



METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY JOURNAL

Metropolitan University

Alhamra, Zindabazar

Sylhet-3100, Bangladesh

Telephone: +88 0821 816198, 816199, 816320

Fax: +88 0821 713304

E-mail: info@metrouni.edu.bd

Web: www.metrouni.edu.bd

Editorial Board

Prof. Suresh Ranjan Basak	Head, Department of English, Metropolitan University, Sylhet	Editor
Prof. Dr. Moudud Elahi	Pro Vice Chancellor, Stamford University, Dhaka	Member
Prof. Dr. Kaiser Haq	Department of English, University of Dhaka	Member
Prof. Dr. Ranjit Kumar Chowdhury	Dean, Faculty of Business Administration, BGC Trust University, Chittagong	Member
Dr. Shadin Malik	Director, School of Law, Brac University, Dhaka	Member
Prof. Dr. Yousuf M. Islam	Former Vice Chancellor, Metropolitan University, Sylhet	Member
Prof. Khandkar Mahmudur Rahman	Dean, Faculty of Business Administration, Metropolitan University, Sylhet	Member

Advisory Board

Prof. Dr. Kabir H. Choudhury	Vice Chancellor, Metropolitan University, Sylhet
Dr. Qazi Kholiquzzaman Ahmed	Chairman, Bangladesh Unyan Parishad and President, Bangladesh Economic Association
Dr. Mizanur Rahman Shelley	Chairman, Center for Development Research, Bangladesh
Prof. M. Abdul Aziz	Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Metropolitan University, Sylhet
Dr. Syed Manzoorul Islam	Professor, Department of English, University of Dhaka
Dr. Md. Zafar Iqbal	Professor & Head, Department of Computer Science & Engineering, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology
Dr. Toufique Rahman Chowdhury	Founder Chairman, Board of Governors, Metropolitan University, Sylhet
Editorial Assistant:	Shah Ahmed (Ripon), Lecturer Department of English Metropolitan University, Sylhet

Published by Registrar, Metropolitan University, Sylhet

Copyright: Metropolitan University, Sylhet

Price: BDT 200.00, US \$ 10

Contents

- | | |
|---|-----|
| □ Reviewing Identity: Recognition, Representation and Postmodernism | 5 |
| <i>Syed Manzoorul Islam</i> | |
| □ Fault-line of Tribal Sovereignty, Colonial In-roads and the Inevitable: Things Fall Apart as a Colonial Critique | 15 |
| <i>Suresh Ranjan Basak</i> | |
| □ The Politics of Language in the Bangladeshi Education System: A Deliberate Perpetuation of Obscurity and Chaos | 24 |
| <i>Faheem Hasan Shahed</i> | |
| □ Interpretation as the Underlying Force in Translation | 46 |
| <i>Shah Ahmed (Ripon)</i> | |
| □ Lawrence's Songs of Death: Dirge of a Self-proclaimed Phoenix | 60 |
| <i>Masum Khan</i> | |
| □ J.G. Ballard's <i>Crash</i>: A Psychoanalytic Analysis | 67 |
| <i>Tahseen Alam Choudhury</i> | |
| □ Credit Analysis and Risk Grading System of Bangladesh Bank: A Conceptual Study | 73 |
| <i>Muhammad Bachchu Shekh</i> | |
| □ Historical Development and Present Status of Public Sector Enterprises: a Case Study in Bangladesh | 86 |
| <i>Mohammad Jamal Uddin, Most. Alhamra Begum and Muhammad Abdus Shaheed Miah</i> | |
| □ Growth Performance and Factors Affecting Growth of Production, Area and Export in the Fisheries and Sub-sector of Bangladesh | 105 |
| <i>M. A. Khan, K. J. Islam and M. F. Alam</i> | |
| □ Foreign Exchange Reserve Accumulation: Is Bangladesh Following the Same Path of Asian Leaders? | 116 |
| <i>Benazir Ahmed Siddiqui and Rubina Afroze</i> | |
| □ A Comparative Study of FDI Inflow between Bangladesh & India. | 123 |
| <i>Md Lutfor Rahman and Ahammad Mohammad Ali</i> | |
| □ Analysis of Performance Enhancement of Single and Cascaded WDM Optical Interface in Optical Network | 141 |
| <i>Jannatul Ferdous and Sujan Ali</i> | |
| □ The Evolution and Role of the UN Peacekeeping Operations towards Peace and Security of the Contemporary World | 151 |
| <i>Ahmad Rajib Chowdhury and Farzana Hoq</i> | |
| □ Determining the Province of Judicial Review: A Re-evaluation of 'Basic Structure' of the Constitution of Bangladesh | 161 |
| <i>M. Jafar Ullah Talukder and M. Jashim Ali Chowdhury</i> | |

Re-viewing Identity: Recognition, Representation and Postmodernism

Syed Manzoorul Islam*

Abstract

Questions of identity have always occupied a central place in any discourse on race, ethnicity and gender. The stress has mostly been on historical, political and cultural representation of identity and how this is routinely marginalized in systems ruled by hierarchies of various types. To that extent the politics of recognition has provided a space for the marginalized groups for realizing their identity as they define it. In literature and theory, representation of these groups has taken diverse forms-- from conventional to radical narratives to formal and categorical subversion. Postmodernist practices in these areas have increasingly questioned situated knowledges, established classifications, social and cultural hierarchies and myths and values. Identity is now seen as pluralistic, shifting and contingent, problematizing representation. The article focuses on these complexities and seeks to arrive at an understanding of how postmodernism views identity as represented or misrepresented in literature, the media and official discourses of our time.

Questions of identity have always occupied a central place in any discussion on race, ethnicity, gender and class. The stress has mostly been on historical, political and cultural representation – or misrepresentation – of identity and how this is routinely marginalized in systems ruled by hierarchies of various types. On the one hand, essentialist and universalist notions of identity see it as fixed and unchanging, and in terms of an organizing principle that provides stable meaning, and, on the other, contesting these fundamentalist notions, are those that view identity as transitory, contingent and plural, and always in the process of forming itself. While the conceptual framing of identity as “a stable ‘container’ rooted ‘inside’ the subject and separated off from external contingencies” (Martin: 99) has been contested by postcolonial theory, postmodernism and feminism, which consider identity as essentially fractured, dislocated, and as a discursive construction, the debate has taken a distinctly poststructuralist and postmodernist turn, taking cues from Foucault, Derrida and Lacan, among others. Foucault, for example, believed that not only identity, but human subject itself is historically constructed. For Lacan, an intersubjective dialectic binds Subject to his/her Other who provides it validity and legitimacy. Subjectivity, in other words, cannot exist without alterity. The essentially problematic character of the term identity is also reflected in discussions on the personal, social and territorial aspects of identity which lead to construction of identity types and structuring of a subject’s experience and action around external conditions. The concept of “spatial identity” also provides a location for identity to not only realize its individual, social, ethnic and class positions in relation to such spatial constructs as nation or region but also to mount resistance against power,

*Professor, Department of English, Dhaka University

inequality and subordination. The multiple identity markers that spell out different dimensions of identity of an individual (e.g., white, Jew, gay) can also problematize representation when one such marker becomes dominant over the others and controls the actions of the individual – hence giving rise to a much contested term – “politics of identity.”

The term “politics” in “politics of identity” is a controversial one that has both systemic and cultural-rhetorical implications. Politics, or political utterance, as Francis Mulhern suggests in his book *Culture/Metaculture*, “is always injunctive, regardless of its medium, occasion or genre. It wills, urges, dictates. Its aim is to secure assent (a process in which issues of identity are indeed central) and, failing that, compliance, of which coercion furnishes the last guarantee” (171). Mulhern’s argument has equal valency in deciding the attributes of “politics of representation” and “politics of recognition,” particularly in today’s unipolar world which sees a rise of highhanded state interventions in areas that were, even two to three decades ago, considered immune to such interventions. The paper, in due course, will examine the implications of such emerging anxieties particularly as they bode a return to essentialist and officially constructed notions of ethnic, racial and gender identities.

The essentialist-constructivist debate continued in cultural and multicultural studies well into the 1990s with a broad consensus on a pluralistic, malleable view of identity when a number of developments began to posit a counter argument in favour of a fundamentalist, settled view of identity. One such event was the dismantling of the former Soviet Russia, and the emergence of USA as the single most powerful nation – a power bloc by itself – in the world. This, together with the rise of globalization, with the newer ramifications of power and power relations, subordination and control that it entails, also contributed negatively to such other related factors as migrancy and the rich-poor, north-south divide. These new developments have once again disproportionately privileged first world actors, bringing many new countries under their hegemonic control.

The politics of identity has taken a new meaning in the context of globalization as sophisticated information technology, in particular, highspeed internet connectivity, has created a digital divide between hightech societies and societies that remain quite far away from the information highway. Information technology, coupled with the spread of the electronic media, is seen to be a threat to local cultural traditions and economic institutions, dislocating local identities, even a sense of history that connects an individual to the past through kinship and family. The upheaval has set the ground for conflict and resistance, and such resistance is taking unexpected and often violent turns. Then there are other emergent factors such as the proliferation of flash points around the globe; increasing religious/political tensions (rise of religious fundamentalism, the Islam-vs.-the West stand off) revival of ethnic identities (notably in former Yugoslavia), the fallout from the Bush doctrine – and after 9/11, the predominance of the pernicious, “us vs. them” rhetoric in US political discourse – and an unabated rise of capitalist and consumerist ideologies with increasing alienation for the subject that have made the politics of identity take a fearful turn. However, to be fair to the proponents of

essentialist notions of identity, one must concede the fact that, if identity forged on difference doesn't show sectional exclusivity and fierce loyalties, it sometimes may help a subject tide over the fears of loss of identity. Speaking on a similar register, David Theo Goldberg suggests that "what is less observed is that identity can also be a bondage within. It can keep people in who doesn't want to be in. And it can do so by insisting on an essential racial character, or simply by requiring racial solidarity" (12). But in an atmosphere of control and coercion, identities tend to be fixed, hierarchic and performative. One is called upon to perform his/her identity – performing blackness or whiteness, for example – in the service of reassuring ideas about ethnicity and race. Performing whiteness, to take the point further, is seen to be an act of "affirmative action" that takes a subject beyond a stereotype. The white person will be expected to cultivate values of conscience, industry, civic-mindedness, rationality, and so on, but will also be seen to be striving for democratic ideals that accommodate other races in building an idealized ambience of multiculturalism. Such efforts, however, often lead to what has been described as the fiction of identity – that is, identity as imagined, possible and achievable – which, in the long run, returns it to a fixed and inflexible historical-cultural matrix. If one closely reads the rhetorics that both a white and a black presidential aspirant in the recent US election extensively utilized in their campaign speeches and interviews, one would realize how both inadvertently promoted such fictionalized identities. Mr. Barack Obama was seen as a black man who was white inside, and Mr. John McCain a white man with a black heart. Both returned again and again to institutionalized and officially sanctioned American notions of identity and the symbolism of a "great nation." While the nation is idealized as a strong and pluralistic entity, the very centrist tone of the political rhetoric went against that idealization. The inflated and transcendent notions of race and ethnicity ("We as Americans are one") were expected to be performative, but were always having to prove their agency through action.

The fact that Mr. Obama – a black American of Kenyan ancestry, and Muslim origin – he later vigorously denied it– has inaugurated a whole new era of possibilities for black and multiple-hyphenated American identities in politics and public engagement. However, the leading tendency appears to be towards a historical reconstruction of identity in terms of an overarching Americanism that now prefers the melting pot rather than the salad bowl collectivity. Although there has been a great deal of celebration of the different racial and ethnic compositions and components of Americanness, underlying the euphoria is an expectation that a black President would have to cross the racial divide and work with and through difference to build solidarity and realize a truly cross-cultural American dream. This expectation of a collective self-image, however, given the nature of American institutions and politics – might gloss over the specific needs for mobile and "multiple positioning" of individuals and ethnic groups. The articulation of difference might be discouraged in favour of a non-critical engagement with commonalities, and a move towards valuational equality. As with countries that have real or perceived dangers of wars with neighbours or other countries, internal ethnic uprisings and racial clashes – such as some countries in Africa and the former Soviet Bloc, Sri Lanka or Pakistan (where tribal warfare is on the rise), in

USA too, official rhetoric displays a contradictory logic. On the one hand, it valorizes a “natural” identity as a performative accomplishment, and reinforces perceptions of territorial and institutional belonging that go beyond the margins of internal space which is the essential locus of identity; on the other, it employs the much debated “othering” process that sees adversaries in one general category marked by inferiority, non-entity and lack. This sometimes leads to over-representation of identity, and inflated notions of the self’s agency and power. In unguarded moments – as it happen when one tends to believe in the fiction that the rhetoric often churns out – such over-representation might lead to suppression of local identities, especially ethnic ones, and empty their representations of historical and cultural values. In extreme cases, demand for racial solidarity might deny essential racial characteristics --even personal contents-- and eventually, rewrite past history in terms of contemporary dynamics.

This brings us to the complicated question of representation. For identity to be thus formed, fabricated, manipulated, controlled or simply celebrated for what it is, it must assume various forms of representation. Stuart Hall identifies two basic approaches to representation: one is the reflective approach which assumes that representations “reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world”; and the other is the intentional approach in which “words mean what the author intends them to mean.” Hall finds both these approaches flawed and suggests a third, “constructionist” approach in which “Things don’t mean” – we only “construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs” (24-25). Based on his observations of cultural representation, Hall also came up with the descriptive term “politics of representation” which is both a theory and culture that take representation beyond the “innocent notion of the essential subject” (24-25). Underlying all representation, however, is the anxiety that a true representation may never be fully possible since, as a signifying practice it is mediated by contingencies, power relations and dominant ideologies of the time. On one level, representation is seen more as a process than a product. In its engagement with the forces that shape it, representation often goes beyond what is represented. As Foucault suggested in *The Order of Things*, referring to the hidden but internally operative structures that exist within grammar, economy or natural history and problematize representation – the “being of what is represented falls outside representation” (252). On another level, representation seems to either grant or deny agency, contributing to the intensification of politics of representation. In countries where ethnic populations are now being treated in “politically correct” ways by various institutions – including civil society – questions of agency will always remain unsettling. In Bangladesh, for example, the ethnic populations in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) have been systematically denied their rights for the last three decades. This led to armed resistance from organized guerilla groups such as Shanti Bahini, resulting in further denial of rights to the ethnic population and their increasing isolation. Eventually a political solution of the problem was sought, and in 1997, the Government signed a peace treaty with the fighting groups represented by their umbrella organization, Jana Shanghati Samit. But even after the signing of the treaty –which promised to restore many rights to the 45 or so ethnic and *adibashi* communities in CHT -- little has been done to ameliorate their suffering.

Government institutions continue to follow earlier practices, and settlement by Bengalees in large numbers continues unchecked, creating widespread frustration and resentment among the ethnic population. What is interesting however is that even when civil society groups deal with ethnic culture, particularly their language, religion and lifestyle, the reductive imperatives of a monocultural assumption are at work. Every year 21 February is observed in Bangladesh as the language martyr's day in remembrance of students and others who died in police firing on the day in 1952 as they agitated for the right of Bangla to be a state language. From 1996, the day is also being observed as the international mother language day as sanctioned by the UN after Bangladesh made a strong case for it. But, in celebrating the day, civil society groups, political parties, academics and intellectuals only focus on Bangla, completely ignoring the plight of the few ethnic languages that still survive. The mother tongue of all Bangladeshis is considered none other than Bangla! The indifference to ethnic languages is symptomatic of the general indifference shown to ethnic rights. The ethnic groups are expected to learn and function in Bangla. When Chakma girls come to study in the universities, they are expected to wear dresses that Bengali girls wear, and so on. A monocultural practice thus denies any space to other cultural expressions and representations that fail to fit its dominant mould.

What a monocultural logic demands is a formal singularity. And with the rise of religious fundamentalism, the space for dissent and alternative articulation is getting increasingly narrow. However, just as in the USA critical multiculturalism challenged the once dominant "ethnoracial Eurovision," in Bangladesh too, starting in the 1980s, academics, various rights groups and Non-government Organizations (NGOs) have been resisting the dominant monocultural essentialism that denies ethnic representation its full value – indeed marginalized it. This is why the 1997 peace treaty is considered an achievement of sort in developing imperatives of equality, democracy and a full spectrum of rights. But just as developments in USA after 9/11 favoured a return to totalizing rhetoric in official and institutional discourse, the same has happened in Bangladesh in recent years as rightist forces persistently promote a totalizing view of nationality characterized by discrimination and refusal of rights to ethnic groups. It is as if minoritized groups (both religious and ethnic) are expected to function within limits and stereotypes set by the majority discourse.

In discussing the question of race in America, Cornel West wrote in *The New York Times Magazine*:

How we set up the terms for discussing racial issues shapes our perception and response to these issues. As long as black people are viewed as "them," the burden falls on blacks to do all the "cultural" and "moral" work necessary for healthy race relations. The implication is that only certain Americans can define what it means to be American – and the rest must simply "fit in". (24)

That was in 1992. The situation hasn't changed much in all these years. But with the election of a black president, America seems to have woken up to the possibility

that more and more people may now be defining what it means to be American, in terms of pluralism and collectivity. But if the language of the media is an indication, Obama's blackness remains an obsession. All descriptions of the man have to be predicated on his being black. This obsession however, can be explained by the media's perception of the changing nature of ethnicity in America where an affirmation of the core ideas about ethnicity (and also race) is seen to be contributory to the forging of a strong sense of national and cultural identity. This perception may well be the beginning of a process of naturalization that will see blackness accepted outside of the binary frame where it is a perennially tagged as the other of whiteness. On a similar note, it is possible too that ethnicity in Bangladesh will one day be understood in its own terms, outside of a relational matrix, and not simply as inferior, exotic or as a lack. But that possibility seems distant as of now.

When the ethnic other is represented as exotic, a related stress on the spectacular is hard to miss. Ethnic minorities, in official discourse in Bangladesh as in other South Asian countries, are still described as tribals, and while many aspects of their lives (matriarchy in some groups, the way they dress – the dresses themselves, food habits etc.) are described over and again as exotic, these consistently feed the need for spectacle. Official functions of Bangladesh such as Independence Day celebrations are incomplete without "tribal dances," and official fairs without "handwoven tribal costumes." Spectacle, if we remember Guy Debord's theses in *The Society of Spectacle*, are a society's attempt to commodify strong visual aspects of its culture; in case of Bangladeshi ethnic groups, their culture too is commodified, its selling points being its distinctive, inviting and exotic aspects. No wonder official tourism literature in Bangladesh persistently commodifies the spectacle called ethnicity, although foreign tourists cannot visit Chittagong Hill Tracts – where most ethnic groups live – without government-issued security passes.

Despite such attempts to exoticize and commodify ethnic identity, its essential nature remains reflexive, for ethnicity navigates the sites of power – majority culture, state apparatuses, religion, nation –for a positive self identity. This is happening as politics of recognition plays a more positive role in negotiating both representation and power. In his influential book *The Politics of Recognition*, Charles Taylor describes two basic forms of recognition – one democratic or public, which essentially recognizes the "other's" sameness with the self in respect to rights, equality before law, and so on; and the other private or intimate "where we understand the formation of identity and the self as taking place in a continuing dialogue and struggle with significant others" (76). As Taylor explains, there are links between these two forms that psychoanalytical feminism has brought to the fore. The public or democratic form of recognition is seen to be specially empowering as it allows the subject to negotiate the same establishment that denied recognition in the first place. At a deeper level, such a challenge may bring dominant establishments to face their own exclusionary practices. This is something akin to what Judith Butler says about feminism's need to understand the "political construction" of the subject with "certain legitimating and exclusionary aims."

“Feminist critique,” maintains Butler, “ought to understand how the category of ‘women,’ the subject of feminism, is produced and restrained by the very structures of power through which emancipation is sought” (342). The politics of recognition, if positively pursued, might open up more space for women to confront gendered inequalities and restore lost grounds as it reevaluates existing practices, and, what Teresa de Lauretis describes as, “technologies” of gender. To give a single example: the natural/cultural divide in contemporary culture seeks to see “natural” as feminine and “cultural” as masculine. Feminist critics such as Luce Irigaray see this divide operating in “a spectacular economy of subjectivity in which feminine others tend to mirror back to masculine subjects affirming images of a masterful self” (Tamsin Lorraine, 234). However, as Peter Jackson maintains,

If gender is regarded as a social and cultural construction that varies from time to time and from place to place, then the scope for political change is immense. A simple reading of the historical evidence could be constructed as showing a progressive winning back to ‘culture’ of distinction that were formerly regarded as “natural”. (105)

This winning back will not be easy, as this will entail challenging institutions and entrenched attitudes of patriarchy with all the psychological and ideological primacy of the masculine over systems of representation.

Similar processes of winning back should be initiated within social, political and institutional practices that have begun to take an essentialist and coercive nature, for opening up a dialogue on ethnicity and race so that what cultural theory has attained so far can be transferred to these institutions and to political discourse as a whole. We have seen how political correctness can be a constructed rather than a real attitude that often hides long practiced denials and disprivileging of marginalized groups – the Other, in short – behind some gestural and ritual affirmation. One has to engage these institutions at a deeper level for a more meaningful articulation of affirmation, beginning with attitudes and practices at a micro level that can contribute to institutional discourse.

One way this can be done is through political action – mobilizing different actors: political parties, civil societies, academics, think tanks, various rights activists, and of course, ethnic and race groups – for sustained efforts towards change. This is already being done, I am happy to note, and done with commitment and consistency, and the results are there for everyone to see. But more needs to be done on many more fronts. Literature has the capacity to carry out the task effectively and convincingly. We need platforms like MELUS and MELOW to bring these initiatives together, inspiring academia to go the extra mile. We have seen how, in some cases, politics of recognition turns disadvantageous for smaller ethnic communities in the long run, as they are treated in the same scale of equality as the other, bigger, and comparatively more organized ethnic groups and the same affirmative efforts are demanded of them in return. If the Mro ethnic community in Bangladesh, which is one of the smallest, is asked to perform for progressive realization of their rights with the same speed and effectiveness as the Chakma community, which is the biggest, the community would find it difficult to put

together its resources. The smaller groups need time to develop their own grounds and means of self-representation, and are in danger of being saddled with models borrowed from larger groups.

This brings us to postmodernism and its aesthetics of representation that might be useful in ensuring a non-coercive, non-repressive representational identity. The example of Deleuze and Guattari instantly comes to mind, and how their ideas “institute a postmodern logic of difference, perspective and fragments.” Deleuze and Guattari, we are told, focus upon, among other things, “the rejection of the modernist notions of the unified, rational and expressive subject and the substitution of a postmodern subjectivity which is decentred, liberated from fixed identities, and free to become dispersed and multiple” (Woods: 32). Postmodernism also challenges idealized revisions of ethnicity which distort its inherent nature and reduce all cultural productions into a formal uniformity and equal value, very often informed by official/institutional discourse. Such idealized revisions also often refer to the past as a model, which further distorts ethnicity. Among those who have been accused of practicing a past-centred approach is the celebrated structuralist anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. Indeed, in his *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), a brief mention of ethnic tribes in Chittagong Hill Tracts presents them in an unmoving present, which is then seen as a continuation of the past. Postmodernism of resistance – a recent coinage that aligns postmodernism with postcolonialism – by making a move towards a radical anti-essentialism can also forge a new understanding of ethnicity, attending also to gender, race and class. Indeed, postmodern feminism, in viewing feminism not as a primary organizing category but as a site of multiple and shifting differences has inaugurated what is now known as post-feminism which Sue Thornham defines in terms of “a celebration of difference, personal liberation of play, performed primarily through processes of consumption” (29). Although critics such as Linda Hutcheon would argue against such an exclusive concern with difference dissociated from politics and power that contribute to women’s disempowerment, there are clear signs that postmodernism is addressing power relations and feminist politics, particularly the feminist concern for equality, although in terms that are sometimes ambivalent. This is an area that needs more application so that a clearer and more critical intent becomes manifest.

In taking a postmodernist approach in contesting the discursive practices that impinge upon articulation of ethnicity, race and gender, one should be aware of both its limitations and its possibilities. One may do well to listen to bell hooks, among others, who believes that postmodernist practices betray an elitist bias and

are dominated by white intellectuals. She believed that all discourses are formed through relationships of power, and postmodernism shies away from it. This may be so in case of uncritical postmodernism, but a critical postmodernism can position itself as a strategic practice aimed at undermining foundational principles and practices of all sorts.

Such efforts may lead to a radical rethinking of contested issues of identity, representation and recognition so that much of the negativism currently associated with official/institutional discourses on these issues eventually disappears.

References:

- Butler, Judith. 1993. "Subject of Sex/Gender/Desire," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During, London: Routledge, 2nd ed.
- de Lauretis, Teresa. 1987. *Technologies of Gender: Essays in Theory, Film and Fiction*. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press.
- Debord, Guy. 1967 [1995]. *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zen Book.
- Foucault, Michel. 1970. *The Order of Things*. London: Tavistock.
- Goldberg, David Theo. 1998. "General Introduction" to *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*. Ed. David Theo Goldberg. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hall, Stuart. 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage/Milton Keynes: Open University.
- Jackson, Peter. 2007. "Gender," in David Atkinson, *et al*, eds. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*," New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2007.
- Lorraine, Tamsin. 1998. "Morphing the Body: Irigaray and Butler on Sexual Difference," in *Theorizing Multiculturalism: A Guide to the Current Debate*, ed. Cynthia Willett, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Martin, James. 2007. "Identity," in David Atkinson *et al.*, eds. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Mulhern, Francis. 2000. *Culture/Metaculture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Taylor, Charles. 1992. *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition."* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Thornham, Sue. 2005. "Postmodernism and Feminism," in *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism*, ed. Stuart Sim. 2nd ed. London, New York: Routledge.
- West, Cornel. "Learning to Talk of Race," *The New York Times Magazine*, 6 (August 2, 1992).
- Woods, Tim. 2007. *Beginning Postmodernism*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Fault-lines of Tribal Sovereignty, Colonial In-roads and the Inevitable: *Things Fall Apart* as a Colonial Critique*

Suresh Ranjan Basak**

Abstract

*This paper offers a revision of the view that the disintegration of the Igbo society is exclusively co-terminous with colonial infiltration or that things have started falling the moment the whites have appeared – a view that overlooks the components of internal disintegration already in operation prior to catalytic colonial contact. The paper therefore offers a complementary analysis of how the excesses of an apparently self-contained, closed tribal society has allowed to grow fault-lines of volatile anger and repressed discontents in areas traditionally held invulnerable. Before the colonial encounter is materialized, the society Achebe semiotically and symbolically presents has already started showing inward signs of disintegration, and the colonial forces choose to make in-roads through these fissures and crevices bringing forth the inevitable conundrum of colonial contact zone. Finally this non-white *Heart of Darkness* is examined as a seminal “writing back to the Empire” that substantially shaped postcolonial reactions to the colonial legacy yet to be completely unburdened of.*

Things Fall Apart begins with a remembrance of Yeats’ apocalyptic vision – an analogous white “anarchy” ‘loosed upon the world’ adding an edge to the story to be told of a people living across the farthest end of geographical/racial/cultural divide. It might be an interesting paradigm of mimicry (minus fun), before the official baptism of the term in colonial discourse, to see *Things Fall Apart* articulating it in an antithetical scenario drawing upon the colonizer’s model of disintegration to refer to things falling apart in a colonized space. Re-formulation of Yeatsian concern over the European centre’s inability to hold the periphery in a contra-indicative context is more than a pure literary allegiance, and less than a Calibanesque retort, nonetheless a way of not-white “writing back to empire”. Achebe’s pungent reactions to Joyce Cary and his sympathetic misrepresentation of Africa in *Mister Johnson* (Pieterse and Duerden 4) or still more pungent reactions to “a thoroughgoing racist” Conrad and his *Heart of Darkness* (Achebe, Image 41) lead us to foresee Achebe’s growth as an ‘insider’ as he himself puts it pointblank in an 1989 interview with Kay Bonetti:

The moment I realized in reading *Heart of Darkness* that I was not supposed to be part of Marlowe’s crew sailing down the Congo to a bend in the river, but I was one of those on the shore, jumping and clapping and making faces and so on, then I realized that was not me, and that that story had to be told again. (Contemporary 10)

*This paper was presented in the international seminar organized by the Department of English, University of Dhaka on African Literature in English/Africa in Literature on October 30, 2008, especially to celebrate “Fifty Years of *Things Fall Apart*”.

