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Bangladesh
Democratization Process

Master Thesis within Political Science
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Abstract

Bangladesh became an independent country in 1971 and enforced a democratic governance system in 1991. The country has been witnessing a fairly steady economic and social growth processes during the past two decades. However, the political system in the country has not been seeing the same type of development. During four out of eight years in the time period 2001-08 Bangladesh was considered to be the worlds most corrupt country. The country's political authority has been accused of illiberalism, crime, corruption, power abuse and neglecting the needs of the public and the country in large. The aim of this paper is to discuss and analyze three severe barriers preventing Bangladesh from becoming a full-fledged democracy, terrorism, corruption and political interference in the justice system. The author of the paper will be using Samuel P. Huntington's Theory of Modernization to conduct the research.

The conclusion made from this study is that Bangladesh has been seeing an economic and social development, indicating that the country is witnessing a modernization process. Although, at the same time a small elite group following traditional norms rather then modernized democratic norms controls the country's political system, preventing it from endorsing the same modernization process.

Key words: Bangladesh, Modernization Theory, Huntington
           Terrorism, Corruption, Legal System

Words: 19 506

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AC	Anti-Corruption
ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
AL	Awami League
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BPSA	Bangladesh Political Science Association
BUP	Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
HUJI-B	Harkat-ul-Jihad-Islami Bangladesh
ICT	International Crime Tribunal
ICTA	International Crimes Tribunals Act
ILO	International Labour Organization
ICS	Islamic Chhatra Shabir
JMJB	Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh
JMB	Jam'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh
LeT	Lashkar-e-Taiba
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIC	Middle Income Countries
NPBCT	National Police Bureau of Counter Terrorism
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
TI	Transparency International
TIB	Transparency International Bangladesh
TFP	Total Factor Productivity
DFID	United Kingdoms Department for International development
UN	United Nation

1. Introduction

During the past years there has not been much research conducted on the topic Bangladesh within the field of political science, neither on a domestic or international level. According to Dr. Sinha M. A. Sayeed Bangladesh Political Science Association (BPSA) research has almost died out due to political control from the government. Bengali political scientists are afraid of writing anything negative about the government or the political system and a lot of the members have therefore chosen to change careers (Sayeed, 2013). On the international level relatively few recently published political science papers have been written on the topic Bangladesh. A reason for this might have to do with the country being shadowed by more politically active neighboring countries such as Burma, India and Pakistan.

Bangladesh has been an independent country for more than 40 years now. It started of as a democracy but soon turned into a military regime and did not reinstate democratic elections until 1991. The Development of Bangladesh democratization process is a fascinating topic within political science. In Bangladesh all political leaders and parties, civil or military, in or out of power, are constantly discussing democracy. Though still the nation has failed to put it into full practice. All the parties, which have been voted into power, have one after another failed to strengthen democracy and its values. Today the country is facing numerous problems threatening the very development of democracy. Bangladesh has an underdeveloped political structure, mass poverty, a high illiteracy rate, and a large part of the country is still lacking democratic political organizations, institutions and practices. Results of these factors have been, a spread of extremism and terrorism, high corruption and a flawed legal system, which has mainly benefited the small ruling upper class. In this study the author has chosen to more thoroughly discuss and analyze how these three barriers of democracy have been, and still are, preventing Bangladesh from seeing a more efficient development process. The three barriers have been selected due to their significant threat against the country's democratic development. As long as the country is suffering from one of these three barriers the democracy will be threatened.

1.1 Purpose and Research Question

In the Democracy Index 2012 Bangladesh was considered by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) as a flawed democracy (EIU, 2012). The purpose of this paper is to discuss and analyze three significant barriers currently threatening Bangladesh democratization process and preventing the country from ever becoming a full-fledged democracy. The research question has been formulated as following:

How do these three threats effect the country's democratization process?

1.2 Method

The author of this paper has chosen to do a single case study of Bangladesh democratization process. The aim of this study is to analyze the various barriers of Bangladesh democratization process and not to gather general assumptions of nation-states democratization processes. The paper is structured in such as way that three severe threats against Bangladesh democratization process; terrorism, corruption and a flawed legal system, will be discussed and analyzed with the use of Samuel P. Huntington's Modernization theory.

Descriptive and analytical research methodology has been used while writing this paper. It is a qualitative study based on secondary sources such as books, journals, research reports and articles, newspapers and scientific Internet sources. The author has mainly based the research on books and journals written by prominent scholars but due to the lack of relevant material on certain topics the author has also relied on newspapers and Internet sources. By using numerous texts from various scientific fields and sources this paper will be analyzing Bangladesh democratization process from a present point of view.

From the sources viewed before writing this paper the author has seen that more or less all the domestic sources are, either entirely biased, or at least influenced by various political parties. However, due the status of the country it is difficult for the media not to become biased due to the political control of the media. Concerning international sources they have been less subjective but unfortunately even some of these showed indications of biasness, if not towards a political party in Bangladesh, it has been towards a westernized view of the country. By using a variety of books, articles, reports and newspapers the author of this paper has tried to broaden the field of political influences to remain as unbiased and impartial as possible. When choosing the sources the author has aimed at using books published by acknowledged universities and articles and reports published through prominent journals, or by well-known organizations, such as the United Nation (UN) and Amnesty International. The main difficulty has been the choosing of newspaper articles. When it comes to the domestic newspapers either the Bengali government of the opposition parties controls the majority of them. However, the author of this paper has kept this factor into consideration, which has hopefully prevented this from causing any biasness. The international news sources that have been used in this paper are the most recognizable ones, BBC, CNN, and Reuters, due to their known statues within the media world.

Concerning previous research there have been several papers and articles written about Bangladesh corruption and political interferences in the legal system. Though, not as much has been written about the current threats from terrorists and extremists in the country. In this paper the author's aim is to find a common source behind the three threats against democracy, something that has been missing in previous publications.

2. Theory

Bangladesh democratization process will be studied using the Modernization Theory found under the umbrella of Democracy theories within the field of Political Science. The author will first define the concept of Democracy, followed by an explanation of the Modernization Theory, and the final part will be discussing criticism of the theory.

2.1 Defining Democracy

Democratization and the theories build up around it can be seen as part of the fundamental base of the political science field. The term democracy derived from the Greek words, demos and Kratos, the former meaning the people and the latter power. Democracy is therefore known as the power of the people. Today it is regarded as a form of government in which the people rule themselves either directly, or indirectly through their representatives. Democracy, as a form of government, has received a number of various definitions, but as many other political ideologies in political science, they differ in the their content and application (Hossain, 2003).

Since the Democracy Theory that will be used while writing this research paper is the Samuel P. Huntington's Modernization Theory the author of this paper has also chosen to use Huntington's definition of democracy. Huntington has defined 20th century political system as democratic "to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote" (Huntington, 1991:7). Within political science Huntington's definition of democracy is seen as a procedural view of democracy. The reason for this is because it creates room for ambiguity and interpretation. In this study Bangladesh will be viewed as a flawed democracy since the general elections are not sufficiently competitive and civil rights are still insufficient.

This study will only briefly cover the transition from an authoritarian regime into a democracy. The focus will rather lie on the initial phases of the democratization and on the current situation of the country's democratization process. Since the main part of this paper will be viewing Bangladesh internal modernization process and this is the central concern of the modernization theory the author of this paper found this theory as the most useful one. In this paper the author will be determining whether or not the modernization theory applies to the case of Bangladesh. If the findings will show that the theory applies, the author will attempt to establish how far the county has reached in its modernization and democratization process.

2.2 Modernization Theory

The Modernization Theory was first introduced in social science studies during the mid-century discussing how economical development and social change related to the democratization of countries. The theory has been used to explain the process of modernization within a society. Viewing a country's internal challenges and factors the theory assumes that, with assistance from industrialized countries, a developing country will also be able to reach a full democracy. The most distinguished author within this theoretical approach is Samuel P. Huntington who has published numerous papers and articles where he has been discussing the Modernization Theory within the field of political science.

According to Huntington the concept of "political development" is a far to wide field to study. He argues that it is important to distinguish between political development and political modernization. Distinguishing between the two is easily done since the concept of political development is limited in both time and space. It becomes restricted to a particular phase of historical evaluation (Huntington, 1965). In Huntington's article from 1971, he discusses the "Grand Process of Modernization" explaining modernization as a revolutionary, lengthy, global, complex, systemic, homogenizing, phased, progressive and irreversible progress, which is transforming a society from traditional to a modern one. Huntington has claimed that the essential variables of modernization are:

(1) Education	(2) Urbanization	(3) Secularization
(4) Industrialization	(5) Media	(6) Participation

When a country has managed to modernize to such an extent to where all of these factors are well functioning, impartially controlled and free from severe corruption the country will essentially have become a full-fledged democracy, according to Huntington's Modernization Theory. He argues that none of these factors occur randomly but history has shown that they are all related to one another (Huntington, 1971). Concerning modernizations relationship to politics Huntington has assembled the main aspects of modernization, related to politics, into two categories, which are both required for modernization to emerge:

First, Social mobilization: "involves changes in the aspirations of individuals, groups, and societies." (Huntington, 1968:33)

Second, Economic development: "refers to the growth in the total economic activity and output of a society." (Huntington, 1968:33-34)

Furthermore Huntington explains political modernization as the movement between a traditional polity and a modern polity. The most crucial aspects of political modernization can be roughly summarized under three subcategories. First, political

modernization requires political involvement by social groups throughout society. Increasing the number of parties and participants within a country's ruling group enhance the peoples control of the government. In all modern states the citizens have directly involved in the governments affairs. Concerning the publics involvement in the political situation in Bangladesh it is still severely affected by corruption.

Secondly, political modernization involves the rationalization of authority, the replacement of a large number of religious, ethnic, traditional, and familial political authorities by a single secular, national political authority. The main importance is the fact that the government is based upon man, not on God or nature and that the society's main authority is determined by human source and no other. Political modernization also requires a nation-state to be sovereign against transnational influences. Concerning Bangladesh the governments has been struggling to preventing traditional and religious groups from interfering in the country's politics.

Thirdly, political modernization involves the variation of new political functions and the development of specialized structures to perform those functions. For instance areas such as military, administrative, and legal affairs need to become separated from the political realm to be specialized subordinated organs. Concerning the distribution of important posts and power less emphasis will be put on ascription and more on achievements. The administrative system will also become more complex and disciplined. In Bangladesh this transformation is in process but far from completed. For instance the country is still seeing a clear lack of discipline in the administrative system. (Huntington, 1968)

It is, however, a mistake to conclude that in practice modernization means expansion of political participation, rationalization of authority, and the differentiation of structure. Modernization is said to involve change in and usually the disintegration of a traditional political system, however it does not necessarily involve significant movement toward a modern political system. Though still the tendency has been to assume that what is true for the broader social processes of modernization is also true for political changes (Huntington, 1968). What we do know is the fact that Bangladesh has to some degree been showing proof of social modernization. Urbanization is increasing; literacy is slowly increasing; corporate actors are increasing the country's industrialization; GDP per capita is increasing; and mass media circulation is expanding. Due to the fact that social modernization is taking place we can conclude, according to Huntington, that political modernization is also under progress. Huntington has also stated that the level political community a society achieves is an indication of the relationship between the country's political institutions and the social forces. He explains a social force as an "ethnic, religious, territorial, economic, or status group" (Huntington, 1968:8). For a country to reach modernization it has to have the multiplication and diversification of the social forces in society. (Huntington, 1968)

Within this study the author will be discussing to what extent the modernization theory can be applicable to the case of Bangladesh where the entire democratization process is under threat from; terrorism, corruption and political interference in the country's justice system. Huntington's Modernization Theory will be operationalized in such a way that each threat will be analyzed first separately and later on as part of the larger modernization process using the Huntington's variables and categorize required for modernization and democracy to occur.

