

Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh and Future of Bangladesh: A Study Towards Building a Welfare State

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Abstract: This paper believes that the birth of Bangladesh was possible due to Bangali nationalism, secularism, and a strong aspiration for establishing a welfare state free from poverty, misrule, injustice, social deprivation, and discrimination. But the independent Bangladesh denied to establish the "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh (BPB)" as such the post-independence crises were risen and thus Bangladesh could not proceed towards her final destination of building a welfare state. This paper argues that growth of GDP and GNI will have little impact in attaining the sustainable development and establishing democracy for ensuring peace in society until the "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh (BPB)" is materialized and practiced dully in every stage of our social and national life. In this perspective, in the eyes of a young Bangladeshi, the future of Bangladesh has been drawn and the Kalyan's State Vision (KSV) based on the "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh (BPB)" is presented to the nation.

Key Words: Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh (BPB), poverty, deprivation, discrimination, sustainable development, Bangali Cultural-Civilization, Bangali nationalism, Secularism, Democracy, Welfare State.

1.0 KEEPING EYES ON THE FUTURE

The 21st century Bangladesh has made its people disappointed and insecure as unrest and uncertainty prevailing in the fields of politics, economy, development, education, governance, and other social and national sectors that are always keeping the people very anxious and unhappy leading them to be afraid in thinking about the future of Bangladesh. No one knows where our country goes. But we have to know where Bangladesh is going, because we love Bangladesh; we live in Bangladesh; we have only one Bangladesh and we got this Bangladesh at the cost of a sea of blood. Our life and future of Bangladesh are inseparable. The 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' was to build a democratic, developed and secular state free from poverty, social injustice, discrimination and deprivation, and any kind of injustice based on ethnic background. Bangladesh could be a middle-income country 20 years ago if the "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh (BPB)" was dully established in our social and national life. The 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' should have been the foundation of the philosophy of development. The authority of Bangladesh failed to perceive this truth. Even after 43 years of independence, this truth needs to be perceived in order to restart the journey of establishing the 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh'. Because, Bangladesh cannot deny to establish her 'Birth-Philosophy'. The starting of this millennium should have been the celebration year for Bangladesh as a poverty and illiteracy free country, but even after one and half decade of that, Bangladesh is still planning for becoming a middle-income country in 2021. After crossing the 43rd anniversary of independence, Bangladesh has to face the most crucial question of what is the future of Bangladesh. What will be the answer to this question? No one knows! These feelings have led a young Bangladeshi to draw the future of Bangladesh based on the study of time.

1.1 Key Components of Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh (BPB)

1. Bangali Cultural-Civilization, Nationalism and Secularism
2. Discrimination and Deprivation Free Governance
3. Economic Freedom and Poverty Free Country
4. Ensuring Basic Rights of People
5. Cravings for a Welfare State

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Notes: 1. A book titled "Future of Bangladesh: A Vision Towards Building a Welfare State" has just been completed for publishing. This paper is part of that book. 2. Views expressed in the article are author's own.

1.1.1 BPB: A Brief Explanation

The tyranny of the Pakistani ruler made the people of this region adamant to making an independent state where there would be no misrule, no discrimination, no social deprivation, and no social injustice. This nation strongly hoped to establish a welfare state for themselves and their future generation. '1947' was the biggest mistake of Indian political history that created scope of destroying the Bangali cultural-civilization, nationalism, secularism and peaceful social life. '1971' was the best time for the Bangali nation to correct that mistake and to establish an independent state based on Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, and secularism. In 1971, the Bangali nation unanimously decided their final destination of building a welfare state where there will be no misrule, no discrimination and deprivation, no poverty, no fanatics, and no violation of human rights. The common people who carried unfortunate luck ages after ages, at least, hoped this. In 1971 this nation also settled the key principles of governing the country-- Bangali nationalism, democracy, secularism and socialism which were the four foundations of the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. This philosophy is called the "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh (BPB)". But the reality is that the dream of the Bangali nation was not fulfilled. Before completion of one decade as an independent state, Bangladesh went away from her "birth-philosophy" and stood against it. From then, Bangladesh lost the way. It might be true that by going away from her birth-philosophy, Bangladesh killed her own dream and promise that once Bangladesh had. It might also be true that by doing these, Bangladesh killed her bright future. It was just a suicidal act for Bangladesh.

1.2 The Constitution Admits BPB

The constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh proclaimed in 1972 in the light of the values and principles of great liberation war offers all the necessary directions for building a democratic, egalitarian, and secular welfare-state. The constitution of 1972 could be the guideline for us in building a just society. One thing should be clear to all that the liberation war'1971 gave birth to our independent Bangladesh. So liberation war and its values should never be a matter of negligence. Some articles are quoted here from the constitution of Bangladesh. Seventh Schedule [Article 150 (2)]-The proclamation of Independence. It reads: "---- In order to ensure for the people of Bangladesh, equality, human dignity and social justice."¹ In the preamble of the constitution, it is said, "Further pledging that, it shall be a fundamental aim of the state to realize through the democratic process a socialist society, free from exploitation, a society in which the rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice, political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens."² Regarding fundamental rights, Article 27 states, "All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law."³ Article 28.(1) states, "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth."⁴ Article 29.(1) states, "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in respect of employment or office in the service of the Republic."⁵ Article 29.(2) states, "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office in the service of the Republic."⁶ However, the constitution of Bangladesh declares that the people are the source of all power. In reality, it is just a mockery.

2.0 PEOPLE'S TTQ and TTCP

People of today's Bangladesh who are supposed to be the owner of the country as enshrined in the Article 7 of the constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, have some questions but answers are not found. People are much more anxious about those questions. What are these questions and concerned issues? These are presented here under the headline of "Top Ten Questions (TTQ)" and "Top Ten Concern of People (TTCP)" respectively.

2.1.1 TTQ

- Q1. When will the political violence be stopped?
- Q2. Is there any possibility of eradicating corruption from this country?
- Q3. When will patriotism and nationalism lead our political leadership?
- Q4. When will stop all sort of mastani, Todbir, extortion in the name of politics?
- Q5. When will law and order be maintained impartially?
- Q6. When will the law enforcing agencies not be used in favor of influential leaders and high officials?
- Q7. When will the highway and city's road be free of traffic jam and accident?

- Q8. When will the common people be treated as honorable citizens of the country by the authority?
Q9. When will all efforts of the government be invested in protecting the people's interest and right instead of violating?
Q10. When will the common people think of the government as their friend?

2.2 Top Ten Concerns of People (TTCP)

There are some identified issues that are randomly interrupting the smooth process of civic life as well as standing as obstacles to sustainable development of the country. Moreover, crisis of development is mainly circled with these issues which are called 'TTCP'.

2.2.1 TTCP

1. Political conflicts
2. Corruption
3. Political mastani, extortion
4. Traffic jam
5. Road accident
6. Prices of essentials
7. Power and electricity
8. Law and order
9. Black money and Todbir (Illegal persuasion)
10. Social injustice

Probably TTCP covers all issues that have already made this nation very helpless and unable to dream for a good day in near future. Ashraf Chowdhury gave evidence, "----- Social instability caused by corruption, cheating, extortion of money, robbery, abduction, eviction, violence at meeting, processions, etc and other organized crimes are important components of daily news of the local dailies in recent years."⁷ It is observed that the electronic and print media are very much busy to cover the news related the 'TTCP'. The large portion of the newspaper pages are occupied by the TTQ and TTCP issues. People want the answers to the questions raised in TTQ but they are not getting any. They feel helpless, sometime they feel as betrayed when any elected government forgets the promises pledged to their voters before election.

