

On political parties of bang assignment



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As such, every society must have a political system with a basic framework that incorporates the totality of institutions and institutional arrangements working as the tools for the exercise of political power. (Palmary, 1974) In flourishing democracy like Bangladesh, institutions like political parties, mass media, pressure groups and so on, and authoritative institutions like governmental organs, civil-military bureaucracy, loyal authorities play vital roles. Fact, however, lies that here most of these institutions have been seeing dysfunctional effects on them despite being in an apparently democratic period of more than a decade.

It is not, however, a pragmatic suggestion that in a new democracy, like Bangladesh. [I] In the absence of institutionalizing, the ruling government's fall is accelerated. For the lack of institutionalizing the parties break into sub-parties which engenders inter-conflict. (Diverged M, 1979) The continuous political violence among political parties that characterizes Bangladesh politics raises the question of political instability, which may threaten the emerging democracy even may destabilize the foundation of democracy.

CO] The shortcoming and failures of the party system in Bangladesh may quite meaningfully be analyzed from an institutional approach. Before analyzing at first we have to concern about 'party, concept of 'institution' and 'institutionalizing'. Political party: The party and the party system are the inevitable necessities of a modern state. A political party is a group of citizens more or less organized, who act as a political unit and who, by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government, and carry out of their general politics. According to Bentley, "the governmental process is the interaction of contending groups. Similarly, Schumacher says- "A party

is a group whose members propose to act in the competitive struggle for political power. “ In fact, the concerted groups are not only to preserve the interest of their own but also the fate of all classes of people depend on them. Therefore, the group should have reflection of colonization and institutionalizing. Actually parties are the vehicles for recruiting political leaders, structuring people’s choices and formulating policies. A necessary element of a strong party system is that the parties be institutionalized (Dixie, 1994; Huntington, 1991; Margining, 1992; Margining and Sculls 1995).

Needless to say that the political parties of Bangladesh do not possess the above mentioned characteristics. Political parties are not involved in politics merely in the gross sense of it. Though Bangladesh is abundant in natural resources and man power, the country cannot achieve modernization and development because of proper institutionalizing of political parties. (Raman M, 1973) The formation of the government and the opposition is the inevitable necessity in democracy based on institutionalizing. As a political institution the failure of ruling party can be explained in term of its lack of institutionalizing.

The fall of Awami League (AL), Jatiya Party (JP), and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BAN), respectively in 1975, 1990 and 1996 are the brilliant examples. Therefore, to ensure democratic process and political stability in Bangladesh, the need for institutionalizing of political parties cannot be over-emphasized. Conceptualizing Institutions: For many social scientists institutions are organizations, which embody, foster and protect normative relationship and action patterns and perform functions and services which are valued in the

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social environment (Blaine 1969). Roger Scranton talks about four important features of institution. D. Beeline Allan Bullock) Firstly, institution contains members but they are not identical with any member. Secondly, institutions have “ independent” agency, and some times resonantly. “ Institutions might have ” right and obligations that do not belong to any member . Thirdly, institutions may endure beyond the life of any particular member and its history is different from the history of its members. Fourthly, institutions manifest their members. Roger Scranton remarks that institutions may or may not have a constitution; they may or may not have rules, laws and conventions; they may or may not be autonomous. D. Beeline Allan Bullock)

The value of institution depends on the institutionalizing of it. A simple political community may have a purely ethnic, religious, or occupational base and ill have little need for highly developed political institutions. In a complex society community is produced by political action and maintained by political institutions. Historically, political institutions have emerged out of the interaction among and disagreement among social forces, and the gradual development of procedures and organizational devices for resolving those disagreements. Huntington, 1968) So at last we can say about institution that ‘ a group of people work under some rules and regulations to gain some goals is called institution or a institution is a policy making organ’. What is institutionalizing? Alphabetical meaning of institutionalizing refers to the conduct of a particular organizations and procedures. Institutionalizing is the process by which organization and procedures acquire value and stability. (Huntington, 1968) Thus an institution or organization achieves strength which is the guiding force behind it.

