) provides that Women shall have equal rights with men in all spheres of the State and public life.

Article 29 mentions that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in respect of employment or office in the service of the Republic.

Independence of Judiciary

Independence of judiciary is another important factor that facilitates the rule of good governance in the society. There are also some provisions of Bangladesh Constitution. These provisions are as follow:

“Article 22 of the constitution states that State shall ensure the separation of the judiciary from the executive structure of the state.”

Democracy

Democratic rule is considered the most effective governing rule in the contemporary times. Every country strives for the application of democratic rule. The Bangladeshi people too want to have democratic rule. The Bangladeshi Constitution defines democracy as follow.

Article 11 of the constitution states about democracy, that the Republic shall be a democracy in which fundamental human rights and freedoms and respect for the dignity and worth of the human person shall be guaranteed.

Social Equality

Social Equality is the important figure of democracy. The democratic rule ensures that there would be social equality in all spheres of life without any regard of cast, class and creed.

Article 19 of the constitution provides that The State shall endeavor to ensure equality of opportunity to all citizens. The State shall adopt effective measures to remove social and economic inequality between man and man and to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth among citizens, and of opportunities in order to attain a uniform level of economic development throughout the Republic.

Challenges for Good Governance in Bangladesh

First of all, country is facing the issue of independence of judiciary. Delayed justice is the major feature of judiciary in Bangladesh. Justice delayed is justice denied. Delayed justice is due to poor governance and contributes to powerlessness of the poor. There is a continued dependence on financial aid raising huge debt on country. Everyone consider their illegal works as their rights resulting in rising economic disparity. Lack of accountability is the major feature of Bangladeshi governance. Corruption has become a deep rooted disease. From clerical staff to high officials hurts economy. Mismanagement of funds given birth to inflation and poverty. Poverty and inflation crushed the people; grain is beyond public reach; increasing population and unfair land and income distribution are contributing factors to this dilemma. Unemployment and poverty in the country given birth to the illiteracy. Poor bulk of country don't send their children to the

schools due to affordability issues and the huge bulk of unemployed educated people in the country force them to think “What is the benefit of that education that cannot provide any respectable livelihood” (Alam & Hasina, 2014).

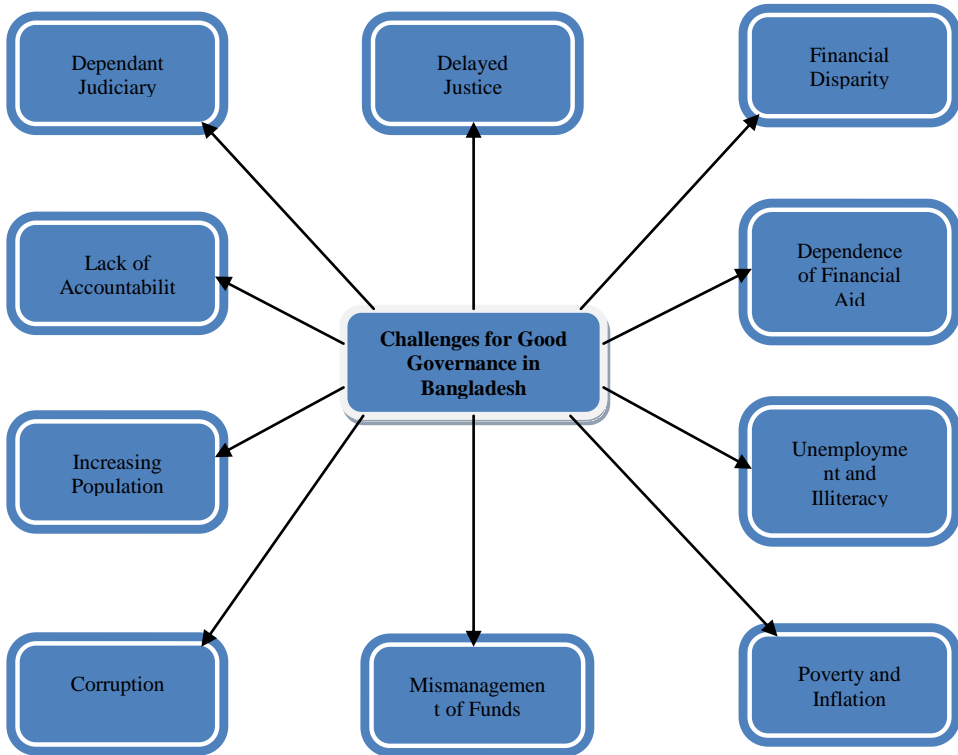


Figure No: 03 Challenges for Good Governance in Bangladesh
Source: Prepared by the Researchers