3.0 EXPERTS REMARKS ON BANGLADESH'S FUTURE

Some renowned experts and institutions of the country made attempts to draw the picture of future Bangladesh in 1995, 2000 and 2010. A revisit to that is as follows:

a. Eminent writer Abul Monsur Ahmad told us his own thoughts about this country, its independence and people. He wrote, "In my childhood, I saw the downtrodden's poverty and their illiteracy. A handful rich people tortured them and now I see, no change has occurred. ---- The soil of the country has become independent, but the owner of the soil could not be."⁸

b.1974: The Bangla version of Plato's Republic translated by National Professor Sardar Fazlul Karim (1925-2014) was published in 1974. He wrote in 'dedication note' of the book: "By observing the whole society, the situation of social, political and especially prevailing situation in the field of study of knowledge inspired me to dedicate:

"In Bangladesh of 1974
Even then those who study the knowledge
And believe in rationale
For them."⁹

In 1982, he wrote his preface for 2nd edition of the same book, after 8 years of its first publication, "At present in all spheres of our life, instead of decreasing, crisis is increased. For this reason the essence of the dedication note remains the same."¹⁰ Prof. Sardar Fazlul Karim found the situation of the country unchanged both in 1974 and 1982 that could not encouraged him to think himself happy.

c. 1995: In 1995 Musharraf Hossain (Professor, Department of Economics, DU) and Selina Jahan (Associate Professor Department of Economics, DU) jointly wrote an article in *Bangla* entitled "Bangladesh of 2000" (Duihazar saler Bangladesh) which was published in *Bangladesh Journal of Political Economy*. The writers analyzed the key issues related to development of the country including political, social and international and economical condition etc. In conclusion, they wrote, "The picture of 2000 was horrible, in next 15 years, we will have an unfriendly international environment, state machinery will not be people-oriented, there will be broader disparity in social issues, socio-economic ...that is directly related to development that we will have in 2000, might not be development-oriented."¹¹ In 1995, those were their predictions regarding "Bangladesh of 2000". We crossed 2000 13 years ago. We are the finest witnesses to the changes in the last 13 years.

d. 2000: On the eve of the new millennium, the University of Dhaka, the highest learning institute of the land, published a book named 'Bangladesh in the New Millennium'¹² edited by Prof. Abul Kalam (Department of International Relations). In this book, there are some articles written by some professors, experts of respective areas, emphasizing those issues that might happen to Bangladesh in the new millennium. What those professors of the highest educational institution wrote about the future of the country is very important. They predicted about some issues related to development, democracy, society, international relations etc ahead of new millennium. Those were 13 years ago. The areas that were needed to be addressed for the improvement, but after 13 years, substantive changes are not visible.

e. At the threshold of the millennium Prof. Rehman Sobhan expressed his observations regarding the overall situation of Bangladesh. His view "As Bangladeshi nears into the new millennium it may be categorized as a land of unfulfilled promise. It was not always seen as a land of promises, even though promises were made, but quite often they remained unfulfilled. ---The country's adverse demography, hostile natural environment, un-diversified economic structure, extraordinary degree of external dependence and unstable political history contained the necessary ingredients of a failed state.At the dawn of the new millennium Bangladesh has established that there are areas where adversity can be, and has been, transformed into opportunity which could point to a promising future."¹³

f. A letter entitled 'Vision of the Young' written by this writer which was published in the *Daily Star* in January 1997.

It reads, "I enjoyed The *Daily Star* seminar 'Vision of the Young' on 13 January'97. I want to thank The *Daily Star* family, especially the editor Mr. Mahfuz Anam for this arrangement where the young men got opportunity to express their opinions about the nation. And I would like to thank all the participants for their opinions. There is a great significance of such seminar. The young society is the heart of a nation. I think, we should try to know what the young people are thinking about the nation's present and future. We have crossed a quarter-century as an independent nation. But, what have we got, what was our expectation and what is the present condition of the country? At the end of 20th century, we are the most helpless as a nation in the world. We are going to welcome the 21st century. But what is our preparation in this regard? We really do not have any preparation. This is our limitation and that is the present reality. But our leaders do not seem to realize this reality. Here lies our misery, but there is still time. If we fail to utilize this time, our future will sink in darkness."

I believe what I wrote 17 year ago is also the reality of today's Bangladesh. Needless to explain more. This is the view of the most conscious citizens of the country. In fact it should be.

2.1 2014: Today's reality: Before 12 years, we crossed 2000 and we could easily say how Bangladesh was in 2000. It is true that Bangladesh made some remarkable progress in many sectors but in respect of necessity, it was not satisfactory. Internal political conflict of Bangladesh has been active destroying force for social and economic development. Then in last 15 years, was there not any development in Bangladesh? What are the implications of the growth of GDP, GNI, Remittance, Foreign reserve, and Export in development? There is some development, but it could not make expected changes in the life status of common people. Dr. Nurul Islam currently is serving World Bank as an economist who wrote a book entitled 'Agami Diner Bangladesh'. His views: "The future of Bangladesh depends on which direction the economy goes."¹⁴ Dr. Islam emphasized on the economic policy for predicting the future of Bangladesh. But in this work, it is again and again declared that the future of Bangladesh depends on the

philosophy of state policy and development based on Bangali cultural-civilization, nationalism, and secularism. Prof. Abul Barkat expressed concerns over the situation prevailing in the country. He wrote, "We all are little or much anxious about the overall situation of politics, economy, development and development philosophy of the country and this anxiousness is increasing."¹⁵ He also wrote, "For sustainable development, secular, and patriotic policy is needed."¹⁶ Prof. Mainul Islam made a remark, "State-characteristics of Bangladesh are the main barriers to the development process of Bangladesh."¹⁷

Prof. Rehman Sobahan, Prof. Mozaffar ahmed, Prof. Mainul Islam, Prof. Abul Barkat, none of them expressed satisfaction in observing and analyzing the government policies and actions that were taken and practiced by the previous governments of last 40 years. They all directly or indirectly suggested a secular, more transparent and credible governance policy for ensuring good governance and materializing the key principles and dreams of the great liberation war of 1971. In their views, the principles of liberation war should be the development philosophy of Bangladesh. All the renowned experts have come to a single point is they all are optimistic about the bright future of Bangladesh that depends on the secular state-policy and its practice and appropriate use of resources and opportunities.

4.0 POST-INDEPENDENCE CRISIS

The present reality of Bangladesh gives evidence that Bangladesh failed to face the post-independence crises due to some factors for which all crises that Bangladesh is facing at present are created. Bangladesh is such a state that was born with heavy expectations of its citizens and debt for its own creation. After independence, this state failed to fulfill the hope of the people. Golam Murshed wrote about this expectation of Bangalis as they fought for an independent land. He wrote, "The Bangalis won independent Bangladesh through a nine month war. In an independent country, practice of human rights, economic freedom, secularism and democracy were expected to such a level that the Bangalis did not get, even though, the colonial regime ended."¹⁸ Many scholars and eminent citizens bear the same views. Why Bangladesh could not proceed towards her destination of building a developed country based on the 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh'. Bangladesh won the liberation war but failed to face the post-independent crises. The fate of Bangladesh was unfortunate. It can be said, denial to establish the 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' and values of our great liberation war in national and social life might be the reason for creating post-independence crisis.

There are five basic factors including all the sub-factors and reasons identified under the title 'Factors for Post-Independence Crisis (FPIC)'.

4.1 Factors for Post-Independence Crisis (FPIC)

1. Repudiation of Bangali Cultural-Civilization and Nationalism
2. Discrimination and Social Deprivation
3. Political and Social Instability and Conspiracy
4. Exploitation of State-Power and Wealth
5. International Relations and Conspiracy

4.1.1 FPIC: A Brief

A group of people, who did not accept the independence of Bangladesh, were extremely adamant to introduce a new culture based on religion. They never accepted Bangali-culture. A Bangali poet of middle age Abdul Hakim (1620-1690) explained this issue in his famous poem "Bangobani" clearly which we all read in our early stage of student life. He severely criticized those people who tried to divide our history, culture, language, heritage and own civilization on the basis of a particular religion. Abdul Hakim became very serious to identify those culprits who did not show respect to Bangla language. We never forget his words, "Je Sob Bangete Janme Hingse Bangobani/ Sesob Kahar Janma Nrinaye No Jani"¹⁹ [Those who were born in Bangla but disrespect Bangla language, No identity of those people's birth]. He also advised those people to leave Bangla if they did not love Bangla language." This philosophy of patriotism and nationalism is the teaching of Banglai cultural-civilization. The principles, against which the Bangali nation fought in 1971, unfortunately in independent Bangladesh, have been implemented by the state-mechanism. It might be enough for making conclusion that the vision of liberation war is not implemented. Immediate after the independence, Bangladesh mistook the biggest one by not keeping

trust on Bangali cultural-civilization, and nationalism truly that's why hundred of problems and crisis threw the future of Bangladesh to the dark.

The birth of independent Bangladesh was possible because of Bangali nationalism, secularism, and Bangla language. How could it be possible for a people that once united for a common belief and promising future, forget the commitment for which they fought a blood-shedding war and conquered the independence? Immediately after the achievement of the long-coveted independence, the most leading people dramatically changed themselves and became intolerant for becoming rich over night. They did so, as a result, the nation lost the right way. It was possible because of denying Bangali nationalism and patriotism. Prof. Muntasir Mamun became very upset to explain the matter. He has written a book entitled 'Bijayee Hayeeo Ja Parini' in Bangla which is self-explanatory. He shared his bitter experience "No government took any institutional initiative for research on liberation war.—we appealed to many for establishing an institution for research on liberation war, but no one gave ears."²⁰ Justice Habibur Rahaman said, "We fought war of liberation for establishing human rights, but after independence, we could not establish human rights. We violated it."²¹ How state-power and wealth were misused was described in a book written by Sheikh Fazlul Karim Monir. He wrote, "One day I talked with a foreigner. He said, all are good except one think that all you lost your patience. All of you are involved in unexpected competitions for capturing something valuable at once. ---- We are fighting for repairing the war ravaged country.-----Suddenly some people became rich in Bangladesh."²² Probably it does not need to explain more.