Samuel P. Huntington evaluates the institutionalizing as the strength of an organization. (Huntington, 1968) It makes the organization more than simply an instrument to achieve certain purposes. (Huntington, 1968) An institution may achieve unthinkable public support through an expected level of institutionalizing according to Huntington. (Huntington, 1968) Actually the a party is conducted through institutionalizing the more it sustains in power politically. On the other hand, the more a party is democratic, the more it is institutionalized.

To run the party according to the constitutional procedure and abide by the respective constitution of the party is institutionalizing. No political party of our country has satisfied the condition of institutionalizing. The people, therefore, have withdrawn their support some to time from any particular party. According to Huntington political institutionalizing can be assured by a political system's capacity to-

1. Regulate its citizens,
2. Response flexibly to its citizen's demands,
3. Distribute resources efficiently,
4. Adopt to changing circumstances,
5. Ensure consistent pattern of internal organization,
6. Ensure orderly succession of leadership,
7. Ensure mass participation and invalidation,
8. Exist orderly competition for power.

(Huntington, 1968)

However, party institutionalizing can be achieved through gradual process of evolution. Conceptual Framework of Institutionalizing: To explain the level of institutionalizing of any political system the following features must be taken into consideration. However, the institutionalizing of any political system can define by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of it. 3 We can adopt these features as an excellent conceptual frame work to understand and analyze the problems of institutionalizing of the major

parties in Bangladesh. Adaptability: The degree of adaptability endorses and institution how institutionalized it is. It refers to the function of the governmental challenge and age. The more challenges that have arisen in its environment and the greater its age, the more adaptable it is. Huntington, 1968) Success in adapting to one environmental challenge paves the way for successful adaptation to subsequent environmental challenges. Huntington, 1968) Chronological Existence: Longer existence persuades the level of institutionalizing of an organization. The older an organization is, the more likely it is to continue to exist through any specified future time period. (Huntington, 1968) An organization, in fact, is some times endorsed by how longer time it exists. Generational age: The more the organization has surmounted the problem of peaceful succession and replaced one set of leaders y another, the more institutionalized it is. Huntington, 1 968) Between the two generations, there may happen the variation of experiences to which an organization must pay heed for successful institutionalizing. Organization's Function: An organization which has survived several changes in its principal functions is expected to be highly institutionalized. Functional adaptability, not functional specificity is the true measure of a highly developed organization. (Huntington, 1968) Complexity: Complex function of an organization offers it a transcendent level of institutionalizing.

Complexity simply refers to the altercation of organizational sub-units and differentiation of separate types organizational sub-units. The greater the number and variety of sub-units, the greater the ability of the organization to secure and maintain the loyalties of its members. (Huntington,

1968) Modernization process comes as a threat to the relatively primitive and traditional political system. Nevertheless, complexity of the system helps it to adjust to the modernization process. **Autonomy:** Autonomy refers to the extent to which political organizations exist independently of other social groupings and methods of behavior.

Political organizations in a highly plopped system, are free from the impact of non-political groups. Political institutionalizing, in the sense of autonomy, means the development of political organizations that are not simply expression of interests of particular social groups. (Huntington, 1968)

Coherence: A vital measure of the level of institutionalizing is the coherence of the organization. An effective organization requires, at a minimum, substantial consensus on the functional boundaries. (Huntington, 1968) **Non-participants,** however, do not have to share the consensus. (Huntington, 1968) **Lack of Institutionalizing of the Political Parties in Bangladesh:**

Meanwhile we have developed a conceptual framework from the theoretical point of view of institutionalizing. Hence I would like to analyze the lack of institutionalizing of the political parties in Bangladesh by using this framework. A recent information flashed by the election commission shows that there exist 119 political parties in Bangladesh. This multiplicity of political parties clarifies that large and relatively older political have not achieved institutionalizing.

As a result ‘ signboard’ political parties emerged in Bangladesh. The establishment of democracy in Bangladesh as opened up opportunities for participation in the political process. As Huntington (1968) has remarked, the demand for wider participation must be followed by institutionalizing. He

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concludes that an imbalance between participation and institutionalizing will cause political instability and decay. Institutionalized parties are characterized by a consistent pattern of internal organization, an orderly succession of leaders, mass invalidation and orderly and institutionalized competition for power.