2.3 Criticism of Modernization Theory

The theory has often been criticized from the neo-modernist and Marxist viewpoint for being to Western-centric. It has also received criticism from socialist, free-market ideologies, as well as theorist supporting the globalization theory, world-system theory and dependency theory. For example dependency theory argues that lack of development is not a result of "the absence of modern values but instead (is) the direct consequence of economic exploitation" (O'Brien & Williams 2010: 316).

Huntington's theory of democratization has often been seen as the Western theory of democratic development since the theory can easily be used to explain the development of Western democracies. So when the theory has been used to explain the democratic development in other parts of the world it has received criticism.

According to Mehran Kamrava, 2005, "economic development has a paradoxical relationship with democratization. There is no linear relationship between industrial development and democracy. The casual relationship between the two is far more nuanced and context-specific" (Kamrava, 2005:58). He also argues that state responsibility and democracy can only occur if, in the process of economic development, the private sector and the society's middle class gain autonomy from the state, at the same time as financial resources and organizations increases their power position in the society. Kamrava stated back in 2005 that, "this is what has happened in East Asia and Latin America and has not happened in the Middle East and in any other part of the Muslim world". (Kamrava, 2005:58)

Similar arguments can be found in Tamara Sonn article 'Islam and Modernity: Are They Compatible?' from 2005. She argues that the Middle Eastern countries that are rich from oil are challenging Huntington's entire concept of modernization. The reason for this is because the Middle Eastern oil countries have been seeing a rapid economic development but not the social mobilization, which Huntington argued would be needed for modernization to emerge. She also stated that, "it appears that Islamic countries are developing their own models of modernity, ones that value the role of reason and are pluralist, but also religious" (Sonn, 2005:80).

Another criticism the modernization theory has been faced with is the example of India. The country has been a constitutional democracy since its independence in 1947, but it is said to have become less democratic along with its modernization process. According to Fareed Zakaria, India has been seeing a fast economic development and an increase in democracy in some important areas but at the same time the political system has become "less tolerant, less secular, less law-abiding, less liberal. And these two trends—democratization and illiberalism—are directly related" (Zakaria 2003:108).

However Fareed Zakaria has later on stated that India will undauntedly remain a democracy since "democracy makes for populism, pandering, and delays. But it also makes for long-term stability" (Zakaria, 2008:140). India's political system is based on two hundred year old institutions put in place during the British colonization era, which has given the country its strong democratic foundation (Zakaria, 2008). Huntington would preferably argue that India is still in a development process where the country is struggling with poverty and illiteracy in the rural areas, and has therefore not completed its modernization process, which will eventually fully stabilize the country's democracy.

3. Historical Background

The aim of this chapter is to give a brief introduction to Bangladesh historical development to better understand the current political status in the country. The chapter will start of on the day Pakistan received its independence from the British colonization and end by discussing the present situation in Bangladesh, which was formerly known as East Pakistan.

3.1 East and West Pakistan

On July 14, 1947 the British House of Commons passed the Indian Independence Act. Pakistan received its independence on August 14, 1947 and the following day India did the same. The result of the two countries separation was one of the largest population movements in recorded history. Millions of Hindus fled their homes in modern day Pakistan and Bangladesh and moved to India. At the same time millions of Muslims moved from India to seek refugee in either modern day Pakistan or Bangladesh. Estimations show that up to 14 million people were forced to move during this period. Besides the mass migration it is estimated that almost a million people were killed in violent confrontations and genocides conducted by both sides during the separation (these estimations are said to be vague). Independence had been secured, but at a high price. Pakistan had been divided up into West and East Pakistan with India as a separating boarder. (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007)

Up until 1947 East Pakistan had mainly been managed by Hindus but after the independence from the British the majority of Hindus moved to India. Although they were to some degree replaced by the many Muslims who migrated from the Indian state Bihar and from West Pakistan. East Pakistan, which later would become Bangladesh, was the relatively poor and powerless part of Pakistan. Though an estimated 60 percent of the population was living in this part of the country (Wolvén, 2007). West Pakistan, on the other hand had the capital, Karachi, and roughly 90 percent of the nations wealth. Political and economic decisions were taken in the capital and therefore favoring West Pakistan (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007).

The majority of all investments in East Pakistan came from West Pakistani banks. They were to a large degree focused on the jute production existing in the East. Since the banking and finance sector was controlled by the West a lot of discrimination took place. The West prioritized employing either immigrated West Pakistanis or Urdu-speaking Biharis for all the management level and skilled labor work positions. Biharis were thought of as more reliable then Bangladeshis and less likely to start any labor demonstrations. (Wolvén, 2007)

However the most important difference between West and East Pakistan, and the main reason for the, later to come, War of Liberation was the language difference. In West they spoke Urdu and they advocated to make Urdu the official language. In East they spoke Bengali, which was viewed as a second-class language by the Urdu speaking population (Lewis, 2011). Muhammad Ali Jinnah, first Governor-General of the independent Pakistan, and many other Muslims of the West Pakistan saw the Bengali language as a totally foreign one to Islamic culture and for this reason it would not be a suitable second national language (Uddin, 2006).

Due to the language dilemma Bengali students in East Pakistan started to demonstrate in 1952 but where soon gunned down by the police and two protesters where killed. A couple of years later the East managed to pressure the government to introduce Bengali as a second official language, but it was already too late. The language issue had been the final drop for the Bangladeshis who had now decided to separate the country into two (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007). The common bond of Islam was no longer strong enough to hold the country united (Uddin, 2006).

Back when Pakistan received its independence the Muslim League became a political party. Though, when the country had elections in 1954 the people of the East decided to favor their two local parties Awami League (AL) (People's League) and Peasants and Workers Socialist Party instead. The two parties formed a coalition and decided to oppose the West together. Due to political issues and regional violence the process went slower than expected but over the coming years the two parties managed to work together towards a separation from the West. (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007)

An additional reason for East's need of a separation was the foreign aid sent to the country. Since the aid was sent to Karachi only a small fraction of it was forwarded to the East resulting in an even larger gap between the two regions economic wealth and development. In 1966, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (usually referred to as Mujib), leader of the AL, introduced a six-point political and economic program for the region. The main idea with the program was to increase East's independence and power. Meanwhile, Pakistan's current president Mohammad Ayub Khan was preparing a plan of uniting the two regions, trying to make them work closer together. In 1968 the West controlled government arrested Mujib resulting in violent strikes and protests. President Ayub was forced to resign and was replaced by General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan who took control over the country's government. The General enforced martial law to press down the violent protests rallying the country. (Wolvén, 2007)

3.2 War of Liberation

A dramatic turn of events took place on November 12, 1970, when a devastating cyclone hit East Pakistan. An estimated 250 000 people lost their lives that day and

when General Yahya visited the worst affected areas he is said to have appeared indifferent, which infuriated the Bengali population. When the country had elections in December 1970 a clear political division could be seen. West Pakistan begun transporting military troops into the East and the braking point had been reached. General Yahya tried to use military force to keep control over the region but the East answered with a campaign of terror attacks starting on March 25, 1971. Already the next day Bangladesh declared its independence using an occupied radio station in Chittagong. (Shrestha, 2002)

The War of Liberation had now started and during the first night hundreds of people were killed in Bangladesh. The Pakistani government had prepared "hit lists" naming important people and leaders to kill in Bangladesh. However it was not only a war between West and East but also Bengali nationalist killing non-Bengali minorities, and an especially victimized group were the Biharis who had been working for the West. (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007)

The war not only destroyed cities, land and crops in Bangladesh but it also resulted in the death of over a million people and forced over nine million people to flee into India. Due to this mass immigration the Indian government decided to take action. India provided support to Bangladesh and condemned Pakistan's military intervention. On December 4, 1971 India's army entered Bangladesh and within only 12 days they had taken control over Dhaka and forced Pakistan to retreat their forces from Bangladesh (Lewis, 2011).

On November 4, 1972 Bangladesh implemented a parliamentary form of government and instigated the country's Constitution, using India's Constitution as an outline. Dhaka became the new country's capital and Mujib was selected Bangladesh first prime minister. (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007)

3.3 After the Independence

Bangladesh – the nation (desh) of Bengalis – is the youngest independent nation of all South Asian countries. After the Liberation War against Pakistan Bangladesh was a proud state built upon a rich literary tradition and history. The country was finally allowed to design its own future, free from both colonialism and Pakistan. The people had been longing for a brighter and more fulfilling life, with better opportunities for them and their coming generations. Sadly to say, it did not take long before the majority of the people's hopes and expectations had faded away. (Shrestha, 2002)

Bangladesh had been left in ruins after the war with a catastrophic economy; a population struggling with destroyed homes and farms and above all an outspread poverty and anarchy. The country's first independent government, led by Mujib, had

an overwhelming mission facing them. Enforcing law and order and dealing with the country's rising poverty were no simple tasks. On top of this the country faced a major famine in 1974 resulting in almost 1 million losing their lives. At the same time the government was facing more problems since the resistance grew stronger against Mujib. To protect his power he decided to ban all political parties and take control over the country's media. Bangladesh was reformed into a one-party state with Mujib as president. To secure his power even further he restricted personal freedom to a minimum to prevent any kind of opposition parties. (Wolvén, 2007)

A large part of Bangladesh population was, and still is today, living in a daily struggle between life and death, constantly battling with survival and poverty. While the cyclical motion of nature is the Bengali peasants and farmers lifeline it is at the same time their worst enemy. Without the monsoon rains the land would not grow crops and people would die of starvation. But each year the monsoon brings with it cyclones and flooding, taking lives and destroying homes and large areas of farming land. At the same time other parts of the country are yearly hit by terrible droughts killing both crops and people. (Shrestha, 2002)

Unfortunately Bangladesh problems do not end here. The country is currently facing one of the worlds largest and still fast growing population. In 1999 the country had a population of an estimated 128 million inhabitants (Shrestha, 2002). Today it has grown to an estimated 163 million inhabitants with a yearly growth rate of 1.59% (2013). Notable is that 33% (2013) of the population is between 0-14 years old indicating that the birthrate is still comparably high and the life expectancy still relatively low. Bangladesh is the country with the highest population density in the world (viewing countries with a total area larger than 5000 km^2). The country's total area is only 143, 998 km^2 (equivalent to 1/3 of Sweden's total area) resulting in a population density of an estimated 1137 inhabitants / km^2 (Sweden's population density is only 20 inhabitants / km^2) (CIA, 2013).