The Bangali nation knows how cruel and inhuman the discrimination and social deprivation are. This nation had experience of it during the British and Pakistan period. For this reason, becoming free from discrimination and deprivation this nation fought in 1971. The constitution also prohibits it. Even though it happened in past, it is happening at present and probably it will be continuing to happen in future. Bangladesh was not created for any discrimination and social deprivation based on religion and social status. One of the founding principles of Bangladesh was not to allow any discrimination and social deprivation in any stage of the nation. After the independence, the key positions of the government including civil and military bureaucracy were blocked for some competent and patriotic people who could serve the best for the nation. It was done following the religious doctrine that was followed by the Pakistani ruler. It would be clear if social arrangement viewed by Prof. Sen is studied with due importance. Social arrangements can block the individual's development as well as nation's development. Prof. Sen wrote, "The freedom to lead different types of life is reflected in the persons capability set. The capability of a person depends on a variety of factors, including personal characteristics and social arrangements. A full accounting of individual freedom must, of course, go beyond the capabilities of personal living and pay attention to the person's other objectives, but human capabilities constitute an important part of individual freedom."²³ Social arrangement is an environment developed by the state for its citizens to flourish all human qualities in order to build a successful personality. Think for once, what would have happened to Prof. Amartya Sen himself, if his family had not shifted to India? Within this social arrangement existing in the then Pakistan and presently in Bangladesh, how far could it be possible for him to go? The same question can be raised to the case of former Chief Minister of West Bengal Joty Basu, Dr. Ashok Mitra, Late Satyajit Roy, immortal actress Suchitra Sen and some other prominent personalities who were born in the then East Bengal but unfortunately [Prof. Sen calls it social arrangement] grew up in India and contributed a lot in building India as a modern state. However they were the sons of today's Bangladesh.

5.0 THE PRESENT STATUS OF BANGLADESH

The today's world applauded Bangladesh's journey towards development. They highly astonished to see the progress that Bangladesh has made in the social sectors. The Human Development Index (HDI) of UNDP has put Bangladesh at 142th place out of 187 countries.²⁴ Bangladesh has invested all efforts for becoming the 'Middle-income country'.

5.1 Poverty, Economic and Social Development and MDGs²⁵

The achievements that Bangladesh has made so far in social sectors like primary education, extreme poverty alleviation, access to pure drinking water, public healthcare, and sanitary facilities are remarkable. The MDGs were set by United Nations (UN) in 2000 for achieving the 8 development goals including poverty alleviation, primary education, maternal death, child death, HIV, etc within 2015. In this regard, Bangladesh has made remarkable progress and most of the goals are going to be hopefully achieved. Maternal death rate was 574 in thousand in 1990 and the rate is decreased and stood 194 in 2011. The rate of child mortality was 146 in thousand in 1990 and in 2011, it was 53. In 1990, poverty rate was 47.50 per cent and in 2011 it stood 31.50 per cent. The users of mobile phone are over 100 million and 30 million people are using internet. These rates are rapidly increasing. Child mortality rate is 35 (per thousand life birth, below 1 year age). Life expectancy rate is 69 years while men for 67.9 and women for 70.3 years. It is higher than that of India by 4 years. In 1980 the life expectancy was 55. Key indicators of economy such as GDP growth are 6.03%, per head GDP is 1115 USD, and GNI is 1044 USD.²⁶ The problem of access to drinking water has been solved. The number of landless people is 35.4 per cent and 45.1 per cent people have less than 0.05 acre land. In very recent it is revealed that poverty rate now stands 24.5%.²⁷ However, poverty poses the biggest challenge to the sustainable human resource development.

5.2 National Budget, Export-I ncome and GDP growth²⁸

Bangladesh has witnessed higher GDP (gross domestic product) growth rates. Despite a fall in world output during the immediate aftermath of the financial crisis in 2009, Bangladesh has consistently exceeded growth rates of five per cent since 2009. In the FY 2008-09, the GDP growth rate was below 5 per cent, it was 6.71 in FY 2010-11 which marked the highest one. In the FY 2014-15, the GDP growth is 6.03%. However the GDP growth does not matter until the individual income is increased. Bangladesh stands very near to plan her own budget without taking any financial help from the foreign donors. The total national budget for 2014-15 stands Tk.2, 50,506 Crore.²⁹ Presently Bangladesh needs foreign aid which is 5 per cent of total budget. Bangladesh exports more or less 168 different products and services to almost 186 countries. Export growth has been making progressed. Income from export in 2000-01 was 6767 million USD while it increased up to 8,654.52 million USD in 2004-05 and in 2013-14, it stood at 24,658 million USD.

5.3 Remarks

Are the above statistics able to make people happy? Does the real picture of the country make the people happy? We must want development and GDP growth, but it must have to uphold the life status of the common people until we can't call it development. Whatever the GDP growth is does not matter, matter is how much benefit our common people are getting. It needs to remember that in 2013-14, the budget for social safety net is Tk. 25,371 crore (5.6 per cent of total budget) and total allocation for subsidy on agriculture sector is Tk. 9000 crore. The total amount of these two sectors is Tk. 34,371 crore³⁰ which will go for unproductive use. It means when this allocation stops, poverty rate will increase again, because social safety is directly related to poverty alleviation and subsidy is also directly and indirectly related to it. In the national budget of 2013-14, Annual Development Plan (ADP) is Tk. 65,870 crore and total shortage of the budget is Tk. 55,032 crore which indicates that this country has effort of operating ADP of Tk. 10,838 crore only. In the perspective of sustainable development, this scenario is not hopeful. It means there is a wrong system that allows hiding the real picture of poverty. So, such system is needed which can cut the poverty rate as well as enhance the development process. Ensuring good governance, stopping todibir, discrimination and corruption in governance, and believing in 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' and establishing them in social and national life will show the way.

6.0 NEOCLASSICAL CHALLENGES TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Advancing the Knowledge based Economy

The Daily Star and the Protom Alo published a report on 21st August 2014 that Asian Development Bank (ADB) launched "Innovative Asia: Advancing the Knowledge-based Economy". Bangladesh ranked 27th out of 28 emerging economies in Asia and the Pacific. It speaks that Bangladesh ranked 26th in terms of innovation, 25th in education and skill, and ICT, and 24th in economic and institutional regime. Bangladesh's performance is very poor in those fields that need to be excellent for facing the challenges of 21st century. This is the prime concern of this work that Bangladesh is not only failing to make advance in the field of education, ICT, science, innovation, and knowledge building but also making new crises by perusing an ill-education policy and governance.

6.2 The Development Process: An Observation

The observations regarding the ongoing development process of Bangladesh made by Prof. Jean Dreze and Prof. Sen in the book 'An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradiction' can be presented here. They wrote,

"In fact, the famine of 1974 appeared to vindicate the prophets of doom, some of whom had even dismissed Bangladesh as a 'basket case' country that should not even be assisted because it was sure to lose in the race between population and food. ----- Today, Bangladesh is still one of the poorest countries in the world, and large sections of its population continue to lack many of the bare essentials of good living. And yet Bangladesh has made rapid progress in some crucial aspects of living standards, particularly in the last twenty years—overtaking India in respect of many social indicators in spite of its slower economic growth.-----Some particular features of the Bangladeshi experience are of special relevance to India. Bangladesh is not a model of development by any means. In spite of much recent progress, it remains one of the most deprivation-ridden countries in the world, and many of the policy biases discussed in this book with reference to India apply to Bangladesh as well. With per capita GDP half as high in Bangladesh as in India, and public expenditure a mere 10 per cent or so of GDP in Bangladesh (again about half as much as in India), public services in Bangladesh are inevitably restrained, and whatever is already in place suffers from serious accountability problems, much as in India. Democratic institutions in Bangladesh are also in some trouble, maintaining a tradition by which opposition parties do not seem to attend Parliament. And yet there are also features of astonishing achievement in Bangladesh that cannot but excite interest, curiosity and engagement. ----The roots of Bangladesh's social achievements are not entirely transparent, and deserve much greater scrutiny."³¹

At the launch of his new book, 'An uncertain glory' Nobel laureate economist Amartya Sen said, "India needs a fundamental changes in politics and the political economy of the country. The government has to play a much larger role in healthcare that brings economic growth and for that we need a fundamental change."³² Dr. Sen might say it for the betterment of Indian future. But we believe, it is also much relevant to Bangladesh situation. As we do not have one Prof. Amartya Sen who will spontaneously come to identify the successes and failures of the country without thinking of any return, so Bangladesh should treat this book as 'An Uncertain Glory: Bangladesh and it's Contradictions' and go ahead accordingly. By analyzing the above remarks, five key features are found which are related to the ongoing development process of Bangladesh and needed to be addressed. These are:

1. Bangladesh is not a role model of development by any means.
2. Bangladesh is a deprivation-ridden country.
3. Public service is restrained and accountability problems.
4. Democratic institutions are in some troubles.
5. The root of Bangladesh's social achievement is not entirely transparent.