An institutionalized party has a routine election calendar and consistent election rules, which govern the winners and losers. According to Huntington there are mainly four indicators to measure for party institutionalizing are- adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence. On the other hand, Margining and sculls (1992) suggest that party institutionalizing be measured by the rules of inter-party competition, the development of social support for parties, and emphasis on elections as the means for selecting rulers and internal organization of parties.

Another indicator would like to add to measure party institutionalizing is the level of violence among the parties. Lack of Institutionalizing of party system in Bangladesh may e summed up in the following way- Rigidity: Rigidity in the party makes it far from the demand of the time. AL BAN, or JP could not adapt to the peoples demand in different instances, which led them to the subsequent failures and ultimately abdication. The rigidity of AL (1972-75) took shape in the formation of BASAL, Rookery Behind and colonization of the constitution mainly because these were not adaptable to the contemporary time.

The rigidity of BAN regarding the caretaker government was one of the vital causes of its fall. Satiny Party did not pay heed to the people demand

regarding a free and fair election. In fact, the less adaptable and more rigid a party is the lower its level of institutionalizing. Simplicity of formation: The simplest political system is that which depends on one individual. Aristotle pointed out Tyrannies are Virtually all “ quite short lived” 97 Political parties of Bangladesh do not have sufficient subunit for the welfare of the people at the grassroots level; rather they are busy to implement the single-man order.

Sub-ordination: While the parties remain subordinate to any external or internal forces the institutionalizing in it is mere a utopian dream. Political parties of Bangladesh are captive to a number of loan defaulters, smugglers and other internal social forces. Political institutions are always vulnerable to non-political influences. On the other hand, the more foreign sanctions are received, the more the government is subordination to the donor authorities.

Disunity: The greater the disunity of the organization, the less it is institutionalized.

AL, BAN and JP have more or less the experience to be vulnerable to inter conflicts. Lack of demagnification and colonization: Democracy is the life of an organization except which gradual success of any organization is beyond expectation. Direct democracy is under which the people rule themselves by themselves with not mediation, deputation or representation. Political activities proceed through the colonization of the parties. In this instance, ideology, value faith the honesty, unity and above all morality of the political parties contribute a lot.

It in fact, exists hardly in our political system. Lack of consensus: In any burning question facing the nation, the inter party or intra-party consensus is not available. The issue of caretaker government led to the continuous non-co-operation movement which obstructed the on-going placement of the country and tarnished the glory of the nation to the international community. Hereditary control of Power: There exists a disguised arbitrary government in Bangladesh in the form of democracy. Hereditary control of power is the common feature of this sub continent.

So the parties do not possess institutionalizing, Dynastic rule continues in Bangladesh even to-day. Leadership Crisis: It's the common problem faced by all political parties in today's context. Such stable and ideal leadership as can overcome the narrow party-interest has not evolved in this country.

Satiny Party created ignoble example of abandonment. Erased was portrayed by the opposition and media as a corrupt person with a great weakness for money and woman. He made no attempt to restrain himself from these habits which he had pressed even before he assumed power.

Besides, AL has failed miserably in the post independence period to lead the national. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman created a country which he could not govern due to lack of statesmanship and creative leadership. Corruption, nepotism and partisan: Limitless corruption, partisanship and nepotism have led the country to an uncertain future. The parties, therefore, cannot achieve sustainable support of the people. All successive governments formed in Bangladesh offered undue privileges and financial benefits to their party supporters and party activists.

Most of the activities, then default in repaying loans and interests.

Conclusion: The political party is a social group a system of meaningful and patterned activity within the larger society. The purpose of political party is to modernize and develop the country by enriching the quality of life of its members. The party is thus one social organism. But the party is also a polity, a miniature political system, and it has an authority structure. On the other hand, modern political scientists have identified political parties as leading agent of modernization.

A political party or groups of parties ultimately govern the state.

Institutionalizing is the precondition to political stability. Already it has been mentioned that political development and stability of a country also correlated with the party system and the nature of political parties in the country. Since the emergence of political parties of Bangladesh no initiative was taken to acquire nationalization. The immediate goal of the major political parties in Bangladesh is to capture political power by disregarding democratic norms or values.

This involves the parties in inter-party the state and society. With the exercise of this process, no party can win the hearts of the people. So no government here is stable. In the political arena of Bangladesh today's urgent need is to flourish democratic value. To sustain in power, the parties have no alternative except being institutionalized. Hence a political party needs to cultivate reciprocal tolerance, consensus on national issues mutual respect and accommodation for making democracy work and strengthening democratic lattice institutions.