Democracy never really had a fair chance to thrive in Bangladesh due to the failure of the political leadership. On August 15, 1975 a group of young officers took control over the country after conducting a military coup against Mujib killing both him and the majority of his family members. Bangladesh entered a time of military rule lasting between 1975 and 1990. After the coup Major General Ziaur Rahman seized power and served as the country's new leader until 1981. During his time in power he managed to start the process or restoring law and order in the country. He also tried to form a political party and hold elections. After a number of assassination attempts Rahman was eventually shot down in May 1981 during a military coup led by Major General Manzur Ahmed. The vice president took over the leadership but was soon replaced by Hussain Mohammed Ershad who managed to seize the power in 1982. Ershad declared martial law and ruled the country as a true military dictator for eight long years. He prevented any attempts towards a democracy and enforced Islam as the country's state religion. (Lewis, 2011 & Rahman, 2008)

In 1988 Bangladesh was one of the few countries in the world that had managed to be on friendly terms with the Soviet Union, United States, China, most Third World countries and the Islamic world. Bangladesh has been playing an important role at both the UN, and other international organizations. The country was one of the driving forces behind the founding of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), supporting economic cooperation in the region. (Wolvén, 2007)

3.4 Fall of the Military Regime

It was not until in December 1990, after massive national and international pressure, the military turned against Ershad forcing him to resign from the post. Since the Soviet Union had recently fallen the US and other western countries no longer had to support Ershad and could now allow an instable democracy to be formed in the South Asian region. In 1991 democratic elections were held in Bangladesh with a voter turnout of 52%. Khaleda Zia, widow of Ziaur Rahman, and leader of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), became the country's new democratically elected Prime minister. With the election the voters also approved on the modifying of the Constitution, reinstating the governing power to the office of the prime minister and reinstalling a parliamentary system. As was written in Bangladesh original Constitution from 1972. (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007)

In March 1994, Bangladesh had political disputes between the opposition and the government over a parliamentary by-election. The government was accused of rigging the by-election and therefore the entire opposition decided to boycott the parliament. The opposition also decided to promote their voters to start general strikes to force Khaleda Zia and her government to resign. These attempts failed and the government continued to rule the country (Wolvén, 2007). Zia managed to stay in power until 1996 and instituted several new reforms in especially the education section (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007).

Due to political disabilities in the country Zia's parliament had been pushed by the opposition to pass a constitutional amendment, which would accept an unbiased caretaker government to obtain the power and organize new parliamentary elections (Wolvén, 2007). In the new elections, held in June 1996, the opposition party, Awami League, led by Sheikh Hasina, won and could form government with support from the Jitaya Party, headed by the overthrown president Ershad (Shrestha, 2002). Both international and domestic election observers had approved the election but the losing BNP and Khaleda Zia claimed that AL had rigged the elections. Later on they also accused them of harassing and jailing opposition activists. Eventually BNP joined the new parliament but not without political disputes and struggles. During the following five years Bangladesh saw both a number of parliamentary walkouts from BNP and

an increased number of nationwide general strikes staged and supported by BNP. In 1999 BNP gave the ruling government an ultimatum where they either had to agree to a number of terms BNP had listed, or else BNP would boycott both the following national, regional and local elections. The government did not agree to the terms resulting in a country with dramatically increased political tensions (Wolvén, 2007).

In July 2001 it was AL's turn to step down and allow a caretaker government to take control. The step-in government's main task was to establish political stability for the upcoming political elections. During the summer running up to the election violence increased even further between the country's two leading parties. In August US former President Jimmy Carter visited Bangladesh and sat down with Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. The two ladies could agree on three important matters. First, that both their parties would accept the outcome of the coming election, whatever the result might be. Second, to no longer use hartals (violently enforced strikes) as political tools. Finally, if their party would win the election, they would allow the opposition to play a more significant role in the parliament. (Lewis, 2011)

The election 2001 resulted in a four-party alliance, led by BNP and Khaleda Zia, to regain power and be allowed to form government. The alliance won with an over two-thirds majority in Parliament (Wolvén, 2007). It is commonly said that the reason why Awami League lost the 2001 election was due to their failure of improving economic circumstances, reducing social differences and, above all, stabilize law and order (Shrestha, 2002). However, according to Ved Prakash, 2011, during the election year 2001 "BNP – Jamiat-e-Islami unleashed a terror campaign against Hindus and forced most of them to stay away from voting. With full military backing and a tacit support from the interim government, the BNP – Jamiat's violent campaign won the day for the coalition" (Prakash, 2011:731). Since the majority of the Hindus living in Bangladesh voted for the AL party this made a large impact on the electoral outcome (Prakash, 2011). Therefore, even though Sheikh Hasina had promised to agree on the results, both she and her party condemned the election and boycotted the Parliament. The years following AL returned and left the Parliament a number of times, due to various political disputes (Wolvén, 2007).

3.5 Current situation in Bangladesh

During the most recent election, December 29 2008, the whole country was stunned by the outcome. This was the first election where there were no involvements by the military or terrorization of either of the parties' voters. The Awami League, led by Sheikh Hasina won the election with a massive victory. Her party secured 230 of the 300 parliamentary seats. Her allied parties, for example the Jatiya Party received a few more of the seats. This resulted in the AL led 'Grand Alliance' obtaining a total of 262 parliamentary seats, creating the strongest democratically elected parliament in

the country's history. BNP, and their allied parties, only received 32 seats and Khaleda was pointed out as the reason behind this catastrophic loss. (Prakash, 2011)

Receiving such an overwhelming support from the Bangladeshi population puts a lot of responsibility on the shoulders of AL, and especially Sheikh Hasina. The country is currently facing global challenges in the terms of economical crises, climate changes and political disputes with neighboring countries. At the same time the country is challenged with domestic issues such as rising terrorist organizations, severe corruption and a flawed administrative and justice system. (ibid.)

To sum up Bangladesh historical development process it is clear that right after the independence the country did not, according to Huntington's theory, start of its 'political modernization' in the way other 'developing' countries have done. Bangladesh did not have a political modernization towards competitiveness and democracy but instead turned into a military regime and a one party state. The country did not have any stability but rather military coups and revolts. Instead of nationalism there were ethnic conflicts, instead of institutional differentiation there was decay of the administrative organization and due to the war of liberation Bangladesh suffered a failing and disrupted political organization.

Huntington claims, "the modern state is distinguished from the traditional state by the broadened extent to which people participate in politics and are affected by politics in large-scale political units" (Huntington, 1968:36). During the time Bangladesh was ruled by the military regime the people did not have any political power, besides perhaps in their own villages, anything above the village-level was ruled by a very small elite group. According to Huntington the most fundamental characteristic of political modernization is the political involvement, beyond village or town level, by the people through social groups and political institutions such as various political parties. Social and economic changes unavoidably disrupt traditional political and social groupings and undermine loyalty to traditional authorities (Huntington, 1968). Bangladesh did not see this type of political modernization until the 1990s when it shifted into democratic governance, which was a result of the public becoming more politically engaged, as well as the weakening domestic and international loyalty towards the country's military regime.

4. Increasing Threats from Extremist Groups

During the past decade Bangladesh has been seeing a rise in the interest for Islamic extremism and fundamentalism in the country. In this chapter the author will be discussing the terrorist organizations way of surviving, the governments attempts to terminate them and their impact on the country's democratic modernization process.

4.1 Extremist Groups Evolvement in Bangladesh

Back in 2005 Bangladesh was a country targeted by a number of different Islamist extremist organizations. There were the Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB), the Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB), the Harkat-ul-Jihad-Islami (HuJI), the Islami Chhatra Shibir, and the Hizb-ut-Tahrir. Bangladesh government received a lot of pressure, especially from international donors, to solve this security issue. In a report published by the United States Institute of Peace in 2006 it was stated that there was a:

"Rising importance of domestic developments in Bangladesh and their impact on South Asian security. Since 1999 Islamist militants have unleashed a campaign of terror that has gone virtually unchecked. At the same time, governance, rule of law, and provision of justice seem in short supply". (Ganguly, 2006:1)

At the beginning of the 1990s Bangladesh only had one influential extremist organization, the Harkat-ul-Jihad-Islami Bangladesh (HUJI-B). The organization had started a few years earlier in Pakistan to fight along side the Taliban's against the Soviet Union's presence in Afghanistan. Bengali veterans from the Afghanistan war started HUJI-B in 1992 after returning back home to Bangladesh. A few years later a man called Shaikh Rahman, also an afghan veteran, joined HUJI-B after reading about the extremist organization and feeling the urge to devote his life to this cause. To prove his loyalty to the organization he paid the legal cost when 41 HUJI-B members had been arrested in 1996. Unfortunately for him all the men were later convicted and the leaders of HUJI-B blamed it on Rahman who was expelled from the organization. He therefore decided to start his own organization where the agenda would only concern Bangladesh and no other Islamic wars. In 1998 he managed to establish the organization Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB). (ICG, 2010)

4.2 Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB)

As mentioned, Bangladesh has been a victim of a number of various Islamic extremist organizations but the one, which has had the most impact on the country, has been JMB. The founder, and Operations Commander, Shaikh Rahman, is today known by several names - Siddiqul Islam, Azizul Islam, Siddiqur Rahman – but is commonly

known by his alias 'Bangla Bhai' or 'Bengal Brother' (Karlekar, 2005). He had decided to build up a larger network involving all the various extremist organizations operating in Bangladesh, including the HUJI-B who had earlier expelled him. He had also managed to establish relations with extremist organizations in the Middle East, where he had been studying in his earlier years. Rahman had four main objectives while forming the JMB. First, and most importantly, to enforce Sharia Laws in Bangladesh; secondly to abolish all anti-Islamic forces in the country; thirdly to eliminate the British-based laws; and finally, to prevent any American involvement in the country (ISVG, 2012). Rahman, with assistance of Professor Asadullah Al-Galib who was a teacher of Arabic at Rajshahi University in Bangladesh, established the JMB network in the northern Bangladeshi district Jamalpur (Karlekar, 2005).

4.3 Recruitment

One of the first recruitment tools used by JMB were leaflets and it is said that on one of these leaflets it had been written:

"In order to implement the laws of Allah, we, as a party in the community, will always engage in armed jihad. We will be harsh to our enemies. Those who will oppose us cannot do any harm. We will continue this work till the Day of Judgment" (ISVG, 2012, 5/22-13).

Another powerful recruitment method Rahman used was the madrasas [Muslim schools where the children learn about Islam (Dictionary.com, 2013)] and mosques. JMB established more than 700 mosques from which new members could easily be found. The network of mosques was also linked to the HUJI-B organization (ISVG, 2012). The organization also found many if its most trust worthy recruits trough the youth group of the Islamist party Jamaat-e-Islami known as Islamic Chhatra Shabir (ICS). A final recruitment tactic used by JMB, and most other extremist organizations around the world, is family connections. JMB made sure their members recruited all their family members, sons, brothers, fathers, cuisines etc. The elite within JMB also enforced arranged marriages between their families to build up more trust and loyalty within the organization. After the government banned the organization back in 2005 the recruitment process has relied much more on the madrasas and family recruitment. It is also common knowledge that there has been an increase in the recruitment from Islamic elite schools and universities in the country (ICG, 2010).