6.3 P1 & P2: Philosophical and Phenomenal Challenges

Phenomenal crises occur due to philosophical crises. Philosophical issues are the principal agents that play the important role in forming a nation's character which is responsible for paving the way to development and civilization.

6.3.1 Philosophical Challenges

1. Education
2. Bangali Cultural-Civilization
3. Bangali Nationalism and Building of Secular State
4. Patriotism
5. Social Justice and Discrimination

Today's reality of Bangladesh is the consequence of denying the importance of philosophical issues. Philosophical foundation based on Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism is the first thing that needs to be developed for making sustainable development, if it is denied, sustainable development would not be possible to achieve. Why were philosophical crises created? In a word it can be said that the denial to establish the 'birth-philosophy of Bangladesh' was the principal reason for this. Without resolving philosophical crisis, phenomenal crisis cannot be solved. That's why despite engaging all efforts for alleviation of poverty, complete success was not achieved in the last 40 years. Moreover corruption and political unrest are jointly destroying the future of Bangladesh. Corruption and political unrest also occur due to philosophical crisis. Resource might be limited but advanced philosophy is needed to utilize those limited resource for the greater interest of the nation. It also helps in gaining sustainable human resources development. And sustainable human resource development leads to building a peaceful society. The present education system failed to produce patriotic and resourceful generation. Earlier it is said that a large portion of the people do not have faith in 'birth-philosophy of Bangladesh' and Bangali cultural-civilization, nationalism, and secularism. They never accepted the independence of Bangladesh. Reality is that some of them were in power. The values of liberation war are treated as a gone-case. Even some people hate those things. These issues are neglected and dishonored while money and power are honored everywhere. But the 21st century development denies this policy. Thus crises arose.

6.3.2 Phenomenal Challenges

1. Politics and Poverty
2. Environmental Degradation
3. Corruption and Financial Control
4. Good governance and Todbir Culture
5. Globalization and IT Revolution

Phenomenal issues are visible and worldly. These issues are needed for meeting the basic needs of human life. These are as such: soil, water, air, fire, metal, appetite, household needs, medical treatment, politics, poverty, environmental degradation, corruption and governance, and more specifically day-to-day needs and problems such as traffic jam, road accident, arsenic contamination in water, food safety, security of wealth, infrastructure and accommodation problems, utility crisis, and etc. There are the examples of phenomenal crises which are created due to philosophical crises.

7.0 FUTURE OF BANGLADESH: THE KSV SOLUTION

It needs to be clear that the KSV gives much more importance on philosophical issues like Bangali cultural-civilization, nationalism, secularism, social justice, human rights which are very much essential to establish a progressive, peaceful, egalitarian society leading towards building a welfare state. For this, a secular, progressive, and time-demand oriented education policy based on Bangali nationalism and cultural-civilization is urgently needed. A comment made by Prof. Rehman Sobahan, on the occasion of 40th anniversary of independence of Bangladesh, reflected the same. His remark: "Bangladesh, viewed from a global perspective, is a country which in its emergence as an independent state was possessed of a variety of positive assets which could have transformed it into a dynamic, democratic society. ----- I

will structure the paper around three pivotal themes associated with such an agenda for sustaining hope in Bangladesh – democracy, nationalism and social justice. --- Our goals of democracy, secularism and nationalism will remain unsustainable if we cannot establish a more equitable society permitted by a spirit of social justice.”³³ The KSV solution has been formulated based on Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and patriotism in order to reach the destination of a democratic, developed, and welfare state. In this work, “Welfare State”, “Development”, “Poverty”, and “Bangali cultural-civilization” have been redefined in the light of the ‘Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh’.

7.1.0 Welfare State

The conventional concept of welfare state is a system whereby the state undertakes to protect the health and well-being of its citizens, especially those in financial or social need, by means of grants, pensions, and other benefits. The Beveridge Report of 1942 introduced the concept of welfare state. The "welfare state" usually refers to an ideal model of provision, where the state accepts responsibility for the provision of comprehensive and universal welfare for its citizens. Political system of the state (rather than the individual or the private sector) will have the responsibility for the welfare of its citizens, providing a guaranteed minimum standard of life, and insurance against the hazards of poverty, illness, and social deprivation.

7.1.1 Characteristics of Welfare State in the Perspective of Bangladesh

The traditional concept of welfare state is not used in this work. In this work, the state can be a welfare state by ensuring good governance and proper use of state resource and power with transparency and accountability, protecting the social and constitutional rights and stopping social deprivation and discrimination. There might be poverty, scarcity of resources, lot of problems (unemployment and thousands of social problems), but there will be no scope for stealing the money of poor people by the authority or any other influential section. There will not be any scope in the state-machinery that allows using money and power against the mass people. The state-machinery, under any circumstances, must stand in favor of the greater interest of the people and people's rights and security. The government cannot do anything so that the basic rights of the people and greater interest of the nation will be substantially hindered and destroyed. The state must have projects for serving the destitute and distressed people. The state that distributes food and cloth among the people and side by side also violates human rights and allows discrimination, social deprivation and corruption will not be a welfare state by any means.

7.1.2 Six Principles for Building Welfare State

Bangladesh will be a welfare state if the following 6 principles can be established in social and national life.

1. Here ‘Welfare state’ does not mean that the government operates Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF), KABIKA card in one hand and in another hand human rights are violated by the agency of the state. By giving free food and health care and arranging education, a state cannot be a welfare state until it ensures human rights as well as civil and political rights and social opportunities for all people irrespective of caste, color, creed, sex, and religion. The state will not be the cause of violating human rights of any citizen. The state mechanism (such as law enforcing agencies, etc) will not be used against any section of the people for fulfilling illegal or evil design of some influential sections. The state will ensure good governance, proper utilization of state power and resource, and disallow social deprivation and discrimination at every stage.

2. The ‘Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh’ refers to Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and principles of liberation war will be the foundation for building welfare state. It needs to mention that without upholding the honor of Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and founding principles, no action will be allowed.

3. The state must have to ensure the practice the principle enshrined in the article no. 7 of the constitution of Bangladesh: ‘All citizens are equal before law’. This obligation of the constitution of the people's republic of Bangladesh must have to be reflected in every level of the governance. The government has to ensure this practice properly and sincerely.

4. The state will have the responsibility of earning people's trust that the state will always try to protect their rights and uphold the status of the nation. Every citizen should also be careful in leading life. They will have to obey every rule and regulation of the state and maintain a decent code of life without violating social values, norms, and culture. The people of the country also should be responsible and honest to have the opportunities of a welfare state.

5. The state shall try its level best for arranging sufficient arrangement of food, cloth, education, shelter, health care, and employment opportunity for its extreme poor people.

6. Every citizen should have access to social arrangement and state based arrangement equally. The final essence of the state mechanism is to uphold the dignity of every citizen by providing necessary assistance and guidance.

7.1.3 Development

In this work, "development" means an equal opportunity for all human being for flourishing all human qualities in order to build one's own fortune in a healthy and secured environment supported by the state in the light of the 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh'. Development is an internal initiative for expanding life and work. Development denotes such kind of development that includes all the issues of human life and natural environment. The essence of welfare development lies in the message of Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore said, "If we cannot protect ourselves from poverty, all kinds of disasters will attack us. Resource lies in each of us, when we could realize this easy thing and work accordingly, we could save ourselves from poverty."³³ The duty of the state is to arrange the environment that Prof. Amartya Sen named 'social arrangement'.