Governance State in Bangladesh

First indicator to identify the extent of good governance in Bangladesh is voice and accountability, which is highly dysfunctional in case of country’s parliament and standing committees’ performance. Because governing body ignore the voice, needs and hopes while formulating laws and policies (Kufmann & Kraay, 2002).

In present political climate of Bangladesh, inefficient government and bureaucracy nexus in politics affected the service delivery of policies and created political unrest. Parliament and judiciary failed to grasp the decision-makers accountable. Appointment of Supreme Court judges is political drive and has questioned integrity, competency and efficiency of judiciary. Separation of judiciary from executive is a complex notion because all the promotion, transfer and other services of judicial system is under control of law ministry. Above situation resulted in a puzzle of careful and quick fixation of good governance issue (Khan & Islam, 2014).

Coexistence of Good Governance and Democracy in Bangladesh

The political climate in Bangladesh raised the question on compatibility of good governance and democracy in Bangladesh. Since 1991 democratic transition country remain unsuccessful in institutionalizing of democracy and ensuring good governance and accountability of administration. Assurance of voice and accountability is hindered by bureaucracy-politics nexus. It is believed that effective democratic government/Parliament and bureaucracy (merit-based) are complementary to each other. Analysis of last two decades of democratic transition in Bangladesh, politics did not allow bureaucracy to remain neutral in parliamentary democratic system despite the all efforts of bureaucracy to remain neutral. Politicians influenced and pressurized bureaucrats to work for the party interests. After analyzing good governance indicators in Bangladesh political system of country is corrupted all institution including bureaucracy, election commission and public services. “According to the theory of representative democracy, the parliamentarians mostly having strong affiliation with political parties are the real caretaker of democracy.” (Wolf, 2005)

It is unfortunate that parliamentarians in Bangladesh always preferred political concerns in appointment of members and head of legislative bodies ignoring merit and experience. Law enforcement agencies are also influenced in the same way. This attitude of politicians/rulers of the country troubled the democratic system which resulted as an impediment to the growth of good governance in Bangladesh. It indicates the active participation of political leaders in administrative affairs of public sector harmed the good governance and a tough task for Bangladesh to achieve real good governance spirit in public sector management. This nature of political leaders ignores the public voice especially of the poor in policy making leaving no way for establishment of good governance. Good governance and democratic values assert that voice of the public should be heard to ensure social justice in society (Islam & Haque, 2015).

Deep roots of corruption in public sector structure and service delivery have been strengthened due to loopholes in inquiry of parliamentary committees. Such democratic structure failed to achieve good governance. Native culture and colonial legacy in Bangladesh also hindered the coexistence of good governance and democracy. Elite class politics is gift of colonial legacy in South Asia which hinders the people participation (an essential characteristic of good governance) in policy process. Elite structure in politics is maintained in the system by the administration to extend their rule for long time. This approach of good governance actors and guardians of democracy often contradicted coexistence of good governance and democracy in Bangladesh. The democratic governance gives preference to public interests rather than personal interests which opposed the elitism structure approach. This coexistence is only possible when Bangladesh adopt direct policy measures to eliminate the factors hindering proper prevalence of democracy and good governance (Khan & Islam, 2014).

Confrontational Politics in Bangladesh Tools for Fighting Each Other

There are direct and indirect undemocratic tools used by the confronting political forces. Undemocratic tools were used till 1990. Since democratic transition of 1991 indirect undemocratic tools have been used to remain in power, to threat opposition and to unseat sitting government (Azad & Crothers, 2012).