4.4 Structuring

JMB has a countrywide network with district leaders who answer direct to the organizational leaders living in the northern parts of Bangladesh. The organization is built up with two different wings. The first one is called da'wah (religious outreach)

and focuses on propaganda and spreading the organizations agenda and extremist ideology. The second one is called ehsar (fulltime members) and has a more violent orientated role where the members are trained in a hard and militarized way. The JMB drills some of the ehsar men in how to construct and plant bombs, which they later execute in various parts of the country when the order is given. These men are referred to as the "bomb squads" and often live in the targeted areas for a few months before the attacks takes place. This is a way for them to get in contact with local JMB supporters and receive supplies and funds for the organization. Within the bomb squads they have two units, some of the men are educated in the use of explosive compounds and the others have knowledge about electronic devices (ISVG, 2012). Back in 2005, before the government begun its crackdown on the organization, it is said to have had over 2000 ehsar members and supporters in nine regional divisions. Today the number of ehsar is down to around 250 and there have been no more open da´wah meeting due to the fear of infiltration (ICG, 2010).

4.5 Funding

Money has never been an issue for the organization. JMB was originally founded by the allies in the Middle East but later on had enough domestic founding to support the organization. JMB had the advantage of being in charge of a number of madrasas and mosques where they could not only find new recruits but also receive funds for their hidden agenda (ISVG, 2012). The organization has also been receiving income through various local businesses and from a taxation system that was applied in the rural areas. Evidence has also shown that the organization receives large donations from both their domestic and international members and supporters. Another important income-earner has been JMB's control of hawala operations [an underground banking system based on trust whereby money can be sent across boarders without any electronic transactions or records (Dictionary.com, 2013)]. Finally, JMB has been receiving a lot or revenue from the involvement in transnational crimes, such as the smuggling operations of weapons and money across the Indian boarder (ICG, 2010).

4.6 Attacks

The existence of JMB came to the world's attention on May 20th 2002 after the police had arrested eight ehsar members in the northern district Dinajur, possessing 25 petrol bombs and various illegal documents (Ganguly, 2006). Until the governments banning of JMB on February 23rd 2005 the organization had been spreading fear in all the northern districts of Bangladesh. A number of explosions had gone off injuring people and destroying social, cultural and religious events. JMB members had

prepared lists of all the people who did not agree with their agenda, raping women and murdering more than 20 people. (Karlekar, 2005) JMB's most comprehensive attack took place on August 17th 2005 when Bangladesh was hit by a wave of explosions. As many as 63, out of 64, administrative districts were victims of 500 synchronized explosions targeting mainly administrative buildings. JMB later on took responsibility for all the attacks (Wolvén, 2007).

Since JMB wants to enforce Islamic courts following the Sharia Laws in the country the group targeted the administrative buildings, as they are symbols of the country's current secular legal system. JMB continued their attacks throughout 2005 targeting courts and killed up to 28 people, including judges, lawyers and court security personnel. The organizations last successful attack was in January 2006. Right after the attacks in 2005 the government started a campaign against JMB and managed to arrest some of the top leaders of the organization (Ganguly, 2006). After offering a large award for the capturing of the founder and Operational Commander Shaikh Rahman, alias Bangla Bhai, the police eventually managed to do so on March 6th 2006 (Prakash, 2011). The government's counter terrorism attack pressured the JMB to such an extent the organization had a hard time surviving in the country (ICG, 2010).

4.7 JMB Today

On May 29th 2006 the court sentenced Shaikh Rahman and his military comrades to death by hanging, which was executed on March 30th 2007 (Prakash, 2011). It is said that the man who stepped in to become the new leader and Operations Commander of JMB is named Maulana Saidur Rahman (ISVG, 2012). After the governments crackdown on JMB since 2005 a number of the organizations hideouts have been found and both weapons and important material have been confiscated. Documents about JMB's origins, agenda, trainings, funding, leadership, connections and tactical plans have been found. Documents proved that Bangla Bhai had been seeking contact with Pakistan-based jihad organizations such as al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), even though his personal agenda had only concerned domestic issues. Documents found during various raids have indicated that JMB was, and still is, planning to take military control over the northwest district of the country and use this territory as the organizations base to establish Sharia Laws, similar to what the Taliban's have managed to do in Afghanistan. During the past few years JMB's strategy has been to rebuild the organization using a very low profile to prevent any infiltration (ICG, 2010).

In October 2008 the police managed to arrest some more of the key figures of the organizations new leadership group, along with 95 militant members and large supplies of explosives, indicating that JMB has managed to regroup. The documents

confiscated during this raid revealed JMB's connection to a counterfeiting ring run by LeT across South Asia, as well as JMB's increased involvement in arms smuggling across India's boarder. But the main concern was the fact that JMB had managed to recruit a lot of new members and raise large funds to support their agenda. The new information also proved that JMB has ties to al-Muhajiroun, the terrorist group said to have been partly responsible for the 7/7 bombings 2005 in London (ISVG, 2012).

4.8 Fighting Religious Extremism

Besides cracking down on the extremist organization and arresting active members Bangladesh government needs to focus on the educational system. It is said that in countries with a well functioning educational system extremist groups have a harder time recruiting members. (Hoque, 2012)

A study aiming to see whether 'Bangladesh education policy is adequate for countering terrorism, religious and ethnic intolerance' conducted by Sajjadul Hoque, from Chittagong University, in 2012 received the following results; 75 % of the responding teachers and students said that their studying material does not discuss any kind of counter terrorism, religious and ethnic intolerance; 41% of the respondents believe that religion based political parties are partially responsible for the increased extremism in the country and most of these parties have strong organized students wings in the schools and universities, but 85 % of the responding did not support these wings. The majority of the responding teachers and students from Madrasahs did not see that Bangladesh had any problems with terrorism, religious and ethnic intolerance. Hoque claimed that one of the reasons for this response might be that if the Madrasahs would acknowledge these problems it might result in increased activities of non-Muslim organizations within the country, as well as more international interference, which could obstruct their Islamic ideology. Madrasahs will therefore most likely have little to contribute in the struggle against extremism and religious intolerance. (Hoque, 2012)

During 2012 Bangladesh could see numerous cases of Islamic fundamentalism outspread among the youth. On September 30th 2012 a large group of Bangladesh extremists vandalized and burnt down 12 Buddhist temples (some of them were more then 250 years old) and over 50 family houses in Cox's bazar. Later on another group of extremists destroyed two monasteries and a Hindu temple in Chittagong, as well as two monasteries at Ukhia and five more houses in Cox's Bazar. The reason behind the attacks is said to have been a picture of a burnt Quran and a Buddhist boy that was spread via Facebook. (Ahmed, 2012)

Seeing these types of act in Bangladesh the government can no longer wait when it comes to educate the youth on religious and ethnic tolerance and countering terrorism and Islamic extremism. However, the main problem does not lie in the lacking

education but much deeper then so. In the conclusion of the study Hoque gives a clear statement of the current situation in Bangladesh today:

"The failure of the state in satisfying basic needs of the people, growing criminalization of economy and politics, growing inequality in society, increasing youth unemployment, lack of people's confidence on mainstream democratic political leadership, external environment, communalization of culture and education, religious biasness in almost every sectors of the state – all contributes to the growth of terrorism, religious and ethnic intolerance in Bangladesh" (Hoque, 2012:75)

The international community has an equally great responsibility to assist Bangladesh in dealing with these issues. Neglecting the spread of extremism and terrorism will eventually have severe consequences for the safety of the entire world (ICG, 2010).

4.9 Threatening the Democratization Process

The government of Bangladesh has long understood the threats related to both JMB and other extremist organizations operating in- and outside the country's boarders (ICG, 2010). During the past year the government suggested that a police-led counter-terrorism force should be established. According to a senior official, familiar with the government's process, states that such new counterterrorism body would be known as the National Police Bureau of Counter Terrorism (NPBCT). Since the threat level from extremist groups has been increasing the past few years the government can no longer diminish the threats of future attacks against the country's modernization and democracy by JMB, or other extremist groups (BSS, 2012).

It may be difficult to fully recognize the impact Islamic extremist organizations could have on Bangladesh modernization process, and the threats they may posses towards the country's democracy. Though a quote found in the book 'Bangladesh', written by Douglas A. Phillips and Charles F. Gritzner, in 2007, paints up a rather clear picture of the situation the country is facing:

"Fighting radical Islam in Bangladesh will most likely require outside help. The country is simply too poor to take on the militants in their own land and too divided, with two political parties at extreme odds with each other. These elements, combined with a history filled with lawlessness, may threaten the very foundation of the country's political system. Unaided and unprotected, moderate Islam may be threatened in the coming years by the rising radical militant elements. Were this to happen, the Bangladeshis' struggle to become a stable democracy could be crushed. (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007:15)

In the article 'Modernization theory: and the non-western world' written by Zapf

Wolfgang, 2004, he argues that Western nations have not understood the fact that terrorist attacks are in most cases not executed by poor or uneducated people. The attacks are planed, founded and performed by often well-educated men and women who see it as a holy service. He also says that Western nations can no longer view themselves as the teachers whose values, rules and life styles have to be adopted by the rest or the world. Conclusively Wolfgang states "recent modernization theory regards the Islamic route to modernity as one of several paths with an uncertain ending. It does not change the basic notion that uneven development and gaps in individual and collective welfare – and not foremost civilization differences – are the main reasons for conflict up to the extremes of suicide attacks" (Wolfgang, 2004)

According to Huntington the "early phases of modernization are often marked by the emergence of fundamentalist religious movements... which combine modern organizational methods, traditional religious values, and highly populist appeals" (Huntington, 1968:38). He gives the examples of the Buddhist movements in Sri Lanka, Burma and Vietnam and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. As has been discussed in this chapter there have been a number of various extremist groups, organizations and parties founded in Bangladesh since democracy was introduced as the main form of governance in 1991. Huntington also claims, "Modernization thus increases conflict among traditional groups, between traditional groups and modern ones, and among modern groups. The new elites based on Western or modern education come into conflict with the traditional elites whose authority rests on ascribed and inherited status" (Huntington, 1968:39). After discussing the current situation in Bangladesh we now know that the existing terrorist organizations do not approve of the country's westernized development, which has resulted in the internal conflicts and terrorist attacks. Huntington would argue that the conflict between them appears due to their various ideas for the country's future development plans. Terrorists arguing for a more strict Islamic development with Sharia Laws while the country in large is leaning more towards a Westernized modernization process.

5. Corruption's Impact on Bangladesh

One of the main barriers towards Bangladesh democratization process is the widespread corruption. During four out of eight years in the time period 2001-08 Bangladesh was considered to be the worlds most corrupt country. In this chapter the author will be discussing the various reasons behind the spread of corruption, the consequences corruption has on the country's modernization and democratization, and finally, what attempts have been make to fight corruption.

5.1 Defining Corruption

There is no universally accepted definition of the word 'corruption'. The word originates from the Latin verbs 'corruptus' and 'corrumpere', which means spoiled, ruin and/or break (UN-Handbook, 2004). There are a number of various definitions used for the word corruption. For instance corruption is defined as a state of moral impurity or moral deterioration; or the unlawful, neglectful or intentionally corrupt act of a public officer in the discharge of his or her public duties (Theobald, 1990). In this study the overall definition of the word corruption that will be used is Huntington's definition, which is "a behavior of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends" (Huntington, 1968:59). However, to clarify the concept further corruption can be divided up into subcategories such as grand, petty, political and bribes, depending on the amount of money involved.