7.1.4 Components of the 21st century development

1. Social and economic arrangements for flourishing human quality
2. Political and civil rights
3. Democracy, freedom, and civilization
4. Healthy Living Environment
5. Government Expenditure on Public Healthcare and Primary Education
6. Ensure of Good Governance and Equal Access to Public Employment and Opportunity
7. No Social Deprivation and Discrimination
8. Equal Access to the State Mechanism
9. Natural Environment
10. State Initiative for Protection against Injustice

One has to meet some criteria for recognition to be poverty free person.

7.1.5 Criteria for Poverty Free Person

1. Have a specific income source.
2. Have capability to have quality food (clean, fresh and artificial/medicine free food)
3. Healthy living environment (Out of unhealthy elements—air and water pollution, dustbin, garbage, wastage).
4. Have ability to meet the primary cost of healthcare, clothing and children's education.
5. 5 per cent of income is to be saved monthly.
6. If any person takes micro credit, he/she has to repay it without taking micro credit for second time from different organizations.
7. Have access to entertainment.

7.1.6 What is Bangali Cultural-Civilization?

In a word the continuous and various expressions of life related to living is culture. Bangali cultural-civilization denotes Bangla literature (prose, novel, essays, songs, etc), arts, music, and drama, which are written based on the root of Bangla language and region, Bangali culture, history, heritage, and above all people's life. Literature, arts, and music etc are the elements of civilization. That's why in this work, it is called 'Bangali cultural-civilization'. Bangali cultural-civilization produced Bangali nationalism that led to independent Bangladesh. The Bangla literature and culture have been playing the most important role in building the Bangali nation-state and forming the mind-set of Bangali-nation.

8.0 THE KALYAN'S STATE VISION (KSV)

The Kalyan's State Vision (KSV) have been formulated in order to start the journey of building a democratic, and developed welfare state based on Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, and secularism.

8.0.1 Assumption of the KSV

1. Building a truly democratic and developed welfare state is not an easy and short-term process. It is a matter of changing and rebuilding the mind-set of the nation. So it takes time to reform the mind-set of the nation. True education based on Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism can be the base for reforming the mind-set of this nation. In this regard, education is the best policy of rebuilding the mind-set of the nation. The KSV is for 25 years plan. (If it is started in 2015 the final goal will hopefully be achieved in 2040 or if it will start in 2020, then the year of 2045 will be the celebration year. But if any undesired radical change may occur by this time, time and process will need to be reformulated in that new context.)

2. The 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' has to be established at every stage of social and national life in order to build a welfare state.

8.0.2 Foundation of the KSV

The KSV stands on the five principal foundations. Each of the foundation is explained below in the perspective of Bangladesh's reality. Here it needs to be mentioned that key issues of those foundations are explained briefly because it is not possible to explain every pros and cons here. At the time of implementation (if!) detailed action plan and management system can be prepared.

Foundation of the KSV:

1. New Education Commission (NEC)
2. Authority of New Bangladesh (ANB)
3. Commission for Welfare State (CWS)
4. National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)
5. Bangali-Savyata

8.1.0 New Education Commission (NEC)

In this KSV, education is considered the mother foundation of all enlightenment and transformation to development. Education must be based on Bangali cultural civilization, nationalism, secularism, and patriotism and it must have the capacity of facing challenges of 21st century. The present education system failed to generate human recourse and build knowledge based society which is a precondition to a developed and democratic welfare state. So this education system needs to be radically reformed. New Education Commission (NEC) is to be established for doing it.

8.1.1 Vision of NEC

1. To ensure education based on Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism for producing patriotic citizens who will also be human resource in respect of economy and development of globalization perspective, in order to build a democratic and developed welfare state—Bangladesh. This education will produce such a generation who will be able to pay the price of the sacrifice made by thousands of martyrs during the liberation war in 1971.

2. New education policy must have such ability that produces a new generation who will not know how to tell a lie or how to make harm to the nation's interest.

3. New education system will produce both skilled workforce and truly higher educated society.

4. In all activities, the "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh" will be the supreme-path.

8.1.2 Higher Education

New education system will be divided into two parts—1. Information Technology and Technical (ITT) line
2. General Education (GE) line. Though, the existing education system has both of these parts. It allows all to go for general education without judging their merit and capacity. One group will be the technically

skilled workforce who will meet the blue color job and other group will get the higher education. The total process will be entirely based on merit, competency and capacity, not on the capacity of providing educational cost and family's status.

8.1.3 ITT line

The current curriculum for primary to class VIII will remain unchanged. After completion of class VIII, the pupil will have to sit for an examination called 'Selection for Professional Life (SPL)'. The top 50 per cent pupil will be allowed to study for general higher education and the rest 50 per cent will mandatory go for Technological Diploma School (TDS) where they will get education and practical training for 3 years. Every subject that is needed for our day-to-day life such as health, electricity, IT communication, Ready Made Garment (RMG), Designing, Ceramic, Print and Electronic media, Publications, Mobile technology, etc will be the courses of TDS. The degree may be called "Technical graduate" degree. After completion the diploma, they will go for working life. By forming a commission encompassing respective experts, the detailed curriculum, management body, financial issue, and other related issues might be finalized. The objective of TDS is to produce skilled manpower that can be self-employed or recruited home and abroad.

8.1.4 General Education line

The top 50 per cent of SPL will be allowed to study the bachelor and master degree in different disciplines as currently it is going on. But in every step, quality of education must be ensured. It needs to be reassured that 100% quality of education must be ensured. Otherwise all efforts will be in vain.

8.1.4.1 Text Book

The text books and curriculum system should be such that the seed of patriotism based on Bangali nationalism is planted in the minds of the pupils at their early stage. They will not be allowed to know how corruption is done. Their only doing is to study and they will be given assurance of getting decent jobs according to their respective quality. They will be given selected books where they find lessons of how to build a good life for the family, society and the nation above all. The general text books like Bangla, English, and History will be based on Bangali cultural-civilization, history, art, culture, language, and environment. The principal objective is to produce patriotic young generation who will be such kind of people who can sell their blood for buying book or food, but not sell the interest of their homeland at any circumstance. This young generation will know that the way to become financially solvent is to work without which not a single paisa can be earned. The detailed design of curriculum and other issues should be finalized by the commission.

8.1.5 Education Management

The recruitment process of teachers in every educational institution from primary to university should be sharply fair and fine based on merit, academic background and teaching capability. Only educational certificates cannot be the total qualification for being a teacher. The existing system of recruiting teachers in universities including Dhaka University needs to be reformed. The Daily Star published a report on 11th December 2007 where the former University Grant Commission (UGC) chairman Prof. Nazrul Islam said that some teachers are really unqualified for being a teacher of a university. He said, "Last 10 years some teachers recruited in public universities were not qualified, even that some of them are unable to teach in a university."³⁴ It was possible due to political influence (Todbir), nepotism and impartial judgment of merit. University teacher can be recruited through PSC. It may be mentioned that the system of registration for being a teacher in non-government high school and college is praiseworthy. It is really a good system in such a country where no good system remains good due to abuse of political power and corruption. Teachers are the nation-builders, they are also the builders of civilization. Rabindranath Tagore said, "With the power of muscle, many can be whatever they wish, but with that power none can be a teacher."³⁵ The Bangladesh reality has made Rabindranath's statement false because many have become teachers using power and money.

The existing management system of govt. primary, non govt. high school and college needs to be changed. There is a system of managing committee to manage this educational institution. But in reality, this system of managing committee makes hindrance to conduct the smooth process of education in

learning places. In most cases, this managing committee creates problems and crisis for the learning places.

8.1.5.1 What to do

1. There will be no 'managing committee' for primary school.
2. No elected representative (local govt. or parliament) can be either member or chairman of the managing committee.
3. The candidate for member must have some qualifications such as (a) not less than graduate; (b) Have definite income source and financial solvency.
4. The candidate for member will not have any link with political parties.

8.1.6 Fund and Refunding Policy

The government will initially provide funds for ensuring education for all and all arrangements as it is doing now. After completion of higher studies, when a person gets jobs, he/she will have to refund one-fourth of total cost expended for his/her educational purpose. Those who are engaged in blue-color job and technically skilled will have to refund a fixed amount of money. An example can clear the matter. Suppose: a student of Dhaka University has completed Bachelor degree and got job. The counting of expenditure for that student is to be started from H.S.C. to Bachelor degree. For that student a total expenditure might be Tk. 5 lac. Then he/she will have to refund one-fourth of the total expenditure i.e. Tk. 1.25 lac only on installment (Tk.20, 000 /year i.e. 6 installments). For a student of TDS, the amount might be fixed at Tk. 20,000 only. The amount of money earned from this refund project will be spent for the development of primary and secondary educational sectors and children's healthcare.