**Professor and Chairman

Department of English, Metropolitan University, Sylhet

The same insider's urgency is felt in Achebe's critique on Cary:

[...] I read some appalling novels about Africa (including Joyce Cary's much praised *Mister Johnson*) and decided that the story we had to tell could not be told for us by any one else no matter how gifted or well intentioned. (Named for Victoria 20)

Formulated on this praxis *Things Fall Apart* is a story re-told from the reverse end of the Conrad-Cary-doctrine repudiating and replacing it with an indigenous one of a society that has had its moments of glory and ignominy, heroism and cowardice, rise and fall, rule and misrule, integration and disintegration till the arrival of the Prosperos with their gospels and government in the hinterland beyond Onistha and Ogidi.

The setting of *Things Fall Apart* covers a period of thirty years from 1860-1890, a crucial contact time in the Nigerian history when the archetypal colonialist trio-the British traders, missionaries and government officials undertook "Niger expeditions" deep into the mainland with the mission of establishing contacts with the Africans of that region (Ohadike xl). We are further informed that no European has set foot on the interior of the Igboland before 1830 though the European traders have been trading in the coastal towns for over three centuries. The thirty years' tale preceding 1860 is the tale of "politics of abolition", the palm-oil boom and the Igbo-invitation to the English clergy and traders "to come and live with them" (Ohadike xl). The rest of the history from 1900 onward till independence in October 1960 is the history of intense colonial engagement, large-scale disintegration and struggles for disengagement.

Against this background (1860-1890) when things have just experienced tremors, not massive earthquakes, and so have not completely crumbled, Achebe looks back from a hundred years' distance at Umuofia, first in its pre-colonial manifestations, then as a microscopic contact zone representing Africa's encounter with Europe. This long stretch of time (1860-1958) has undoubtedly allowed Achebe to formulate a historiographer's re-positioning, beyond the scope of the colonizer's/colonized's version of Umuofia's history (Nigeria's too via Ogidi), and locate the areas of dislocation that correspond primarily to the white incursion and secondarily to the fault-lines of an old tribal sovereignty that has reached a trying end of elasticity.

Colonial presence in any alien land has historically proved a dangerous agent in "unforming", "re-forming" and deforming the pre-contact physical equilibrium of the society it has infiltrated (Loomba 1100-01) bringing forth conversion, acculturation, hybridity and other psycho-cultural dislocations usually termed as concomitant ills of colonialism. But the degree of acceptance, absorption, and resistance to coloniality has most often depended on the structures of the concerned colonized society, existence of overt/covert divides, alleys of grievances and discomfiture etc. within the given societal framework. There is little disagreement that the British entrance into Nigeria as well as into the fictional perimeter of Umuofia has posited the same post-contact derailment of things. But to view things

from that praxis alone is tantamount to disavowing Umuofia's dormant forces of disruption. In *Things Fall Apart* Achebe presents a society which is primeval and seemingly self-contained, able to rule itself and thwart territorial aggression, deeply devoted to its religion, rites and rituals, intolerant to violations, ruthlessly homicidal and incorrigibly superstitious, hierarchical and repressive, unschooled but wise, closed yet accommodating, labour-prone yet carnivalesque. It is a society that is culture-conscious yet vulnerable to acculturation, apprehensive of white 'design' yet susceptible to 'white' lures, sporadically resistant yet collectively submissive. Umuofia's stability and solidarity has never been tested before against a global force or its primordial protective sovereignty against an aggressive sovereignty. Nor has Umuofia fathomed its innate savagery and its inter-generational re-notation of values, more so its weakness misjudged as strength. The pre-colonial Umuofia with its rimless sovereignty and a workable module of democracy can eventually withstand neither the external pressure nor the internal one. "The culture and society break down under pressure from both within and without" (Needham 20). And the transformation goes under the nose and back of the umbrella character Okonkwo, the priest of a hero fitted as Umuofian archetypal symbol. The popular argument that white infiltration and black disintegration in Umuofia is strictly co-terminous, that had there been no colonial intervention there would have been no act of falling apart is only a truth in default tinged with an ex-colonized's emotional "politics of blame" (Intellectuals 46), as Said put it. This dangerously dismisses the signs of tectonic discontent and widening crevices on the one hand, and on the other hand misreads "the synchronic narrative" of the Igbo people overemphasizing its "diachronic" platitude. This foregrounds the Igbo society as ahistorical corroborating the "brutal entry of the Europeans" with the "Igbos entry into history" (Kortenkaar 45), a westernized view strongly refuted by Achebe himself (Image 34) and others.

Umuofia, in the first fifteen chapters of the novel, appears to enjoy a smug level of equilibrium and placidity not uncommon in older closed societies. This is related to Umuofia's notion of sovereignty which is a metonym for long-exercised tribal autonomy territorially safeguarded by a legendary cross-border fear of its warriors, magicians, priests and medicine-men (8); structurally by councils of elders, chiefs and societies; socio-culturally by certain sets of ancestral values; and religiously by a kind of faith – strange to alien eyes, and comparable only to other aboriginal faiths. This no doubt lends an impression of a sustainable democracy in operation in Umuofia. At the same time the text does not conceal the other face of the truth: underneath the surface of equilibrium the smouldering undercurrents of injustice and resentment have long been left unrecognized, and the voices of the injured and the subalterns unheeded. These are the voices of Ikemefuna, Nwoye, Akeuni, Nneka, Obeirika, the *efulefu*, *osu* and the unidentified mass lying outside the halo of the narrative. Importantly these are the voices that, in the remaining pages of the novel, gradually mount over the central voices of Okonkwo and other satellite characters orbiting his axis.

To begin with the Ikemefuna-fault-line. Ikemefuna, the male-Iphigenia of Greek tragedy in this novel can be viewed as a preternatural agency of dislocation

and determinant of the clan's destiny. In the first textual test of sovereignty (later turned into truce) between Umuofia and Mbaino over the killing of "a daughter of Umuofia" (8) the boy, for no wrong of his own, is made the scapegoat of a homicidal deal. Dislocated of his roots, and transplanted under Okonkwo's shelter, and then slaughtered by Okonkwo with the last blow of his machete, the Ikemefuna tragedy releases an abortive energy to trigger a massive psycho-social disruption. The ritual of his killing is more than an act of propitiation of Umuofia's god of war, more than a sign-post of inter-tribal retaliation, or the defeat of one Ikemefuna's bad *chi* under the frenzy of a clan's collective *chi*; it is a prognosis of macro dislocation through micro dislocation. Not knowing the decree of death hovering over his head, the boy experiences first a shock of displacement and uncertainty, then a receding vision of his mother and sister compensated by the affection of Okonkwo's household (20). He starts loving Nwoye and being loved by him; not a substitute, yet Nwoye's mother fills much of his mother's vacuum. He calls Okonkwo father and is reciprocated by his hard-shelled affection; he wins the love of all in the house-hold; he even wins the distant hearts of the clan-lords. In a span of three years when Ikemefuna has sent enough length of roots into the new soil and got rehabilitated, his killing disrupts the psychic equilibrium of many: Ogbuefi Ezeudu, Obierika, Nwoye, even Okonkwo himself. The decision of the war-mongering elders, approved by indecipherable voices of democracy and finally sanctified by the Oracle gains the altitude of an unappealable verdict, and so, the killing becomes an irretrievable rite. Ogbuefi Ezeudu who came to forewarn Okonkwo of the imminent execution of the verdict and Obierika who chose to distance himself from the homicide seem to have their heads nodding the killing but not their hearts. The way they reveal their tenderness towards "bond" via the unfortunate boy, surreptitiously brings forth their divided allegiance to the custom and the brutality associated with it. A sad Ogbuefi warns Okonkwo: "That boy calls you father. Do not bear a hand in his hand" (40). A more militant Obierika snaps: "If I were you I would have stayed at home" (46). Nwoye is the one who suffers like dead Ikemefuna had he been alive. He has found an escape from his tyrannical father and his oppressive masculinity in the friendship and misfortunes of Ikemefuna. Their two brands of misfortunes, equipped with Nwoye's foreknowledge of Ikemefuna's death sentence, bring him closer to the latter. When the boy is really taken out, his heart breaks within: "Throughout that day Nwoye sat in his mother's hut and tears stood in his eyes" (41). When Okonkwo returns home at night, Nwoye feels sure that Ikemefuna is no more alive: "something seemed to give way inside him, like the snapping of a tightened bow. He did not cry. He just hung limp" (43). He is too small to voice his anger, too immature to locate the potholes of justice but his conscience tells him that this is not the way of heart. With the progress of the narrative this inner fissure in conjunction with others leads him to defect from his community materializing the disintegration Ikemefuna has initiated through his death. Okonkwo, in his role of a custodian of ancestral Igboism, in his pride and ambition of reaching the peak of social hierarchy, in his phobia of being called a coward to the discredit of his long-standing reputation of decapitating enemy-heads does the most outrageous thing. He soaks his hands in

blood that "all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten" (Macbeth V. i. 47-48). As part of retribution he suffers terribly; for two days after the death of Ikemefuna he tastes no food, no drink except palm-wine, and no sleep. He longs for the proximity of Nwoye, even wishes if Ezinma were a boy- all as an attempt to re-integrate the moral disintegration the dead boy has wrought in him. Accidentally and/ or willingly he dips his hands more in blood and complements the collective ruin at the clan's most crucial encounter with Europe.

The African society happens to endorse not only the killing of Ikemefuna but also of many more Ikemefunas before they accumulate enough crime/sin to deserve so: they are the twins thrown out in the evil forest to wither and die. The dark logic that views the birth of twins as a deformity, an aberration, and their consequent abandonment as a purging ritual entices a critical re-consideration in the novel quite before the arrival of the missionaries with their Christian truth or science with its biological truth to replace the aboriginal truth. And most importantly, the victims like Obierika, Nneka, Akeuni, and passive victims like Nwoye, through their anger and suffering, form a divide- a fault-line that erupts at the first opportunity of defection. Nwoye already alienated by his father's exacting allegiance, further unsettled by the singular cruelty of Ikemefuna's death, experiences a shattering shock and identical misfortune hearing "the voice of an infant crying in the forest." It follows an upheaval in him:

A vague chill had descended on him and his head had seemed to swell, like a solitary walker at night who passes an evil spirit on the way. Then something had given way inside him. (43)

The kind of psychic dislocation he undergoes, outside the sociologist's prism, finds a catharsis in the gospels of the missionaries where Okonkwo cannot override him, Ikemefunas are not decapitated and twins are not denied their right to live.

Akeuni in her role of a male-auxiliary has graver wounds but she remains a non-entity in the space of the narrative except by reference. In her place a grieved Uchendu registers his daughter's agony to dislodged Okonkwo: "If you think you are the greatest sufferer in the world ask my daughter, Akeuni, how many twins she has borne and thrown away" (95). The new equivalence between Okonkwo's suffering and that of Akeuni suggested by a patriarch like Uchendu is an admission of the existence of a neglected social terrain. Obierika gropes for logic in the paraphernalia of justice but finds neither logic nor an answer. He remembers his wife's twin children whom he himself has thrown away. The father in him questions the sagacity of his clan: "What crime had they committed?" (88). Nneka has had four pregnancies and childbirths: each time she has given birth to twins and each time they have been thrown away. In a desperate attempt to save the yet-to-be-born twins of her fifth pregnancy, she chooses, by default, the white man's religion. This is how, under traumas, the pent-up forces move up across the cracks to prepare a stage for subversion.

A highly stratified society, by virtue of its composition, produces peripheral classes and ends up in discrimination. The democratic values, however deeply

rooted and zealously inculcated, most often refuse to bring the substrata of the society under the umbrella of equality as in the case of *efulefu* and the *osu*. *Efulefu*, in the tribal social order, are the “worthless, empty men” who have no titles, no voices, and are considered “excrement of the clan” (101). The *osu* are the untouchables, stigmatized by their birth as the ones not “free-born”, segregated from the mainstream. They are denied a lot of things: proximity of the touchables, rights of titles, inter-caste marriage and other dividends of democracy. They carry the mark of “forbidden caste”? “long, tangled and dirty hair,” as razor is taboo to them. Like the Indian Harijans they are the classical subalterns of Umuofia, Mbaino and Mbanta who have no space even in Achebe’s portrait of the clans; their presence is reckoned with concern when they avail the first chance of being equal to the free-born through conversion. The missionary infiltration might have been harder had there been no psycho-social cleavages and history of wounds. These are the “bad sides” Achebe refers to in “The Role of the Writer in a New Nation”:

We cannot pretend that our past was one long technicolour idyll. We have to admit that like other people’s past ours had its good as well as bad sides. (9)

The waves of colonialism sweep over the adjoining villages before they reach Umuofia. The presence of the white man is first reported in Chapter Fifteen by Obierika to Okonkwo, now in the second year of exile in Mbanta. A white man appears in Abame on his “iron horse” and is killed without provocation on the Oracle’s prognosis that ““a strange man would break their clan and spread destruction among them”” (97). The Oracle displays further foreknowledge of the white men’s design if not of the clan’s modus operandi to thwart it: “other white men were on their way. They were locusts, it said, and that first man was their harbinger sent to explore the terrains” (98). The pre-emptive killing foregrounds retaliation of the white men and the consequent wiping out of Abame. The first band of missionaries that reaches Mbanta includes only one white man and four black converts, an important clue to the colonial in-roads the European missionaries have already made. The colonial strategy of retaliation, evident in Abame, seems to undergo a shift in Mbanta perhaps in absence of provocation and resistance. The missionaries gain a visible edge over the clan when they are allowed a piece of land in the evil forest to build their church – a permission that on the one hand helps nullify the age-old superstitions, and on the other hand offers a ground to the missionaries to grow and extend their area of infiltration. The Abame and Mbanta episodes, thus introduced as a prelude, set the stage of colonial encounter in Umuofia.

The missionary invasion of Umuofia is reported in the text (Chapter Sixteen) at the time of Obierika’s second visit to Okonkwo: “The missionaries had come to Umuofia. They had built their church there, won a handful of converts and were already sending evangelists to the surrounding towns and villages” (101). Strangely enough, their entrance in Umuofia, unlike their entrances in Abame and Mbanta, goes unreported in the novel; it is simply glossed over. Instead their entrenchment is informed summarily with the brevity of a papal verdict. The Afro-European contact is staged in absence of Umuofia’s defending hero Okonkwo, in

contravention of its jingoistic legacy, and in shocking passivity of the Umuofians. A softer ground to conquer, Mr. Brown and his black counterparts choose the proven fault-lines of the Igbo society and make quick in-roads. The low-born and the untouchables, then the victims of repression and injustice, and occasional big shots like Ogbuefi Ugonno join the church: "The church had come and led many stray. Not only the low born and the outcast but sometimes a worthy man had joined it" (123). On his return, Okonkwo fails to recognize his old Umuofia: "The clan had undergone such profound change during his exile that it was barely recognizable" (129). Mr. Brown's failure to negotiate with the leaders to master a mass conversion prompts him to follow the trade-mark colonial philosophy: "a frontal attack on it [Umuofia] would not succeed" (128). He opens up new fronts of negotiation by raising missionary schools and hospitals, and thus, under the masquerades of charity and enlightenment, targets the whole flock of new generation, a vulnerable age-group, disgruntled and disenchanted like Nwoye. The strategy is ironically a materialization of the Mbanta-leader's prophetic apprehension: "I fear for the young generation" (118). The bond that the tribal sovereignty has so long nourished has grown feeble in its centuries of unrelenting immobility and rigidity. How dysfunctional it has grown is evident in Nwoye's answer to Obierika's "'How is your father?': "I don't know. He is not my father'" (101). The arrival of the colonial apparatus slackens the bond further and robs it of its pre-colonial euphoria of unity. Caught in a colonial conundrum, the Umuofian front line, the middle and the rear guard find themselves subverted by their "own men" and "sons" (124). "Ironically the missionaries", MacDowell observes, "attack the tribe at its weakest link – when the chain of being was already broken" (Of What 10). The argument so far presented does not approve of the passage of British colonialism to Africa nor does it approve of its operational ethics; what it does is to locate the weakness of the invaded society that has quickened the pace of disintegration. Prafulla C. Kar considers the "weakest line" in a broader African context:

[...] the British and the Western missionaries in Africa acted as mere catalyst in accelerating transformation of old Africa, a process which was under way before the Western arrived (Vanishing Africa 157)

The British colonizers, as in Umuofia, begin with the "most important area of domination"- "the mental universe of the colonized" (Ngugi 1135), then with the physical universe. In this contact zone the colonization of mind has been initiated by conversion to proceed therefrom to other areas asterisked in the colonial road-map.

The "lunatic religion" (126) is just a launching pad; Umuofia gradually witnesses a full-scale colonial entanglement: desecration of ancestral masks, subordination of indigenous culture, confrontation with the church, emergence of the colonial administration as a backup force, imprisonment of the Igbo leaders, replacement of the Igbo judiciary with native court systems, lure to trade, jobs and money, sprouting of beneficiary groups, Okonkwo's solitary resistance, killing of a court messenger, disunity of the clan and finally Okonkwo's suicide as the epitaph on the pre-colonial Igbo sovereignty. The anarchy bracketed between Nwoye's

conversion and Okonkwo's death, like the tip of an ice-berg, offers only a partial view of things falling apart: more things fall apart invisibly and more things are smuggled in to complete the post-contact chaos. If colonialism is an inevitability in a particular phase of history, the aftermath of colonial entrenchment in the specific colonized society is also an inevitability. In *Things Fall Apart* Achebe reconstructs the miasma of that inevitability from the African point of view.

To go the other way round, Achebe's earlier critique on Conrad and colonialism was more or less based on Europe's "preposterous and perverse arrogance" of reducing Africa "to the role of the props for the break-up of one petty European mind"- the mind of Kurtz against a "setting and backdrop which eliminates the African as a human factor" (Image 42). In *Things Fall Apart* Achebe reverses the colonial ontology where "Africa" is no more "a metaphysical battlefield devoid of recognizable humanity" (Image 42), is rather a physical battlefield engaging the Africans in wars against their own chasms as well as the chasms the Europeans brought. In his version of Africa, Africa is seen via Umuofia "as a continent of people – not angels, but not rudimentary souls either – just people" (Image 46) who have had their heights of achievements above their heads and pitfalls under their feet before the arrival of the Europeans. In this counter-text, first – against the colonial texts, then against the District commissioner's forthcoming text (148), Achebe tracks the passage of colonialism to Africa as one who this time does not subscribe to "jumping and clapping and making faces and so on" (Contemporary 10) but does something different: a re-ordering of colonial historiography.

References

- Achebe, Chinua. "An Image of Africa." *Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart*. Ed. Tapan Basu. New Delhi: World View, 2003.
- . "Named for Victoria Queen of England." *Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart*. Ed. Tapan Basu. New Delhi: World View, 2003.
- . "The Role of the Writer in a New Nation." *African Writers on African Writings*. Ed. G. D. Killam. London: Heinemann, 1973.
- . *Things Fall Apart*. Oxford: Heinemann, 1996.
- Contemporary Literary Criticism*. Vol 75. Detroit: Gale, May 1993.
- Kar, Prafulla C. "The Image of Vanishing Africa in Chinua Achebe's Novels." *The Colonial and the Neo-Colonial Encounters in Commonwealth Literature*. Eds. Anniah H. H. Gowda and Prasaranga. University of Mysore, 1983.
- Kortenkaar and Neil Ten. "How the Centre is Made to hold in *Things Fall Apart*." *Postcolonial Literatures*. Eds. Michael Parker and Roger Starkey. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Loomba, Ania. "Situating Colonial and Postcolonial Studies." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Eds. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. UK and USA: Blackwell, 2004.
- MacDowell, Robert. "Of What is Past or Passing or to Come." *Studies in Black Literature*. Special Issue: Chinua Achebe. 2.1. Spring 1971.
- Needham, Anuradha Dingwaney. "Articulating the Postcolonial Writer's Social Responsibilities." *South Asian Responses to Chinua Achebe*. Eds. Bernth Lindfors and Bala Kothandaraman. New Delhi: Prestige, 1993.
- Ngugi wa Thing'o. "Decolonizing the Mind." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Eds. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. UK and USA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Ohadike, Don. "Igbo Culture and History." Introduction. *Things Fall Apart*. By Chinua Achebe. Oxford: Heinemann, 1996.
- Pieterse, Cosmo and Dennis Duerden. Eds. *African Writers Talking: A Collection of Radio Interviews*. London: Heinemann, 1972.
- Said, Edward. "Intellectuals in a Post-Colonial World." *Salmagundi*. 70-71, 1986.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Complete Works*. Ed. Alfred Harbage, USA: Viking, 1969.

The 'Politics' of Language in the Bangladeshi Education System: A Deliberate Perpetuation of Obscurity and Chaos

Faheem Hasan Shahed, Ph.D.*

Abstract

The issue of both Bangla and English has been both obscure and controversial since long. The apparent hue and cry over the falling standards of English in particular, and Bangla in general, has much to do with the mismanagement of English and Bangla in our curriculum. This paper would throw some light on the loopholes of our language education that have prevented the mass from being benefited. Discussing these issues in detail, this paper argues that such mismanagements have been deliberately done through carefully planned strategies. Unless some realistically radical changes occur, the dream of creating efficient and knowledgeable workforce in our country would hardly materialize.

1.0 Prologue

Admittedly, the education system is the easiest of all the systems that can be successfully manipulated to sustain socio-economic stratification and power-relations. This is categorically true for the developing countries.

In Bangladesh, the vested agencies in an out of the government have been manipulating the educational infrastructure through carefully planned strategies. They have thus ensured that on the one hand, education would always remain a 'golden deer' for the majority—thus never reaching them, and on the other, it will be accessible to a handful of privileged minority who would be fit enough to perpetuate the legacy of the class-ridden social milieu.

One may recall the famous dialogue of the *Hirok Raja* (Diamond King) from Satyajit Ray's classic film *Hirok Rajar Deshe* (In the Kingdom of Diamond King). Ordering his education minister to shut down all *paath shalas* (schools) all over his kingdom, the autocratic King uttered in a satirical style:

The more they read
The more they know,
And the more they disobey! ¹

The king had no pretence. He downrightly made it a point that he was there to protect his and his followers' interests; interests to perpetuate autocracy, feudalism, privilege and social stratifications. As long as these were ensured, no force on earth would drag them out of their palaces. Like the Diamond King of that film, the powerful lobbies of Bangladesh too need to safeguard their positions; these positions can never be put under any tremor by making the mass educated.

*Associate Professor & Head, Department of English, American International University-Bangladesh.

Language, being the most effective instrument in this system of education, has been used by these manipulative quarters to operate against the masses. Thirty-four years after independence, the absence of any definite language policy regarding even mother tongue (MT) Bangla – leave alone English – drives home the point further. The politics of language, not the education of language, is what has been installed in Bangladesh step by step.

2.0 The colonial root of language politics in Bangladesh

Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o said in his 'Decolonizing the Mind':

The choice of language, and the use to which language is put is central to people's definition of themselves in relation to the entire universe.²

In simple words, human's struggle for self-identity depends crucially on his preference and use of language. This has been very much true for multilingual countries like India and South Africa. Given the validity of Thiong'o's argument, it must be added that apart from the choice, the way in which any language enjoys its scale, scope, status and space his choice of language is equally necessary — in fact, more necessary. As for example, do all regional languages in India share equal prominence regarding scale, scope, status and space? And therefore, do the speakers of 'less prominent' languages assert their self-identities as the users of prominent languages like Tamil, Telegu, Marathi or Bangla? To be realistic, the question of self-definition and identity in the modern Indian context has a lot to do with one's affiliation with Hindi—the national language—so much so that most of the regional languages and cultures (barring the exception of South) has been under strong influence of Hindi.

Thus, choice is important but not enough. Hussain (1996) states that besides this choice what is required is 'a politicization of this choice in terms of assertion of power, its appropriation of space in which the choice finds itself.' One best example can be the recent declaration by the Indian central government to treat Tamil as a "classical language" (despite the debate why other ancient regional languages should be left out of such status). Reason, Tamilnadu enjoys politically and economically powerful position in greater Indian context.

Relating this issue to our Language Movement, he noted,

It is in this line that our Language Movement of 1952 was not merely an existential struggle for choice. It was primarily a political struggle for 'space'—a space inhabitable in a variety of ways.

Coming back to the question of use of language, one may find that the emergence of Pakistan after the partition of India was an initiation of yet another phase of colonialism in the political history of Bangladesh. It is this very ethos of colonialism which determined the use of language—which reproduced and reinforced the archetypal division between the 'self' and the 'other'. More clearly, between 'us' (the West Pakistanis) and 'them' (the East Pakistanis) over the language issue itself.

Admittedly, both Urdu and Bangla were used during the Pakistani colonial period. But, while Urdu became the language of the colonizer ‘self’ for the sheer reason of its power achieved in economic and political terms, Bangla was subjected and pushed to the margin, to a culturally and politically inferior status, to the position of the ‘other’—always to be dominated and dwarfed in the interest of the colonial power. One may now wonder how the same thing has happened in post-independent Bangladesh with English replacing Urdu, though in a slightly modified way.

Indeed, while it was assertively and aggressively announced by Muhammad Ali Jinnah that ‘Urdu and Urdu alone shall be the state language of Pakistan’,³ the texts of cultural and linguistic colonialism were only reconstructed and reproduced in the British style. We know how the British followed their ‘English only’ policy for thirty years after Macaulay’s Minute in 1834.

...the Language Movement was therefore an attempt, primarily in the political terms, to deconstruct such ‘texts’ of the Pakistani colonizers, to deconstruct the colonial power that was possessed entirely by them. (Hussain, 1996)

We will come to the issue of English and Bangla in the following section. But to understand the nature of the hegemony of English over Bangla, we should go through the East Pakistani experiences of Urdu and Bangla. So we need to briefly interpret the ideology of cultural and linguistic colonialism evoked by the ‘use’ of Urdu.