Grand corruption also known as "state capture", is the term used when a country's government and highest leaders are involved in corruption and using the public's trust to benefit themselves instead of the public (Zaman, 2011). This type of corruption is the most extreme type of power abuse and can destroy a whole country's economic, political and legal stability (UN-Handbook, 2004).

Petty corruption, also known as administrative corruption, is the type where public officials use their entrusted power to take advantage of ordinary citizens. Taking place in for instance schools, hospitals, police department and similar agencies (Zaman, 2011). It should also be noted that when it comes to petty corruption it is often not the front-line officers who are the actual villains, they are in many cases manipulated by their supervisors who are the true lawbreakers. (UN-Handbook, 2004).

Bribes are the most recognized type of corruption and the one most people in Bangladesh come into contact with on daily basis. A bribe is defined as "money or any other valuable consideration given or promised with a view to corrupting the behavior of a person, especially in that person's performance as an… public official" (Dictonary.com, 2013). Bribes are often seen as the main source of income among the public officials and police officers in Bangladesh. It is stated in the UN Handbook,

2004, "bribery is the act of conferring a benefit in order improperly to influence an action or decision. It can be initiated by an official who asks for a bribe, or by a person who offers to pay one… any public official who has the power to make decisions or take actions affecting others is at risk" (UN-Handbook, 2004:24-25).

5.2 Factors Behind Corruption

According to Hussein Alatas, 1990, corruption is a phenomenon that has existed among us ever since the beginning of mankind's social interaction. It is something humans have tried to overcome for thousands of years but still not managed to do. Today corruption is a widespread issue and can be found in all countries and at all levels of society. However, it is more easily detected in the world's developing countries where corruption is often still a way of life for most people. (Alatas, 1990)

Most often corruption is seen as a result of human beings giving in to their own greed, egocentrism and heartlessness and not being able to fight for their own honesty and dignity. But according to Zakiuddin, 2007, the amount of corruption existing in Bangladesh is not caused by individual greed but is actually a social phenomenon, which has managed to grow and flourishes due to the social structure in the country. In Bangladesh corruption can be seen in many different forms, such as political or economic exchange and under various situations. It covers not only senior officials in the capital city but also small businessmen and farmers out in the countryside. The amount varies between millions of dollars (e.g. bribes in energy or building projects) down to the single dollar the doorman insists on receiving to preform his duties. It is a social process that exists everywhere in Bangladesh. (Zakiuddin, 2007)

Iftekhar Zaman, 2011, discusses two common forms of corruption, which can frequently be seen in Bangladesh. The first one is collusive corruption. This type can mainly be found within the public sector where transactions of public contracting takes place. It is most often a triangular collusion involving individuals from political, financial and administrative positions in society who are taking advantage of their entrusted powers. The second form is known as coercive corruption and consists of a service recipient and a service provider. The service provider abuses the direct or indirect power he or she has been given from society against the service recipient. This second type of corruption is the one the citizens of Bangladesh encounter every day from especially the police. The essential idea with the concept of corruption is consequently the exploitation of power. Unfortunately Bangladesh, as well as many other countries concerned with widespread corruption, has ended up in an evil circle where corruption continues to encourage more corruption. (Zaman, 2011)

Politicians in Bangladesh have been condemning corruption for decades but not even after the return of democracy in the 1990s has any constructive political action been

taken. The lack of governmental involvement in tackling corruption has only resulted in an increase of corruption. Within Bangladesh business world many would argue they have been benefiting from corruption. In a recently formed democracy, like Bangladesh, rules such as codes of conduct, ethics, and issues of conflict of interest have not yet received the same priority within judicial and administrative reforms. So when private businessmen are conducting arrangements with public officials concerning procurement contracts, concessions and privatization it has been much easier for them, due to the corruption in the country. (Mahmood, 2010)

Experts have often been talking about two different factors that cause corruption. The first one is the institutional factor, which provides great freedom for the power holder without making sure he or she will stand responsible for his or her own actions. This might be the result of factors such as lacking juridical laws, regulations or systems cased by inefficient institutional democracy and/or a failing leadership by the government. So the potential financial advantages far outweigh the risk of getting caught. (Zaman, 2011)

The second factor is the Individual factor. Corruption is often seen a result of the combination of need and greed. When people receive the salaries and benefits they deserve and need to feed themselves and their families' petty corruption will be reduced. But this requires a much higher cost for the government to cover the increased labor cost for their civil servants, which can only be covered by an efficient tax system. Although, it should still be noted that the line between need-based and greed-based corruption is very thin. Corruption often starts of being need-based and later on turns into greed-based when moral and ethnic rules have been broken and there is a clear absence of control and authority. Corruption has then become the norm and an accepted way of life. (ibid.)

5.3 Consequences of Corruption

Bangladesh is still a country where transparency and responsibility taking are far from prioritized, which is seen by many as the main obstacles for a democratic society to develop. It also prevents a social service from functioning as it should and it is the societies poorest and most vulnerable who have to pay the price for it. When it comes to corruption the effects are similar. Studies indicate that poor people are in much higher-grade victims of corruption. It is said that low-income households are losing on average 4.1% of their income to corruption compared with a 2.5% loss of income for high-income households (Sida, 2013). The World Bank claims that corruption costs Bangladesh 2-3% of the country's annual GDP growth (Mahmood, 2010).

When it comes to corruptions impact on a country's economic development studies have indicated that it prevents economic growth and increases poverty. The

arguments supporting these studies are that corruption raises the costs of investments and entrepreneurship, restricting citizens' access to public services, reducing income collection and decreasing public spending. Corruption will have a negative influence on a country's economic and political growth. It increases poverty at the same time as it undermines societies capability of reducing it. Corruption weakens a country's development and prevents democratic governance from taking place. By doing so it destroys the most fundamental institute of the nation. Furthermore corruption within the legal system impedes rule of law and can result in the public losing their trust for authority. By allowing corruption to destroy a country's political and economic structures the whole society will be weekend and injustice will grow stronger, violence will increase and human rights will be ignored. (Zaman, 2011)

Zoe Pearson, 2001, discusses corruption from a human rights point of view. She argues that if a state allows corruption to exist it is a breach of human rights and therefore international organizations should step in and deal with the issue. She claims that by viewing corruption from a human rights perspective it helps acknowledging the fact that corruption is not only the misuse of money and abuse of power. It will actually have negative effect on the lives of the people and should therefore be viewed as a human right violation. By doing so corruption would be further recognized as a global issue and receive a more important role on the international agenda. Pearson argues that "giving corruption a 'human face' may lead to increased efficiency of anti-corruption efforts through better awareness of the effects of corrupt behavior, increased calls for improved accountability and transparency in governments" (Pearson, 2001:59). Making corruption an international priority would also increase the international distribution of strategies and ideas of how to most successfully reduce it. (Pearson, 2001)

In Bangladesh there is more then 3.6 million people working in the garment industry, which is considered the world's second-largest clothing exporter. A large part of the working force does not work under basic health and safety criteria's and are often victims of clear human right violations, abuse and exploitations. At the same time a small group of people are earning their fortunes on this industry and have not been convicted for crimes against human rights. Due to the political corruption in Bangladesh this distorted garment industry has been able to grow. The fact that the Bengali workers have the lowest minimum wage in the world has only helped out the expansion of the industry. At the same time neither the factory owners, the government, the retailers and/or consumers in the West, are willing take responsibility of this unethical industry and are instead blaming it on each other. (Khan, 2006 & Gomes, 2013)

A serious consequence of the corrupt political system in Bangladesh is the fact that there are no strong labor unions. The majority of the ones existing are politically connected to either; AL, BNP or Jatiya Party, all the three parties which at some point have had the political power in the country. The few labor unions that have managed

to stay unbiased have not been given enough political power to positively influence the human rights and safety of the factory workers. The labor unions working in Bangladesh have very limited connections to the workplaces due to their limited number of members. According to the Bangladeshi law every worker has the right to join a labor union. However, since the country has a relatively high unemployment rate and the world's largest population, the factory owners often lay off workers who join the labor unions (but blaming the lay off on something else). Therefore the unions in most cases only have a small office in Dhaka and a few scattered members. The total number of workers signed up in a labor union is only 3%, which is only comparable to Pakistan, while other neighboring countries such as India, Sri Lanka and Nepal have a far higher percentage. (Wingborg, 2013)

A survey conducted by the Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad (BUP), a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) promoting research within the areas of socioeconomic and environment development, gave an indication of the Bengali populations idea of corruption. According to the survey 95% of the respondents accused the police force for being the most corrupt department in the country. Although the custom services, the taxation department, the judiciary and the bureaucracy were all closely behind. The survey indicated that 62% of the respondents held the government officials as primarily responsible for the outspread corruption in Bangladesh (Haque, 2010). The fact should be noted that most people see the Bengali army as one of the least corrupt institutes in the country. A reason for this might be because the army personal receives a more justified salary compared to other institutes (Wolvén, 2007).

In developing societies where there is a large dysfunctional bureaucracy the business market are often dependent on corruption while engaging in trade. For instance in Bangladesh businesses use corruption as an instrument for trust between them. Without the corruption the business society in the country would become paralyzed due to the inefficient bureaucratic rules and regulations. However, it is very important to realize that the 'benefits' of corruption are only the indicators of a political and socio-economic system with serious flaws. (Zakiuddin, 2007)

Corruption will often flourish in developing countries where there is a lacking structural system and a leadership without the necessary knowledge of governing a country. Most people can agree that corruption is wrong and something that should not be allowed to exist in any society. However, when it is the state that has become corrupt it is on a far more serious level. The reason for this is because the state is considered as something built upon democracy and loyalty towards its citizens, compared to private businesses that work for economic profit. Since the state is regarded as the most neutral and important representative body in the society the citizens rely upon the state to protect their own and their country's political, social and economic interests. According to Zakiuddin a corrupted state will make it difficult for modernization to prevail and democracy will have a hard time surviving.

At the same time as the country's economic growth might be reduced. (ibid.)

A decade ago Nanda Shrestha stated in her book 'Nepal and Bangladesh', 2002, "if one can afford to bribe them, that individual can get anything done or get away with anything, including murder" (Shresha, 2002:275). What she was referring to with this statement was that back in 2002 the law in Bangladesh only applied to the people who could not or would not pay bribes (Shrestha, 2002). Bangladesh political and legal system has improved during the past decade and the corruption and abuse of power has decreased but far from disappeared. During the crackdown against corruption back in 2006-2007 more than 280,000 people, including senior businessmen and politicians where detained on corruption charges. Even Bangladesh leading politicians Sheikh Hasina and Tarique Rahman, Khaleda Zia's eldest son, was arrested. However only a fraction of all the arrested people were sentenced to prison due to lack of evidence. Both Hasina and Rahman were realized. Many saw the arrests of the top leaders of AL and BNP more as a way for the current care taking government to point out the political corruption existing in the country. (Wolvén, 2007).