8.1.7 Professional Life

After completion of education, these newly educated people will start their working life. In this regard, government will do as much as possible, side by side NGOs and corporate business firms' door will be open for them. When a young man gets job that allows him to earn money, by this way he can contribute for himself and his family.

8.1.8 Education: Only One Guarantee (EOOG)

Education will be only the guarantee for a prosperous life. Some steps need to be taken for making it realized.

8.1.8.1 Iron Step First (ISF)

There is a only one step called 'Iron Step First (ISF) that will be able to change the entire face of Bangladesh. How is it possible and what is the step? Why is it called ISF? Step is very easy and clear. Introducing the step only needs firm commitment and patriotism for making a developed Bangladesh. If the government comes forward to inaugurate a new history that will once present a beautiful Bangladesh, the government will have to declare an open policy that "Recruitment" will be made based on written test and academic results and no viva will be taken in any public recruitment including BCS, public university, school, college and all ministries of the government. It must be ensured that written test will be 100 per cent fair. If it is possible to introduce and practice fairly, it will surely set a milestone in the development history not only in Bangladesh, but also in the third world countries.

8.1.8.2 Result of EOOG

1. Improving the quality of education (Teacher may not come to class, but students will surely study, students will not find the cause of teacher's absence, rather they will be busy to complete their lessons. In such a situation teachers will also be active.) Campus violence will be zero. Social crime and degradation of social values will be minimized. Real brilliant student leadership will flourish. The future leaders of the nation will come up.
2. Corruption, bribery and todbir culture will find the way to hide. Discrimination and social deprivation will be decreased drastically.
3. Accountability and transparency can be ensured. Poverty alleviation and economic development process will be strengthened.

4. The common people especially the down-trodden, poor farmers and villagers will have less concern about their children's future. When they know that education will give guarantee of employment for their children, they will invest their whole efforts in the education of their children. Thus society will be enlightened and enlightened society will play the unparalleled role in building a knowledge based society. Knowledge based society is the symbol of civilization and peaceful living environment. Finally Bangladesh will become a developed welfare state. It is the duty of the government to establish such good policy in governance. The young generation should come forward. The student society, media and civil society can take the responsibility of materializing this policy "Education: Only One guarantee". The media can play the pioneering role. For the sake of the future of the country's brilliant young generation, the both electronic and print media can play this role in establishing "EOOG" policy.

8.1.9 Institute of Young Generation (IYG)

8.1.9.1 Objectives

1. To arrange necessary social arrangement (education, employment opportunity, etc.) for young generation so that they can be patriotic citizens and lead their lives in the light of Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism and secularism.
2. To formulate suggestions and providing guidance to the young generation to be grown up based on Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism.

8.1.9.2 Activities

IYG will basically observe the current trend of young generation and act as a helping instrument for guiding the young generation towards building life based on true education and patriotism under the umbrella of Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism. It will be good to mention here that development should be based on Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism without which the real interest of this nation will not be served. We should not forget that Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism gave us an independent country for realizing and promoting the Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism in our social and national life. The young generation is the key instrument of doing this. So every young person should be such a personality that reflects Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism as well as true global values and intellectuality. Thus one can be a leading citizen of global village. IYG will have to work with this purpose.

8.2 Authority for New Bangladesh (ANB)

8.2.1 Vision

To stop the current trend of corruption, discrimination, irregularities, malpractice in governance which has already become threat to the greater interest of the nation and to ensure good governance in order to build a developed welfare state.

8.2.2 Monitoring Market and EVAT

Bangladesh has been practicing open market policy. But a state must have the right to protect and promote its own interest. In this perspective, World Bank (WB), World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and such kind of world bodies will have very few scopes to warn the state. We know, a gulf of income disparity exists in our society. Those who expend with a free hand without counting will have to pay extra tax to the authority. This trend instigates the other young people who are having very limited money to live. When it happens to any society, some young people will go for making money at any cost without thinking about consequences. By this way, young people get emotionally involved with illegal ways that automatically take them to dark life. How lavish life can be controlled needs to be found out. One way might be such: Introducing 'Extra Value Added Tax (EVAT)'. EVAT system will be introduced for buying luxurious commodity. Those who buy such items will have to pay extra 25 per cent of the price as EVAT. As for an example: A lady customer buys a dress of value Tk. 15,000, she will have to pay Tk. 3,725 as EVAT. For the citizens of a least developed country, there should not be such arrangement in the market where without giving account to the authority, people can expend as much as they wish for such a commodity which may raise question and make broader disparity in the society.

8.2.3 Controlling the Financial Activities and Corruption

Financial activities (Income, expenditure, deposit etc. of individual or group or enterprise) must be monitored and controlled by the government of Bangladesh. If Bangladesh wants to establish good governance and drive out corruption, she has to do it, otherwise, corruption will kill the future of Bangladesh. A report entitled 'New strategy drawn up to fight graft' was published in the Daily Star on 13th August 2012. It reads, "In a move to fight corruption, the government has drafted 'National Integrity Strategy' that calls for mandatory publication of wealth statements of lawmakers, judges and government officials. Development partners especially Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) have been putting pressure on the government to prepare the strategy in the wake of corruption allegations over the Padma Bridge Project (PBJ). All kinds of financial activities whether it is done by individual or group must be transparent, legal and known to the authority. ANB can be such kind of controlling body for looking after those issues. However, there is a system for which people irrespective of identity will have to maintain all kinds of financial transaction legally, otherwise they will face charges. If corruption level were tolerable, then Bangladesh could be middle-income country 20 years ago. Corruption is the biggest barrier to development and democracy of Bangladesh. There is no alternative to stop corruption. In this regard, ANB will work with Bangladesh Bank (BB), National Bureau of Revenue (NBR) and Anti Corruption Commission (ACC).

8.2.4 IER card

Those who spend more than Tk. 1 lack per month for maintaining family will have to submit an Income and Expenditure Report (IER) card explaining the income and expenditure in details with supporting papers, voucher, and cash memo to the ANB. This will be mandatory for all. All concerned people will have to do it at their respective initiative and responsibility.

Example 01: A person (government official or businessman) submits an IER card. He claims in the card that he expends Tk. 1, 10,000 in a month. His monthly income is Tk. 45,000. How he managed the rest of the amount he spent will have to be explained. If he takes the loan from the office or he borrows the amount from other people (may be his relatives), he will have to explain it. If he takes loan, how and when he will refund the loan, will have to inform in the IER card. Then the authority will investigate whether information given in IER card is true or false. Definitely false information will follow the next step.

Example 02: If a person (government official or businessman) constructs a building, he will have to take permission from the authority before starting of construction works. In this case, he must submit application with providing necessary information of his income and construction cost in details. After getting application the ANB will investigate and issue permission letter. If any false information is found in the investigation, the stern action must be taken. The same process is equally applicable to all people of the country. Here one thing must be ensured that those who will investigate under the new authority must be out of any short of irregularities. Their IER card must be checked and cross-checked by the officials of different departments. If any irregularity is found in their IER card, then they (Officials who investigate others' IER Card) will be punished immediately.

Example 03: For checking corruption and irregularities occurred in past and for future warning, there can be done one thing. A commission will have to be formed for investigating the records of buying and selling the flats, land and construction of new buildings in the city (8 divisional cities) areas for last 20 years. All the information including buyers name, occupation, yearly income etc will be included in the report. The commission will report to the Authority for New Bangladesh (ANB) with their suggestions and remarks. According to the report next steps will be taken by the authority. If it is possible to do, next 20 years will be finest time for the development of Bangladesh. The commission can take other initiatives for conducting a survey among the billionaires of the country for making a 'Database' about their identity, occupation, education, social status, and so on. [Any Non government organization like TIB can take the initiative with the permission of the govt.]

8.2.5 Bank Account for Young People

It is said many times that the young people are the future of the nation. With these young people, we have to build our future Bangladesh. For this reason, the young generation needs to be cared. Financial

dealings of a young person need to be monitored. Opening a bank account and transaction should be monitored so that any abnormal transaction cannot be made. The objective of this is to make them to be honest in financial matter as result they will be habituated in dealing financial transaction fairly. When they deposit more than 20 thousand taka at a time, they will have to explain how this amount of money is earned.

8.2.6 Declaration of Working Life

A person, when he or she starts his or her working life in any means such as joining a job or doing business, will have to declare his/her working life in detail such as monthly income and possible expenditure and savings etc.