So, what is needed in Bangladesh by borrowing the ideals of Dewey (1927) we can say is the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion. Foreign Investment Private investment from overseas sources is welcome in all areas of the economy with the exception of the four reserved sectors (mentioned earlier). Such investments can be made either independently or through venture on mutually beneficial terms and conditions. Foreign investment is, however, especially desired in the following major categories of industries: Export oriented industries;

Industries in the Export Processing Zones (Peps) High technology products that will be either import substitute or export oriented. Facilities / incentives: For foreign direct investment, there is no limitation pertaining to foreign equity participation, i. E. 100 percent foreign equity is allowed. Non-resident institutional or individual investors can make portfolio investments in stock exchanges in Bangladesh. Foreign investors or companies may obtain full working loans from local banks. The terms of such loans will be determined on the basis of bank-client relationship.

A foreign technician employed in foreign companies ill not be subjected to personal tax up to 3 (three) years , and beyond that period his/ her personal income tax payment will be governed by the existence or non-existence of agreement on avoidance of double taxation with country of citizenship. Full repatriation of capital invested from foreign sources will be allowed.

Similarly, profits and dividend accruing to foreign investment may be transferred in full. If foreign investors reinvest their repairable dividends and or retained earnings, those will be treated as new investment.

Foreigners employed in Bangladesh are entitled to remit up to 50 percent of their salary and will enjoy facilities for full repatriation of their savings and retirement benefits. Foreign entrepreneurs are, therefore, entitled to the same facilities as domestic entrepreneurs with respect to tax holiday, payment of royalty, technical know-how fees etc. The process of issuing work permits to foreign experts on the recommendation of investing foreign companies or joint ventures will operate without any hindrance or restriction.

Multiple entry visa” will be issued to prospective foreign investors for 3 years. In the case of experts,” multiple entry visa” will be issued for the whole tenure of their assignments. Other Incentives: Citizenship by investing a minimum of US \$ 500, 000 or by transferring US\$ 1 to any recognized financial institution (Non-repairable). Permanent residents by investing a minimum of IIS\$ 75, 000 (non-repairable) Special facilities and venture capital support will be provided to export-oriented industries under " Thrust sectors”.

Thrust Sectors include Agro-based industries, Artificial flower-making, Computer software and information technology, Electronics, Frozen food, Follicular, Gift items, Infrastructure, Jute goods, Jewelry and diamond cutting and polishing, leather, Oil and gas, Sericulture ND silk industry, Stuffed toys, Textiles, Tourism. Investment Protections / International Agreements: Legal Protection The policy framework for foreign investment in Bangladesh is based on ‘ The Foreign Private Investment (Promotion & Protection) Act 1980 which ensures legal protection to foreign investment in Bangladesh against nationalization and expropriation.

It also guarantees non-discriminatory treatment between foreign and local investment, and repatriation of proceeds from sales of shares and profit.

International Agreements Bangladesh has concluded bilateral agreements for avoidance of double taxation ND investment treaties for promotion and protection of investment with the following countries: Bilateral agreements Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Poland, Romania, Singapore, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, The Netherlands, United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland).

Negotiations are ongoing with U. S. A Iran, Philippines, Qatar, Australia, Nepal, Turkey, Indonesia, Cyprus, Norway, Finland and Spain. Investment treaty Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Iran, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, Switzerland, Thailand, The Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom, USA, Indonesia.

Negotiations are ongoing with India, Hungary, Oman, Moldavia, DEEP, Egypt, Austria, Mauritius, and Uzbekistan.

In addition, Bangladesh is a signatory to AMIGA (Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency), EPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) of LISA, SIDE (International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes) and a member of the WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization) permanent committee on development co-operation related to industrial property.

Incentives to Non-Resident Bangladesh (Nark's): Investment of Norms will be treated on par with FED.

Special incentives are provided to encourage Norms to invest in the country. Norms will enjoy facilities similar to those of foreign investors. Moreover,

they can buy newly issued shares/debentures of Bangladesh companies. A quota of 10% has been fixed for Norms in primary public shares.