5.4 Dealing with Corruption

Corruption cannot be seen as a single, separate, or independent entity that can be isolated and terminated. It is a much more complicated issue involving natural human behavior and a number of other factors. These factors are often hard to determine which results in difficulties solving the problem. Corruption can be seen as generating its own motion and since it is most often so deeply seeded in a society it is often difficult to find its roots. According to Akmas Zakiuddin the only way to tackle corruption is to understand the various factors causing it and challenge them one by one. (Zakiuddin, 2007)

If Bangladesh could manage to restrain corruption the per capita income could be doubled. According to TIB's ranking Bangladesh has manage to climb up a few steps in the global corruption perception index during the past years. During 2001-2008 Bangladesh was among the top ten most corrupt countries in the world. But during the past years the country has improved and in the latest ranking (2012) Bangladesh had improved and was rated as number 144/174, indicating that the crackdown against corruption has had at least some positive effect. (TI, 2013)

In 2004 Bangladesh government introduced the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) but the commission did not become notable until 2007-08 when the caretaker government started its fight against corruption. At the same time the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) was revitalized and legislative reforms were pursued. One of the main reasons ACC have not been able to have any major impact on the existing corruption in Bangladesh has to do with the lack of support from; the legislatures, law enforcement agencies and the country's bureaucracy,

which also happen to be the primary targets of the ACC. (Norad, 2011)

By donating money to individual Civil Society Organizations (CSO), such as TIB, Sweden and other donor countries have manage to strengthen the anti-corruption movement in Bangladesh. TIB has, despite the limited opportunities to promote the structural changes, noticeably influenced the debate and the institutional reforms related to integrity and anti-corruption (Sida, 2013). According to a national survey conducted recently there has been a decline in corruption in the two sectors where TIB has been conducting civic programs, namely education and health. At the same time corruption seems to have slightly increased in most other sectors (TIB-Survey, 2010). Indications suggest that more can be done to strengthen transparency and accountability by supporting data collection and public disclosure of information. Support to national polls and surveys in combination with public dissemination through the media have proved effective, as well as to give users the ability to monitor the quality of the local services (Sida, 2013).

One of the main disappointments with the donation support has been the failure to build bridges between the main institutions supported by the donors. For instance, donors such as the United Kingdoms Department for International development (DFID) and the World Bank have offered support to the Ministry of Finance and UNDP has been supporting the parliament. But still the donor programs have failed to provide any results of a concrete strengthened financial situation in the country. Evidence has also shown that due to lack of political commitment there have not been any long lasting achievements, which raises concerns among the donors about their influence and the sustainability of it. Although, part of the problem might have to do with the donors focus points. According to a report published by Norad (2011) donors "lack of a coordinated and tailored approach to AC (Anti-corruption) in the country, weak project design and mainstreaming of corruption indicators, are all factors that have contributed to reducing the effectiveness of their interventions" (Norad, 2011:53) (Norad, 2011). However, even with the help from international donors Bangladesh is struggling to meet all the challenges caused by corruption and the constant political infighting has only been deepening the corruption problems (Phillips & Gritzner, 2007).

Since the 1990s the focus of development efforts in Bangladesh have changed and is no longer focusing on economic growth but instead on solving the continuing problem of bad governance. There are usually two correlating issues involved when discussing bad governance. First problem takes place when the political system is corrupted and the partisan politics gives a single party the possibility to misuse its political power for the party's personal interests. The second issue is a result of the first one and concerns the consequences of power abuse; when the ruling political party has the possibility to build alliances with key actors in the society, such as the military, the business world or personal interest groups resulting in the party taking control over public resources. This leads to a situation where the country's political

parties fight for an "all or nothing" situation in a zero-sum game. So in Bangladesh the wining party receives a monopoly over the political power and the losing party has no other choice than ending up powerless until the next election. (BRAC, 2009) This is the reason the opposition parties decide to encourage public demonstrations and hartals since it is their only way to have some type of political influence.

For the country's overall development process it would be an advantage if the parties could agree on political solutions that would stretch over a longer time period and across the political spectrum. This would be a more beneficial system compared to changing political directions and decisions after every political election. Bangladesh would be able to obtain a long-term economic, social and political stability, which could eventually lead the country into becoming a full democracy (Zaman, 2012).

Bangladesh needs to more thoroughly deal with the outspread corruption existing in the country. However we should ask ourselves if the solution is, as Bangladesh government has done, to simply mount an attack on corruption. The problem by doing so is the fact that corruption is a complicated phenomenon with roots deep down in the society. It exists on all levels in the society and in Bangladesh, where even the civilian population perceives corruption, as a part of their lifestyle, solving the issue is even harder. The fact that there are so many different ideas on what constitutes the root of corruption is an indication of how hard it is to solve the issue, and so far there has not been a truly functioning solution for it (Zakiuddin, 2007). The only thing that can safely be concluded, as the World Bank pointed out 35 years ago, that "corruption weakens the effectiveness of governments, undermines popular confidence in the public service, and leads to a situation where public servants will do nothing without bribes. The purchase of favors is nothing but an unproductive exercise. Corruption enables the wealthy, the powerful and the unscrupulous, at the expense of law-abiding citizens of a country". (World Bank, 1975 in Theobald, 1990)

Huntington claims that corruption prevents a country's development process in more or less every variable. As mentioned in this chapter corruption can exist on all levels and in all sectors of a society. He argues that corruption is more common found during a certain time period in a society's evolution, claiming it "correlates reasonably well with rapid social and economic modernization (Huntington, 1968:59). Though Huntington also states that modernization contributes to corruption by creating new sources of wealth and power who want in on the politics. Since the political elite is dominated by traditional norms and yet not agreed with the modernized democratic norms the new group of wealthy and power holders need to use corruption to access the limited political sphere. Huntington further argues that in most cultures corruption seems to be specifically prevalent during the most intense phases of the modernization process and that this process might even have a breeding effect on corruption. (Huntington, 1968)

Huntington brings up three distinct connections between modernization and

corruption. First of, modernization creates a change in a society's basic values. In other words, groups within the society start to gradually accept universalistic achievement based norms, individuals start to feel a loyalty and identification towards the nation-state, and finally, the citizens begin to know of their equal rights against the state and equal obligations to the state. The second point Huntington brings up is the conflict between modern and traditional norms that open opportunities for individuals to act in ways justified by neither. In many societies, for instance Bangladesh, an official has the responsibility and obligation to provide jobs and opportunity for his or her family rather then what is best for the nation-state. No distinction existed between obligation to the state and obligation to the family. Not until such a distinction becomes accepted by dominant groups within the society does it become possible to define such behavior as nepotism and hence corruption. Huntington claims that "Corruption in a modernizing society is thus in part not so much the result of the deviance of behavior from accepted norms as it is the deviance of norms from the established patterns of behavior." (Huntington, 1968:60)

Thirdly, modernization encourages corruption by the changes it produces on the output side of the political system. Huntington argues that particularly among the later modernizing countries it involves the expansion of governmental authority and the multiplication of the activities subjected to governmental regulation. The degree of corruption which modernization produces in a society is, of course, a function of the nature of the traditional society as well as of the nature of the modernizing process. Corruption naturally tends to weaken or to perpetuate the weakness of the government bureaucracy. In this respect, it is incompatible with political development. Corruption is most prevalent in states which lack effective political parties, in societies where the interests of the individual, the family, the clique, or the clan' predominate. Finally, Huntington states, "In a modernizing polity the weaker and less accepted the political parties, the greater the likelihood of corruption… Corruption is thus a product of the distinction between public welfare and private interest, which comes with modernization (Huntington, 1968: 70-71). To sum up this chapter, the outspread corruption in Bangladesh will not be reduced until the government has managed to build up enough faith among the public for them to trust their wellbeing in the hands of the state.

6. Political Interferences in the Legal System

In this chapter the author will mainly be discussing the Bangladesh International Crimes Tribunals and its consequences for the country's democracy. The final section of the chapter will bring up the banning of the Jammat e Ismali Party.

6.1 International Crimes Tribunals Act (ICTA)

The War of Liberation between Pakistan and Bangladesh lasted for 9 month – between March and December in 1971 – and it is said to have cost the lives of several hundred thousands civilians. There is no authoritative accounting of how many died during the war but the estimations range from 200 000 up to 3 million. At the same time between 8-10 million people fled into India and over 250 000 girls and women were victims of rapes and sex slavery (Davis, 2011). In 1973 the International Crimes Tribunals Act (ICTA) was formed to hold trial against the people responsible for crimes against humanity and war crimes. The people who were going to be tried were captured personnel of the Pakistan Army and members of the 'Razakar' (East Pakistan's anti-liberation group). Though, before any trials had time to take place the first leader of independent Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur, decided to exchange several hundred Pakistani prisoners of war after signing the Tri-Parti Simla Agreement with Pakistan and India. The agreement also resulted in an amnesty to all participants in the war (Cammegh, 2011).

During the following 40 years the surviving victims of the war have not been given any type of reconciliation or seen the responsible people face trials. ICTA had seemed to been forgotten up until the political election in 2008 when the AL made a promise during the campaign to restore the ICTA. After winning the election the party begun working on the 1973 Act and after adding a new category of 'individuals' to the original ICTA targets of anti-liberation forces the party could reopen the International Crime Tribunals (ICT). Since the previous target group had been military groups, who had all received amnesty, the new target group was individual civilians involved in the conflict. (Huskey, 2011)

During the period June until December 2010 six Bengali civilians were arrested. They were accused of having actively fought alongside the Pakistani anti-liberation group. Five of the six arrested belonged to the leadership of Jamaat e Islami, Bangladesh's most powerful Islamic political party. The last person played an important role in the Bangladesh National Party (BNP). During the war the Jamaat party fought on the anti-liberation side but was also protecting Hindus and other civilian groups from the Pakistan Army. Jamaat e Islami and BNP are the two largest opposition parties in the country and a question, which has been raised by many, is whether Sheikh Hasina is

trying to try people responsible of war crimes or if she is only trying to eliminate any future political threats? (Cammegh, 2011)

More than 40 years after the war took place there is not a lot of evidence left of who did what during the war. Most of the eyewitnesses have either died or become too old to remember specific incidences from the war. At the same time a lot of the documentation and photographs have been lost or destroyed. The AL government has been using newspaper articles as one of the main source of evidence during the trials, which would not be enough evidence in a trustworthy legal system where the accused must be 'proven guilty beyond reasonable doubt'. AL have also been heavily criticizes for targeting the trials on the Jamaat e Islami party when there were actually five political parties and thousands of independent intellectuals and scholars opposing the war of liberation. Giving everyone else amnesty and only prosecuting political leaders from the opposition parties could actually be interpreted as political revenge and not a legal justice action. (Jalil, 2010)

6.2 Criticism of the International Crime Tribunals

There are several reasons why the international audiences have not seen the ICT in Bangladesh as fair triles. For example; the judges and prosecutors are hardcore supporters of the AL government, as well as handpicked by the AL party and cannot be replaced; a list of 'war criminals' was prepared before any investigation had even begun and some people on the list were only between 4-8 years of old in 1971; no supporters of AL party have been tried even though members of this party also took part in the killing of civilians during the war. (Rawsab, 2010)

Further indications of unfair trials are that; the accused persons are never allowed to speak with their counsels; they are forced to enter pleas to various charges without the possibility to deny them; in almost all cases the charges are based on almost no evidence and lacking specifications of dates, locations and details of alleged victims; the ICTA has been designed so that the defenders only have three weeks between the prosecution and trial. After these three weeks the defense is suppose to disclose full details of its case before even hearing the prosecutors case. Comparing this with other countries War Crime Tribunals the timespan have been six month or more and the prosecutors always presents their cases first. Considering the fact that the war in Bangladesh took place more then 40 years ago, a three weeks preparation seems rather bizarre. Some other odd rules in the ICTA are that the proceedings will continue even in a judge's absence; that the judge have an autonomous right to question witnesses while the defense council have no right to reexamine; and if there would be any controversial ruling by the bench all rights for interlocutory appeal from the tribunal to a separate or higher court have been removed. (Cammegh, 2011)

A final fact indicating the unfairness in the Bangladesh Tribunals is that not even the country's constitution can protect an ICT suspect. It is stated in the constitution under Article 31:

"To enjoy the protection of the law, and to be treated in accordance with law, and only in accordance with law, is the inalienable right of every citizen" (PRB-Constitution, 1972).