Urdu was not the language of the majority in the then Pakistan. To be precise, it was not even the language of any province in West Pakistan. Below 3.5% of the entire Pakistani population spoke Urdu as mother tongue. But the Pakistani government had to select Urdu as its language owing to its ‘communal’ or ‘sectarian’ approach,⁴ which would enable it to prove its distinctiveness from India.

Hence, despite the fact that Bangla was the language of the majority in Pakistan, it was not accepted as a state language side by side Urdu.

The numerical strength of this ‘other’ [the East Pakistanis] was always a source of psychological and political terror to the colonizers who was led to hide or diminish it [Bangla] in terms of imposition and repetition of the images of his worth and superiority—more constructed, more rhetorical than real. (ibid)

Therefore, attempts were made by several quarters to rationalize the ‘superior status’ of Urdu to Bangla⁵. In other words:

It was a rhetorical justification of the superiority of the majority, a glorification and canonization of the self over the other as a strategic stay against the potentially deconstructing forces of “the number that is power”. (ibid)

The West Pakistanis realized well that by weakening the East Pakistanis both economically and culturally, they could control that 'numerically strong *other* (i.e. the Bangalees)'. Thus Hussain rightly said:

This was the very strategy of the colonial power and discourse appropriated by the then Urdu-speaking Pakistani rulers whose attack on the language was a means to perpetuate cultural exploitation on the Bangla-speaking colonised. (ibid)

And since it is known that to exploit culturally, one must begin to exploit linguistically (so cleanly proven by the British). Thus through the loss of status of language, consequently through the loss of power, Bangalees were almost subjected to hegemonistic tyranny of West Pakistanis. The colonialism in Pakistan for its nourishment not only needed cultural exploitation but also linguistic exploitation to effectively reinforce the former.

And it is against this entire weave of relations, against all such texts of cultural colonialism, that the Language Movement was launched with an explicit political force. The whole cultural issue of colonialism manifested in 'Urdu and Urdu alone shall be the state language of Pakistan' being fought primarily at the political level ultimately led to the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state in 1971. (ibid)

3.0 English in curriculum: Purposeful continuation of dispute

Despite our MT Bangla's status as the State Language, the post-independent Bangladesh witnessed the continuation of Bangla-English controversy. As regards Bangla, there was a series of government orders and notifications as to where and how it should be used (we will highlight these in the following section). However in case of English, all quarters accepted that it should be an important second language (SL) besides MT, though there was never any general consensus regarding its status in the education system.

Let us have an overview of the English issue proposed in the first Bangladesh Education Commission Report published in 1974. Headed by late scientist and educationist Dr Qudrat-e-Khuda, this Commission came out with specific recommendations concerning English in the curriculum. This particular issue was sidelined from the very beginning.

Recommending the duration of the primary level from class 1 to class 8, the Commission clearly proposed that there would be no other language up to class 5 except MT. In its chapter 4, it maintained:

Even after the introduction of Bengali as the medium of instruction at all levels of education, the necessity will remain for English to be learnt as a compulsory second language. It is not necessary to learn any language other than Bengali up to class V. From classes VI XII, however, a modern and developed foreign language must be learnt English will continue as compulsorily. For historical reasons and for the sake of reality, a second compulsory language. (Commission' Report, 1974:15)

Subsequently in its proposed table of syllabuses and subjects to be taught at the primary level, it is seen that a SL was absent till class 5, and it started from class 6. And so the Commission proposed to implement the all the steps if the Report was taken seriously and sincerely. For example, primary and secondary curricula would have to be reconstituted from top to bottom in light of the new education policy. The Report in its Chapter 28 maintained:

It is not possible to frame a curriculum valid for all times. The curriculum has to be adjusted with growing individual and social demands and its relation to the broadening of knowledge. This is specially applicable in our country for the next ten years. Our existing curriculum must be improved to translate the recommendations made in its report into reality. We, therefore, recommend that a curriculum and syllabus committee should be set up immediately with the express purpose of modifying and improving the existing curriculum in the light of our recommendations. (ibid)

Soon after the government's acceptance the Report, a National Curriculum Committee (NCC) was formed. It started to frame detailed curricula of the primary education according to the Commission's recommendations.

The problem occurred when the issue of English came. Regardless of the Commission's very clear recommendation, several members of the NCC were in favor of placing English from class 3 (Siddiqi, 1994: 48). By the way, English had already existed from class 3. Failing to reach to reach a consensus, the NCC members sent the matter to the higher level of administration. The 'higher level' kept intact the previous system, i.e. English was allotted from class 3. Therefore it is evident how this particular question of a second language, instead of being decided at its rightful place, i.e. the NCC, was 'decided' by a different authority: the administration.

The question which is very much pertinent is, while the every other curricular issue was handled by NCC, why this issue of English could not be solved also by NCC, and had to be decided by the 'higher' authorities instead?

Let us move some steps further. While English kept operating from class 3 for quite a long time, why did all on a sudden the need to install it from class 1 arise? One may be amused by the excuse given in this regard : English from class 3 onwards have not been effective for the real learning of the students; in other words they were not been able to learn English properly. (ibid)

Therefore, the 'solution' was done by extending the duration of English learning — and that too at the early stage, not at later stage, of children's educational career. That means, there was this conscious effort to impose the hegemony of English right from the beginning of students' career, as a result of which the average child would never be able to acquire neither MT nor English properly. Because the more the demand of English on students' time, attention and ability grows, the more deficits occur on the part of other subjects, including MT. And in fact, students would not be able to grasp any subject properly at this premature stage. This crisis

has later been further compounded by other problems, like teacher-shortage, lack of proper training to create skilled teachers, woeful learning environment and so on.

4.0 The dispute leading to dysfunctional bilingualism

It is exactly due to this unsolved dispute (mentioned above) that our education system has been marred by a sort of 'dysfunctional' bilingualism. Given the fact that the term 'bilingualism' is itself an ambiguous one even for multilingual societies (due to the multifarious connotations it bears), it has posed serious problems in a country like ours simply because of one reason: we have so far failed to define the exact 'space called English' in our educational sphere.

As evident from the previous section, there has a perpetual debate regarding the 'extent' of acquiring bilingual competence of the Bangladeshis. Here, the concept of 'attaining competence in SL' (obviously English) has been left undecided since our independence.

Let us now look at the issue of judging bilingual proficiency clearly. When we call someone a 'competent bilingual' in Bangladesh, s/he may be any one of the following persons:

- (i) one who can speak and write English fluently as much as he can speak and write fluent Bangla,
- (ii) one who can speak English fluently but has limited writing skills; however on the other hand he can write Bangla very well,
- (iii) one who cannot speak fluent English at all, but can write fluently, and also can write Bangla well,
- (iv) one who cannot express himself in English properly in speaking or writing, but has very well developed receptive skills in English – he can understand everything in English when he reads or hears, and he can write and speak good Bangla,
- (v) one who cannot write either good proper Bangla or English, but has the spoken communicative skills in both languages which he uses in his daily life (e.g. in his job) perfectly,
- (vi) one who has very solid command over English – be it writing or speaking – but can only speak, and not write, Bangla well.

One would find all these above-mentioned types of people in Bangladesh in different sectors, and if asked, all of them would claim themselves as bilinguals. But the question remains, do all these types equally fit in the definition of bilingualism that is needed or desired in Bangladesh? The answer can be both 'yes' and 'no'.

'Yes' in the sense that since the domains of English language requirements are broadening and since each domain deals with different purposes, various types of English bilinguals are necessary to suit these purposes.

‘No’ in the sense that these kinds of bilingual proficiency prove the fussy and obscure state of our educational outlook. Owing to the lack of proper policy, these types of ‘mixed’ bilinguals have been created who would not eventually serve our greater national interest.

It is on this particular point that the entire issue of bilingualism in our country has to be viewed with a rational approach. Given the present escalation of global business and the advancement of technology-oriented sectors, developing countries like ours are on the verge of exploring a great opportunity, i.e. to generate, utilize, sustain and export a workforce who would have the ability to contribute to economic and financial development in the national levels. It is up to us whether or not we would clutch this benefit. Creating efficient bilingual personnel for these domains is therefore the only way to do so. But we need to ask ourselves: how far have we at all identified the ‘domains’ in our intra-national arenas where bilingualism would find its exact spaces? And subsequently, have we provided our education system the opportunities to create the ‘frames’ to promote competent bilingual groups of people to serve in those ‘domains’?

In a previous elaborate study of public attitudes on Bangladeshi bilingualism by this author, several crucial findings had been gathered which were the direct result of the chaotic language ‘politics’ in our education system. The relevant portion of those findings can be summarized as such (Shahed, 2001):

- (1) Our education system does not have the desired infrastructure to produce creative students; our students achieve good academic feats simply due to their personal merits and labor.
- (2) Bilingualism should mean ‘equal proficiency’ in Bangla and English based on the users’ needs; we should have need-based or situation-based arrangements for ‘English’ education.
- (3) Mother Tongue proficiency should have top priority in our education—as most of the Bangladeshis cannot write and use Bangla correctly in their lives.
- (4) We have never gone after the positive role of English in order to make it a useful cultural tool in our society; rather English has always remained as a language of fear, power and status.
- (5) Those who would never require any English in their social, cultural or professional domains should not be made victims of ‘English domination’ and should be educated through the medium of Bangla.

Prof. Serajul Islam Chowdhury in his article ‘Rethinking the Two Englishes’ maintained:

.... It is, of course, useful to acquire knowledge of a second language, but should the entire nation of 120 million be made bilingual? Bilingualism was forced upon us in the past because of foreign rule, but to allow that to continue can hardly be an ideal situation. Apart from the impracticability of the task, there is the primary question of its desirability. Ideally,

bilingualism should be voluntary rather than obligatory. (Chowdhury, 1999)

Educationist and linguist Prof. Monsoor Musa has echoed similar sentiments:

...We need to ask ourselves whether our rural farmers, laborers, fishermen, blacksmith and others need to be bilinguals. And do they themselves want to be bilinguals?

It is more important to become educated rather than to become bilinguals. It would be extremely regrettable if bilingualism adversely affects one's possibility to become educated. Nobody obviously dreams that people would speak English in each and every household.

Yes, bilingualism is necessary for Bangladesh. But not drag the entire population into this necessity... (Musa, 1995: 241)

Therefore it is clear that had our governments taken the opinions of both educationists and public into account, they could have discovered a gateway to clarity and the confusing scenario of our so-called bilingual education system could have been restructured in an effective manner.

5.0 Mother Tongue and administrative orders: The lack of sincerity

In order to switch over from one language to another as the medium of intra-national correspondence and functions, two things are essential: issue of government directives and the implementation of such directives. It is valid for any country in any region. In the USA, English became the official language due to administrative order (Musa, 1995:45). It was the case with Swahili in Tanzania, Sinhalese and Tamil in Sri Lanka, Bahasa in Indonesia and Malaysia or Turkish in Turkey (ibid).

In the same line, there has been a series of administrative decisions and orders regarding Bangla in Bangladesh. Before going through these, let us first see what was said in the Noor Khan Education Policy (in the Pakistan era) regarding language:

The Government has decided in 1954 to introduce national languages into official use by 1974 but unfortunately nothing was done to implement this decision. It is considered necessary as far as possible and to complete the process of introduction of the national language into official use by 1975. It is felt that the announcement of a firm date for the change-over to national languages would, by itself be an impetus to the adoption of these languages in the administration and other activities of national life. One of the important measures in this direction should be to make it compulsory for all central government employees to acquire working knowledge of both Urdu and Bengali by 1973. (Quoted in Musa, 1995:46)

It was government's decision in 1954 to bring the national languages (Urdu and Bangla) under official use by 1974. But never was it implemented. And after 1971, there was no question if implementation either. Nonetheless, from 1954 to 1970 the

government had a span of 17 years to operate regarding this language issue, even in a small scale. But it is evident that the government (s) had no real intention to do anything positive.

This lack-luster approach continued in the Bangladesh era as we will see later. Before that we need to have a glimpse of the type of official decision orders⁶:

1. After Awami League emerged victorious in the 1970 general elections, a report of the vernacular daily 'Sangbad' of 16-02-71 stated that, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had said, official language (of East Pakistan) will be Bangla.
2. In 1972 after attaining power the Awami League government ordered to use Bangla in official works. A newspaper report of 08-02-1972 quoting the Education Minister Yusuf Ali mentioned that the government had adopted the proposal to implement Bangla in all spheres of national life.
3. On 14-02-1973 the President Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury called for a faster implementation of the program for pursuing Higher Education through MT. At the same time he called upon the educationists and linguists to come forward with proper solution of the problem of Bangla glossary in scientific and technological education.
4. In March 1975, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman ordered as the President for implementing Bangla instead of English in all official activities.
5. On 12 March 1975, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman via a directive no. 30/12/95-General-729/1 (400) officially directed to preserve all files of government semi-government and autonomous bodies in Bangla. He stated that this order would be applicable for correspondence with foreign countries and embassies. It was further mentioned that punitive measures would follow if this was not obeyed.
6. Almost a repetition of the previous directive was issued on 23-10-1975 by the next President Khondker Mushtaq Ahmed via a directive no. 30/12/75-General-3701(300).
7. The official attempt to implement Bangla gained a new momentum in a short period. On 23-9-1978, the then President Ziaur Rahman in a Cabinet meeting (meeting no. CM-32/78) conveyed that a special meeting of the Council Committee would take place on 28 December 1978 concerning the issue of widespread use of Bangla.
8. Accordingly the meeting was held on 28.12.1978 (meeting no. SCM-48/78). Extract from the minutes and decisions of the meeting adopted in English are given below:⁷
 - (a) The Bengali Language is an integral part of our nationalism and was a key element in our struggle for independence. The failure to use and apply the language at all levels of national life is a sad commentary on our declared intentions and sincerity. All work and files concerning the Cabinet and the

Ministries may be conducted in Bengali from now onwards. Report on command over the Mother tongue should be made a part of the ACR of each officer.

- (b) Stress should be laid on preparing the coming generation from the very elementary school-level for application and use of Bengali in all activities of life and living. A responsible committee may be formed to ensure preparation of textbooks in simple and lucid Bengali, rather than the difficult language in which many school textbooks have been written. Imposing the use of the language from the top will not be fruit unless adequate preparation is made at the base level.
 - (c) The Report of the National Education Committee is being awaited pending receipt of which no further committee should be set up. A number of steps have been taken to expand the use of Bengali in practical life. Instructions at College and University level are being given usually in Bengali and students have an option to appear in the Examination in English also. In the armed services and the police, the word of command has been changed into Bengali. The PSC (Public Service Commission) may conduct the examinations in Bengali which will influence the University and the officers to adopt wider use of Bengali. The Departmental Examinations and the in service training programmes of Govt. employees may also be conducted in Bengali. With sincerity of purpose, it will not be difficult to use Bengali at all official levels. The language itself will develop and grow in quality with practice. The language must rid itself of the grip of the 'pundits' and must reach the people. That is the way it can be made simple, effective and progressive.
 - (d) We must take lead and sincerely play our role to the best of our ability. Others will follow us. There is no need to fix a target date for the eventual switch over to Bengali. The work may start now and instead of going for publicity, necessary executive orders may be issued.
9. On 04-04-1976 President Ziaur Rahman reminded the educationists and other agencies of their responsibilities about maintaining the dynamism of Bangla language. He said that besides education sector, everyone should sincerely attempt to use state language Bangla in the administration sector as well as in other spheres of life. There could be no scope for negligence in using Bangla as the medium of education plus other aspects of national life.
10. On 13 February 1979, there was a news in the national dailies in regard to the government order about the introduction of Bangla in all walks of life. The news mentioned that a Cabinet meeting stressed the need to ensure adequate supply of Bangla typewriters as well as sufficient training of short hand-writers and typewriters for through use of Bangla language in administration.

These were accompanied by a series of cabinet decisions like: writing books of Bangla glossary for all subjects to be published from Bangla Academy; creating specific Bangla styles for the purpose of administrative operations, exchange of scientific and technical information, military and civil affairs etc.; expediting the textbook-writing scheme in Bangla, especially in Medical, Engineering and other subjects of higher education, and for this to establish appropriate organizations.

It was even decided that ambassadors and head of delegates touring abroad would try their best to give speeches in Bangla, and keep interpreters with them. The cabinet asked each school, college and university to put comparatively more priority on Bangla to English in order to uphold the prestige and dignity of Bangla. The meeting in the end decided that apart from those official works where English was a must, use of Bangla would have to be compulsory. Special courses for creating skilled interpreter and translators would have to be initiated in universities.

5.1 The Ultimate Result of These Directives

Alongside this series of strong official directives over the years, the actual implementation of Bangla in all spheres remained a distant dream. Since no such administrative attempt, encouragement or planning was evident on the basis of these, it implies that these directives were issued just for the sake of gaining political benefits, to sustain the politics of language in disguise.

One instance can be taken as a proof. The decisions revealed in point 10 in 4.0 were published in the newspapers on 13 February 1979. It was just 7 days before the observation of Language Martyrs' Day i.e. 21 February. One may assume this attempt as a kind of emotional exploitation of public attitude during the month of February. Little wonder that after such drastic government decisions in 1979 (and also in the previous years), no follow-up measures were taken to do anything fruitful.

Even a Bangla news report of 28-2-1980 titled 'Directive to use Bangla' said, "The Jute Minister Mr. Abdur Rahman Biswas has ordered to use Bangla in all the offices of Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation from today (Thursday) onwards."

Orders after orders in small and large scales were given in various occasions, but with least effect. The dedication, the sincerity and above all the patriotic zeal have been absent on everyone's part, be the government of the opposition or the public.

The problem was further complicated by the issue of whether to use *shadhu* or *chalitoo* Bangla in the administrative work. This debate, as anyone would realize, was quite unnecessary in those circumstances for it only delayed the implementation of Bangla making people confused over the issue. A Government Circular on 9 February 1980 stated that all official and judicial works have to be conducted in *shadhu* Bangla as per decision taken by the Cabinet Secretarial Committee on 31-03-79 and 27-11-79 respectively.

Accordingly *shadhu* Bangla started enjoying considerable use in several spheres till *chalitoo* Bangla replaced it for all practical reasons. Firstly, *shadhu* Bangla proved to be less economical in terms of time. Monsoor Musa cited an example of a

selected Bangla sentence written both in *shadhu* and *chalito* forms⁸. It was seen that while in *shadhu* one had to write 161 morphemes, in *chalito* one could do with only 109 morphemes. At the same while typing the typist had to use considerably less strokes in *chalito* form regarding the verb and pronominal patterns. This reality automatically favoured the later switchover to *chalito* form.

Secondly, the ‘myth’ that *chalito* form was incapable of bearing functional load, and hence unable to express serious expressions, successfully perished over the years. It became the most effective form of expression from serious philosophical discourses to latest technological advancements. It was soon found that the *chalito* forms could express any official expression more suitably and briefly. These are from the linguistic perspective.

Even from the perspective of language planning, one would see that when the order was issued in favour of *shadhu* Bangla, already *chalito* was existing in the curriculum, and hence in SSC and HSC answer scripts. The point was raised by concerned public that it would be ridiculous to carry on with such double standards, encouraging students to use *chalito* in the curriculum one the one hand and asking the same people in their later administrative lives to use *shadhu* form. As a result of these issued *shadhu* Bangla lost ground and *chalito* gained its status in official use.

At present, Bangladesh operates internally in Bangla and the ‘Bangla Implementation Act’ of 1987 has contributed to this consolidated position of Bangla. But the point is, it could have been done much earlier had not such unnecessary *shadhu-chalito* debate occurred and sustained.

6.0 ELT and the ‘Power-Coercive strategy’ in Bangladesh

That our ELT context has been frequently dominated by the whims of people in power would be evident from the two examples cited here. Prof. Arifa Rahman (1999) highlights a clear scenario of what she calls as ‘power-coercive strategy’⁹ regarding English Language policy in our country. In power-coercive strategy, people in power force the public to change things according to what they decide. In rational-empirical strategy, power-holders provide information to the public hoping that they will act accordingly. And in the narrative-re-educative, the assumption is that people would act according to values and attitudes prevailing in a given society and culture, and thus accepting any change requires modifications in deep-seated attitudes, beliefs and behaviors (Rahman, 1999). However, it is the first one I would highlight because of its relevance in our society.

As it is evident, the term power-coercive strategy is based on kinds of legal sanctions to force people to change or act in some way considered to be beneficial by the power-strata. A whole gamut of factors ranging from political to personal domains decides its success or failures. Rahman justifiably narrates that applied to ELT innovation and reform, it is seen as authoritative and emanating from a centralized administration. The following example concerning ELT management would show how the sector has been under the blatant manipulation of power-coersiveness.

A textbook named *English for Today Book VIII* for classes 11 and 12 was subjected to severe criticism, and consequently a demand for withdrawal, from various quarters as soon as it was published in 1986. According to critics, the texts were un-English and could be called pieces of literature; the essays were written by a set of obscure writers who can by no stretch of imagination be called masters of English prose or eminent scholars; the topics were unimaginatively selected with unidiomatic and grammatically unacceptable sentence structure etc. And due to this, the book could be at best compared to the third rate essays in bazaar note books.

The book was actually written in line with the guidelines formulated by the National Curriculum & Syllabus Committee (NCSC) that was established in July 1976 to design syllabuses for different classes, as well as separate committees formed for each subject area. At the same time, an English Language Workshop organised at Bangladesh Education Extension and Research Institute (BEERI), now National Academy of Education Management (NAEM), in association with the British Council to evaluate the teaching of English at the HSC level played a vital role in this regard. Examining carefully the syllabuses, textbooks, examination system and teaching-learning methods, the workshop identified three kinds of needs for learners of English in Bangladesh. These were (a) social (b) occupational and (c) study needs. It was the last one that bore importance in designing text books for HSC level:

Study needs are the ones which affect most keenly the student population of Bangladesh. The medium of instruction at universities in Bangladesh is in some faculties Bengali, in some English (especially in science subjects), and in some a mixture of the two.... Most of the textbooks they use are in English, again especially in scientific and technical subjects, and this situation is unlikely to change for a long time... The present HSC course is manifestly unsuited to meet these objectives. It is almost entirely literary in character and does not match HSC students' perceived levels of ability in the language. (Harrison, 1976; quoted in Rahman)

Regarding the proficiency level of the HSC students and their study strategies, it was said:

...about three-quarters come from a rural background and despite having had at least seven years of instruction in English, not more than 10-15% can read the textbook with reasonable facility or carry on a simple English conversation. The proportion capable of writing a simple letter amounts to a mere 5%. Students in general are poorly motivated: they find the study material extremely difficult and fear the examination for the same reason. In order to succeed in the exam, they usually memorize prepared answers from books of commercially produced notes, which also contain translations of, and commentaries on the more difficult parts of the textbook. (Kerr, 1976; quoted in Rahman)

The Workshop recommended that a new textbook should be specially written for HSC students with the following characteristics:

- a. Reading material which is graded in linguistic difficulty and less literary in character.
- b. Copious practice material for developing the skills of reading and to a lesser extent writing. (ibid)

Significant were the observations of English Syllabus Committee of NCSC that said:

It follows that the English syllabus should be functional rather than literary and that every attempt should be made to break down the traditional bookish attitude to both education and English. (Report of the National Curriculum and Syllabus. (Committee, vol.4, 1978: 76)

Apart from narrating the objectives and contents of the syllabus, the NCSC categorically specified topics to be included in the new textbook:

These should be relevant to the lives, interests and study needs of the students, and to the goals of the country's development: topics used at lower levels e.g. nutrition, personal and public health, population education, agriculture and industry may be recycled at more advanced level of information. Others may be added from areas like transport, applied scientific research done in Bangladesh, local government, education psychology, law, language, bilingualism, etc. (ibid:80)

We get two crucial points here to notice. One, the textbook had to be written as per the principles mentioned in the syllabus; two, nowhere it was suggested that the textbook would have to be written by native speakers of English.

Hence, textbooks started to be composed from 1978 – beginning with class 3. *English for Today Book VIII* was the last one in this series. All the books were written in conformity with the recommendations of the NCSC Report. However, *English for Today Book VIII* was written by Bangladeshi teachers of English mostly from the HSC level. The manuscript went through a comprehensive review by a panel of teachers, educationists and other professionals after it was prepared. But it had to be withdrawn owing to the criticisms.

The irony is, the critics of this book did not come up with 'linguistic justification' as to why the book had been 'un-English' and 'unsuitable for classroom learning'. Probably their wrath lay in the fact that it was not written by 'native experts' (the rationale being that non-native speakers of English were incapable of writing English textbooks).

Dua (1994) narrated how developing countries are responsible for the expansion of English and ELT through depending on the UK and the USA for financial assistance and planning expertise and the failure to take any independent decisions related to language planning. This unequal relationship with the developed nations is claimed to have forced the developing nations to accept cultural and educational dependency as part of their existence and reality (Dua, 1994). This illustrates that the ideological and hegemonic control and expansion of English language and ELT in the postcolonial/neocolonial period are reflected within a neocolonial contextual perspectives.

Phillipson (1996) uses the phrase 'the native speaker fallacy' to refer to unfair treatment of qualified non-native English speaker teachers and the generic idea that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker. Later, some prominent ELT experts described the vagueness of this term by highlighting this fact that people do not become qualified to teach English merely because it is their mother tongue. Canagarajah (1999) writes that the native speaker fallacy 'monopolizes the ESL teaching jobs in the Periphery'. Kachru (1992), furthermore, states that it is a fallacy to believe that native speakers of English, whether teachers, academic administrators and material developers '...provide a serious input in the global teaching of English, in policy formulation, and in determining the channels for the spread of the language'.

But despite all such valid arguments, teacher trainers, curriculum developers, and testing experts are still predominantly from the native countries. Language teaching consultants have to make periodic trips from there to guide, counsel, and train professionals of the developing nations on the latest developments in teaching. The native speaker fallacy appears to legitimize this dominance of native ELT professionals/scholars in Bangladeshi ELT context quite successfully.

Hamidur Rahman (1988) later on conducted an 'acceptability experiment' with 11 specific sentences from that book which were labeled as 'un-English' or 'unacceptable' through analytical reactions of 16 highly educated native speakers (comprising American, British, Australian, New Zealander, Irish, Scottish and Welsh) working in Bangladesh in responsible positions. 11 of them were specialists in ELT and had degrees in TEFL. Interesting was, the 16 native speakers did not at all 'react' like our Bangladeshi 'English knowing' scholars and journalists. What were 'mistakes' and 'incorrect uses' in the local critics' eyes were 'deviants' in the native speakers' viewpoints. As Kachru said,

A native speaker of English, not familiar with the cultural and linguistic pluralism in South Asia, considers these language types lexically, collocationally and semantically deviant... Nevertheless, in South Asian and African English, it is through such formal deviations... that language acquires contextual appropriateness. (Kachru: 1983b:29)

By and large, the native ELT-experts did not deem the sentences 'unacceptable'. However, some degree of incomprehensibility was there due to the cultural distinction. We come to know from Hamidur Rahman's paper that some scholars did defend the book against the critics. They highlighted a fundamental point that our students do not need to learn 'English' English, rather they are required to achieve the standard of English the educated Bangladeshi speakers of English have. Surely the writers of *English for Today* deserved recognition in this regard. (ibid)

There were cultural reasons behind choosing Bangladeshi writers. The materials written for English or American students are definitely ethnocentric and therefore unsuitable for students in Bangladesh (and other non-native countries) since transference of course materials from one environment to another can lead to serious breakdown of communication and learning. All the pieces in *English for Today Book VIII* had therefore been written keeping this difficulty of students in

mind. They related to the social, cultural and physical environment of Bangladeshi students or aimed at extending the general boundaries of their knowledge. (ibid)

Bilingual education is not an issue of just learning two languages; it is an issue of encountering two cultures. Bilingualism necessarily implies biculturalism (Richard, 1976: 43) indicating the individual's cultural awareness of two social systems, as language carries with it its own history, sociology and cultural norms. In this connection, when a child is faced with bilingualism (and hence biculturalism) in his primitive age when he is in the process of developing his L1 skills and norms, he is bound to become a victim of a dilemma of handling the two distinct worlds associated with the two languages. He will never be able to differentiate the norms, functions and styles of the two cultures.