Direct Undemocratic Tools

Autocratic rules are generally considered as direct undemocratic tools. In Bangladesh the example of direct undemocratic tools were to cancel right to vote for those who supported Pakistan during 1971 war of independence and of all military coups; in 1972 political parties based on religious ideologies were banned and one party system was introduced in 1975.

Indirect Undemocratic Tools

These are generally tools/rules disguised as democratic such as financial and political corruption by the democratic political leadership and abuse of their democratic rights.

Financial Corruption

To win elections in Bangladesh money is a key factor, so the nomination of candidates by conflicting political forces is based on selecting the richer candidate. "The political parties nominate goons, businessmen and corrupt industrialists as candidates for winning parliamentary and other elections" (Akram & Das, Bangladesh Election Commission: A diagnostic study, 2006). Political parties spend huge amount to win election and cross the set limits of spending money. Bangladesh is ranked (Consecutively 5 times) as a most corrupt country till 2005, because government officials use their power and position to generate money and to influence election results. After winning elections they are motivated enough to earn more than what they spent in election. Undoubtedly corruption is considered as a double-edged sword (Akram & Das, 2007).

Exploitation of Party Rights

Political parties exploit their democratic rights through general strikes (Hartal) blocking roads with public rallies and parliament boycott. These are the ways used by the opposition against ruling government to drag down. They also used such instruments to pressurize the government to fulfil their demands because such activities slowed down the economic activities and all sort of public and private offices suffers a lot. Such as in the two political eras of 1990s there was more 300

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days strike (shut down) in Bangladesh which cost loss of \$80 million per day. These general strikes paralyzed the socio-economic progress. (Hossain, 2003)

Political Corruption

Illegal use of transfer of power to an incompetent person/group/party is regarded as more determinant form of political corruption in political history of Bangladesh. Some examples of legalizing military rules are; list of fake votes; politicization and cancellation of caretaker government; favoritism in appointment of government officials especially election related jobs and hastily passed 4th constitutional amendment. On 25 January 1975 the ruling party, Bangladesh Awami League approved 4th constitutional amendment by more than 2/3rd majority in parliament in just seventy minutes after presenting it on the same day. 4th amendment introduced one party system to replace multiparty democracy and altered parliamentary form of government to presidential one. General Ziaur Rahman established his own party and made political coalition to legalize all actions of his military leadership in parliament and General Ershad followed him to legalize his coup. In 1991 the BNP arranged trial against Ershad on financial corruption cases. In 1996 BAL arranged trial to the killers of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib and his family and financial corruption cases against Khaleda Zia (Prime Minister of the BNP government 2001-06). During 2001-06 BNP government (four-party alliance government) selected Chief Election commissioner Justice Aziz, who prepared new voters list despite the opposition of BAL and court ruling that election commission is supposed to update not to prepare fresh voters list. In new voters list about 21% in comparison to previous one but this list got cancelled by the Supreme Court in March 2007. Justice Aziz appointment as chief election commissioner declared illegal by the high court and declared the recruitment of 300 field-level election officers as partisan (Akram & Das, 2006).

On composition of caretaker government rival parties have clashes. In 2006 elections caretaker government was headed by the Justice Hassan (Retired Chief), However Awami League alleged the government on conspiracy of his appointment as head due to the increase retirement of age of judges from 65-67. Opposition led a violent protest that he is a BNP activist in result Justice Hassan refused to head caretaker government. Preident Iajuddin Ahmed became next head of the caretaker government but protest of Awami League continued as he was BNP nominee so army-backed government took over the CG against constitutional provision. (Hossain, 2003)

Recently Highest court of country cancelled the caretaker government system considering it against the democratic essence of the constitution but allowed for two next elections. Awami League negated the decision of next two elections using Parliament majority. BNP chief alleged that ruling party cancelled the verdict of court to win next election using their ruling power in next election of 2014 (Akram & Das, 2007).

The 2014 elections held without CG and Sheikh Hasina, Chief of BAL, again become Prime Minister of Bangladesh.