However in the ICTA it is stated:

"The provisions of this Act shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any other law for the time being in force" (ICTA, 1973).

Therefore an ICT suspect is considered a second-class citizen and will no longer be protected by the constitutional laws of the country. Bangladesh State Minister for Law, Qamrul Islam, stated back in 2011 "The international criminal trial process will be more neutral and transparent than that of other war crimes trials so far held elsewhere in the world. It will be exemplary for the world community…working with full independence and complete neutrality" (Islam, 2011 in Cammegh, 2011). This statement has been seen as a quite challenging one and indicates that Bangladesh government sees their International Crime Tribunals as the most neutral one in the world. The world hoped this would have been the case but unfortunately, as recently mentioned evidence has proven, this has not been the case. (Cammegh, 2011)

Stephen Rapp, the US Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues, visited Bangladesh and the ICT a few times during the initial procedures in 2011. His role was to monitor and assist in making sure the trials would be fair and open. After Mr. Rapp's visit in March 2011 he gave the ICT a number of suggestions of how to improve the trials. On his return later on during the year he could see that only a few of his suggestions had been incorporated in the amendments adopted in June 2011. By this time the trials had begun and Mr. Rapp had to start focusing on how the trials would be conducted. He could find four larger faults, which according to him needed to be dealt with to make sure the trials would be as fair as possible:

First, when the trial begins it is important the judges define what "crimes against humanity" means to make it possible to see if the suspect has broken the law or not. Second, the suspects should be tried under the constitutional laws and not as second-class citizens and they should have the right to consult with their counsel. Third, both the prosecutors and defense sides should be allowed to have witnesses and these should not be subject to threats and intimidation. Finally, and most importantly, the process should be open to the public and broadcasted on television or radio showing key arguments, testimonies and rulings. If this is not possible, neutral observers should be allowed to follow the trials and write daily reports published online or

through media (Rapp, 2011). Unfortunately today we now that these four suggestions have not been implemented in the ICTs.

Instead Mr. Rapp have received a lot of criticism from the International Crimes Strategy Forum (ICSF), which is an organization supporting the Tribunals and the Bangladesh government. The organization was disappointed with Mr. Rapp who they thought had visited the Tribunal to acknowledge its fairness and not to criticize it. In a paper published on the organizations website in May, 2011, it is written:

"The January 2011 invitation conveyed towards Mr. Rapp by the Bangladesh Government reflects its commitment towards conducting the war crimes trials in a manner that is fair and transparent. However, it must nonetheless be mentioned that Mr. Rapp's recent actions and opinions he expressed with regard to the war crimes trials process in Bangladesh, a purely domestic and an internal process, amounts to a direct violation of Article 41(1) of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. It is the responsibility of those enjoying diplomatic immunity, like Mr. Rapp, to be respectful towards the laws and regulations of a receiving state, including a duty not to interfere with the internal affairs of that state. This particular provision has long been a part of customary international law and is included in an international convention that the US is a signatory. These suggestions of Mr. Rapp are undoubtedly a subtle form of diplomatic bullying and amounts to a lapse in diplomatic norms because they are designed to interfere in an internal Bangladeshi affair." (ICSF, 2011:6)

However, when it comes to criticizing the fairness of the Bangladesh ICTs Mr. Rapp is far from alone. The Human Rights Watch has accused the ICTs of threatening, abducting and even attempting to kill defense witnesses during the trial against Delwar Hossain Sayedee. Sukhoranjan Bali was expected to counter prosecute allegations concerning the involvement of Sayedee in the 1971 murder of Bali's brother. Though, on the day of the testimony Bali was according to eyewitnesses abducted by Bengali police while walking into the courthouse. He was thereafter held in custody for several weeks and later on escorted by the Bengali police across the boarder to India. According to Brad Adams, executive director of Human Rights Watch's Asia Division "Those involved in his abduction may have assumed Bali would be killed by the Indian Border Security Force when he was pushed into India, or that he would permanently disappear" (HWR, 2013:1). Instead of being killed Bali was sentenced by an Indian court to 110 days in jail for illegally crossing the boarder. At the moment Bali is currently waiting to meet the Indian office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) who will assist him in applying for asylum in India, due to the risk to his life if he returns back to Bangladesh. (HRW, 2013)

So far Delwar Hossain Sayeedi, Ali Ahsan Mohammad Mujahid, and Muhammad Kamaruzzaman, three of the six men accused of war crimes have been sentenced to

death (BBC, 2013). Amnesty International has publicly criticized all these verdicts expressing that it is extremely regrettable that anyone is sentenced to the death penalty. Abbas Faiz, Amnesty International's Bangladesh Researcher has stated in a press release in July 2013:

"The war crimes tribunal is a historic opportunity for justice and reconciliation in Bangladesh, but punishing an alleged human rights violation with another is not the answer…The death penalty violates the right to life as recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is the ultimate cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment. We oppose it in all cases, without exception." (Amnesty, 2013)

During a speech in 2011 addressing the UN General Assembly in New York Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina brought up the ICTs. During the speech Hasina established the AL governments view of the trials by stating the following:

"Their eventual punishment will strengthen our democracy, demonstrating that the state is capable of just retribution… It is the only way to heal the wrongs of the past, and bring national reconciliation." (dhakacourier, 2011).

Due to Bangladesh governments biased view of the ICT suspects the trials were destined to be unfair right from the beginning according to Dr. Abu Rawsab. He also claims that it is not possible to have a fair trial unless it is conducted by the UN and under neutral judges from unbiased and democratic countries (Rawsab, 2010).

6.3 Banning of the Jammat e Ismali Party

On August 1st 2013 the High Court in Bangladesh banned the Jamaat e Islami party from participating in the general elections taking place in January 2014. Even though Jamaat is a small party with only two seats in the parliament the party has had powerful influences in recent elections. The party is an ally to the BNP party, which is the largest opposition party. Together the two parties were in a confident position in the upcoming parliamentary polls but due to this verdict the AL will significantly strengthen its political position. The reason for the disqualification is a writ petition filed in by a little-known religion-based group, the Tariqat Federation, who are claiming that "Jamaat e Islami acknowledges the absolute power of God and not the power of the Bangladesh people" Al-Mahmood, 2013:1) which would be against the constitution. The party has also been accused of discriminating people based on religion. (Al-Mahmood, 2013)

Though, Abdur Razzaque, a lawyer representing the party, claims that all the accusations are only politically motivated. He also states that the absolute power of God does not contradict the sovereignty of the people and therefore Jamaat will

appeal the verdict (ibid). The banning of the party is also said to have to do with the party opposing the country's War of liberation in 1971 (NDTV, 2013). However, neither of these explanations for banning the party would be legally correct in a full democracy since in a full democracy citizens have the right to express their opinions, as long as it is done in a non-violent way. If a party is build upon religion, nationalism, socialism, communism, or any other fundamental base, it would still be allowed to participate in a general election as long as the party participates in a nonviolent and democratic way and do not oppose the democratic governmental system. But if a party would be banned due to its use of violence it is a correct decision (Hossain, 2003).

Concerning political elections the general formulation is that 'governments should be based on free and fair election'. However, as Huntington argues, "in many modernizing societies this formulation is irrelevant. Elections to be meaningful presuppose a certain level of political organization. The problem is not to hold elections but to create organizations" (Huntington, 1968:7). In more or less all the modernizing countries, including Bangladesh, elections serve only to enhance the power of disruptive and often reactionary social forces and to tear down the structure of public authority. James Madison warned in The Federalist No 51, from 1788, that "In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself" (Madison, 1788). In Bangladesh, among many other modernizing countries, the government is still unable to perform the first function, much less the second. Huntington claims that the main problem is not liberty but rather the creation of a legitimate public order. He further states that "men may of course have order without liberty but they cannot have liberty without order" (Huntington, 1968:7-8). Authority must exist before it can be limited, and it is authority, which is in scarce supply in modernizing countries, such as in this case Bangladesh. The result of this has been the government's interferences in the country's legal system, which in the long run will have severe consequences for the entire democratization process.

7. Analysis

Even though the development of Bangladesh democracy is facing numerous barriers some would still say it is a nascent democracy. The country has experienced almost two decades of military and semi-authoritarian ruling and did not begin its journey towards democratization until 1991. Since then, three general elections have been held under Caretaker Governments and these have been considered to be fairly impartial. Since 1991 attempts have been made to strengthening the role of the parliament versus the executive by enforcing reforms into particularly the country's committee system and the formal arrangements of the parliament in general. The reforms consists of; an enlargement of the jurisdictions of standing committees, which are empowered to deal with legislation and oversights simultaneously; the replacement of ministers as committee chairs by backbenchers; the founding of an self-governing parliamentary secretariat; the establishment of an Institute of Parliamentary Studies (IPS) for research support and finally, the introduction of the Prime Minister's Question Hour. (Rahman, 2008)

Even though Bangladesh is a recognized democracy today the country would largely benefit by having more people becoming politically active and larger variations in the individuals ruling the country. A main concern with the Bangladesh political system has been the leaders of the two largest parties, Prime minister Sheikh Hasina (AL) and opposition leader Khaleda Zia (BNP). The two leaders are said to have aggravated the crisis of democracy by trying to shape events to suit their own agendas while disregarding the urgent need for economic growth. The country's slow political development and problem with installing a legitimate democracy can be traced back to these two ladies. So far no political efforts have truly been made to inspire the people towards sacrifice and growth and no serious national plan has been envisaged to deal with these problems. The leaders have remained too busy with unimportant, marginal, petty personal politics and ignored the fundamental issues of development and democracy. They are also said to have hindered the way to emergence any viable leadership in a democratic way. It has even been stated that, "Democracy may be captive at the hand of these two ladies if they do not come out from their narrow out look for the cause of democracy" (Hossain, 2003:15). However, the prospects for a politically developed and economically prosperous nation can be found in the people's eagerness for democracy, modernization and development.

It is commonly believed that parliaments or legislatures are the keystone of democratic governance and that they are critical in securing government accountability. The legislatures are representative bodies and should be reflecting the sentiments and opinions of the populace at the same time they are the prime source of law by which a country is governed. The combination of these two factors qualifies their significance in democratic polities (Olson, 1994). The Dutch Political Scientist Arend Lijphart has even gone so far as claiming that, "Legislatures should probably be regarded as the most important institutions in a democracy" (Lijphart, 1991:ix).