Students' difficulties in learning an SL stem from their lack of understanding of the social context of the language. (Clarke, 1976: 378)

For a Bangladeshi child, English is entirely a different language carrying an alien culture. His cultural orientation that have been formed, and are in the process of being formed, receives a setback by the invasion of English. This is, and will be, a reality even if we provide any child the best possible teaching by a highly competent teacher. And since we neither have a good number of competent English teachers nor the supporting resources, the situation is well understandable. Hence, it has been the greatest torture for the average Bangladeshi children to put them into the explosive context of two diverse worlds of MT and English which they are supposed to overcome by the 'help' of an equally adverse education system. (Shahed. 2001)

In addition to all these, there is a crucial issue that would strongly indicate the power-coercive factor in our ELT situation: the use of native ELT materials. Al-Issa (2005) cited from Dua and Pennycook that the economic gains of ELT are represented in the role the British Council played as a dynamic organization in spreading ELT and selling and marketing ELT to the world. The British Council Annual Report (1968-69) stated that 'there is a hidden sales element in every English teacher, book, magazine, film-strip and television programme sent overseas'. The worldwide spread of ELT has been therefore through the sale and marketing of the various and numerous textbooks, computer software and readers published with regard to ELT. No wonder why such attempts of local material developments are strongly opposed in our country.

However, the withdrawn book was replaced by a slightly-modified version of the earlier literature-based anthology. Not a single attempt was made by anyone to create a forum for a responsible discussion about the book. Hereby, Arifa Rahman points out the power-coercive factor:

In fact the issue became the personal crusade of the then education secretary who happened to have an English literature background and therefore considered it totally unacceptable that literature was not being used. The NCTB quietly withdrew the book and replaced it with the previously designated textbook in the syllabus, a literature-based

anthology. Although socio-linguistic issues around norms and acceptance of language are obvious here, the main point in the management of the innovation is clear. It was a failure precisely because a power-coercive model had been used. The outcome may have been different had there been a public relations exercise with discussion, debates and a free flow of information among the relevant parties, in other words, had the innovation been 'marketed'. (Rahman, 1999)

Prof. Arifa Rahman herself described another example of "ELT reform" that proves the power-coerciveness further. She narrated how English was readily imposed from Class I by the government machinery without any discussion with ELT-experts or English teachers. There was no answer to the questions as to who had made the decision, where were the resources, how was it going to be implemented, where were the teachers and so on.

The only thing that comes to mind at this point is Nwagwu's (1997) warning that any society which stimulates uncoordinated growth of its education system and then fails to support this growth adequately, creates "an environment of crises". (ibid)

Arifa Rahman justly said:

The result: students now get 14 years of English. Two studies into the modalities of this nation-wide venture have been made by the University Grants Commission. That it is going to have an impact on the performance of the learners is a dubious claim but that it is an enterprise that will gravely test the will, the capacity and the resources of the tertiary administration is a certainty. The three absolute necessities of language-based learning – small class size, appropriate materials, qualified ELT practitioners make the whole issue a mind-boggling exercise. Raynor (195) estimates it would entail creating 7000 new posts for English teachers to cater for a student body of 300,000 each year. Once again, an uncoordinated educational growth without the necessary supporting infrastructure has all the ingredients for a potential "environment of crises". (ibid)

From the two instances mentioned above, it is clear that regarding the various deficiencies that have been prevailing in the ELT sector in Bangladeshi schools and colleges, there is little hope of emancipation as long as the power-lobbies keep on intervening.

7.0 Higher education and medium of instruction: confusion prevails

A confusing state regarding the medium of instruction (MoI) exists in the tertiary level. This is also an indication that there are certain quarters that do not want to let things go smooth even in the highest sector of education.

It is a well-known fact that our university education is predominantly dependent in English books and journals. Our country is not in a position to manage the academic functions at the university level with translated books. We have neither

the resources nor the time to keep pace with the rapidly advancing knowledge of the world. Though it was an initial plan of the government to arrange the translation of books and journals, the initiative was never taken. And when it was taken (Bangla Academy undertook a scheme quite long ago) it was already late. Right now in this cyber era, it is thoroughly unrealistic to even think of it. Nevertheless, there should be a clear policy in the university with respect to its MoI in various disciplines. But the interesting fact is, different universities have different policies in this regard.

In the 'World of Learning' published from London (1978-79: 134-136) one would find the following information. English is the MoI in the Universities of Dhaka and Rajshahi as well as in Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET). In University of Chittagong and Jahangirnagar University the MoI is bilingual i.e. English and Bangla. As far as the present situation is concerned, it remains the same.

In the 'Commonwealth Universities Year Book' (1981:166-199) there is hardly any change of information. It says that the MoI of Bangladesh Agricultural University and BUET is English. Dhaka University and Rajshahi University have English as their medium. In Chittagong University MoI is English, but one can use either Bangla or English in the Examination scripts. In case of Jahangirnagar University it is both Bangla and English. Alongside in the top-ranking private universities of Dhaka, it is English that is strictly maintained as the MoI; Bangla has been an 'untouchable' language in many respects. This unresolved inconsistency at the university level proves the perplexity in the question of medium at the highest level of learning. Neither the universities nor the government has taken any positive steps in this connection.

8.0 Language is an asset; we have made it a liability

That the knowledge of any language is an asset of an individual is a proven fact, particularly if one has proficiency in more than one language. But if one keeps 'studying' a language only for the purpose of 'crossing the hurdles of examinations', there is every reason for that language to become a genuine liability. This has been the case with both English and Bangla in our society. A recent survey by some linguists revealed that the English skills of our average university-going students are equivalent to the skills of the students of class seven (Musa, 1995:142).

Today we are faced with this biggest question: should we attain English as our asset or carry on with it as our liability? If we want to do the former, we have only one way out: to redefine the space called English in our society. Prof. Serajul Islam Chowdhury justifiably asks:⁹

What should be our objective to learn English? Not imitation, but creation. [We need to learn English] not with the aim to follow, but to invent. We will learn English within the structure of our independence, with a view to make that independence meaningful and expanded – in order to demolish the rusticity and feudalistic blindness that have engulfed our mind... (Chowdhury, 1992: 88)

He further asserts:

The fear of Englishmen has gone. Now the fear of English has to be wiped out with the help of the knowledge of English. (ibid: 87)

Eventually he puts forward his crucial suggestion:

In this new era, there is no need to teach English to everyone every stage on a compulsory basis. Many will not study English at the higher level. Only those, who intend to do research, who will work in the domains of international communication and business, will study English according to their needs. Those who will engage themselves in literary creativity will specifically learn English. (ibid: 8)

Coming back to Monsoor Musa's article, he highlights the instances of Bangla, English and Arabic—the three languages that are existent in Bangladesh since long. In the same line with Prof. Chowdhury he suggests:

Prior to everything we have to first fix the appropriate position of these three languages in Bangladesh. And then find out the areas where each of these three languages is suitable and necessary. Not only that, we have to establish our mental outlooks and aptitudes related to these languages. No language is pure or impure, colonial or democratic. Language is a cultural system set up on one's biological capability. It can be used both as copulative and prohibitive agents. If learned, language is an asset. If not, then it is a liability. That is why we need to identify the domains and nature of activities, which will be suitable for the respective languages. Only then we will be able to make our objectives meaningful. (Musa 1995: 144)

Justice M Habibur Rahman maintains a clear-cut line in this regard as well:

We won't be able to resist English in this present era of globalization...For higher education and international communication, cultural exchange, and

business transactions, we need to learn English as the lingua franca. But, we have to keep in mind that out of 13 crore Bangladeshis, the number of these [lingua franca] learners will not even be 13 lakhs. And we need to frame our language policy on the basis of this reality... (Rahman, 2004)

In relation to all these, Prof. Musa puts forward a very decisive proposition. He says that we have to admit the importance of language learning (as a whole) in our education system, thus creating the opportunity for all to learn any foreign language, as well as to earn his living through that language (ibid). It is in this way that the manipulation of power/status in relation to social class formation can be wiped out.

There can be no denying that unless something like this is done, the manipulation of power/status in relation to social class formation will perpetuate further. And what's more, the exact place of English and Bangla in our education system, as well as among the masses, will remain a forbidden dream.

Notes:

- 1 In original Bangla it was '*Era jawto beshi paure / towto beshi jaane / tawto kawm maane*'. Late Utpal Dutt played the role of this 'Hirok Raja'. The film was made in 1979.
- 2 This was quoted in an article written by Azfar Hossain, Associate Professor of English at the Jahangirnagar University - published on 21 February issue of 'The Daily Star' in 1996.
3. Muhammad Ali Jinnah said this at the Curzon Hall in Dhaka University in 1948 at a big student gathering. His utterance resulted instant sharp protests of 'No!' 'No!' by the students.
- 4 West Pakistani authority, along with their East Pakistani collaborators, propagated the view that Urdu being similar to the Arabic script was Islamic in nature—thus qualitatively different from the Devnagari script which was Sanskrit-like, and hence un-Islamic in nature and tradition.
- 5 Apart from the propaganda of Urdu's affinity with Islamic tradition, there was also a deliberate attempt by the Pakistani authority actively backed by a small section of Banglaee intellectuals and officials (during 1948-1952) to initiate writing Bangla in Arabic script. Their logic was: firstly, Bangalee Muslims who had to learn Arabic for reading the Holy Quran, would find it very easy to acquire mastery in Bangla if they started writing it in Arabic alphabets. And secondly, as there was no typewriter in Bangla, whereas there was in Urdu, the 'new' system would enable all to use typewriter successfully.

This attempt eventually failed not only due to vehement opposition from educated people, but also due to the obvious linguistic impracticability of writing Bangla in Arabic scripts.
- 6 These facts (1—5 and 9—10) are mentioned in Monsoor Musa's Bangla article 'Bangla Language and Administrative Orders' from his Bangla book 'Language Planning and Other Essays'.
- 7 This is mentioned in Shafiuddin Ahmed's Bangla book 'Mother Tongue and Medium of Instruction in Educational Planning' (1994:205).
- 8 In Bangla, *shadhu* was considered as the standard form and *chalito* as the colloquial form. Several linguists had even mentioned the existence of these two forms as a mark of diatopic situation in Bangla which has been discarded later by linguists like Fergusson et al. Nonetheless, during the 18th and 19th century, *shadhu* style was substantially nourished and used in all literary and philosophical discourses while *chalito* style was used only in dialogues and speeches. At present, *shadhu* is regarded as an archaic form while *chalito* is being used in all aspects of standard as well as colloquial discourses.
- 9 Prof. Arifa Rahman mentioned that this term 'power-coercive' had been first used by Chin and Benne in 1976 while presenting three strategies of implementing innovation or change in any sector: the power-coercive, the rational-empirical and the narrative-re-educative strategies.
- 10 This has been translated by this writer from a Bangla article *Bangladeshe Ingreji* (English in Bangladesh) by Prof. Serajul Islam Chowdhury, a topmost educationist and social thinker as well as a faculty of English Dept, Dhaka University. The article is from his book '*Uddane O Uddaner Baire*' (In and out of the Garden) published in 1992.

Reference

- Ahmed, S.U. 'Education Policy and Management in Bangladesh'. *Journal on National Education Week*, Ministry of Education Government of Bangladesh, 1997.
- Al-Issa, A. S.M. 'The Cultural and Economic Politics of English Language Teaching in Sultanate of Oman'. *The Asian EFL Journal*, Quarterly, Volume 7 Issue 3, 2005.
- Chowdhury, S. I. 'English in Bangladesh' [Bangla]. *In and Outside the Garden* [Udyane O Udyaner Baire]. Dhaka: Bidya Prakash, 1992.
- Chowdhury, S. I. 'Rethinking the Two Englishes'. *The Daily Star* ; 21 February, Dhaka, 1998.
- Clarke, S. P. 'The Negotiated Syllabus: What is it and How is it likely to Work?' *Applied Linguistics*; Vol. 12, No. 1. Oxford: OUP, 1976.
- Crystal, D. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: CUP, 1997.
- Dua, H. R. *Hegemony of English*. Mysore: Yashoda, 1994.
- Gupta, R.S. *Globalization and the Need for English: Focus on South Asia*. Paper presented at ELTIP Conference at British Council, Dhaka, 1999.
- Hossain, A. 'Our Language Movement of 1952'. *The Daily Star* ; 21 February, 1996.
- Khan, I. *The Politics of Language and the Crisis of Bangla* [Bhashar Raheeti O Banglar Shomnoshyal]. Dhaka, 1989
- Musa, M. 'Defining a New Status for English in Bangladesh'. *BAFOLTA Journal*; Vol. 1, No. 1. Dhaka, 1989.
- Musa, M. *Language Planning and Other Essays*. Dhaka.: Muktohdhara, 1995.
- Rahman, A. 'ELT Innovation and Cultural Change: A Bangladeshi Perspective', paper presented in the ELTIP conference at the British Council, Dhaka, 1999.
- Rahman, M. H. *Mother Tongue First, Second Language Second* [Prothome Maatribhasha, Pawrobhasha Pawre]. Dhaka: UPL, 2004.
- Shahed, F. H. *English in School Education in Bangladesh: Focus on Urban Schools*. M.Phil. Diss. JNU, New Delhi, 1998.
- Shahed, F. H. *English in Bangladesh: A Study of Urban Educated Public Attitudes*. PhD Thesis. JNU, New Delhi, 2001.
- Siddiqui, Z. R. 'The Question of English, Again (Part I, II & III)' [Post Editorials] *The Daily Star*. Dhaka, 1992.

Interpretation as the Underlying Force in Translation

Shah Ahmed (Ripon)*

Abstract

Translation Studies as an academic discipline was established in the 20th century but theorizing on Translation has been an old practice. From the antiquity to the modern era, translation theory has undergone many changes and evolved through a good many debates. But the elemental debate between translation and interpretation has been creating a great deal of confusion in translation theories since the time of Marcus Tullius Cicero to our own time. The two terms are, to many theorists, onomastically different but indissoluble in the translational process. Again there are many critics who view translation and interpretation as different to each other both experientially and practically. This paper aims at taking a true look at this controversy in translation theories, and provides some clarification of what 'translation' and 'interpretation' actually mean. The paper will then present the similarities and differences between these two terms from a critical perspective and establish the fact that despite the apparent differences between the terms, interpretation is an underlying force in the translation process. Out of many varieties of translation the paper refers to literary translation: the translation of literary works.

The closing years of the twentieth century marked the consolidation of the fledgling discipline known as Translation Studies. In the penultimate decade of the century this subject began to be taken seriously and interest in the theory and practice of translation grew steadily. Finally in the 1990s, Translation Studies came to be an academic discipline, at once at international and interdisciplinary levels. Once it was perceived as a marginal activity, but nowadays translation has begun to be seen as a fundamental act of human exchange (Choudhury 4). The need to view translation studies as an academic discipline was in embryonic state since the time of Cicero (106-43 BC) and St Jerome (342-420). It was largely done by the works of James S. Holmes (1924-1986) through which the translation studies became an active field of engagement. The term "Translation Studies" was taken from his paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (Hatim and Munday 7). Holmes's paper is "generally accepted as the founding statement for the field" (Venuti, Translation 92). Until the sixteenth century translation remained mostly attached to theology. Later on, a rapid growth of theories, especially as evidenced by the proliferation of translators worldwide led this field to be included as branch of knowledge. Translation has become a phenomenon that has a huge effect on everyday life. As Hatim and Munday suggest:

Translation between written languages remains today the core of translation research but the focus has been broadened far beyond the mere replacement of SL linguistics items with their TL equivalents. In the intervening years, research has been undertaken into all types of linguistics, cultural and ideological phenomena around translation. (Hatim and Munday 06)

*Lecturer, Department of English, Metropolitan University, Sylhet

The map of translation theories with its centres and peripheries, admissions and exclusion reflects the current fragmentation of the field into sub-specialties, some empirically oriented, some hermeneutic and literary, and some influenced by various forms of linguistics and cultural studies which have resulted in productive syntheses. But translation of literary works has always been considered one of the highest forms of translation as it involves so much more than simply translating a text. A literary translator must be also capable of translating feelings, cultural nuances, humor and other subtle elements of a piece of work. Thus, the interpretation of the text has turned to be very crucial in translation process. From the ancient time, dynamic equivalence, i.e. the sense-for-sense or free translation has been given a preference to formal equivalence, i.e. the word-for-word or literal translation. Translation demands “equivalence from the point message, not from word or sentence level” (Shuttle and Cowie 188). And dynamic translation seems to be almost impossible without interpreting the text.

Wolfgang Iser (1926) and E. D. Hirsch Jr (1928) have brought the tradition of hermeneutics (the technique, study or theory of interpretation) to the fore. Hirsch’s book *Validity in Translation* introduced the theory of **perspectivism**, the theory that interpretation varies with the standpoint of the interpreter. He argues “the meaning of literary text is objectively knowable and distinguishable from the significance attributed to that meaning by particular readers” (Lodge and Wood 230). Lawrence Venuti (1953) coined a term “Domesticating Translation” by which he signifies a translation strategy in which a transparent, fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the foreignness of an ST. The translators should, he urges, get rid of “Foreignization” i.e. “the alien features of an ST” (Hatim and Munday 338-39). These are the factors that have raised emphasis in the study of interpretation (Hermeneutics). In the endeavor of domesticating translation, the translator cannot help adopting an interpretative approach. But a lot of theorists and critics put aside interpretation as an oral performance. Some say that without interpretation true translation is impossible, again some hold that translation is not interpretation: translation involves written texts while interpretation oral communication.

Before establishing the interrelationship between translation and interpretation it is necessary to properly understand the meaning of the two terms, their scope and nature to shed adequate light on the debate. Translation Studies, according to Roman Jakobson deals with three categories of translation: interlingual translation, intralingual translation and intersemiotic translation. He says “it is interlingual translation that is translation proper” (Jakobson 114). Interlingual literary translation thus receives more attention for translation theorists than the other two. Interlingual translation needs to incorporate interpretation in its process. To speak generally, translation is the transference of a message of one language to another. In other words, translation is a process through which the translator decodes source language (SL) and encodes his/her understanding of the target language (TL) form. Walter Benjamin points out that translations demonstrate “the central reciprocal relationship between languages” and “the kinship of languages” (16-17). He compares the SL text with ‘life’ and the translated text to ‘afterlife’: translation is the ‘flowering’ of any text that marks it with ‘continued life’ (16-17). Before we

embark upon the debate whether the translational process incorporates interpretation, we need to work out an acceptable definition of translation. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD) and *American Heritage Dictionary* (AHD) define translation and translator in this way:

Translation: 1. The act or process of translating, esp. from one language to another. 2. A translated version of a text.

Translator: 1. One who translates, esp. one professionally employed to translate written works. 2. An interpreter. (AHD 1287-88)

Translation: 1. The activity of translating (Translate: to change something spoken or especially written into another language. 2. A text or word that is translated.

Translator: a person who translates writing or speech, esp. as a job. (OALD 1270-71)

Both of the dictionaries define translation as a process as well as a product. But the problem arises when we see AHD considers translator and interpreter as synonyms. "The potential confusion of translation with interpreting" (Hatim and Munday 04) poses the necessity for this debate to be dealt with to ascertain to what extent they pair together or fall distant from each other. There are, according to Venuti, many theorists who "have assumed a hermeneutic concept of language as interpretation, constitutive of thought and meaning, where meanings shape reality [...]" (Translation 06). Are translators and interpreters then synonymous? *The Dictionary of Translation Studies* forwards a relationship between the two terms (emphasis added):

Translation: An incredibly broad notion which can be understood in many different ways. For example, one may talk of translation as a process or a product, and identify such sub-types as literary translation, technical translation and machine translation; moreover, while more typically it just refers to the transfer of written texts, the term sometimes also includes *interpreting*. (Shuttleworth and Cowie 181)

The question "Does translation really include interpreting?" is actually a debatable one. No translation is possible without interpretation vs translation is not interpretation: translation is written material; interpretation is speaking is a long-standing controversy in Translation Studies. In an endeavour to tone down this controversy it necessitates deriving an unambiguous concept of interpretation from the dictionaries:

Interpret: 1. to explain to oneself the meaning of; Elucidate. 2. to expound the significance of. 3. to represent or render the meaning of esp. through artistic performance 4. to offer an explanation. 5. to serve as an interpreter of speakers of different language.

Interpretation: 1. the act, process or result of interpreting; explanation. 2. A representation of the meaning of a work of art as expressed esp. in representation or performance (AHD 671).

Interpret: 1(a). To explain what sth means. 2. to understand sth; to decide the meaning or purpose of sth.3. to hear sth in one language and immediately translate it aloud into another.

Interpretation: (a) the action or process of interpreting sth. (b) an explanation or meaning (OALD 624)

From the definitions now a question logically comes up: how far is interpretation oral? It turns up from the definitions that translation is interrelated with interpretation. It is a practice in lexicography to enter the meaning of a word in hierarchy from the most important to the least. Both dictionaries clarify that though interpretation is related to oral performance, its primary role is to explain, understand, and perform artistically and ingeniously. The definitions accentuate interpretation as a course of action in translation. The translators first determine the meaning of the SL through interpretative introspection, and then they proceed to realize the meaning in their translation.

Interpreting may be seen as a different process from translating when it is assigned to only oral communication. Even though translators and interpreters are seen sometimes professionally different in translating written text and interpreting oral speech, it cannot be denied that they have a great deal in common with each other. Both translators and interpreters must have a desire to know more about the people and culture of TL and try to have firsthand knowledge of how those people think and behave. To have the best interpretation and translation possible they both need to enunciate their tasks in their native tongue. Both require being bilingually proficient in the TL and SL. Both need to be aware of what is going on in their specialty fields in order to translate accurately because a language evolves and changes on a daily basis. Both of them work as go-betweens: the interpreter understands the speaker's utterance and gets it across to the listeners, while the translator internalizes the SL and gets it across to his native language readers. "Interpreting, just like translation, is, fundamentally, the art of paraphrasing" (RIC 03). Just as we cannot explain to someone a thought if we did not fully understand that thought, in the same way, we cannot translate or interpret something without a mastery of the subject being relayed. Both interpreting and translating presuppose a certain level of proficiency and skill in more than one language. It is seen, though not always, that they work out of a nationalistic fervor and zeal: they try to intimate their native readers with the masterworks of the foreign writers or thinkers.

Resemblances apart, a great number of critics are disinclined to incorporate interpretation in the translating process. They balk at the interrelationship demarcating interpretation is only oral and translation written. This creates a long standing confusion in Translation Studies. The confusion is dilated by Dominik Kreutzer who, in *Glossary of Translation and Interpreting Terminology*, demarcates interpretation as "the act of rendering spoken words from one language into another" specifying it as "simultaneous interpreting" and "consecutive interpreting." Both terms signify interpreting "while the speaker is speaking" or "when the speaker has finished speaking or pauses for interpreting" (88). Before defining interpretation as an oral feat, he should have brought into his consideration at least the critical interpretative analyses of literary works. Without interpretative analysis any work hardly survives beyond its time and place. Interpretative critical

essays determine the status of any work of both intellectual and literary level raising or reducing its acceptability. If interpretation is thus set aside as irrelevant to the translational process, on what basis do many critical books on a single text come into being in criticism or appreciation? The answer can be derived from the definitions by the dictionaries which see interpretation as explaining, expounding, elucidating, understanding or deciding the meaning of the text. Pragmatically speaking, no one can translate if he/she does not interpret the meaning of the SL text to him/herself.

Many theorists like Dominik Kreutzer place interpretation in a narrow bind. In most cases, they hold, the interpreter expresses himself vocally while a translator performs his work on paper for publication. Munday sets aside the **translation-interpretation** debate suggesting that interpretation is oral translation and focuses on written translation instead. He is reluctant to integrate interpretation with translation (Munday 04). Hatim and Munday appear to balk at incorporating interpretation with translation: they restrict translation to “conventional written translation” and exclude interpretation as “oral translation of a spoken message or text” (Hatim and Munday 4-6). Not unlike them many a translator holds that translation is written – it involves taking a written text (such as a book or an article) and translating it into the target language. Interpretation, quite the reverse, is oral – it refers to listening to something spoken (a speech or phone conversation) which is orally interpreted in the target language. So translators are writers par excellence, while the interpreters possess superior oral communication skills. Most of the differences they find come from their conclusion that translation is written and interpretation is spoken. As a result, they view that interpretation is simultaneous transfer of one language to another: it occurs in real time, in the physical, televised or telephonic presence of the parties for whom the interpreter renders an interpretation. Translation is out of time: it refers to the translation from one language to another of something which is frozen in time: a book, a letter, a play, or a recorded speech that the original writer or speaker already finished. It is also held that translation is produced and delivered as “a whole product” and interpretation does trigger off this “whole product” as there is “immense time pressure” (Lindholm 3).

Critics put across the idea that translation includes interpretation in the sense that both of these process transfer one language to another, but the distinction becomes sharp in performance. If we agree on their views, the activities of the translator seem to be complex and compressive. Translators carry out converting one language to another so that the TL can convey the intended message in SL. Interpreters, on the other hand, are much freer: he can drop out some unimportant account of the speaker. He concentrates on words of the speaker. It is true that the difference between the two terms in skills, training, aptitude, and even in knowledge is so substantial that a man, in a professional level, can hardly be a successful translator and interpreter at the same time. But this difference can be minimized when the process of interpretation transcends the “only oral” and entails literary translation.

As written interpretation of literary works is in fashion, the line of determining the above difference between interpretation and translation appears to be

ungrounded. Unfortunately, most of the theorists who brush aside interpretation as oral translation, hardly realize that interpreting is not only an oral performance but also a written one of written texts. They must have either ignored or forgotten to entail interpretation in the process of translation. Susan Bassnett aptly expresses her grudging reaction when she sees some critics ignore the task of interpreters in translation:

It is therefore foolish to argue that the task of the translator is to translate but not to interpret, as if the two were separate exercises. The interlingual translation is bound to reflect the translator's own creative interpretation of the SL text. (83)

She strongly disagrees with Longfellow when the latter declares in the preface of translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, "the business of a translator is to report what the author says, not to explain what he means [...]" (Qtd in Bassnett 73). Longfellow's extraordinary views on translation take the literalist position to extremes.