National Political Divide

There are two political forces divided national politics into BAL (Bangladesh Awami League) and anti-BAL (anti-Bangladesh Awami League forces. Anti- BAL forces lead by military rulers such as BNP by Zia-ur-Rehman and Jatiya Party by Ershad including support of some small religious parties at different times. These two forces have two different political-psychological blocs (Azad & Crothers, 2012). The differences between the ideologies of these two political forces are illustrated in table below.



Figure No: 04 Ideological Conflicts among Political Forces

Source: Prepared by the Researchers

Contemporary Political Crisis in Bangladesh

- Caretaker government
- Ramu Violence
- Limitation of freedom of mass media

Caretaker Government

After the restoration of democracy in Bangladesh, it was decided by the both major political parties of Bangladesh that there would be a caretaker government every time to conduct general elections. So this caretaker government is formed and election have been conducted under the power of this caretaker government. But recently this government has also been erased from the way by the current ruling party under 15th amendment of constitution.

Ramu Violence

The Ramu Violence refers to the attacks on the Buddhist's' shrines and houses in Ramu upazilla. The Muslim mobs attacked on the Buddhist's' sacred places and houses on 29th September, 2012. These mobs were very violent and a majority of the Bengali Muslims were involved in this unfortunate attack on minority. During this violence many Buddhists monasteries were burnt.

Limitation of Freedom of Mass Media

In present government of Bangladesh, the mass media that is considered the most powerful tool in contemporary world is not free. The ruling power has controlled the whole voice of media under different policies. The mass media is unable to publish the exact news of the country. They cannot telecast all those occurring news due to political pressure.

Conclusion

The East Pakistan got separation from the West Pakistan on many issues that the West Pakistan is not giving the equal rights to the East Pakistan. After a civil war, it got freedom in order to run a pure democratic government but unfortunately Bangladesh experienced another military coup by Zia Ur Rehman soon after independence. After a long tenure of military rule, it witnessed the democratic revival in 1991. Since the revival of democracy in Bangladesh, it is facing many democratic issues. Currently, there are basically two political parties that are led by two ladies also known as "Quarreling Queens". These two political parties strongly oppose each other. The democratic values are being violated by these political parties because when one party comes into power, strongly punishes the members of its opponent party. The practice of democracy is of name only in Bangladesh.

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Appendix A- Tables

Table No: 01 Hartals in East Pakistan and Bangladesh, 1947-2002

| Year | Regime Type | Number of Hartals |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1947-1950 | Democratic | 1 |
| 1951-1954 | Democratic | 5 |
| 1955-1958 | Military | 16 |
| 1959-1962 | Military | 1 |
| 1963-1966 | Military | 6 |
| 1967-1970 | Military | 38 |
| 1971-1974 | Democratic | 36 |
| 1975-1978 | Military | 1 |
| 1979-1982 | Democratic | 48 |
| 1983-1986 | Military | 52 |
| 1987-1990 | Democratic | 245 |
| 1991-1994 | Democratic | 216 |
| 1995-1998 | Democratic | 279 |
| 1999-2002 | Democratic | 332 |
| Total | | 1172 |

Source: Moniruzzaman Md (2009)

Table No: 02 The Ethnic and Religious Composition of Bangladesh

| Ethnic Composition | % | Religious Composition | % |
|--------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
| Bengali | 97.7% | Muslim | 88.4% |
| Tribal | 1.9 | Hindu | 10.4 |
| Other | 0.4 | Buddhist | 0.7 |
| | | Christian/Other | 0.5 |

Source: Britannica Encyclopedia, 2016

Table No: 03 Fatalities- Islamist Terrorism 2005-2016

| Year | Civilians | SF's | Terrorists | Total |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 2005 | 26 | 0 | 9 | 35 |
| 2006 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 12 |
| 2007 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 8 |
| 2008 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 2009 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| 2011 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2012 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| 2013 | 228 | 18 | 133 | 379 |
| 2014 | 29 | 9 | 22 | 60 |
| 2015 | 23 | 2 | 31 | 56 |
| 2016 | 43 | 4 | 71 | 118 |
| Total | 361 | 33 | 284 | 678 |

Source: *South Asia Terrorism Portal (Data till November 20, 2016)*