Though, when it comes to a country's growth a well functioning political system might actually not have the significant role as previously assumed. According to the World Bank, Bangladesh has shown that a country can manage growth even though its government is struggling with corruption and illiberalism. This type of concept has even been referred to as the "Bangladesh Paradox" raising the question whether 'Governance Matter to Growth?' Bangladesh as a country has shown clear proof of development such as; the per-capita (inflation-adjusted) GDP has more than doubled since 1975; the poverty rate has fallen by more then 20% since the early 1990s; the country's exports to GDP ratio had increased by 18% in 2006, compared to 6% in 1990; the manufactory contributed with 16% to national GDP and the unemployment rate was down to 4% in 2006, while it was as high as 25-30 % in 1975; literacy has more then doubled the past couple of decades; the population growth has decreased from 3% a year down to 1,5%; and finally, people living in poverty has decreased from 70% in 1971 down to 40% in 2005. The World Bank claims that these results have only little to do with targeted government efforts. The main development forces have been explicit social mobilization and entrepreneurship and above all the income growth, which has been the foremost important engine for the country's increasing living standards and decreased poverty. Even though Bangladesh has been struggling with both political unrest and natural disasters the past couple of decades the country has, remarkably, been one of the few countries which have managed to not have a single year of negative per-capita growth since 1990. (WorldBank, 2007)

Viewing the 'Criticism of Modernization Theory' part Mehran Kamrava was arguing that, "economic development has a paradoxical relationship with democratization. There is no linear relationship between industrial development and democracy" (Kamrava, 2005:58). The case of Bangladesh is clear evidence that Kamrava's theory is correct. Although, Huntington's theory claims that modernization will only prevail if a country is seeing both social mobilization and economic development. As the World Bank points out, the country has been seeing a social and economic development and according to Huntington these are both proof that a modernization process is taking place. Whether or not this will eventually result in the country becoming a full-fledge democracy is far to early to say. However, what is possible to determine is the fact that this process has nothing to do with the political leaders initiative but is all a result of the public's determination.

Unsurprisingly, the country is currently witnessing one of the world's fastest urbanizations with Dhaka as the main center. The city has seen an eight-fold population increase since 1970 and is estimated to be one of the quickest growing mega cities in the world. Though the country is suffering from a poor urban management and the underlying cause of this is the weak governance. Since Bangladesh is one of the most centralized countries in the world the local autonomy has been negatively affected. Results of this have been the major capacity and resource constraints on the country's infrastructure and the loosely defined and

fragmented city management. Bangladesh needs a well-reasoned and carefully considered national strategy to bring more balance and energy to urban development across the country. The first step in such a process would be to tackle the governance-related problems that foster regulatory uncertainty, crime, corruption, disorder, and distrust of the judiciary. Bangladesh is often perceived, both domestically and internationally, as being a risky country to do business in due to the weak governance. The World Bank has even claimed that Bangladesh dysfunctional political system is undermining the country possibilities of receiving the accelerated growth process it has been seeking (WorldBank, 2007). Huntington argues that for a nation to improve its political authority it needs to further develop and specialize its various platforms and institutions (Huntington, 1968). For instance in the case of Bangladesh the justice system must become separated from the political realm and become a specialized subordinated organs without any political influences. Concerning the administrative system it must become more complex and disciplined and demand more loyalty from its officers to reduce further corruption.

Back in 1966 Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank between 1969-1981, stated that, "all pervasive poverty undermines government of any kind. It is a persistent cause of instability and makes democracy well nigh impossible to practice" (McNamara, 1966). This statement is well illustrated by the current situation in Bangladesh where the population living below the international poverty line of US$1.25 per day was estimated to still be as high as 31.5% in 2010 (WorldBank, 2010). Regarding illiteracy impact on democracy, Huntington writes that, "democracy, it-has been argued, cannot function satisfactorily if the vast bulk of the voting population cannot read" (Huntington, 1969:49). Concerning Bangladesh, it was established in the 'Report on the Bangladesh Literacy Survey, 2010' that approximately 40% of the voting population in the country is still illiterate (BBS, 2011).

Though, Huntington personally argues that sometimes it is better for a country's governance when a large part of the population is illiterate since there is a less chance of them becoming politically involved, which could potentially cause disastrous effects on the political stability (Huntington, 1968). Even though both poverty and illiteracy are still high in Bangladesh they have both been decreasing comparatively fast in the past couple of decades. The country has managed to keep on track with its Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and is currently aiming to join the Middle Income Countries (MIC) before 2016 (WorldBank, 2007). However, as Huntington argues, people become more politically involved as they become more literate and a country with a corrupt political system and a growing literate population will, most likely, be seeing further political instability and reformations before full democracy will be established (Huntington, 1968).

The repetitive violence in form of politically motivated street demonstrations and hartals in Bangladesh raises the question of the survivability of democracy in the

country. This type of violence inevitably tends to escalate into coups and counter-coups and spawn extremist organizations (Zaman, 2012). According to Victor T. Le Vine this could eventually lead "to the point where a culture of political violence can come into being and with it the very possibility of democratic breakdown" (Vine, 2001:278). William B. Milam, 2009, further discusses this situation arguing that Bangladesh political authority is currently unstable and ungovernable due to a failed political class adhering to a failed political culture (Milam, 2009). Bangladesh is a recognized democracy and all the leading political parties are known as democratic, but unfortunately it is only by name. As Rashed Uz Zaman explains in his article, published in 2012:

"Leaders of the parties are selected rather than elected, dissent within the parties is next to non-existent and grassroots members are not allowed to offer input, which is vital for maintaining a vibrant democratic system. The danger for Bangladesh ... is that such a situation might create a space for both right and left wing terrorism to flourish". (Zaman, 2012:151)

Even though Bangladesh is struggling with various barriers against a well functioning democracy the country needs to move ahead. The Bangladeshi people need to work hard if they wish to see their flawed democracy develop into a full democracy of constitutional liberalism where the people's dignity and autonomy would be protected against all forms of coercion. By empowering themselves the Bangladeshis can stop being abstract legal citizens and instead act for their own, as well as, the country's better interest. (Zaman, 2012)

As discussed earlier in this paper Bangladesh has been fighting terrorist organization operating in the country and a well functioning democracy would easier be able to protect the country from this problem. This argument has been put forward by for Miriam Fendius Elman and Carolyn M. Warner in their article from 2008 where they claim, "democracy diminishes the threat of violence and terrorism by sub-state actors, including religious extremists affiliated with religious political parties" (Elman & Warner, 2008:4). Huntington's theory agrees with this statement but points out that before a society has manage to modernize to the extent where democracy can flourish the state will be witnessing various extremist groups, struggling to keep the traditional norms, rather then joining the process towards the modernized democratic norms.

Earlier on in this paper we also discussed the fact that Bangladesh police force has been pointed out as the country's most corrupt department. One way of tackling this issue could be to follow the example of Georgia. Only a decade ago this country was well known for its corruption, taking place on all levels in society. In 2003 the country elected Mikheil Saakashvili as their new president with the vision of eliminating corruption and bribes and having a more transparent society. President Saakashvili decided to replace the country's notoriously corrupt traffic police force with the new Patrol Police. In this process 16 000 jobs were replaced with new better

paid and more closely monitored police officers in the attempt of preventing them from also becoming corrupt and accepting bribes. President Asskashivili also used the tactic of employing more female police officers since they were considered less easily bribed and more morally bound then the male officers (Rosenberg, 2013).

Though this 'corruption cleanup' could only take place after the country had managed to hold free and fair elections and selected a new and more charismatic leader. This is something Bangladesh will not manage to do as long as the political positions are only possible to possess with the help of corruption. As Huntington would state it, the political elite in Bangladesh is dominated by traditional norms and yet not agreed with the modernized democratic norms, making it more or less impossible for anyone outside of the political sphere to be able to fairly participate in the upcoming general election in January 2014.

8. Concluding Discussion

The aim of this paper has been to identify and discuss various barriers preventing Bangladesh from becoming a well functioning democracy. We have also been analyzing to what extent the country has managed to implement democracy as its form of government. Viewing the political situation in Bangladesh today we can conclude that the country is not a well functioning democracy and the political power of the state is not fully in the hands of the people.

The current AL government, led by Prime Minister Hasina, was elected on 29th December 2008 on the understanding that the party would increase employments, decrease food prices, increase foreign investments, solve the problem of electricity deficiency, give 100% of the children education, stop corruption and terrorism and finally, to bring justice to the crimes committed during the liberation War in the 1970s. So far the government has put, more or less, all its efforts into the War crime tribunals and accused, arrested and executed various leaders of opposition parties.

Both Dr. Md. Abdul Jalil, 2010, and Dr. Abu Rawsab, 2010, have argued that these trials have neither been fair nor necessary. Both the people and the country in large would have benefited more if the government had focused on fulfilling all the other promises instead of focusing on the tribunals. The current government has not enhanced the country's democracy but rather the opposite by terminating future political threats. To prevent the AL government from further interfering and corrupting the country's legal system it would be necessary for both domestic and international organizations to step in. Though, since the War Crimes Trials are mainly of domestic concerns it is hard for any outsiders to have any relevant influence. However, the outcomes of the trials will most likely have an important impact on the future of the country's political modernization process.

In this paper we have been discussing numerous threats and barriers against Bangladesh democratization process and the main conclusion we can draw is that all of these have emerged from the same source, the country's inefficient political system. So far the present state of politics in Bangladesh has done little to endear the concept of democracy to the average Bangladeshi. Making sure the entire population has the possibility to participate in the democratic process remains the fundamental way for the country to modernize into a full-fledged democracy. In other words, the only way the country can manage to create a healthy political system as well as increase its growth process would be to increase the social mobilization. As long as the political power lies in the hands of a corrupt, small and concealed elite group with traditional norms the country will not see the same kind of fast modernization and growth process as other Asian states, such as for instance Malaysia and South Korea.

Using the modernization theory to evaluate Bangladesh development has been

efficient in the sense it is a relatively flexible theory open to adaptions. The fact that the country has managed to see an economic and social development even though the country has not had an efficient political leadership or a functional democracy is, according to Huntington's Modernization Theory, only a step in the modernization process. Huntington would argue that eventually the country will develop into a full democracy and it is currently only in the process. The author of this paper would agree with Huntington's theory but would add that the country will not be seeing a full-fledged democracy within the coming decade. As has previously been discussed the country's has been seeing a positive development pattern in relation to improvement in poverty, gender equality, social protection, education and other important factors for a its modernization. The Bangladeshi youth have a real interest in improving and modernizing their country and with the increasing literacy the country has a clear chance of join the MIC within the coming years.

Although, due to the three severe barriers brought up in this study the author would make the assumption that Bangladesh will be witnessing more political unrest and demonstrations, which will have negative effects on the country's economic and social development. The statement is based on the fact that the along with social and economic improvements comes an increased interest in political power, which could potentially cause disastrous effects on the political stability.

To actually see where Bangladesh democracy is heading we will first of all have to wait and observe how the country manage to perform in the upcoming general election. Will it be an unbiased and impartial one or will the current AL government use its political power to reduce any chances of competition and a democratic election? Though as was mentioned earlier on, it is easy to conduct a democratic election, the hard part is upholding a democratic political system.

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