The translation vs interpretation debate can be further simplified if we look at how interpretation has been defined in *Translation Glossary*:

Interpretation is the process of determining the meaning of something spoken or written. In particular we are concerned with discovering the meaning of the text before we translate it [...]. Any true translation first requires interpretation of the source text, that is, an answer to the question, "What does this passage mean?" This is interpretation which is necessary. (Leman 06)

It is clear that translation and interpretation are complementary to each other. Wolfgang Iser holds that the translators should apply "deduction" and "induction" that "give rise to the configurative meaning of the text" (197-198). The **deduction-and-induction method** necessitates interpretation. Iser also acknowledges the interplay between translation and interpretation resulting in a newer emphasis. He says that the interplay helps the translator realize what is impalpable in the TL:

Since this interplay obviously does not take place in the text itself, but can only come into being through the process of reading, we may conclude that this process formulates something that is unformulated in the text, and yet represents its intention. (Lodge and Wood 199)

Translators first determine the meaning of the SL through an interpretative introspection, and then they proceed to realize the meaning in their translation. It is, therefore, to consider translation as written and interpretation as oral, the truth is so obvious that the fallacy cannot be foisted upon the students of Translation Studies. To a close examination, interpretation appears to be like an undergarment or an interior design of translation in rendering it spruce, articulate and elegant. The theorists who close their eyes to the role of interpretation in translation perhaps pin their faith on the old premise which embraces the idea that a translation should follow the original text exactly like a shadow which follows the original object. But analyzing translation as a 'shadow' of the original G. Gopinathan explains in simple terms:

As a shadow can differ from its original object, depending on the intensity and the angle of light falling on it, a translation may also have a different

form depending on the nature of light thrown on it by the translator by his interpretation. (05)

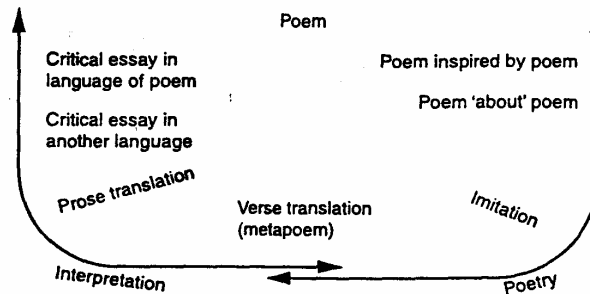
In narrowing the role of interpenetration in the process of translation critics do not realize the true task of interpreter. A translator's task is not a simple transference of meaning from the SL to TL, he/she also has to **interpret** the text and should have a clear idea of the author, his/her intention, standpoint, social milieu, and the context into which the text or utterance is revealed. Aiwei Shi in his "Hermeneutics and Translation Theory" points out:

Translation theory was once strictly confined within the scope of linguistics for translation was merely referred to as a conversion of languages, from the source language into the target language. Nevertheless, when research is carried further and deeper, meaning is found not only associated with the language or the text but also the author and the reader, which form the tripartite in understanding of the appropriate meaning of any text. (01)

In a catechistical way he asks, "Why is hermeneutics relevant to translation?" He also provides the answer, "there is no translation without understanding and interpreting texts, which is the initial step in any kinds of translation including literary translation of course" (01). Translation is basically an exchange of text the, but when the translator takes on interpretation, the translation entails the author, the text and the reader: a tripartite relationship. Without taking this tripartite, no translation is lucid and cogent, and it persists in impenetrability. The interpreters, to some extent, are like the New Historicists who argue that the best framework for interpreting literature is to place it in its historical context, and see what contemporaneous issues, anxieties, and struggles a literary work reflects, retracts, or tries to work through. Here an interpreter performs the task of a critic with the clarification that they inject their opinion if and when they need to make a statement of their own. As Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan say, "Historical background, historical context: the language of Historicism saw the literary work in the foreground and history in the background, with the task of the critic (interpreter) being to connect the two" (505). In other words, in interpretation, the texts or words are construed within the context of the biography of the author and his social background along with his philosophical perspective. As a result this shell-breaking interpretation enables the translator to penetrate the text and communicate with his readers.

In the establishment of Translation Studies as an academic discipline, the force of literal translation has been noticeably vitiated. Modern theorists place their emphasis on **dynamic equivalence** of the SL or **idiomatic translation**. In both the meaning of the original is translated into forms which most accurately and naturally preserve the meaning of the original language in the common language of average speakers. We can now close our eyes to Longfellow's rationale that translation and interpretation are two separate activities and, that it is the duty of the translator to translate what is there and not to interpret. It is an obvious fallacy since every reading is an interpretation. The translator reads and interprets to him/herself. Thus the activities of translation cannot be separated. The *raison d'être* of interpretation is to be sought in the subsistence of translation. James Holmes in his "Forms of Verse

Translation and the Translation of Verse” has devised the following constructive diagram to illustrate the interrelationship between translation and critical interpretation:



(Bassnett 101)

Verse translation rests on the axis point where the types of interpretation crisscross with the types of imitation and derivation. All the translations, both verse and prose, are tinged with the translator’s individual assessment of the text. Ezra Pound (1885-1972) and Charles W. Kennedy (1936) made an effort to revive the Anglo-Saxon poem, “The Seafarer” presumably written by Cynewulf. They both get the message and interpret according to their own point of view with their distinctive poetic predilection. Both stand against literal translation and alter the text: Pound’s translation comprises 101 lines of the 108 lines of the poem, whilst Kennedy’s translation is restricted to 65 lines. Kennedy interprets it from his Christian point of view and allegorically passes the suffering of the seafarer on Everyman. In an even greater shift, Pound’s translation focuses on the suffering of a great individual rather than the common suffering of Everyman. Pound attempts to show the individual in a world-system distanced in time, space and values. Kennedy, on the other hand, strives to relate the Anglo-Saxon world to that of contemporary readers. These disparities in translators’ points of views manifest some of the complexities involved in the translation where there is a gulf between the SL and TL cultures through distance in time and space. No translation, it can be concluded, is possible without the individual translator’s readings as well as interpretations.

Interpretation sometimes becomes so manifest in translation that it comes to be identified as interpretive translation, “a term used to refer to a translation which includes interpretation of the meaning of the source text, rather than simply the translation” (Leman 28). This idea of interpretative translation is held pejoratively by those who prefer literal translation, especially in theological translations. Interpretive use of language has been accepted worldwide as modern theorists no more opt for word-for-word translation as an ideal process in the TL scenario. Moreover, another type of translation i.e. **Transcreation** has been recently added to translation theories. Transcreation is, as the term itself signifies, is not a dogged transference of the SL; it is rather a sort of translation produced from of the ideas of

both the writer and translator. Here the translator subjectively surfaces himself along with the thoughts of the SL author. The motive of Transcreation is ‘to develop the “Swadesi” idea, to bring out the merits of the land and to resist the cultural infiltration from the west and to bring the best from other literatures (Gopinathan 06). Interpretive approach is executed comprehensively in translational modus operandi as translator reflects his own understanding and considers the understanding level of his/her readers. Why is a single text translated in different ways by different translators? It is because each individual translator interprets the text from individualistic point of view: the translator’s perspectivistic point of view diversifies the translation of any text.. A valid interpretation is one that represents an authentic realization of meaning through one’s own perspective, or through that of one’s time and culture. It can be, therefore, said that all translations are interpretation-ridden and all interpretations are perspective-ridden.

Lindholm’s view that “translation is out of time; interpretation is in time” (03) is disapproved when interpretation occurs out of time. If he were true, Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* or Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* would not be given a colonial interpretation in the 20th century. The eleventh century- Omar Khayyam was given an interpretive translation by Edward Fitzgerald in the 19th century. Fitzgerald’s *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (1859) was reinterpreted by Paramhansa Yogananda in the twentieth century through his intralingual prose interpretation. The latter’s explanatory edition was published in 1994, about 135s year after Fitzgerald’s book. Quatrain 11 can serve here as an example. In Fitzgerald the lines are:

Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse - and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness-
And Wilderness is Paradise enow. (Fitzgerald 25)

In Paramhansa, the same lines read as:

Withdraw your life force into the center of the tree of life, the spine, and bask there in the cool shade of inner peace. As the sensory tumult dies away, drink the wine of bliss from the flask of your devotion. Commune inwardly with your divine Beloved. And in the stillness, listen: For the Singing Blessedness will satisfy your every heart’s desire and entertain you forever with melodies of perfect wisdom. (Yogananda 49)

It is evident that whereas Fitzgerald interpreted Khayyam from a hedonistic point of view, Yogananda’s interpretation enabled him to elucidate every rubai from his idiosyncratically spiritual point of view. Interpretation is, in fact, not in time and simultaneous response; not unlike translation, it occurs out of time.

Translation involves localization i.e. taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale. The written product that results from the translation process functions in the socio-cultural context of the TL, although the situation referred to by the SL message may be unknown in the TL culture. In such cases translators have to take recourse to the process of adaptation creating a new situation that can be considered equivalent. To set the importance of localization and adaptation, Venuti in “How to Read a Translation”, adds his insight citing from John Dryden’s preface to *Aeneid*: “I have endeavoured to make Virgil

“speak such English as he would himself have spoken, if he had been born in England, and in this present Age” (Venuti 01). It can never be possible for the translator to localize, adapt or make the SL writer speak in the TL locale if he/she does not first interpret the texts, etc to him/herself. Interpretation helps a translator envisage and penetrate the content, language, message, reader, culture, religion or social strata of the SL. In consequence the translated text earns perspicuity and the translator virtuosity.

It has been previously mentioned that E. D. Hirsch Jr coined the term **perspectivism** in his book *Validity in Translation*, which emphasizes that a translator usually decodes a text and then encodes it mingling his/her own perspective with that of the original writer. Many a theorist claims that much of the original text is lost in the perspectivistic interpretation of the translator. But it is absurd to think that the intermediate perspective i.e. the perspective of a translator, can process the meaning of the original. This process simply helps the translator elucidate the meaning to his/her TL readers. In interpretive translation the readers can delight in exploring the creativity of the original writer as well as of the translator. The text, of course, is respoken from the translator’s new perspective and a new dimension in meaning can be formulated. “But a text”, as Hirsch makes out, “cannot be interpreted from a perspective different from the original author’s. The meaning is understood from the perspective that lends existence to meaning” (Lodge and Wood 239). Hirsch’s implication is that translation is strengthened by the perspectives of authors and the translators, and readers are entertained with a “binocular vision” (240). This entertaining of two perspectives is called the “doubling of personality” (240). Thus the translated text gathers force which makes it dynamically equivalent to the original. So it is an evasion to argue that the translator’s alien perspective distorts the meaning of the original text.

The inseparability between translation and interpretation is but logical: the process of translation cannot dispense with interpretation. Translation must be interpretive if the translator’s aim is to educate, edify and provide his readers with delight in keeping with the impact the original writer had upon his readers. Translations should attain understandability to TL readers. Only a free or dynamic approach and not a literal one can be efficacious and desirable. And the *raison d’être* of dynamic translation is interpretation without which the translation is rendered abstruse. If translators dispose of interpretation, translation becomes featureless, insipid and moribund. How can a Bengali translator translate ‘Carry coal to Newcastle’ to তেলে মাথায় তেল দেওয়া, ‘it’s raining cats and dogs’ to মুম্বলধারে বৃষ্টি হচ্ছে, or ‘an Ethiopian can never change his skin’ to কয়লা ধুইলে ময়লা যায় না, if he/she does interpret to him/herself what sense they actually refer to?

Interpretation is translation’s coherence with the TL culture and readers. Coherence leaves translation fruitful and convincing to the TL readers. Shoshana Blum-Kulka speaks of coherence and adds that if the translator throws coherence away, the translation fails to gain lucidity in TL readers. He agrees with Edmondson who “equates coherence with the text’s interpretability” (304). It has been pointed out earlier in this paper that interpretation involves a ‘tripartite’ arrangement of the author, the text and the reader which is also what New Historicism claims. Without

interpreting the ‘tripartite’ of the writer, the text and the reader, translation comes out to be abortive. In many instances the words or phrases of SL happen to be untranslatable to TL and in such cases the translators are supposed to consider the range of TL words or phrases having regard to the presentation of class, status, age, sex, society, religion, climate, etc of the SL writers. A translator is also to consider writers’ relationship to their listeners and to the context of the meaning of SL. A translator, in fact, has to take the question of interpretation into account in addition to the problem of selecting a TL phrase which will have a roughly similar meaning. Shakespeare’s sonnet “Shall I Compare Thee to a Summer’s Day” cannot be semantically translated into a language where summers are unpleasant, just as the concept of God the Father cannot be translated into a language where the deity is female (Bassnett 30). In such cases interpretation is the only channel through which the communication between the SL and the TL flows fluently. We may take the example of Suresh Ranjan Basak’s translation of Shakespeare’s sonnet ‘Shall I Compare Thee to a Summer’s Day’:

Shall I compare thee to a summer’s day?
Thou art more lovely and more temperate

বসন্ত দিনের সাথে মানায় কি তোমার তুলনা?
তার চেয়ে তের বেশী সুমধুর, মনোহর তুমি। (Basak 12)

Summer (শ্রীম্ম) in Bangladesh is not the summer in England. Shakespeare chooses this pleasing season to let us see that his friend is more pleasing than even the charms of English summer. Basak must have interpreted the fact and realized that the literal meaning of summer ‘শ্রীম্ম’ would not serve the purpose of rendering Shakespeare’s thought. Selim Sarowar renders it more dynamic when he interprets Shakespeare’s ‘summer’s day’ in a synecdochical use of ‘বৈশাখী দিন’:

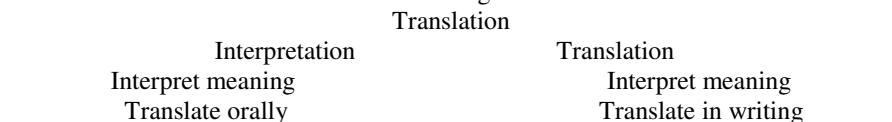
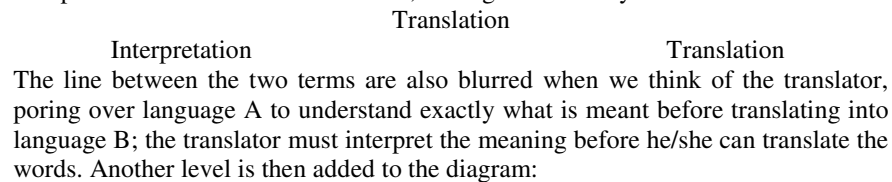
উজ্জ্বল বৈশাখী দিন, তোমার উপমা সে কি হয়?
তুমি তো সুন্দরতর, তারও চেয়ে কবোক্ষ, মধুর। (Qtd in Chowdhury 5)

Interpretation gives translation accessibility and ease of processing. We cannot help cold-shouldering the approach that interpretation is only “a group of people interaction” and that “interpretation is so unlike translation as to be an entirely different proposition” (Lindholm 03). It is true that translation and interpretation are separate processes, but this is only when we assign interpretation to verbal exchange of language. Interpretation is by no means an exclusively different trajectory to translation and their correlation cannot be denied in case of literary interpretation. The translator reads and understands the SL text. A mere reading and understanding cannot facilitate to represent the body of SL in his/her own language. Interpretation continues till the end of translation process. Through the interpretation the translator comes to know the context and reason of the writing, objective and intention of the writer. Interpretation also helps the translator have the ideas about the social, economic, religious and political status of the writer as well as the readers at the time of writing. As a result he/she can decide the approach (literal, free or transcreational) of translation he would pursue.

Seen partially as only an oral feat, interpretation cannot dissolve in the process of translation. But in the interpretation of a written text translating and interpreting

are indissoluble. The interpretive commentary makes translation easy and direct. It is only a surface and one-dimensional observation that the difference between interpreting and translation is only the difference in the medium: the interpreter translates orally, while a translator interprets written text. As a matter of fact interpreting and translation are two closely related linguistic disciplines. Translator first interprets, and then translates. It is impossible to imagine that any type of translation can avoid a certain degree interpretation. In this sense, interpretation gives translation the property of rhythm and persuasiveness. In the recreation of a text, the process of interpretation acts like S.T. Coleridge's **Secondary Imagination** which "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; [...] it struggles to idealise and unify." It gives the translator a "mysterious power," by which he extracts "hidden ideas and meaning" from the linguistic symbols of the TL. It is seen "co-existing with the conscious will" of the translator. Like the secondary imagination of the poet, interpretation has an "esemplastic" to "shape into one" and to "convey a new sense" (Coleridge 488-89). Interpretive translation can only be associated with a literary translator with immense artistic genius. When the translator dispenses with interpreting, he/she translates verbatim, and so it becomes tedious and slapdash. In literary translation a text must lose its original majesty, if its translator disposes of interpretation. Rabindranath Tagore is aptly right when he opines that translation in different branches of literature is almost impossible (Chowdhury 04). Translators can, nonetheless, leave a certain mark of possibility of literary translation if they endeavor it through the process of interpretation.

To recapitulate briefly, however confusing the concepts of translating and interpreting appear to be, no translation, especially free or dynamic one, is possible without interpretation. It can be said that translation is the general term and interpretation is a subset of translation, as diagrammatically illustrated:



The real distinction between translating and interpreting can be succinctly expressed by saying that something that is not understandable or not understood is interpreted so that it can be understood. After a piece of literature, painting, or music is understood and interpreted, consciously or formally, it can be translated. The translation of literary works must fall in the line of literary level. And it should be remembered that no text can be rendered literary unless the translator penetrates the text with his/her interpretative introspection.

Reference

- Basak, Suresh Ranjan. *Towards Understanding Introduction to Poetry*. Dhaka: Dibyaprakash, 2003.
- Bassnett, Susan. *Translation Studies*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Task of the Translator" *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. "Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation". *The Translation Studies Reader*: Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Chowdhury, Kabir. শ্রেষ্ঠপিয়ানের একটি সনেট ও তার তিন বঙ্গানুবাদ কালের খেয়া. ঢাকা ১৮ জুলাই ২০০৮
- Coleridge, S. T. "Biographia Literaria". *Coleridge's Poetry and Prose*. Ed. Nicholas Halmi, et al., New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2004.
- Fitzgerald, Edward, trans. *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyám*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Edition Limited, 1993
- Gopinathan, G. "Translation, Transcreation and Culture: The Evolving Theories of Translation in Hindi and Other Modern Languages." 29 April 2000. <http://www.soas.ac.uk/literature/Projects/Translation/trans2abs.pdf>.
- Hatim, Basil and Jeremy Munday. *Translation: An Advanced Resource Book*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2004
- Hornby, A S. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Jacobson, Roman. "On Linguistic Aspects of translation." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Kreutzer, Dominik. *The trans-k Glossary of Translation and Interpreting Terminology*. July 20, 2008 <http://www.trans-k.co.uk/glossary.html>.
- Lindholm, Sarah Alys. "On Translation vs. Interpretation." 8 May 2008 <http://brave-new-words.blogspot.com/2006/11/on-translation-vs-interpretation-by.html>.
- Leman, Wayne. *Translation Glossary*. 28 April 2008 http://www.geocities.com/bible_translation/glossary.htm.
- Lodge David, ed. *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. Essex: Person Education Limited, 2000

- Munday, Jeremy. Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications. London: Routledge, 2001
- Nida, Eugene. "Principle of Correspondence." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 2000.
- RIC International. "Interpreting vs. Translation." 5 July 2008.
http://www.ricintl.com/interpreting_vs_translation.html.
- Rivkin, Julie, and Ryan Michael, ed. *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Shi, Aiwei. "Hermeneutics and Translation Theory." 14 May 2008
<http://www.translationdirectory.com/article115.html>.
- Shuttleworth, M., and M. Cowie. *Dictionaries of Translation Studies*. Manchester: St Jerome, 1997.
- AHD (The American Heritage Dictionary) New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991.
- Venuti, Lawrence, ed. *The Translation Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- , "How to Read a Translation." June 15, 2008
<http://www.wordswithoutborders.org/article.php?lab=How To>.
- Yogananda, Paramhansa. *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Mumbai. UPSPD 1996.

Lawrence's "Songs of Death": Dirge of a Self-proclaimed Phoenix

Masum Khan*

Abstract

Last Poems published posthumously, contains the poems which are Lawrence's embodiments of the anger and agony of a sensitive soul over the unkind attack on him for his writings, and his predicament over the contemporary mechanical life that led to his ill health. The last eighteen poems of the book are on the same theme: death. Lawrence at the terminal stage of tuberculosis knew very well that he was dying. These poems are a testimony to how Lawrence was preparing himself for death. They bear his affirmation that death for him was not the end, but was indeed a new beginning. Here, in the poems he announces the rise of his soul like the mythical Phoenix.

In a consolatory letter to his childhood friend Gertrude Cooper, who was then undergoing treatment for tuberculosis, D. H. Lawrence wrote: "Don't weaken or fret. While we live, we must be game. And when we come to die, we'll die game too" (*Selected Letters* 334). According to *OED* "game" used as adjective denotes someone eager and willing to do something risky; hence, brave. What Lawrence meant by being "game," according to John Worthen, is: "being unflinching, clear sighted" (410). Writing was Lawrence's pathological tool for exploring the pains of living, a constant honing of which, he believed, would help him achieve a verbal articulation of his own anguish. Just a month before his death he wrote: "My field is to know the feelings inside a man, and to make new feelings conscious. What really torments civilized people is that they are full of feelings they know nothing about; they can't realize them, they can't fulfil them, they can't live them" (*Phoenix II* 567). Sex, loss, and isolation were recurring subjects for Lawrence. Since his birth Lawrence suffered from multiple ailments that eventually added up to his terminal illness: tuberculosis. He however, refused to admit that he had been suffering from this fatal disease; instead, he would often lightly name it flu, pneumonia, malaria, bronchitis, influenza, fatigue and so on. He would even liken the illness to a woman's menopause (Ellis 507). Frieda Lawrence recollects in her memoir of Lawrence that he "fought on and he never lost hope" (291, 293). Even, an Austrian doctor confirmed: "An average man with those lungs would have died long ago. But with a real artist no normal prognosis is ever sure. There are other forces involved" (Lucas 234). This would farther corroborate Lawrence's own vital energy and a gift of endurance that he celebrates in his writings.

It would be a worthwhile study to find out how Lawrence dealt with his impending death, especially in his writings. Even though John Worthen and David Ellis enumerate his last days and the monographs by Holy A. Laird and Gail Porter Mandell deal with his poems, this writer intends to read the last eighteen poems of

*Assistance Professor, Department of English, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet.

Lawrence, in Richard Aldington's words, as "diary of the last year of Lawrence's life" to find out how "game" Lawrence himself was while facing death.¹ This essay proposes that the last eighteen poems in *Last Poems*, one of which is entitled "Song of Death," are Lawrence's avowal of death as a new hope, a renewal of his being as "new blossoms" ("Shadows" 29).

Richard Aldington explains in his notes how the poems in the anthology titled *More Pansies* and *Last Poems* (found after Lawrence's death in two manuscripts) are arranged. The poems written in the last year of Lawrence's life explores some issues such as the persecution of law, the unkind attacks of journalists and reviewers, and his ongoing irritation at the fatal disease. Whatever tortured his mind found its expression in the poems. The last group of eighteen poems anthologised in *Last Poems* begin with "The Ship of Death." Different in length, these poems have a common thread running through them like "a vein of fire": the gripping issue of death. In fact, Aldington would like to think that poems starting with "The Ship of Death" were meant to be "only one poem" as Lawrence could not complete his work due to his consumptive irritations.

In "The Ship of Death" Lawrence is calling out his soul to get ready, for "Now it is autumn and the falling fruit/and the long journey towards oblivion . . . And it is time to go, to bid farewell to one's own self, find a exit/from the fallen self" (1-7). His body is "badly bruised" and the soul is "oozing through the exit/of the cruel bruise" (33-34). He tells himself that "all we can do/ is now to be willing to die" (50-51). He has realized that this is the time for him to die and to renew himself as his old self is fully exhausted due to the physical and mental agonies. "The Ship of Death" is written on the concept of Noah's Arc and the Deluge. The Deluge was imposed upon the whole world because of men's disobedience to God. Noah rebuilt the whole society after the Deluge. Lawrence is using the myth of the Arc and the Flood as a symbol of destruction and regeneration. Death for him is like a doorway through which his soul is going to be renewed. He says, "And die the death, the long and painful death/ That lies between the old self and the new" (30-31). Building "the ship of death" for Lawrence means getting ready for the "longest journey," the journey of the soul into dark floodwater. Dying is a kind of cleansing, a metamorphic act rather than absolute annihilation. "The flood subsides, and the body, like a worn sea-shell/emerges strange and lovely" (97-98).

Drowning or death by water deserves some attention. There is a positive significance of water in Christianity. The word Baptism comes from Greek "baptein" meaning "to dip." In the act of Baptism, the candidate is wholly or partly

¹ John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Life of an Outsider* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2006); David Ellis, *D.H. Lawrence: Dying Game, 1922-1930* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998); *Death and the Author: How D. H. Lawrence Died and Was Remembered* (Oxford: OUP, 2008); A. Holly, *Self and Sequence: The Poetry of D. H. Lawrence* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988); and, Gail Porter Mandell, *The Phoenix Paradox: A Study of Renewal Through Change in the Collected Poems and Last Poems of D.H. Lawrence* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1984).

immersed in water, or a few drops may be sprinkled or placed on the head. Hence, the candidate is believed to be cleansed of all sins and is admitted to Christian Church. Water has been used as a symbol of purification in many other religions: the waters of the Ganges in India, the Euphrates in Babylonia, and the Nile in Egypt were used for sacred baths. T. S. Eliot and James Joyce refer to death by water and the corresponding fertility myth in *The Waste Land* and *Ulysses* respectively. The title of section IV of *The Waste Land* is "Death by Water," where Eliot mentions the name of Phlebas, a Phoenician who got drowned. The theme of degeneration and regeneration is a central theme of Eliot's poem. The reflection of Joyce's Leopold Bloom, in the Hades section in *Ulysses*, is: "Drowning they say is the pleasantest" (110). Jessie Weston's *From Ritual to Romance* is a seminal work that provided information for Eliot, and through him Joyce might have come across the concept of regeneration through drowning. Weston, in Chapter 4, Section 2 of her book, says that each year, around 700 BC, at Alexandria an effigy of a head of God was thrown into water. Later it was received and worshipped as a God reborn (47). Lawrence's drowning by water and re-appearing as some lovely seashell has a resonance of the fertility myth or the concept of Baptism by water.

Lawrence begins "The Ship of Death" by saying "Now it is autumn." This autumn is more than the autumn in the calendar; it stands as a metaphor. Autumn in the northern hemisphere is the time for maturity and mellowness, when crops ripen and leaves of the trees flame out and fall. Reaching autumnal maturity also implies that winter is approaching; it is time to get ready for the end. Like the autumn fruits and leaves, for Lawrence autumn is fall time. He starts getting himself ready for a new beginning. Like some fallen apples he is bruised and hopes that through these wounds he would exit the old body. The mood and the season in "The Ship of Death," and in the second last poem in the series "Shadows," are the same as that of Keats' "To Autumn" where Keats sings of "last oozings," where "small gnats mourn," and "full-grown lambs loud[ly] bleat." Nature in Keats's Ode takes preparation for the forthcoming winter. Autumn for Lawrence's death poems bear the same significance as Keats' autumn. Autumn, the "season of mist and mellow fruitfulness," as Keats describes it, is the time just before winter and is a "close bosom friend of the maturing sun." Autumn itself is both the time of ripeness and time that marks the beginning of end. After autumn comes winter when nature would go through death, but it also foreshadows a new beginning, as Shelley says: "If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?"