Furthermore, they can maintain foreign currency deposits in the Non-resident Foreign Currency Deposit (NEFF) account. Relaxation / Liberalizing of Exchange Control Regulations: Bangladesh 'Take' is convertible for current external transactions.

Individuals/firms resident in Bangladesh may conduct all current external transactions, including trade and investment related transaction, through banks in Bangladesh authorized to deal in foreign exchange (Authorized Dealers) without prior approval of the Bangladesh Bank. Non-resident direct investment in industrial enterprise in Bangladesh and non-resident portfolio investment through stock exchanges in Bangladesh also do not require prior approval of the Bangladesh Bank.

Remittance of post-tax dividend/profit on non resident direct or portfolio investment does not require prior approval. Sale proceeds, including capital gains on non-resident portfolio investment may also be remitted abroad without prior approval. Repatriation of sale proceeds of non-resident investment in unlisted companies is allowed by Bangladesh Bank on the basis of the net asset value of the shares of the company. Investors may obtain relevant procedural details by contacting any authorized Dealer bank in Bangladesh.

To facilitate investment, prior approval of the Bangladesh Bank is no longer required for- Remittance of profits to their head offices by foreign firms and companies operating in Bangladesh Issuance of shares to non-residents

against investment for setting up industries in Bangladesh. Remittance of dividends on such shares of the non-resident investors. Portfolio investment by non-residents including foreign individuals/enterprises in shares and securities through stock exchanges in Bangladesh. Remittance of dividends on portfolio investment by non-residents through stock exchanges in Bangladesh.

Remittance of sale proceeds, including capital gains of portfolio investments of non-residents through stock exchanges in Bangladesh. Remittance of principal and interest installments on loans/suppliers credits obtained by industrial units from foreign lenders with approval of the BIO. 100% foreign owned (Type A) industrial units in the Peps Export Processing Zone) do not require prior permission of BIO for such foreign borrowing. Remittance in repayment of principal and payment of interest of such loans.

Remittance of technical fees and royalties against technical assistance/royalty agreements in conformity with BIO guidelines. Remittance of savings of expatriate personnel at the time of their leaving Bangladesh, out of the salaries and benefits stated in their employment contracts as approved by BIO. Extension of term loans by banks on normal banking considerations to foreign firms operating in Bangladesh. Extension of working capital loans to all foreign owned/enthroned industrial and trading firms/companies by banks on the basis of bank customer relationship and normal banking practice.

Obtaining of interest-free repayable short-term foreign currency loans by foreign firms investing in Bangladesh from their head offices or any other

sources through any authorized dealer. Investment in shares/securities by non-residents: Non-residents are free to invest in shares / securities quoted in the stock exchanges, with foreign exchange sent or brought into Bangladesh. They may also invest in new, yet-to-be-listed public issues of Bangladesh shares/securities.

In such cases investors are not required to transact through any registered broker/member of stock exchange. 5% shares of Initial Public Offering (IPO) of a company is reserved for Non-Resident Bangladesh (NOR). Non-Resident Bangladesh (NOR) can purchase/subscribe securities in foreign currency through " Foreign Currency Account for IPO" opened for the purpose only by the issuing company. Over subscription can be repatriated after completion of formalities. iii.

Permission of Bangladesh Bank is not required for issue and transfer of shares in favor of non-residents against their investments in joint ventures in Bangladesh. V. Non-resident share holders can freely transfer their shares to other non residents. Remittance of profits: Branches of foreign firms/companies including foreign banks, insurance companies and financial institutions are free to remit their post-tax profits to their head offices through banks authorized to deal in foreign exchange (Authorized Dealers) without prior approval of Bangladesh Bank.

Remittance of dividend/capital gain: Prior permission of Bangladesh Bank is not required for- Remittance of dividend income to non-residents in respect to their investments in Bangladesh; Remittance of dividend declared out of previous year's accumulated reserves; and Dividend and sale proceeds

(including capital gains) of shares of companies listed in a Stock Exchange in Bangladesh.

Such remittance may be affected prior to actual payment of taxes provided that the amount payable to the tax authorities at the applicable tax rate is withheld by the company. Remittance of sale proceeds of shares of companies not listed in Stock Exchange requires prior Bangladesh Bank permission, which is accorded for amounts not exceeding the net asset values of the shares.