Example: Someone declares that his monthly salary is Tk.30, 000. After two years if this person will have more than Tk. 5 lack in his account, how this amount could be possible to deposit, this person will have to explain. If the amount will be over 50 lac or one crore taka, the official concerned of the bank will have to face charges because a person who earns Tk.30,000 per month cannot be a billionaire over five years. This abnormal case should have been identified earlier. In today's Bangladesh, the way of becoming a billionaire is so easy that it attracts everyone to be as such and this easy way throws the whole Bangladesh into the deep sea of dark. Bangladesh must have to be saved from this easy game of becoming billionaire. If it could not be possible, the future of Bangladesh will not be saved.

8.2.7 Land Reform and Utilization (LRU)

There will be a unit named 'Land Reform and Utilization (LRU)' under the management of ANB. It will work for achieving the objectives stated below.

8.2.7.1 Objectives

1. To act so that an egalitarian society could be possible to build.
2. To ensure proper use of the government land.
3. To reduce the number of landless people by distribution of khas land among the real landless people and to ensure that those people can use the land in order to improve their economic condition.

Land is the primary source of resource. Proper use and distribution of land is essential for both development and minimizing the gap between the poor and the rich. Prof. Abul Barakat expressed concern about the land reform program as he thought that for sustainable development of the country the khash land should be distributed among the real landless people and farmers. Regarding the matter his views, "Many commissions have been formed except land commission. Reforms in agriculture land, water body and khash land do not get any momentum. You cannot expect to achieve goals of development without properly addressing the land reform issue."³⁶ Ceiling systems in ownership of land may be introduced for minimizing the gap between the rich and the poor. Prof. Rehman Sobahan found in his study, "If ceiling is 3 ha, 1.1 million acres land will be available for redistribution."³⁷ The landless people are 35.4 per cent in the country. There are 45.1 per cent people have less than 0.05 acre land. In fact, over 50 per cent people are landless. Land reform can end this crisis.

8.2.9 Institute of Good Governance (IGG)

8.2.9.1 Objectives

- i. To ensure good governance.
- ii. To formulate suggestions for promoting good governance.
- iii. To identify the violation of good governance in the government action.

In the perspective of Bangladesh reality, what the meaning of good governance is in this work is described below.

8.2.9.2 Seven Principles of Good Governance

1. To ensure the proper utilization of public fund, resources and opportunity without making any irregularities, discrimination and deprivation. Every activity of the government will be people-oriented and transparent.
2. To ensure providing utilities without harassment of the people.

3. To ensure providing due-service to the people without harassment and difficulty.
4. To try to mitigate the people's anxiety and sufferings.
5. To ensure that any government policy and action will not harm the people's interest.
6. Whether the government's action can end the sufferings of the people or not will be the second issue, the first issue is the government's action will not increase the sufferings of the people. When the government of any state of the world (especially in the third world) can ensure it, the citizens will spontaneously call it people-oriented government.
7. The government will have to earn trust of the citizens through its actions.

Public recruitment must be fair and transparent, because it is the beginning point of governance. Earlier "Education: Only One Guarantee (EOOG)" policy is discussed. If it is not implemented, at least, BCS examination system should be reformed.

8.2.9.3 New System of BCS Examination³⁸

1. There will no preliminary/MCQ test, because, preliminary/MCQ test for an hour cannot judge the merit of a candidate. There will be written test and successful candidates will face viva.
2. Total viva marks will be 50 where a candidate who will be present before the viva board will be given minimum 50 per cent marks and no candidate will fail.
3. Total marks for written test will be 700 and viva for 50 marks.
4. Cadre choice system will remain the same.

Much has been talked about BCS viva. Probably no single country is found in the world where in the recruitment examination of civil service/govt. officers, 200 marks is reserved for viva. Question may be raised whether it is possible for a five minute viva to judge a candidate's merit and ability for 200 marks. Justice Habibur Rahman viewed that 20 per cent of administrative personnel are efficient officers in civil bureaucracy. ---For helping the partisan people, 200 marks viva system is introduced in BCS examination.³⁹ However, for establishing transparency and accountability, viva mark should not be above 50. Distribution of viva marks in BCS Exam may be as follows: presentation style- 10; psychological strength-10; correct answer-20; personality, pronunciation and smartness-10. It will definitely reduce corruption and illegal deals.

8.2.10 Civil and Military Bureaucracy

In any undeveloped country, the role of civil and military bureaucracy is important in respect of achieving sustainable development and functioning democracy. If the steps stated above can be implemented and monitored properly and the government runs the state with policy based on patriotism and nationalism, the existing laws and regulations will be good enough to manage the civil and military bureaucracy efficiently and effectively.

8.2.11 NGO

The role of NGO in Bangladesh has already got recognition and become the essential part of the development process. Their activities of development are needed for the nation. But in the name of development works, no one should be above laws. Their financial activities and programs must be monitored and controlled by the government. Every NGO has to submit financial statement in every three month and annually. No financial irregularities should be allowed. In this regard, ANB will take necessary steps.

8.2.12 Management of Industrial Development (MID)

Management of public and private industries must be maintained with a view to developing industrial sector without making hindrance to the environment. The authority must do whatever needed for private industry growth including Ready Made Garment (RMG) sector. ANB will also guide this MID so that the industrial development can flourish in a sustainable nature.

8.3 Commission for Welfare State (CWS)

8.3.1 Vision

- a. To ensure the realization of the 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' for building a democratic, developed, and secular welfare state based on Bangali cultural-civilization and Bangali nationalism.

8.3.2 Activities and Management

CWS will be a commission under the control of Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsad. The governing body will be constituted with the representatives of all political parties that have representative in the parliament. The leader of the house will be the Chancellor (the head of CWS will be called 'Chancellor') and the opposition leader will be a distinguished member. There will be executive and research body for conducting the activities of CWS. The executive body will run the CWS and Research body will formulate new policies that are needed for making this 'unfortunate country' as a 'welfare state'. These two bodies will act according to the necessity of building a welfare state. All efforts of government, NGOs, private organizations, corporate houses need to be engaged towards building a welfare state. In order to build a welfare state, whatever is needed to do will be suggested by the CWS. Besides, IPL and IMML will also work under the management of CWS.

8.3.3 Institute of Political Leadership (IPL)

Political leadership is the supreme commander in a democracy for governing the country. The success or failure of any country depends on this quality of political leadership. So leadership should be based on Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and patriotism. Keeping eyes to the future of Bangladesh, from now we have to start of reforming and establishing what we need for building a beautiful Bangladesh. Time is yet to be finished. Now we need to start the journey. In this perspective, the Institute of Political Leadership (IPL) will have to be established. If necessary, laws and regulations will be formulated for establishing IPL. It needs to remember that it is more important to save the nation than building a bridge over the Padma. Because if we can have real patriotic and nationalist political leadership and they lead the country, the dozens of Padma Bridge can be built at our own cost.

8.3.3.1 Vision of IPL

To build the political leadership based on Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and patriotism that will be able to lead Bangladesh for making the 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' true in order to build a democratic and developed welfare-state.

8.3.3.2 Activities of IPL

1. Those who want to contest in any general election or any other elections that arrange for electing people's representatives will have to achieve a certificate from IPL. Without having the certificate of IPL, no one can be allowed to contest in any election. There may be a provision for the persons who are already elected representatives for two terms. As for an example: A person has already been elected the Member of Parliament (MP) for two elections, he/she may be exempted for having IPL certificate. For them, only interview is to be arranged for issuing certificate. In this regard, the governing body of CWS will take the final decision.
2. How to achieve IPL certificate: The interested persons who want to contest in any election will have to register their name with the selected branch of IPL before one year of the election date. They will participate in a three month course for achieving the IPL certificate. This IPL certificate and registration will be mandatory and without this the person will not be allowed to submit nomination paper for contesting in any public election.
3. In registration form, all information will have to be provided, and the IPL authority will investigate them. If any information is found false, the application will be cancelled and the applicant will be declared disqualified to contest in any election for next 10 years. The IPL will declare itself 100 per cent free from corruption.

4. IPL will arrange short and long courses for building leadership. Every person who wants to contest in any election will have to attend minimum three month course certificate of IPL.

5. The activities, management, process of concluding the programs and necessary steps will be elaborately formulated by the government.

8.3.3.3 Additional activities of IPL

The existing government system needs to be reformed. In order to establish political stability and development of political culture, and foster the economic growth, some radical changes should be made in governance system and state policy. IPL will place formal proposal to the governing body of CWS. Then the governing body of CWS may send them to the Jatiya Sangasad for necessary actions.

A1: The tenure of the parliament might four years. An MP can be absent from joining the parliament session for consecutive 30 sitting days of parliament. If he/she is absent from more than 30 sitting days consecutively, the seat will be vacant automatically and for that seat by-election will be arranged (Illness or other issues related to health should be considered and in that case, the concerned MP will have to take leave permission from the speaker). For the greater interest of the future of democracy, boycotting parliament, political violence and such activities need to be stopped. The parliament will amend necessary laws and regulations regarding this.