In Lawrence's opinion getting ready for death is important, for those who are unable to face death suffer a lot. This is the main theme in "Difficult Death," "All Souls Day," "The Houseless Death" and in "Beware the Unhappy Dead." In "Difficult Death" he agrees that "It is not easy to die, O it is not easy/to die the death." Those unwilling to die, "moan and throng in anger" and, in "The Household Death" he says, they "moan and beat/ against the silvery adamant walls of life's exclusive city." Lawrence, as in the first poem, calls out to his self to get ready, for there is no point denying the fact that one has to die to come into possession of a new-self. Lawrence triumphs over death like Ivan Ilyich, in Tolstoy's novella *The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, through acceptance of death. The latter

experiences the same crisis and resolves it similarly: as long he is unwilling to accept death, he moans and groans in his deathbed. Only when he accepts, does dying become a short passage through a dark tunnel with a luminous light waiting for him at the end. Ivan Ilyich's last realisation is "Death is finished," he says to himself. 'It is no more!'" (257) Lawrence finishes with death in a similar way.

Oblivion is a recurring word in the last eighteen poems of *Last Poems*. Death for Lawrence is a passage to oblivion, a blank state of being. In "Song of Death" and "The End, the Beginning" he says that this state of oblivion lies under several layers of "dark whorled shell." Once one travels through these dark whorls, i.e. death, s/he is in "the core of soundless silence and pivotal oblivion" ("Song of Death" 8). Lawrence characterizes this oblivion as being "utter forgetting/and a ceasing to know, a perfect ceasing to know/ and a silent, sheer cessation of all awareness" ("The End, the Beginning" 9-11). In "Tabernacle" he says that he is willing to build a temple where oblivion would live under seven layers of veils. Once the soul crosses those veils "the silent soul may sink into God at last" (5).

To Lawrence, "God is a deeper forgetting far [deeper] than sleep" ("Tabernacle" 8). This concept is Platonic. Once the soul is in a mortal body, according to Plato, it becomes confused and dizzy with all the perceptible knowledge in the world. Once it becomes free, after the death of that mortal body, it achieves stability and wisdom (*Phaedrus* 245c-248e, qtd. in Chappell 165-169). In his "Immortality Ode" Wordsworth also expresses a similar view about the soul. In his poem, he laments the loss of soul's divinity. He says:

Full soon thy heart shall have earthly freight,
And custom lie upon thee with a weight,
Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life! (127-29)

Worldly knowledge and customs corrupt the soul, and the more the soul gathers this knowledge, the farther it goes away from God. After death, Lawrence believes, his soul will reach a stage where it will be able to forget all knowledge: it will be at a state of "not-to-know," and it will become the part of divinity again. For Lawrence God could be reached in oblivion or in the state of not-to-know. For him oblivion becomes synonymous with God. David Ellis explains in the biography of Lawrence that in his later works, i.e. prose and poetry, God does not mean an anthropomorphic deity; rather, it is something more akin to a pagan or animistic creative force which is identical with the universe itself (520). In "Forget" Lawrence reconfirms, "To be able to forget is to be able to yield/ to God who dwells in deep oblivion" as "Only in sheer oblivion are we with God" (1-3). For Lawrence, becoming forgetful of one's bodily existence brings one to conformity with the whole universe.

In "Sleep," "Sleep and waking" and in "Fatigue" Lawrence uses sleep as a metaphor for death. He says:

Sleep is the shadow of death, but not only that,
Sleep is the hint of lovely oblivion.
When I am gone, completely lapsed and gone
and healed from all this ache of being. ("Sleep" 1-4)

After “waking from this soundest sleep,” Lawrence thinks that he will be “waking new,” since after a sleep “The world is created afresh.” He has not forgotten the harm man has caused to nature: in “Fatigue” he says, “. . . man has killed the silence of the earth/ and ravished all the peaceful oblivious places/ where the angels used to alight” (7-9). Lawrence has always criticised the impact of industrialisation over nature. Even when he is dealing with death he has not forgotten the environmental issues. John Donne, in Holy Sonnet X: “Death be not Proud,” says that death should not be proud of itself, because death is like sleep from which Donne expects much more pleasure than what he gains from rest or sleep, and that after death “we wake eternally,/ And death shall be no more; death, thou shalt die” (13-14). Like Donne Lawrence compares death to sleep like that of Donne. Both poets see death as a doorway or a passage through which one reaches the other world, and once one passes the passage, death for that person dies forever.

In “Shadows” Lawrence is drawing a summery of all his thoughts scattered in these death-poems. He asserts that death is a deep sleep to him after which he will wake up “like a new-opened flower,” and through this state of being able to forget the bodily existence God will make him “new-created” (3-4). Even when Lawrence feels that his soul is darkening and that “a strange gloom” pervades his thoughts, he does not feel down hearted for he believes that he is closer to God. While he is thrown into the pain of disintegration, he feels that a deep shadow is folding around the soul that is engulfing him into a deep oblivion for a renewal. The pain that he experiences, he knows, is the pain of breaking down, for he is going through “the changing phase” after which he will be renewed. This renewal is like being husked by the farmer during autumn:

I am in the hands of the unknown God,
he is breaking me down to his own oblivion
to send me forth on a new morning, a new man. (30-32)

Here Lawrence believes that it is God who has put him through all the agony to make him “a new man.”

The last poem is titled “Phoenix.” According to mythology, Phoenix consumed itself by fire every 500 years, and a new, young Phoenix sprang from its ashes. According to ancient Egyptian mythology, the Phoenix represented the sun, which dies at night and is reborn in the morning. Early Christian tradition adopted the Phoenix as a symbol of both immortality and resurrection. Lawrence asserts the importance of his willingness to die and says that there will not be any change unless he experiences death. Like the Phoenix he is burnt alive in the agony of illness and out of the charred body he is expecting the emergence of a new self. The Phoenix has been the emblem for Lawrence, for he believed his spirit would rise like that of the spirit of the bird. The central theme in Lawrence’s death poems has been the destruction regeneration; the image of the Phoenix works as a pictogram for him.

The comment that these poems were meant to be one single poem is valid. Between the two versions of the “Ship of Death” included in Appendix III of *Complete Poems* (961-965), the first one shows that there are some stanzas that

eventually became separate poems in the *Last Poems* anthology. Lines 40-46 in the first version becomes “The Houseless Dead” in the anthology, while lines 47-57 becomes “Beware the Unhappy dead!” Some lines of “After all Saints’ Day” are there in this version. There are even some phrases in this version of the poem which are scattered around the eighteen poems under discussion. As mentioned earlier writing for Lawrence was a continued self-transformation and self-transcendence, through which he would plunge forward and lift up his soul. Lawrence as a poet always believed that self-conscious artistry should not take place of uninterrupted expression of emotion and feeling.

About forty years after Lawrence’s death, Swiss-born American psychiatrist Elisabeth Kübler-Ross in her *On Death and Dying* conceptualized five stages of reaction to a terminal illness by a patient: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. This is known as “The Kübler-Ross Model,” which is widely accepted by thanatologists who also recognize that these stages occur neither with predictable regularity nor do they appear in any set order. A close reading of Lawrence’s cluster of poems on death reflects some of these stages. Initially, he refuses to accept the fact that his disease is leading him to death. Even though the anger-stage is not prominent in the poems, nevertheless, at the end, he accepts death as a passage to a new self. This hope of renewal works as a consolation for Lawrence and, hence makes him accept death gamely. Throughout his career as a writer Lawrence transcribed his life into art. These eighteen poems are, in fact, an example of how an artist like Lawrence encountered death and turned death itself into art.

Reference

- Aldington, Richard. Introduction. *Last Poems and More Pansies. Complete Poems* by D. H. Lawrence. Ed Vivian de Sola Pinto and F. Warren Roberts. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993. 591-598.
- Chappell, Tim. *The Plato Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1996.
- Ellis, David. *D.H. Lawrence: Dying Game, 1922-1930*. Cambridge: CUP, 1998.
- Joyce, James, *Ulysses*. The 1922 text. Oxford: OUP, 1993.
- Kübler-Ross, Elisabeth. *On Death and Dying*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969.
- Lawrence, D. H. *Complete Poems*. Ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto and F. Warren Roberts. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993.
- Lawrence, D. H. *Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence*. Ed. Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore. Heinemann, 1968.
- Lawrence, Frieda. *Not I, But the Wind* . . . London: Macmillan, 1934.
- Lucas, Robert. *Frieda Lawrence*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1973.
- Templeton, Wayne. "Man Alive: D. H. Lawrence and Tuberculosis." *The Dhaka University Studies*, Part A, Vol. 43 No.1 (1986) 189-205.
- The Selected letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Ed. James T. Boulton. Cambridge: CUP, 1997.
- Tolstoi, Leo. *The Death of Ivan Ilyich. Literature: An Introduction to Fiction, Poetry, and Drama*. 5th Ed. Comp X. J. Kennedy. New York: Harper Collins, 1991. 218-257.
- Weston, Jessie L. *From Ritual to Romance*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Worthen, John. *D. H. Lawrence: The Life of an Outsider*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2006.

J.G. Ballard's *Crash*: a psychoanalytic analysis

Tahseen Alam Choudhury*

Abstract

Apart from its grisly spectacles of a car crash J.G Ballard's Crash pinpoints the psychopathological waves of technology constantly working in human psyche. This postmodern American novelist endeavours to explore erotic signification of technology impinging upon human psyche transcending the corporeal implication of sex and violence. The indomitable passion for subjection of the corporal through violence and the gratification of erotic urge through the union between automobile and human body lead to a profound psychoanalytic interpretation of the text and thus keep it out from being labelled as a mere piece of erotic tale. This paper attempts to analyse the novel expounding some established psychoanalytic schools of speculation.

Technology and its advancement across the globe have become the pivotal concern of the contemporary thinking. It may not be an absolute wonder today that technology integrates itself with human body but in course of time through its bodily insertion, it relates itself to the domain of human psyche and brings about a phenomenal transmutation in psychological hypothesis. As a result, technology has emerged as a cultural prototype that pervades through every minutia of human life and culture. Art being an integral part of culture sustains the impact of technology in its creative periphery. And when it comes to "the conception of technology in Western culture", it seems "to have been defined by its shifting relationship to the realm of art" (Rutsky 03). Hence many art-works of both modern and postmodern time in the Western world manifest the psychoanalytical implications of technology in human life and culture. In this essay, I will endeavour to analyse the exploration of sex and technology in a fictional work of the postmodern time frame in terms of some psychoanalytic speculations.

The text I am going to focus on is J.G Ballard's *Crash* (1973) a novel with "a sinister portent of nightmare marriage between sex and technology" (Ballard 06). The novel transcends the mere biological signification of sex breeding a techno-psychic phenomenon. This composite phenomenon is conceived through the erotic violence of the crash victims and the integration of their eroticism with the automobiles. The narrative speaks of Dr. Robert Vaughan, an electronic media scientist, who fantasizes about death in a celebrity car crash. Vaughan's conviction articulates that the car crash engenders an erotic urge in the severely smashed-up victims of it. His camera lenses upon the crash victims after the planned car crash and his vision of the sexual fetishism in the backdrop of automobiles embody a techno-centric way of mediating sexuality. This psychosexual disposition of Vaughan such makes junction between sex and technology.

*Assistance Professor, Department of English, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet.

But what Ballard himself assumes in evaluating *Crash* is ambivalent. He pronounces his view on his work as a “warning” against the psychopathology caused by the constant rendition of technology (06). But on the other hand in his autobiography *Miracles of Life* (2008) Ballard evaluates *Crash* as “an open attack on all the conventional assumptions about our dislike of violence in general and sexual violence in particular” ([Times Online](#)). Nevertheless the novel has the essence of novelty and uniqueness in its subject that fuses the psychosexuality with technology. Ballard’s projection of gruesome death and perversion in the novel may sometimes sound like the contents of a “cautionary tale” from an apparent lookout; but the same projection may be reckoned as a device of bridging sex and automobile. This is how, as Ballard conceives, the technology makes a route to human body and interacts with mind through body. The protagonists of the novel become sexually charged taking part in real car crashes, they exult over dystopian oeuvre which, they feel, is a means of creating a prosthetic body. Their such conviction plausibly aligns with what Gasiorek posits as an act of “reanimating the body.... progressively stripping away whatever is left of an originally organic entity” (Gasiorek 185).

The caution that Ballard has in mind denotes the psychopathological disaster emerging out of the crash mania. The dwellers in that customary periphery may “try to relive, over and again, the intensity of experience that the car crash can offer them”(Chaudhuri 64) But this turns out to be an act of pathological proliferation in human instinct as caused by an overdose of techno-mania. Vaughan imagines the sexual reincarnation through the automobile disaster. He rehearses a number of car crashes in which he contemplates the ultimate liberation of sexual energy. Similarly another major autobiographical character of the novel James to whom the “crash was the only real experience” explores “the model of an inseparable and perverse union between” a female victim of an accident and himself through ‘the interlocked radiator grills’ of their crashed vehicles (Ballard 24, 39). Such appalling perversities apparently propel the characters towards a destructive end. But these perversities are not at all without the implications of morals. The terrifying spectacles of sexual instincts in the context of devastating car crash highlight a didactic message of caution by the exposure of techno-sexual perversities in the same way a morality tale aims to rectify the wrong by the exposition of immorality. Here we may synchronize our view with the following one by Gasiorek:

The deadliness of *Crash* lies in the uncompromising equation it makes between the car’s material destructiveness and the deeper social issues disclosed by this destructiveness, especially in the psycho-sexual domain (Gasiorek.82).

This disaster of car crash is deadly not only because it destroys but also because it hits the deeper code of social issues within the facade of so-called social constrictions. It has a head-on-collision with our conventional social values of sex that is yet to come out of its traditional interpretation made in terms of a set psychological prejudice, religious taboos and sexual categories. So the crash, as featuring in *Crash*, is, to some extent, imperative for liberty—liberty of sexual energy.

The mutilated images that *Crash* visualizes have a pathological vision in the first place. When Ballard sketches “the perverse logic of blood-soaked instrument panels, seat-belts smeared with excrement, sun-visors lined with brain tissue” he emphatically refers to death, wounds, and self-inflicted violence caused by the “automobile disaster” (Ballard 12, 13). This kind of grotesque visualization of the crash may be motivated from the confused self of the protagonists who seek to recreate a new self through a deadly mutilation. Ballard intends to spur the domain of reader’s fantasy of death and injury providing the spectacle of bruised and disfigured bodies of the crash victims. Nevertheless it would not be quite plausible to look upon the crash vision as a mere display of pathology; rather we may draw upon it as a “warning” articulated by Ballard in his novel.

Eroticism in *Crash* has an unconventional psychoanalytic essence. I have applied the term “unconventional” here because the potent of sex in *Crash* reveals it (sex) in a form of energy that should be freed from imposed constraints discussed above. If viewed in terms of the contemporary code of propriety, *Crash* may look like an anthology of techno-centric voyeurism. But from a science fiction perspective *Crash* is a quest for the liberation of sexual energy by mediating sexuality through technology. Be it Vaughan, James, Catherine or Helen—each of them is entrapped in “an agnosticism of identity and desire’ implanted by “the sexual revolution.”(Mark 133). Hence Vaughan devises his crash strategy—the “imaginary automobile disaster and insane wounds” that are “keys to a new sexuality born from a perverse technology” (Ballard 13). It is through Vaughan that Ballard enunciates his notion of this “new sexuality” made of body and technology. Another major character Catherine’s extreme passion for sexual gratification further testifies to Ballard’s vision of unconventional sexuality. Catherine’s sex act in her physical proximity with the aircraft, as in the opening scene of the *Crash* film, endeavours to retrieve the gamut of the pleasure of sexual liberty that has been missing for long in her bedroom sex with her husband. With her husband’s full awareness she has opted for a number of extra-marital affairs “to provide the raw materials for” their “sexual games” (Ballard 31).

And it is not only the promiscuity of Catherine; rather every character of the novel indulges in the same act tinged with technological fervour for the emancipation of erotic vision. For Helen Remington the collision of “two cars, and death of her husband, had become the key to new sexuality” (Ballard 119). She goes through a number of physical relationships after her husband’s death and all of them take place in the presence of automobile “as if the presence of the car mediated an element which alone made sense of the sexual act” (120). While James could bring himself “to orgasm simply by thinking of the car in which” he had sex with Helen (83). He even goes on to redesignate his sexual relationship with his wife which was “almost totally abstracted, maintained by a series of imaginary games and perversities before his accident” (83). But these sexual dispositions have, as I feel, also their narcissistic basis. They are narcissistic because sex in and with automobile is characterized by self-preoccupation that defies to conform to the usual norm of sexuality. The sex in the novel is completely uncustomary in the

sense that be it James, Vaughan or Helen, they project their desire as narcissistic producing fierce sexuality.

Along with the renewal of sexual instinct the skin disfigurement in James' body by the accident results in a more potent sexual appeal in him. Catherine becomes more "fascinated by the scars on" his "chest, touching them with spittle-wet lips" (Ballard 51). The bruised skin of James mediates sensation to Catherine's erotic instinct. So this brings about the association between the psyche and the corporeal. Besides this event, the novel has a number of instances of sex in which the wounds, injuries, scars come out like vivid stimuli for erotic psychology. In the film Catherine gives a real seductive expression at the sight of the big visible scar upon Vaughan's chest during the change of his T-shirt before they start for an accident site. While sexing with Gabrielle James visualizes the accident wounds "upon which erotic fantasies might be erected..." (Ballard 179). These wounds project erotic fantasies for James who also finds the disfigurements in the face of Catherine caused by her wild sex with Vaughan in the car as "the elements of her real beauty" (165). The interaction between skin and mental reflection is no longer confined to sexual bond with the opposite sex; rather it transcends that periphery and embarks on a homosexual platform. The scars of Vaughan's lips and "the points of sweat" on the skin of "his arms and neck" kindle the fire of homosexuality in James (201).

Jay Prosser, in his view of skin, goes on to designate skin as "the surface upon which is projected the psychic representation of the body" (Prosser 72). The subjectivity in *Crash* is the amplification of one's libidinal appeal through the injury-marks on the body what Prosser explores as the "psychic investment of self in skin" (73). Gasiorek, on the other hand, has put these same acnes of wounds on the skin, in a different trajectory. He attaches social signification to the crashes. This is because "the crashes are themselves situated within a mediated 'society of the spectacle' in which the individual is subjected to inscription on another plane of existence" (Gasiorek 86, 87). The inscription in Ballard appears to be "a peculiar assemblage" made of the traversal of the body and the psyche caused by "the technologies" (87). Ballard's narrator's thought of being killed after having "the imprint of hundred television crime serials" and "the signatures of forgotten dramas" in his skin or Gabrielle's sexual fantasy with the scars inscribed on James' body "by the dashboard and control surfaces" of his car—both refer once again to the intersection of the body and the mind under the sublime influence of technology (Ballard.60, 178):

This recurring obsession for automobile disaster in the characters of *crash* is generated by "the death drive—the beyond of the pleasure principle, the law beyond the law" (Lacan quoted in Chaudhuri 66). Sigmund Freud in his "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" first expounds death drive in terms of biological speculation. He annotates the term as the compulsion for repetition and as a drive within the organism of which some inner forces are actively operative for prompting it towards its death (Freud 311). But the relentless transaction between life and death in *Crash* is rather metaphorical than organic and is closely tilted towards the Lacanian concept of death drive--"beyond of the pleasure principle". Though the "repetition itself" remains, according to Freud, indissociable from the death drive',

this repetition in *Crash* is governed by that “which Lacan calls *automation*, but the real is behind it” (Derrida 11, 12 and Chaudhuri 67). And if the *automation* is the pleasure principle, then, in Lacan’s view, the ‘beyond’ is the death drive.

The novel displays pro-active death frenzy prevalent in the protagonists. They are constantly driven by the death drive; they are in a frenzied pursuit of their sexual liberty through repeated car crashes. Even the novel ends with narrator’s obsession for his death in crash as he remarks, “Already I knew that I was designing the elements of my own car crash” (Ballard 224). The characters in the novel constantly endeavour to recapitulate the real essence of every crash they encounter. It is like experiencing the “second death—the death lived by anticipation” through the real death in crash (Lacan 248, 294). The injured and the dead victims of car crash bring forth in Vaughan the imaginative fantasy of death. The photographs he clicked are the graphical landscape of death for him. He reflects upon his own death being spurred by the deadly car crashes. This reflection resonates splendidly in the novel as Ballard’s narrator questions himself, “How much more mysterious would be our own death...?” (Ballard13). This speculation disseminates the Lacanian zest rather than the Freudian one bringing “us into a relation with our own deaths” (Lacan 295).

The ritualistic recapitulation of sex in the car and its vivid connivance with the automobile implements come out of “certain transgression of desire” (Lacan 152). James-Helen’s sex in car, Vaughan -Catherine’s rear seat sex, Vaughan’s sex with a prostitute in the car, the homo-sex between Vaughan and James—all are prompted from a transgressing point of desire. In each sexual act James and Helen recreate the image of the body of her dead husband “in her vagina” (Ballard 83). They keep experiencing this ambience in their psyche by the continual libidinous performance. The desire here works to reawaken the memory of the dead to associate one’s feeling to his/ her own death. Ballard’s characters involuntarily repeat the automobile havoc and the erotic spur in its context in *Crash* to emblematised the transgression of desire as death drive. What Ballard’s narrator says about his view on sex with Helen is worth quoting here:

I thought of taking her again along the route of her husband’s death – perhaps this would engage her sexual need for me, rekindle whatever erotic hostility she felt for me and the dead man (121).

Crash ventures to build up an association between the human body and the psyche through the mediation of technology. It imparts a pervasive psychoanalytic significance to its thematic interpretation. Ballard goes on to explore the real visage of ‘the techno-sexuality’ penetrated into the psychological circumference of human beings. That is how it bridges three significant factors—body, mind and technology in a very prolific matrix.

Reference:

- Ballard, J. G. *Crash*. London: Vintage, 1995.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge: New York, 1990.
- Chaudhuri, Shohini. 'Witnessing Death: Ballard's and Cronenberg's Crash,' *Strategies*. Vol-14, NO.1 (2001).
- Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Freud, Sigmund. *On Metapsychology*. Trans. James Strachey, London: Penguin, 1920/1991.
- Gasiorek, Andrzej. *J. G. Ballard*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, The Seminar of Jacques Lacan Book-VII*. Trans. Denis Porter, Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, London and New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1992.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book-II The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis 1954-1955*. Trans. Sylvana Tomaselli, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Mark, Mandy. 'Prosthetic Gestation: Shulamith Firestone and Sexual Difference,' in 'The Prosthetic Aesthetic,' *new formations*. No. 46, London: Spring 2002.
- Prosser, Jay. *Second Skin: The Bosy Narratives of Transexuality*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Rutsky, R. L. *High Techne Art and Technology from the Machine Aesthetic to the Posthuman*. London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Times Online*: "How J G Ballard Came to Write Crash": Extracted from *Miracles of Life* by J G Ballard 2008.
http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/books/book_extracts/article3241208.ece

Credit Analysis and Risk Grading System of Bangladesh Bank: A conceptual Study.

Muhammad Bachchu Shekh*

Abstract

Bangladesh Bank (BB) as Central Bank of Bangladesh is to manage the monetary & credit system of Bangladesh with a view to stabilizing domestic monetary value. BB regulates and manages the monetary and credit systems of the country as a guardian of the money market through its monetary policy instruments like bank rate, reserve requirement for the scheduled banks, open market operation, directed lending, moral persuasion etc. In 1993, BB made the first regulatory move to introduce best practices in this area through the introduction of the Lending Risk Analysis (LRA) for all lending exposures undertaken by a bank in excess of Tk. 10 Million to manage Bank credit properly. In 2003, BB made the Core Risk Management Guideline (CRMG) mandatory. But it was not detailed enough for banks to fully implement a Risk Grading System (RGS). Therefore in January 2004, BIBM instructed through the Governor of BB to produce a Credit Risk Grading Manual (CRGM) based on the Core Risk Management Guideline (CRMG) and it was completed and submitted to BB in September 2004. The CRGM was reviewed by an Industry Review Group (IRG) consisting of members from National Commercial Banks (NCBs), Private Commercial Banks (PCBs) and Foreign Commercial Banks (FCBs) involved in the credit approval and corporate banking functions. As a result, now-a-days the overdue loans of Banks are decreasing over the time. Really it is a positive effect of measure (Credit Management related) implemented by Banks, Bangladesh Bank & Government, resulting better financial condition of the country. As compared to the global context, we are yet far behind. So, making a balance with global condition is still pending and we have to consider it as a burning issue.

Key Words: BB, LRA, CRMG, RGS, CRGM, IRG, NCBs, PCBs, FCBs.

Introduction

Bangladesh Bank, the apex body of Financial Structural System, came into existence as the Central Bank of Bangladesh with effect from December 16, 1971, through the President's Order No 127 of 1972, under the name of "Bangladesh Bank Order 1972". Bangladesh Bank (BB), as the Central Bank of the country, pursued liberal monetary policy since independence mainly for reconstruction and rehabilitation requirements. In 1974/1975 under inflationary pressure the measures were shifted to tight money policy, interest rates were restructured, bank rate was enhanced. During the period late 1970-1980, liberal monetary policy was pursued once again. The policy package included administered interest rate, credit ceiling and directed credit programs, combined with generous refinancing facilities on loans to priority sectors. Most of the Nationalized Commercial Banks (NCBs) and Direct Foreign Investments (DFIs) faced massive loan defaults, financial losses and erosion of their capital base. With these drawbacks, in 1986 the Government formed a National Commission on Money to prepare recommendations for financial sector.

* Lecturer, Department of Business Administration, Metropolitan University, Sylhet.

During that time, the commission set up a high level “Task Force” in order to ensure proper management and to improve efficiency of the nationalized banks, especially to create better environment for smooth disbursement and recovery of loans. In the light of recommendations presented by the National Commission on Money, Bangladesh Bank on behalf of the Government formulated a program of financial sector. The main objective of the Financial Sector Reform Program (FSRP) was to ensure a more effective role of banking sector in supporting the country’s development programs and in mobilization and allocation of resources.

Bangladesh Bank introduced new loans grading system named Credit Risk Grading Manual since 1st April 2006. At present 48 Banks in Bangladesh up to June 2007, (Nationalized Commercial Banks-4, Specialized Banks-5, Private Commercial Banks-30 and Foreign Commercial Banks-9) are functioning under the guidance of Bangladesh Bank. All their credit risk analysis systems are developed by Bangladesh Bank.

Objectives of the study

The study conducted by the researchers to satisfy the following objectives:

- To identify the different forms of bank credit in Bangladesh
- To familiarize with the techniques of selecting the borrowers and credit appraisal methods and also various operational procedure.
- To identify the ways and means for improving the quality of loan portfolio and operational efficiency in banks
- To identify the principal credit risk components and their parameters.
- To familiarize with the scoring systems of credit and risk analysis adopted by Bangladesh Bank.

Scope of the study:

This study has been made on credit analysis techniques and risk grading systems of effective inspection & supervision of commercial banks by Bangladesh Bank. However the system is on the process of developing with the help of foreign financial experts. Literatures are not sufficiently available but the issue is multidimensional and vital. So, the study is limited on the Manuals, Acts, Off-site Reports and Forms used by Banks.

Meaning of Bank Credit

The word credit is derived from the Latin word “Credo”, meaning I believe. It is usually defined as one’s ability to buy with a promise to pay. From the banker’s point of view, credit is the confidence of the lender on the ability and willingness of the borrower to repay the debt as per schedule. Before allowing credit facility, a banker should be satisfied whether the applicant qualifies the following five essentials which may be termed as 5 Cs. Namely-

1. Character- borrower’s integrity, honesty and intention to repay the loan money.
2. Capacity- borrower’s business ability, particularly profit making report.

3. Capital- financial strength to cover a business risk.
4. Conditions- it is general business condition.
5. Collateral- borrower's ability to produce additional securities.

Importance of Bank Credit

Micro Aspects

At micro level, credit influences behavior of economic sectors (industry, agriculture etc), and behavior of economic agents (business, financial institution, and households etc.). Micro credit is important for the following reasons:

- Credit is as economic power, leads to the incremental generation of products and services.
- Credit is an important activity for banks because interest on loans is the major part of banks' income.
- It helps in businesses and industrial firms for working capital, investment and import.

Macro Aspect

At macro level, credit influences and is also influenced by quantity of money, level of economic activity and net foreign assets. Credit budgeting exercise at the macro level is done by the central bank every year having regard to the following objectives:

- To maintain inflation in order to remain within safe limit of monetary expansion.
- To increase production and employment opportunities.
- To ensure balanced development across all regions and sectors.

Principles of Lending

Banks are profit oriented organizations for which a bank invests its funds in many ways to earn. At the same time banks run the risk of default in repayment. As such the banks are required to follow certain basic principles of lending. The basic principles are:

- a) Safety- "Safety is the first" which depends upon (i) the security and its value offered by the borrower and (ii) the capacity & willingness of the borrower to repay the loan with interest.
- b) Liquidity- ability of an asset to convert into cash without loss and within a short time.
- c) Profitability- bank must invest its funds that ensure adequate return over cost of the funds.
- d) Purpose- the purpose should be productive so that the money not only safe but also provides a definite source of repayment.
- e) Spread- diversification of credit.

Different forms of Advances / Credits

Commercial banks make advances in different forms. All types of credit facilities can be broadly classified into two groups, say- (a) funded credit and (b) non-funded credit.

A. Funded Credit

Any type of credit facility which involves direct outflow of Bank's fund on account of borrower is termed as funded credit facility. Funded credit facilities may be classified into four major types, namely- (1) Loans (2) Cash credit (3) Overdraft (4) Bill purchase and discount.

Loans

- Demand Loan- to meet short term working capital need for the period up to 1 year.
- Term Loan- to meet fixed capital expenditure for the period of more than one year.

Cash Credit (CC)

- CC (Pledge) - loan against any kind of mortgage.
- CC (Hypothecation) - loan against mortgage but the banker has right to liquidate it on default.

Overdraft (OD)

Basically this is an arrangement between a Banker and his/her customer which allowed customer to withdraw over his/her credit balance in his /her current account. This is a temporary accommodation of fund to the client. Overdraft facility to the borrower may be allowed generally in the following ways:

- Overdraft- clean
- Overdraft- against guarantee
- Overdraft- against FDR in the name of borrower
- Overdraft- against FDR in the name of the third party
- Overdraft- against saving certificate and DPS
- Overdraft- against wage earner development Bond
- Overdraft- against assignment of book debts/ bills receivables/insurance policy etc.
- Overdraft- against hypothecation of stock / raw materials etc.

Bill purchase and discount

- Discount-bank allows advances to the clients by discounting users' bills which matures after a fixed tenure.
- Purchase of bills-financing against sight / demand bills.

Other important funded facilities

- Advances against hypothecation of vehicles (Transport loan)
- Consumer loan
- Agricultural loan- farming and off-farming
- Weaving loan
- Micro credit
- Consortium loan

- Lease financing
- Hire purchase
- Import and export financing

B. Non Funded Credit:

Although these types of credit facilities are primarily non-funded in nature but at times it may turn into funded facilities. As such, liabilities against non-funded credit facilities are termed as 'contingent liability'. Major non-funded credits are -

- Letters of credit
- Bid bond
- Performance bond
- Advance payment guarantee
- Foreign guarantee etc.

Besides above, credit facilities given by the banks can be classified in the following ways:

On the basis of security obtained

- Clean
- Secured

On the basis of term

- Short term
- Mid-term
- Long term

On the sectoral classification

- Private
- Public
- Commercial and Industrial
- Agricultural
- Transport
- House building etc.

Credit Investigation and Selection of Borrowers

Banks have to follow some procedures for selecting the borrowers, some important ones are-

- Credit investigation
- Appraisal of projects/ loans.
- Sanctioning and disbursement
- Recovery, follow-up and supervision.

Comparative credit situation of banks

(a) Industrial term loans of banks and financial Institutions: (Billion Taka)

Lender	Disbursement		Recovery		Outstanding		Overdue		Overdue as % of Outstanding	
	FY04	FY05	FY04	FY05	FY04	FY05	FY04	FY05	FY04	FY05
NCB's	7.5	4.5	5.0	4.0	81.6	78.3	27.0	24.8	33.1	31.7
PCB's	32.4	50.8	22.8	55.0	56.5	82.6	8.4	8.2	14.9	9.9
Foreign banks	10.6	11.4	9.3	10.2	8.0	8.8	0.06	0.03	0.8	0.3
Specialized Banks (BSB,BSRS, BKB, RAKUB, BASIC)	1.7	3.0	3.1	3.2	30.5	22.2	14.7	5.4	48.2	24.3
Non-bank Financial Institution	14.6	17.3	9.4	13.0	27.3	34.4	1.7	2.6	6.4	7.6
Total	66.8	87.0	49.6	85.4	203.9	226.3	51.9	41.0	25.5	18.1

Also, In 2003 the overdue and its percentage were 51.6 and 28.0 % respectively.

Source: Agricultural Credit & Special Programs Department, Bangladesh Bank, Head Office, Dhaka.

(b) Agricultural Credit Performance by Lenders: (Billion TK.)

Lender	Disbursement Target	Actual Disbursement	Recovery	Overdue	Outstanding	Overdue as % of Outstanding
NCB	17.05	11.42	8.78	18.45	40.89	45.12
BKB	24.00	22.80	11.00	18.79	61.25	30.68
RAKUB	7.75	8.70	6.83	7.65	20.40	37.50
BRDB	6.46	6.63	5.06	10.19	15.08	67.57
BSBL	0.12	0.02	0.04	2.73	2.78	98.20
Total	55.38	49.57	31.71	57.81	140.40	41.18
Summary						
FY, 2005	55.38	49.57	31.71	57.81	140.40	41.18
FY, 2004	43.79	40.48	31.35	62.65	127.06	49.31
FY, 2003	35.61	32.78	35.16	65.26	119.13	54.78
FY, 2002	33.27	29.54	32.60	67.55	114.98	58.75
FY, 2001	32.66	30.20	28.78	67.59	111.37	60.69

Source: Agricultural Credit & Special Programs Department, Bangladesh Bank, Head Office, Dhaka.

Here it is found from the earlier tables that the overdue loans of Banks are decreasing over the time. It is a positive effect of measures taken by Banks, Bangladesh Bank & Government, resulting in better financial condition of the country.

Credit Risk and Risk Grading System

Credit Risk

Credit risk is the primary financial risk in the banking system and defined as an estimate of the probability that a borrower will not repay all or a portion of a loan on time. Identifying and assessing credit risk is essentially a first step in managing credit effectively. In 1993, Bangladesh Bank has suggested through Financial Sector Reform Project (FSRP) to introduce the Credit Risk Grading Systems (CRGS) in the banking sector of Bangladesh under the caption “Lending Risk Analysis (LRA)”. The banking sector since then had changed the credit culture towards a more professional and standardized Credit Risk Management Approach (CRMA).

Credit Risk Grading System

Credit risk grading system is dynamic processes and various models followed by different organizations for measuring credit risk. It is also an important tool for credit risk management as it helps the Banks & financial institutions to understand various dimensions of risk involved in different credit transactions. The aggregation of such grading across the borrowers, activities and the line of businesses can provide better assessment of the quality of credit portfolio of a bank or a branch. The credit risk grading system is vital to take decisions both at the pre-sanction stage as well as post-sanction stage.

Steps in Computing Credit Risk Grading

The following step-wise activities outline the detail process for arriving at credit risk grading:

Step I: Identify all the principal risk components

Credit risk components for counter parties arise due to-

- Financial risk
- Business/industry risk
- Management risk
- Security risk
- Relationship risk

Step II: Allocate weights to principal risk components

According to the importance of risk profile, the following weights are proposed for corresponding principal risks.

Principal Risk Components	Weight	Principal Risk Components	Weight
■ Financial Risk	50%	■ Security Risk	10%
■ Business/Industry Risk	18%	■ Relationship Risk	10%
■ Management Risk	12%		

Step III: Establish the key parameters

Principal Risk Components

- Financial Risk
- Business/Industry Risk
- Management Risk
- Security Risk
- Relationship Risk

Key Parameters

leverage, liquidity, profitability & coverage ratio.
 size of business, age of business, business outlook, industry growth, competition & barriers to business experience, succession & team work.
 security coverage, collateral coverage and support.
 account conduct ,utilization of limit, compliance of covenants/conditions & personal deposit.

Step IV: Assign weights to each of the key parameters

Principal Risk Components

▪ **Financial Risk**

Key Parameters:	Leverage	Liquidity	Profitability	Coverage
Weight (50%):	15%	15%	15%	5%

▪ **Business/Industry Risk**

Key Parameter	Size of business	Age of Business	Business Outlook	Industry growth	Market Competition	Entry/Exit Barriers
Weight (18%):	5%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%

▪ **Management Risk**

Key Parameters:	Experience	Succession	Team Work
Weight (12%):	5%	4%	3%

▪ **Security Risk**

Key Parameters:	Security coverage	Collateral coverage	Support
Weight (10%):	4%	4%	2%

▪ **Relationship Risk**

Key Parameters:	Account conduct	Utilization of limit	Compliance of condition	Personal deposit
Weight (10%):	5%	2%	2%	1%

Step V: Input data to arrive at the score on the key parameters

After having identification of risk & weight assignment process (as mentioned above), the next step will be to give input to actual parameter in the score sheet (see Appendix) to arrive at the scores corresponding to the actual parameters.

Step VI: Arriving Credit Risk Grading based on total score obtained and review the grading.

The following (along with review frequency of the credit risk grading) is the proposed Credit Risk Grade matrix based on the total score obtained from score sheet by an obligor.

No	Risk Grading	Short Name	Score	Review frequency (at least)
1	Superior	SUP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ 100% cash covered ■ Government guarantee ■ International Bank guarantees 	Annually
2	Good	GD	85+	Annually
3	Acceptable	ACCPT	75-84	Annually
4	Marginal / Watch list	MG/WL	65-74	Half yearly
5	Special Mention	SM	55-64	Quarterly
6	Sub-standard	SS	45-54	Quarterly
7	Doubtful	DF	35-44	Quarterly
8	Bad & Loss	BL	<35	

Scoring Systems for Credit and Risk Analysis

Generally two systems are used for credit grading scoring- (1) Z-Score and (2) Y-Score.

Z- Score

It should be applied to the manufacturing companies. The formula to calculate the Z-Score is- $Z = 0.012 X_1 + 0.014 X_2 + 0.033 X_3 + 0.006 X_4 + 0.935 X_5$.

Where,

$X_1 = \text{Working capital} \div \text{Total assets}$.

$X_4 = \text{Equity} \div \text{Total liabilities}$.

$X_2 = \text{Retained earnings} \div \text{Total assets}$.

$X_5 = \text{Sale} \div \text{Total assets}$

$X_3 = \text{Earnings before interest and taxes} \div \text{Total assets}$.

Formula Notes

- ❶ Variable X_1 to X_2 must be calculated as absolute percentages, i.e. where the result of the calculation of X_1 is 0.052 it should be taken as 5.2. Thus $X_1 = 5.2$ multiplied by the weighting factor of 0.012.
- ❷ Variable X_5 uses the whole number i.e. an X_5 calculation of 1.5 gives an X_5 of 1.5 multiplied by the weighting factor of 0.999.

Interpretation

- Score higher than 3 rates a good risk.
- Score of fewer than 3 indicates further investigation is necessary.
- Score of less than 1.81 evidences an inherent weakness and probability of the company failing within two years.
- A constant downward trend requires investigation even when this score is satisfactory.

Y-Score

It should be applied to all trading companies. This formula calculates 5 ratios and awards points to each according to the table below:

- ☞ Current Ratio (CR) = Current Assets ÷ Current Liabilities
- ☞ Quick Ratio (QR) = [Cash +Equivalents + Accounts receivable] ÷ Current Liabilities
- ☞ Liquidity Ratio (LR) = [Cash + Equivalents] ÷ Current Liabilities
- ☞ Asset Ratio (AR) = Total Assets ÷ Total Liabilities
- ☞ Return on Equity (ROE) = Net Profit for the year ÷ Ending Net Worth.

‘Y’ CREDIT SCORE TABLE:

POINTS	CR	QR	LR	AR	ROE
4	2.00 & above	1.00 & above	0.40 & above	2.75 & above	0.10 & above
3	1.67 to less than 2.00	0.75 to less than 1.00	0.30 to less than 0.40	2.00 to less than 2.75	0.075 to less than 0.10
2	1.33 to less than 1.67	0.50 to less than 0.75	0.20 to less than 0.30	1.67 to less than 2.00	0.05 to less than 0.075
1	1.00 to less than 1.33	0.25 to less than 0.50	0.10 to less than 0.20	1.33 to less than 1.67	0.025 to less than 0.05
0	Less than 1.00	Less than 0.25	Less than 0.10	Less than 1.33	Less than 0.025

Formula Notes

- ❶ Cash include cash in hand, cash at bank and securities (marketable). It does not include restricted cash i.e. margins.
- ❷ Accounts receivable is after allowance for bad and doubtful debt and excludes receivable from directors, employees and special transactions.
- ❸ Net profit is after tax, but before payment of dividend. Profit for periods of less than a year must be annualized before ROE is calculated.

Interpretation

- A total score of less than 12 evidences an unusual degree of risk and a strong reliance on security.
- Low score indicate a close review of the components of working capital is required.
- Again the trend is just as important as the actual score.

Comparing ‘y’ and ‘z’ scores

- ◆ If the two scores appear contradictory review each of the component ratios of the lower score. Identify the weak ratios and obtain explanation.
- ◆ If the ‘Z’ score is satisfactory and ‘Y’ score is not; review the sales-total assets ratio. If sales to total assets ratio and sales to working capital ratio are high the company is probably over-trading.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion reveals that Bangladesh Bank (BB) started credit analysis and risk grading system, and also taken some measures which developed stable position in banking sectors. However, over the years, it has been found that the overdue loans of Banks are decreasing gradually. Really it is a green signal of measures taken by Government and Bangladesh Bank, resulting better financial condition of the country.

A good plan is the half done of a job, so adoption of planning in every event and activity of banking operations will harness achieving the target. A number of prudential Credit Analysis Techniques (reform measures) have been introduced and economic regulations have been liberalized. These measures aimed at improving financial discipline depending on the market forces and to improve operational efficiency.

But appreciable change in operational efficiency and management attitudes of banks are yet to be developed. Increasing competition and adaptation of advanced technology in both domestically and internationally require upgrading the systems on regular basis to remain competitive. So, it should continue the activities in that direction.

Credit Risk Grading should be completed by a bank for all of its clients whose credit limit are 1.00 (one) crore and above. Credit risk grading matrix/score would be useful in analyzing credit proposal, new or renewal for regular limits or specific transactions, if basic information on a borrowing client to determine the degree of each factor - a) readily available, b) current, c) dependable, and d) parameters/risk is assessed judiciously and objectively. The relationship manager as per data collection checklist should collect required information. Risk factors are to be evaluated and weighted very carefully on the basis of most up-to-date and reliable data and complete objectivity must be ensured to assign the correct grading. Actual parameter should be inputted in the Credit Risk Grading Score Sheet.

All credit proposals whether new, renewal or specific facility should, consist of a) Data Collection Checklist, b) Limit Utilization Form c) Credit Risk Grading Score Sheet, and d) Credit Risk Grading Form. In spite of following credit approval process, loans may still become troubled. Therefore, it is essential that early identification and prompt reporting of deteriorating credit signs be done to ensure swift action to protect the Bank's interest.

References:

- Ahmed, Salehuddin (1999), "Regulatory Framework for Microfinance Institutions", a case study of Bangladesh, Dhaka Bangladesh:PKSF.
- Boob, Allen and Hamilton (1993), "Financial Spread Sheet and Credit Scoring Manual", FRSP.
- Bhattacharya, Debapriya and T. A. Choudhury (2002), "Financial Sector Reforms in Bangladesh: The Next Round", A paper presented at a Seminar organized by FBCCI and CPD, April, Dhaka.
- Bhuiya, Abul Basar(1995), *Bangladesh Laws on Banks and Banking*, 2nd Edition, Dhaka.
- Choudhury, T. Ahmad and Adhikary, B.Kumar (2002), "Loan Classification, Provisioning Requirement and Recovery Strategies: A Comparative Study on Bangladesh and India", Bank Parikrama, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 2 & 3, June & September
- Choudhury, T. Ahmad and Moral L.H. (1999), "Commercial Bank Restructuring in Bangladesh: From FSRP to BRC/ CBRP", Bank Parikrama, Vol. XXIV, NO.1, March.
- Chowdhury, et al (1997), "Impact of new Loan Regulations on Loan Portfolio Management in Banks", Bank Parikrama, Vol. XXII, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 13-74.
- Dale W. Adams and J.D. Von Pischke(1992), "Micro Enterprise Credit Program: Dejavu", World Development.
- Frank k.Peilly (2003), *Investment Analysis and Portfolio Management*, 7th edition, Thomson, South-Western Publications, ISBN: 981-240-640-9.
- Frederick C. Scherr, *Modern Working Capital Management*, Prentice Hall International (UK) Limited, London. ISBN: 0-13-594425-2.
- H. A. Geoffrey & B.B. Stanley, *Foundations of Financial Management*, 10th edition, Mc Graw-Hill Irwin Publications, ISBN: 0-07-22-2303-2.
- Islam, Muinul et al. (1999), "Bank Loan Default Problem in Bangladesh: A Dialogue Between Borrowers and Lenders", A Keynote Paper Presented at a National Seminar Organized by BIBM, Dhaka, May, 1999.
- I. M. Pandey (2002-02), *Financial Management*, 8th edition, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., ISBN: 81-259-0638-X.
- Jones Charles P. (2002), *Investments: Analysis and Management*, 8th edition, John Wiley and Sones Inc.
- Kaplan, Robert S. and Anthony A. Atkinson (1998), *Advanced Management Accounting*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., USA.
- Mahmud, Wahid Uddin et al. (2001), "Taskforce Report on Financial Sectors Reforms", Bank Parikrama, Vol. XXVI, NO.1, March.
- M. Jeff, *International Financial Management*, (7th edition), Thomson, South-Western, ISBN: 0-3240L655L-x.
- Moral, Liakat et al. (2000), "Financial Status of Laws Relating to Defaulted Bank Loans", A Paper Presented at a National Seminar organized by BIBM, Dhaka, September, 2000.

R.A. Stephen, R.W. Wosterfield & J. Jeffrey, *Corporate Finance*, (7th edition), Mc.Graw Hill, ISBN: 007-123937-5.

R. H. Garrison & E. W. Noreen, *Managerial Accounting*, 10th edition, Mc.Graw Hill Higher Education, A Division of the Mc.Graw Hill Companies, ISBN: 0-07-252812-5.

R. S. Peter & H. C. Sylvia, *Bank Management & Financial Services*, 6th edition, Mc.Graw Hill International edition, ISBN: 007-123936-7.

Sinkey, J. F. (1999), *Commercial Bank Financial Management*, Prentice Hall, USA.

Sirker, et al.(1995), "Legal Reform Measures and Recovery of Bank Loans", *Bank Parikrama*, Vol. XX, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1995.

Bangladesh Bank, "Credit Risk Management" and "Credit Risk Grading Manual" -2005.

Bangladesh Bank, "Loan classification Manual"- 1991.

Bangladesh Bank, "BCD and BRPD Circulars"-1995-2005

Bangladesh Bank, Annual report, - 2005-06.

Bangladesh Bank, PMS Manual, -2006.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, "Statistical year Book of Bangladesh, Dhaka"- 2005.

Bangladesh Institute of Bank Management (2000), *Studies in Bangladesh Banking*, Dhaka: BIBM, June, 2000.

Government of Bangladesh (A President Order), Bangladesh Bank Order 1972, President Order No.127

Ministry of Finance, "Bangladesh Economic Review" June, 2007.

<http://www.bangladesh-bank.org/pub/annual/anreport/aro203/chap5.pdf>

<http://www.bangladesh-bank.org>

Historical Development and Present Status of Public Sector Enterprises: A Case Study in Bangladesh

Mohammad Jamal Uddin*
Most. Alhamra Begum†
Muhammad Abdus Shaheed Miah‡

Abstract

Public Sector Enterprise often is referred to as state sector, government owned undertakings/enterprises or state-owned enterprises (SOEs). These are formed under the legal proceedings, wholly or partly owned and controlled by the government and produce marketable goods and services, have an explicit or extractable budget, and are supposed to finance their operating costs from their own resources. State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) still continue to make major contribution towards industry, power, gas, transport and communication and service sectors of Bangladesh economy. For the overall economy to improve and become more competitive, SOEs must rationalize and compete on an even playing field with the private sector. To keep pace with the increasing expansion of private sector in a market economy, a range of reforms including privatization in public enterprises is well in progress. SOEs contribution in GDP, value addition, employment generation and revenue earning is still substantial. Currently, a range of reforms is being implemented in public enterprises and this has resulted in significant reduction of overall loss in public manufacturing sector supporting economic growth. The aim of this paper is to identify whether the SOEs' present performance achieve their historical startup objectives by studying their present conditions and management practices and also try to identify the causes of their poor performance and probable remedial actions to increase their contribution in the economic development of Bangladesh.

Key words: PSEs, Departmental Undertakings, Statutory Corporations, Joint Stock Companies, Cost of delay.

Introduction

Bangladesh inherited a mixed economic system at the time of liberation. But the economy was in shameless as a result of displacement of people, destruction of physical infrastructures and disruption and abandonment of industries. As a natural consequence as well as account of the Government policy, the public sector acquired a commanding role. The Government of Bangladesh nationalized various industries, banks and financial institutions exceeding Tk.1.5 million in assets in order to reactivate the economy. The nationalization policy covered a total of 725 industrial units under the management of 11 newly created public sector corporations. Thus 85% of capacities and 70% of fixed investment was placed in the nationalized sector under 11 sector corporations (first Five Year Plan p.26). The Government took over the businesses owned by West Pakistani and non-Bengali owners.

* Lecturer, Dept. of Business Administration, Metropolitan University, Sylhet

† Assistant Professor, Dept. of Business Administration, Metropolitan University, Sylhet

‡ Associate Professor, Dept. of Accounting & Information Systems, Islamic University, Kushtia

Almost all the state owned enterprises had a common goal to eliminate poverty of Bangladeshi poor people, reduce unemployment and to control the country assets which were disorganized. Another important purpose to nationalization was the development of small-scale and ancillary industries. But owing to the growing pressure from such nationalized units on the financial and management resources of the public sector, 155 small enterprises earlier taken over by the Government were gradually disinvested with the objective of fostering industrial growth and lessening the government's burden (The Fifth Year Plan, p113). Public Sector Enterprises were gradually made failure in both profitability and management efficiency consequence of that situation, last 30 years different political Governments reexamined and rethought the prospects of nationalization process and the contribution of public sector in the economy of Bangladesh.

Rationality of the Study

Bangladesh is a densely populated country, with a narrow natural resource base, an extremely limited per capita availability of arable land and very low purchasing power of the population. The post independence Bangladesh Government after the devastation of the liberation war started nationalization process of different industrial, commercial and financial institutions with the broad objective to have an effective control over the strategic and basic sectors of the economy; also to put an end to mismanagement by private capitalists; to serve the genuine needs of the priority sectors and weaker sections; to maintain employment and to safeguard the interests of the workers and customers. But the performance of public sector enterprises in our country has been far from satisfactory. They have often put large burdens on public budgets and external debt and gradually they are converted into sick organizations. So if we want to see this situation to be changed we have to discover the reasons behind their historical startup and the present status quo of those enterprises.

Objectives of the Study

In the present competitive business era, it is difficult on the part of Government to successfully continue the public sector enterprises with their promised objectives. Initially, though the nationalization of industries was successful but later these enterprises turned into liabilities of the Government. However the present study has been formulated for achieving the following specific objectives:

1. To learn about the development of public sector enterprises.
2. To know the inherent reasons behind their development.
3. To know how the public sector enterprises are managed.
4. To identify the present conditions of public sector enterprises.
5. To identify the causes of present performance and probable remedial actions to overcome poor profit performance.

Methodology of the study

This study is a descriptive study mainly based on secondary information. In the secondary source, data are collected from different textbooks, journals, manuals and bulletins relating to the state owned enterprises. Furthermore, Bangladesh economic review, the ministry of planning and finance official reports and other related online addresses are also used as source of secondary data. For the fulfillment of the work, the researchers also conduct informal interview with some managers and higher officials of some selected state owned enterprises.

Definition of Public Sector Enterprise

In simple terms, a public sector enterprise is an industrial, commercial or other economic activities owned and managed by the Government. A comprehensive definition of a public sector enterprise/ unit is given by experts at the International Center for Public Enterprises (ICPE), Yugoslavia. To quote the Centre:

“A public enterprise is an organization which is:

- owned by public authorities including Central, State or Local authorities, to the extent of 50 percent or more;
- under the top management control of the owing public authorities, such public control including inter-alias, the right to appoint top management and to formulate critical policy decisions;
- established for the achievement of a definite set of public purpose; which may be multi-dimensional in character;
- consequently placed under a system of public accountability;
- engaged in activities of a business character;
- involved the basic idea of investment and returns; and
- remarketed its outputs in the shape of goods and services”.

A precise definition of a public sector enterprise is given by the Code of Corporate Governance for Bangladesh:

“A Public sector enterprise or State owned enterprise refers to any entity owned wholly or partly by the government engaged in commercial activities (i.e. the trade of services or products for payment) whether under a sector corporation, regulatory agency, or other branch of government.”

Objectives of Public Sector Enterprises

The following are the objectives of public sector enterprises:

- I.** Help in the rapid economic growth and industrialization of the country and create the necessary infrastructure for economic development;
- II.** Earn returns on investment and thus generate resource for development;

- III. Promote redistribution of income and wealth;
- IV. Create employment opportunities;
- V. Promote balanced regional development;
- VI. Assist the development of small-scale and ancillary industries;
- VII. Act as a countervailing force and put up an effective competition to undertakings in the private sector; and
- VIII. Gain control over the commanding heights of the economy.