A2: There will be a 'Senate Committee' system. The parliament will amend necessary laws and regulations to introduce 'Senate Committee' system.

a. Total members will be 25 (10 MPs from ruling party; 10 MPs from all opposition parties in the parliament and 5 eminent personalities.)

b. No minister will be senate member. 25 senate members will elect one chairman and one co-chairman.

8.3.3.4 Activities of Senate

a. National budget, any kind of new law, amendments, any bill, the development projects, appointments of constitutional posts (except President, Prime Minister, Speaker, Chief Justice) such as CEC of election commission, High commissioner/ambassador, Vice-Chancellor of university, UGC chairman, chairman and members of PSC will have to be passed in the senate committee before enactment. Before appointment to those posts, the person will appear before the hearing and present a paper describing his/her vision and mission to the senate.

b. The senate will conduct hearing on any issue related to public interest and security.

c. Any proposal will need to have majority vote of a session for passing. No senate member can exercise veto to any proposal without specific reasons and documents. If it happens the senate member concerned might be impeached through majority vote of the senate committee. In this case, the member will not be allowed to contest in the next two term general election.

d. The Senate may conduct hearing on any activity of the government agencies if it thinks necessary for ensuring good governance and protecting the rights and interest of citizens. The Minister or secretary or CEO may be called to the hearing. All activities of the Senate will be purely fair, unbiased, and non-discriminatory. The violation of these principles may lead to losing the seat in the parliament and the person who violated the rules will not be allowed to contest for two term election.

8.3.4 Institute of Mass Media and Literature (IMML)

In the KSV there are five principal foundations selected for rebuilding the process of building a truly democratic and developed welfare state. Mass media is the most powerful instrument in this regard. Media both electronic and print can play very important role in establishing each and every objective of these five foundations towards the final destination, because in the era of IT and open air culture, both print and electronic media have immense power to command the mass people within a moment.

8.3.4.1 Activities

1. To ensure that no program does harm or make any attempt to disgrace Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and the principles and history of liberation war.
2. No efforts should be taken so that Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, history, and heritage will be dishonored and history is distorted.
3. It will promote Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, sense of secularism, patriotism, history, and heritage.
4. Media can raise awareness and inspire the people to be patriotic.
5. The media must have a role to play for nurturing, cultivating and upholding the culture, heritage, civilization, national interest, and social harmony.
6. Social communication instruments like face book, Twitter etc. are not used properly and lawfully. The Ramu and Pabna incidents and some other communal attacks occurred in the different places of the country during the year of 2013 due to the unethical use of IT based social communications. It destroyed the political and social stability and damaged the image of the country outside. In this regard, necessary policies, rules and regulations should be formulated immediately. It must be ensured that freedom of press cannot be misused in any way. IMML will also work so that such communal incidents never occur. IMML will look into mass media and literary works. In the light of the vision of CWS and Bangali Savyata, necessary plans, rules and management policy might be formulated for conducting IMML.

8.4 National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)

A commission named 'National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)' has already been established. The role of NHRC needs to be such level that can enhance the process of building an egalitarian society. In order to protect the human and social rights as well as to stop the discrimination and social deprivation in governance, NHRC can work. For establishment of 'Education: Only One Guarantee' policy that stated earlier, the commission can play a historic role which will pave the way towards building a democratic, developed, and welfare state in long run.

8.5 Bangali-Savyata

The commission named 'Bangali-Savyata' (Bangali civilization) will have to be established in order to uphold Bangali cultural-civilization and Bangali nationalism which will lead this nation to gain a prestigious position in the world civilization.

8.5.1 Vision

To establish Bangali-Savyata across the world by building a welfare state based on Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and 'Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh'.

8.5.2 Activities

- i. To establish and introduce Bangali-Savyata in the world stage.
- ii. To uphold the Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism.
- iii. To show the seed of philosophy of Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, secularism, and liberation war in the mind of children and young generation so that Bangali-Savyata will be respected by all.
- iv. To promote and circulate the true history of Bangali cultural-civilization and Bangali nationalism.
- v. To ensure all activities of GO, NGOs, or any organization based on truly Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism so that the Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh' can reflect on those activities.
- vi. To certify the texts books of school, college, university and other literature books by examining and analyzing them in the light of Bangali cultural-civilization and nationalism.
- vii. To instruct the print and electronic media in the light of the Bangali-Savyata.

9.0 THE KSV RESULT/CONSEQUENCE

If the implementation of the KSV is started from the year of 2015, it will take 25 years to transform this 'present state' to a 'welfare state' where there will be no poverty, no malnutrition, no corruption, no political unrest, no campus violence, social deprivation and discrimination and where there will be social and economic development, social justice and finally peace in the society. If the KSV is duly implemented, three types of results can be achieved, side by side if it is not implemented, there will be a consequence. The result/consequence is given below:

9.1 Short-Term Result (1-5 years)

1. The rate of poverty and corruption will be decreased.
2. Good governance will be visible.
3. The people's rights and interest will be considered in all activities of the government sincerely and carefully.
4. GDP and GNI growth will be enhanced.
5. The state of environment will be improved.
6. Social life will gradually get stability. Social deprivation and discrimination, and social injustice will be decreased.
7. The young generation will get a message that without quality education and knowledge, there will be no chance to get good job especially BCS and govt. job.
8. The deprived corner of the society will start to rethink about the state-activities and regain their lost faith in the state.
9. The total process of governance will be on the right track.
10. The political unrest and campus violence will be reduced significantly.

9.2 Mid-Term Result (06-15 years)

1. Bangladesh will become a middle-income country.
2. The quality of the common people will be improved. Poverty rate will be below 10 per cent and extreme poverty could be removed in true sense.
3. GDP growth will be between 7.5 and 8.5 per cent.
4. The nation will have a sustainable development process.
5. The quality of education will be standard and campus violence will be nil.
6. Good governance will be ensured. People will to avoid involve in corruption and illegal activities. Social deprivation and discrimination, and social injustice will be disappeared.
7. Democracy will be functioning smoothly and development process will be operated according to the new time's order.
8. The whole society will act with a vision based on patriotism and nationalism.
9. The political culture will be developed.
10. The "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh" and the principles of the constitution will be implemented.

9.3 Final Goal

1. Bangladesh will be transformed into a democratic and developed welfare state based on Bangali cultural-civilization, Bangali nationalism, and secularism i.e. "Birth-Philosophy of Bangladesh".
2. Social and economic development and social justice will be ensured.
3. People's rights and human rights will be ensured by the state.
4. The life status of common people will be enriched.
5. The citizens of the country will get all opportunities to flourish human qualities and will be able to contribute in the process of building peace and development across the world.
6. Social peace will prevail in the society.
7. Education, science, arts, culture and research will be enriched.
8. People will hate social deprivation and discrimination, social injustice, and violation of human rights.
9. Bangladesh will have a leadership position in the world-stage.
10. Bangali Savyata will be established in the human civilization.

9.4 Consequence if KSV is not implemented

If changes are not made, the future of Bangladesh will be what a patriotic Bangladeshi cannot expect. The mistake done during the first decade of 21st century will take next five decades to correct and compensate, but if the ongoing activities based on that mistake continue, at the end of 21st century, Bangladesh will be a losing country.

1. The 'Birth-Philosophy-Bangladesh' will not be materialized and the Bangali nation will fail to attain the objectives of liberation war.
2. Social peace and stability may not exist in the country.
3. Corruption and injustice will prevail everywhere. And the common and less fortunate people will be victim.
4. In spite of being rich and powerful, people will not be happy because of radical degradation of natural and human environment. Leading life in a decent way will not be possible.
5. Whatever the GDP growth, the economy of the state will not satisfy the citizens. Crisis of poverty and environmental degradation will be more serious.
6. Democracy may exist, but the practice of democracy in true sense will not be possible and it will not work at all for the greater interest of the nation and people. The issue of good governance will be neglected.
7. Like past, the 21st century will also be uncertain for Bangladesh and the first half of the century will be in vain. As a result throughout the whole century, Bangladesh will have to suffer.
8. Bangladesh will have to suffer in the areas of education, poverty alleviation, sustainable social and economic development, justice, good governance, environmental and social peace and values.
9. Influential international organizations and powerful states will use Bangladesh in favor of their interest where the interest of Bangladesh may be hindered.
10. Bangali cultural-civilization, nationalism, and secularism will die as well as the dream of beautiful Bangladesh will be killed. The Bangali nation will be dishonored in everywhere of the world.

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