Historical Evolution of the Public Sector Enterprises

Evidences suggest that the public sector in British India was primarily concerned with the administration and regulation of education, health, broadcasting, posts and telegraph, telephone, roads and railways and defense. Public sector was not very active in areas like transportation and banking. No industry was reserved for public sector in Pakistan, but the role of public sector enterprises in other areas was supportive to the growth and development of the industrial capitalists. Originally, the government created enterprises in the public sector with the objective of transferring them later into private ownership when their profitability was ensured. The Pakistan government accepted the strategy of a laissez faire economy and promoted the growth of private sector in its five-year plans and banked on private enterprises as the main vehicle of development, keeping the public enterprises as their handmaiden.

The Government of Pakistan used the state-owned enterprises mainly for the development of the economic condition of West Pakistan during the period between 1958 and 1970. The private sector received little Government patronage in East Pakistan, where the public sector investment was, however, relatively larger than in West Pakistan. The public sector of the economy of Pakistan in the early post-partition years between 1947 and 1950 covered communication network, power, irrigation, defense and social service sectors like education and health.

Following the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, major changes were made in the ownership structure of the enterprises of industrial, commercial and financial sectors. Through nationalization, the government gained control over 86% of the total industrial assets in the country. The government took over all the units of the industries abandoned by West Pakistani and other non-Bengali owners and nationalized them. The government also nationalized all industrial units owned by Bangladeshi citizens in the three major sectors, namely cotton textile, jute and jute manufacturing and sugar manufacturing. In July 1972, the government imposed ceiling on private investment. The limit set for private investment in small industrial units was Tk 2.5 million, which was later enhanced to Tk 3.5 million including the investment of profits, and simultaneously, the government preserved the right to nationalize any private enterprise whenever felt necessary. The strategy did not work well and within two-three years of nationalization, the state-owned enterprises started experiencing severe deterioration in productivity and profitability largely

due to management inefficiency, corruption and an ideological conflict between personal ambitions of the policy makers, managers and employees and the national interest.

Structure of Public Sector Enterprise

Public sector enterprise normally has three forms of organizational structure (Banglapedia, p.239) namely the departmental undertakings, statutory corporations and joint stock companies.

Departmental Undertakings are not formed by or with the consent of the legislative authority. These are set up by the executive actions of government bodies without any capital structure and budget, and charged with the duty of carrying out specially defined functions within the purview of the government bodies that set them up. These undertakings are not independent entities, although they enjoy a fairly high degree of monopoly. They are subject to budgetary, audit and other controls of the government and are managed by civil servants. They are financed by annual appropriation from the Treasury, which also receives their revenues. A departmental undertaking is best suited where the main purpose of the enterprise is to collect revenue for the state and to provide public utilities and services at fair prices in larger public interest. Some examples of departmental undertakings in Bangladesh are the Bangladesh Railway, Postal Department, Telephone and Telegraph Board, Power Development Board, Water Development Board, Customs Department, National Board of Revenue, ordnance factories, overseas communication services, and multipurpose river projects.

Statutory corporations are enterprises normally engaged in economic or manufacturing activities and are set up by act of legislature. These corporations are legal entities separate from the government and also the persons who conduct their affairs. Bangladesh Bank, the government owned life and general insurance companies, Biman Bangladesh Airlines are examples of statutory corporations. Shares of such corporations are in the name of the government and these are thus owned and controlled by the government. Statutory corporations enjoy extensive legal autonomy, and their rules, objectives, functions and duties are defined and specified in the act. Financing statutory corporations is not part of the Treasury and therefore, they can retain their revenues, and also spend as per the rules laid down by the statute. A statutory corporation set up by an Act cannot be regarded to fit in with the changed circumstances without legislative amendments.

Joint Stock Companies are set up under the provision of the COMPANIES ACT. Establishment of companies is easier and is best suited where the nature of the work is substantially commercial. Most joint stock companies are not public sector enterprises in the strict sense. They are free from day-to-day control by the ministry, and are not subject to government's budgetary discipline. They are managed by the board of directors, and are subject to audit and other provisions of the Companies Act. The distinctive feature of a government controlled joint stock company is that the government, except when it sets up a mixed enterprise, puts up the entire capital. Such a company is wholly autonomous and makes its own rules and

decisions in respect of investment, finance, personnel and commercial audit. Bangladesh Shilpa Bank, Bangladesh Shilpa Rin Sangstha, Bangladesh Krishi Bank, and nationalized commercial banks (NCBs) are examples of joint stock forms of public sector enterprises in Bangladesh. Now in Bangladesh, there are 44(The Economic Review 2007) non-financial public enterprises in the country. Their economic and financial performances have been analyzed having grouped them into 7 sectors as follows according to Bangladesh Standard Industrial Classification (BSIC):

Sector	No. of Enterprises	Title of Enterprises
Industry	6	Bangladesh Textile Mills Corporation (BTMC), Bangladesh Steel Engineering Corporation (BSEC), Bangladesh Sugar & Food Industries Corporation (BSFIC), Bangladesh Chemical Industries Corporation (BCIC) Bangladesh Forest Industries Development Corporation (BFIDC), Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation (BJMC).
Power, gas and water	5	Bangladesh Oil, Gas & Mineral Resources Corporation, Bangladesh Power Development Board (BPDB), Dhaka Electric Supply Authority (DESA), Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority (WASA), Chittagong Water and Sewerage Authority.
Transport and communication	11	Bangladesh Shipping Corporation (BSC), Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Corporation (BIWTC), Bangladesh Biman Corporation, Bangladesh Road Transport Corporation (BRTC), Chittagong Port Authority, Mongla Port Authority, Chittagong Dock Worker's Management Board, Mongla Dock Worker's Management Board, Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission (BTRC), Bangladesh Land Port Authority and Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge Authority
Trade	3	Bangladesh Petroleum Corporation (BPQ), Bangladesh Jute Corporation (BJQ), Trading Corporation of Bangladesh (TCB).
Agriculture	2	Bangladesh Fisheries Development Corporation (BFDC), Bangladesh Agriculture Development Corporation (BADC).
Construction	4	Rajdhani Unnayan Kartipaksha (RAJUK), Chittagong Development Authority (CDA), Rajshahi Development Authority (RDA), Khulna Development Authority (KDA).
Service	13	Bangladesh Muktijoddha Kalyan Trust, Bangladesh Film Development Corporation (BFDC), Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation (BPC) Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation (BSCIC) Bangladesh Civil Aviation Authority, Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Authority (BIWTA), Rural Electrification Board (REB), Bangladesh Export Processing Zone Authority (BEPZA), Bangladesh Handloom. Board, Bangladesh Sericulture Board, Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB), Bangladesh Tea Board and Export Promotion Bureau (EPB).

Source: Bangladesh Economic Review,2005.

Management of Public Sector Enterprises

In the early days of Pakistan, bureaucratic control and political leadership remained in the hands of Non-Bengalis and the benefits of state policies encouraging the development of a national bourgeoisie were monopolized by immigrants and Punjabi groups. In the 1960s the unpopularity of free enterprise and a market control philosophy of development led to a policy of sponsored capitalism in East Pakistan.

All public sector industrial enterprises in Pakistan were organized as companies. From its very inception Pakistan was committed to a strong private sector, and public sector ventures were to be promotional and supportive in nature. Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) was organized as a statutory corporation, which aimed at developing industries and later divesting them when they would become profitable. The same principle was followed when in early 1970s Pakistan took over many industrial units and places them under holding corporations. In the post liberation period, private sector industries faced a major set back due to mass exodus of non-Bengali owners and managers. The government of Bangladesh (Taking over of Control and Management of Industrial and Commercial Concern) Order, 1972 was promulgated to fill in the vacuum. All abandoned properties including 725 industrial units were brought under the government control and management. A management board was created for each enterprise as provided in the 1972 ordinance.

Later, the government dissolved the management boards and appointed administrators to run these enterprises. On 26 March 1972, the government promulgated Bangladesh Industrial Enterprises (Nationalization) Order, 1972, under which it nationalized all abandoned enterprises of assets valuing at 1.5 million and more as well as all industries of the jute, textile and sugar sectors. Eleven industrial sector corporations were established in pursuance of this order, and all the nationalized units, as well as the enterprises and projects of Bangladesh Industrial Development Corporation (formerly EPIDC) were placed under the control of the respective sector corporations. These measures led to the increase in public ownership of industrial fixed assets from 34% to 92%. Some public corporations of the industrial sector were later merged through an amendment of presidential order 27 in 1976 to form Bangladesh Chemical Industries Corporation (BCIC) (merger of BFCPC, BPBC and BTC), Bangladesh Steel and Engineering Corporation (BSEC) (merger of BESC and BSMC) and Bangladesh Sugar and Food Industries Corporation (BSFIC) (merger of BFAIC and MSMC). These three public corporations along with Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation (BJMC), Bangladesh Textile Mills Corporation (BTMC) and Bangladesh Forest Industries Development Corporation (BFIDC) now constitute six manufacturing public corporations with 386 enterprises under them. Of these, 339 are abandoned units, many of which were left with huge liabilities, mostly in the form of mortgages on their assets.

The state-owned enterprises, as indicated in the guidelines of 1976, section 3(3) of the paragraph on 'Relationship between the Corporation/Autonomous bodies and Enterprises under them' are:

- (i) to operate on commercial consideration having due regard to national interest, in the most efficient and economic manner within the policy framework and guidelines prescribed in the rules and regulations;
- (ii) to continuously strive to improve its performance and attain better result, and;
- (iii) to earn additional revenue for the government. There is a provision in President's Order 27 for transfer of the government property, assets and liabilities to a corporation. The provision was later amended by the Ordinance No. VII of 1987, which enabled the government, among other things, to sell or transfer shares of the nationalized enterprises to corporations or to any other persons.

The general direction and administration of the officers and business of the corporations were vested in the respective board of directors, which could exercise all powers and do all acts and things that might be exercised or done by the corporation. The board could delegate its power to the chairman (the chief executive) for the purpose of efficient operation of the corporation. The corporation was authorized to appoint officers, employees and consultants for efficient performance of the corporation on such terms and conditions as it might determine. Under the system, the board operated under the supervision and control of the government and was guided in the discharge of its functions by such general or special instructions as might from time to time be given to it by the government. An annual budget statement for the corporation was to be prepared by the corporation and to be duly approved by the government. The system, however, emphasized more on an appropriate management system than on accountability. The government adopted some corrective measures in the form of directives to the ministries and corporations from improving efficiency in performance by the corporations.

These included (a) guidelines on the relationship between the government and the autonomous bodies/corporations and enterprises under them; (b) recommendations of the committee for reorganization of public statutory corporation; (c) the Public Corporation (Management co-ordination) Ordinance No. 48 of 5 July 1986; (d) Government Order regarding strict observance of the guidelines of 1976 and resolutions of 1983; (e) the Bangladesh Industrial Enterprise (Nationalization) (Amendment) Ordinance relating to disinvestment and transfer of government shares of nationalized enterprises to the public corporations; and (f) Notification (7 July 1988) of the Ministry of Industry relating to public issue of shares of the government enterprises and holding of 5% share of divested enterprises by the corporations under which they belong (eg, BCIC, BSEC, or BSFIC).

There are many shortcomings and constraints in the structure of control and management of the state-owned enterprises in Bangladesh. Generally speaking, there are four hierarchical levels in the control supervision structure. At the bottom is the enterprise level control involving internal management matters. At the next tier is the corporation control involving supervision, coordination among units, and

delegated policy matters. At the third tier is the ministerial control of bureaucratic nature, involving evaluation, coordination amongst ministries and non-delegated policy matters. Finally, at the top is the political control exercised by the minister and the government involving major policy issues. There exists an implied accountability to the Jatiya Sangsad of elected representatives.

At the bottom is the individual enterprise, which is the ultimate object of control and supervision. The enterprises have no policy-making options as they operate within approved budgets, plans, policies and norms. Even when there is an enterprise management board, they limit themselves to routine operational matters and refer everything to the corporation. This resulted from the absence of mutual trust, lack of professionalism and the uncertain and changing state of informal authority and accountability. Above the enterprises are the statutory corporations. The basic function of these juridical bodies as defined in presidential order/ordinances/acts of parliament is to supervise, coordinate and direct the enterprises.

These bodies control and supervise the enterprises directly and contribute towards coordination between enterprises in matters of foreign procurement, personnel, marketing, disposal of surplus, or arrangement of finance. But the statutory corporations are heavily dependent on ministerial decisions. In most matters of policy and in certain matters of operations, they do not enjoy any autonomy. However, the statutory corporation can move on matters of policy on their own behalf and on behalf of the enterprises under them. The third tier is the ministry, which retains all control over the policy matters, which they define in consultations with other ministries, after scrutiny of papers prepared by the corporations. The fourth tier, the minister, who is a people's representative or a guardian of the public interest, often gets involved in small details of day to day administration rather than the policy issues. The minister, however, conducts review meetings, pilot's policy proposals in the cabinet and responds to parliamentary scrutiny on behalf of the enterprises and corporations.

To increase the management skill efficiency, production capacity and marketing network of the state-owned enterprise, an attempt was made in October 1980 to form a forum under the name and style of 'Consultative Committee of Chairman and Managing Directors of Autonomous and Semi-Autonomous Bodies'. It was renamed in 1982 as Consultative Committee of Public Enterprises (CONCOPE). The objective was, among others, to continuously interact with the government for coordinated decision making on administrative and financial management across the public sector corporations and the enterprises under them. CONCOPE regularly holds sittings with the relevant government functionaries including the Prim Minister and the President for quick decisions on administrative, financial and related other matters.

Present Status of Public Sector Enterprises (PSEs/SOEs)

Production and Factor Income of SOE Sector

Table 1.1 shows that during FY 2002-03, the total operating revenue of all existing PSEs/SOEs was Tk. 30,500 crore which rose to Tk. 44,339 crore in FY 2005-06. Annual growth rate was 13.27 percent. During this period the value of purchase of goods and services increased by 16.72 percent. According to the production cost, the amount of value addition in FY 2002-03 stood at Tk. 3668 crore which significantly went down to Tk. 1654 crore during FY 2005-06 resulted in a decline in growth rate of value addition by 23.30 percent. During FY 2002-03, the operating profit of the SOEs was Tk. 354 crore while it came down to an operating loss of Tk. 2701 crore in FY 2005-06. Actually, there is a negative growth of the value addition due to increase in operating loss.

Table 1.1: Growth rate of Revenue, Value Addition and Production Income of non-financial SOEs (2000-01 to 2005-06.) (Tk. in crore)

1	2002-03 Actual	2003-04 Actual	2004-05 Actual	2005-06 Actual	Rate of Growth from 2001-02 to 2005-06
Operating revenue	30500	32541	36273	44339	13.27
Purchased goods & services	26832	28703	35322	42685	16.72
Value addition by production income	3668	3839	951	1654	(23.30)
Pay & allowances	1781	1784	1663	2386	10.30
Depreciation	1533	1967	1761	1969	(8.69)
Operating surplus	354	87	(2701)	(2701)	(22.27)

Source: Monitoring Cell, Finance Division.

Net Profit/Loss

According to provisional accounts, the net loss of 44 SOEs during FY 2006-07 stood at Tk. 3735.5 crore. One of the reasons behind this huge loss compared to previous fiscal year is price hike of oil in international market and devaluation of local currency against US dollar. BPC sells oil at administered price in domestic market. Therefore, BPC alone incurred net loss to the tune of Tk. 3003.6 crore in FY 2006-07 from net loss of Tk. 3167.11 crore in FY 2005-06. The SOEs which are expected to increase its profit or to decrease the loss in FY 2006-07 compared to FY 2005-06 are: Bangladesh Forest Industries Development Corporation (increase in net profit to Tk.32. 11 crore in FY 2006-07 from Tk. 23.01 crore), DESA (increase in net profit to Tk.47.3 crore in FY 2006-07 from Tk. 5.69 crore), Dhaka WASA (increase in net profit to Tk.70.16 crore in FY 2006-07 from Tk. 28.42 crore), Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge Authority (increase in net profit to Tk. 194.17 crore in FY 2006- 07 from Tk. 162.00 crore), Bangladesh Film Development Corporation (net profit of Tk. 0.41 crore in FY 2006-07 from net loss of Tk.1.87 crore in FY

2005-06), Chittagong Development Authority (increase in net profit to Tk.141.47 in FY 2006-07 from Tk.38.11 crore), Bangladesh Water Development Board (net profit of Tk.9.60 crore in FY 2006-07 from net loss of Tk.2.34 crore in FY 2005-06). The net profit/loss of 44 SOEs is shown in Appendix-A.

Contribution to Public Exchequer:

All the SOEs together contributed Tk. 240.9 crore to the public exchequer during FY 2005-06 which is estimated at Tk. 276.55 in FY 2006-07. The enterprises that have made significant contribution in terms of dividend during FY2006-07 are: Bangladesh Oil, Gas and Mineral Corporation Tk. 250.00 crore, Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge Authority Tk. 6.00 crore, Bangladesh Water Development Board Tk. 5.00 crore, Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Corporation (BIWTC) Tk. 4.00 crore, Bangladesh Shipping Corporation (BSC) Tk. 3.00 crore, Dhaka WASA Tk. 3.00 crore, etc. The dividend contribution of non-financial state-owned enterprises to national exchequer is shown in Appendix-B.

Government Grant/Subsidy

In FY 2005-06, government provided grant/subsidy amounting to Tk. 567.63 crore to 13 public entities which is estimated at Tk 633.76 crore in FY 2006-07. Cash subsidy is given to Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation against export of jute goods. This entity was provided subsidy amounting to Tk. 100.00 crore in FY 2005-06 and FY 2006-07. Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB) was given subsidy amounting to Tk. 329.08 crore which was 279.01 crore in FY 2005-06. Besides, the government provides subsidy to Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation worth Tk. 35.65 crore and Bangladesh Agriculture Development Corporation Tk. 66.50 crore in FY 2006-07 (Table 1.2).

Table-1.2 Government Grant/Subsidy during 1998-99 to 2006-07 (Tk. in Crore)

Organization.	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07 (Revised)
BCIC	-	-	-	-	-
BSEC	-	-	-	-	-
BJMC	26.04	33.03	29.57	100.00	100.00
BIWTC	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
RDA	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.12	0.13
BFFWT	16.25	16.25	16.44	18.19	18.19
BIWTA	23.40	27.86	31.88	52.19	52.45
BSCIC	19.04	21.50	22.51	26.5	35.65
REB	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00
BHB	4.05	4.50	4.61	7.99	6.95

BSB	4.62	4.30	4.26	3.97	4.31
EPB	3.00	4.00	10.00	12.00	11.00
BADC	35.00	35.00	42.00	58.62	66.50
BWDB	191.69	230.80	251.83	279.01	329.08
Total	331.68	391.45	421.69	567.63	633.76

Source: Monitoring Cell, Finance Division

Debt Service Liabilities (DSL)

Recently, DSL Branch of Finance Division has estimated the total debt service liabilities outstanding and recovery in respect of 40 SOEs, According to that estimate, up to June 2007, the total DSL outstanding against 40 SOEs stood at Tk.65238.68 crore of which Tk.6199.68 crore has been recovered which is only 9.50 percent of total DSL outstanding is shown in Appendix C.

Bank Loan

Up to June 30, 2007, outstanding bank loan against 44 SOEs stood at Tk. 20,923.25 crore. Out of this, the default loan accounts for Tk. 1038.02 crore (4.96 percent). The SOEs which owe substantial amount of loan to Nationalized Commercial Banks (NCBs) are: BPC (Tk. 13,832.05 crore), BJMC (Tk. 2315.46 crore), BPDB (Tk. 1671.90 crore), BCIC (Tk. 832.03 crore), BOGMC (Tk 658.39 crore), BSFIC (Tk.655.40 crore), BADC (Tk.317.48 crore), BSEC (Tk. 140.99 crore), and BTMC (Tk. 293.44 crore). On the other hand, the entities that have default loans to the banks are: BJMC (Tk. 570.48 crore), BTMC (Tk. 237.11 crore), BCIC (Tk. 101.95 crore), BADC (Tk. 21.27 crore) and BSFIC (Tk. 35.52 crore). The cumulative amount of outstanding bank loan and the default loan of SOEs is shown in Appendix D.

Financial Performance of SOE Sector

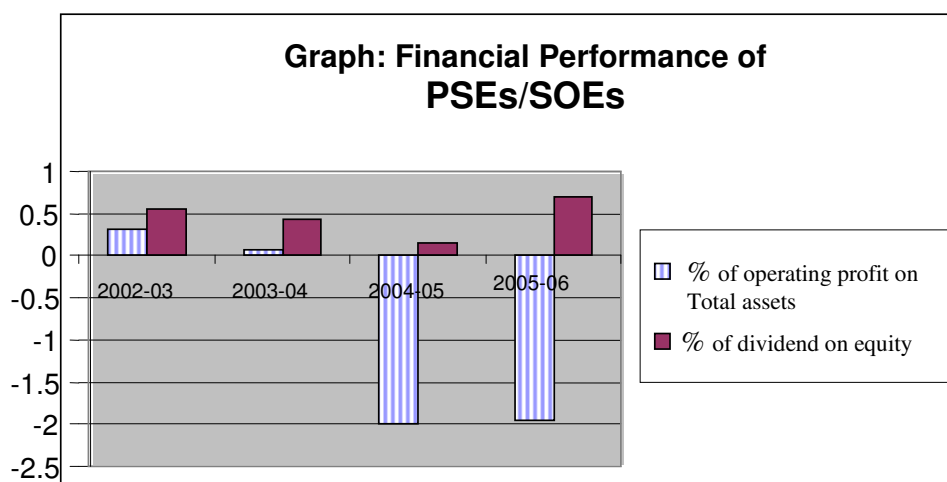
Almost all assets and loans belonging to the SOEs of Bangladesh are provided either by government or by NCBs. Therefore, the rate of profit on total assets is an important yardstick for judging the financial performances of these entities. Table 1.3 shows Rate of Operating Profit on Total Assets (ROA), Margin on Operating Revenue, Return on Equity (ROE) and Asset Turnover.

Table 1.3: Profit earned by the SOEs from FY2000-01 to FY 2005-06
(Tk In Crore)

Operating	2002-03 Actual	2003-04 Actual	2004-05 Actual	2005-06 Actual	Rate of Growth from 2001-02 to 2005-06
1. Operating revenue	30500	32541	36273	44339	13.27
2. Operating surplus	354	87	(2473)	(2701)	(22.27)
3. Non-Operating Revenue	1153	675	586	603	(1941)
4. Employee participatory fund	32	39	9	13	(25.92)
5. Subsidy (direct)	8	8	9	9	4.00

6. Interest	1151	966	903	1160	0.26
7. Net profit/loss (after tax) (2+3+5)-(4+6)	332	(235)	(2790)	(3262)	(21.93)
8. Tax	255	343	134	175	(11.74)
9. Net profit after tax	(1422)	(578)	(2925)	(3437)	(20.90)
10. Dividend	188	224	55	285	14.86
11. Retained earning (9-10)	-111	(802)	(2980)	(3722)	222.09
12.Total Investment/fund	113068	129447	124349	138730	7.05
13. Equity	33401	50811	36412	(1.95)	6.83
14. % of operating profit on total assets.(2/12)	0.31	0.07	(1.99)	40726	(22.61)
15. % of net profit on operating revenue(9/1)	0.25	(1.78)	(8.06)	(7.75)	(21.03)
16. % of dividend on equity (10÷13)	0.56	0.44	0.15	0.70	7.52
17. Turnover on total assets (1÷12)	0.27	0.25	0.29	0.32	5.81

Source: Monitoring Cell, Finance Division



It would be seen from the above graph that operating profit on total assets of SOEs was 0.31 crore in FY 2002-03 but it reached to a negative level of 1.99 crore in FY 2004-05. In 2005-06, this loss is reduced to 1.95 crore. The net profit on operating revenue was also negative all the years except FY 2002-03. Again this loss increased to 7.75 percent in FY 2005-06. On the other hand, the rate of dividend on equity has increased to 0.70 in FY 2005-06 from 0.56 in FY 2002-03. It appears from the turnover of assets that the efficiency of resource utilization during FY 2005-06 increased slightly compared to the level of efficiency in the previous financial year.

Reasons of poor performance of Public Sector Enterprises in Bangladesh

Assessment of performance of PSEs is rather difficult because of the multiple objectives they seek to pursue and because some of the objectives are conflicting with one another. For example, profitability conflicts with employment generation of positive externalities. However the researchers here try to identify some inherent reasons behind the poor performance of PSEs:

1. Political Interference: Political interference is a problem faced by public sector units. Be it the location of the enterprise, appointment of chief executives or workers, or any other factors interference by political leaders is coming in the way of effective functioning of Government undertakings.

2. High Cost of Delay: No public sector unit is completed as per schedule. A study (Economic Times of March 12, 1986) reported that Twenty-one power projects costing more than Tk.100 crores each with a total anticipated investment of Tk. 8,865 crores had been delayed for reasons such as delay in the acquisition of land, supply of critical equipment and materials, approval procedure of foreign aid agencies, law and order disturbances, forest clearance and difficult geological conditions. The consequences of delay are huge for example, the project costs are doubled and even more. Besides the increase in project costs, the other consequences of delay are the costs of output and employment foregone during the period of delay, the cost of intersectoral imbalances which strained production and investment, the cost of foreign exchange spent on making up shortfalls in the physical availability of goods, and above all, the impact of inflation triggered by cost escalation and its financing.

3. Fear of Scams: The all pervasive fear of the investigating agencies in the wake of scams involving senior public sector bank officials has deterred many PSE executives from using their discretion in making vital commercial decisions at a time when the market is becoming increasingly competitive. When budgetary support was withdrawn to the PSEs, they were asked to compete in the market. Competition implies “risk taking”. But no PSE executive is prepared to take risks.

4. Headless Plants: There has been considerable delay in filling vacant positions at the top of PSEs. Many undertakings, therefore, remain without chief executives for months.

5. Ineffective Management: Management of Government undertakings is generally ineffective. This is so because (i) bureaucrats, with neither leadership qualities nor business acumen, are made chief executives; (ii) executives are not allowed to make decisions purely on commercial considerations; and (iii) there is considerable delay in appointing executives and even after appointment there is uncertainty of tenure. Management ineffectiveness has reflected on the poor performance of the organization.

6. Huge Inventories: Stock-piling of inventories speaks volumes about inefficiency of management. Most of the PSEs maintain their inventories huge enough to produce outputs. As many as 13 PSEs carry inventories equal to seven months cost of production. In the private sector, the corresponding figure is three months. Inventory management seems to be lacking or ineffective in most PSEs.

7. Trade Unionism: Many of the public sector units are plagued with multiplicity of trade unions and intra-union and inter-union rivalries. Union rivalries results in industrial disputes. The sad part of the story is that one union or the other is always on strike and often the demands of rival unions are conflicting on the same issue.

8. Unimaginative Production and Unfavorable Pricing Policies: The products produced by many public sector units are unrelated to market demand. Yet products are being sold because their producers enjoy virtual monopoly. The pricing practice naturally reveals a lot of variations depending on the nature of the activities carried on by public enterprises. But the sad part of the story is that, irrespective of the practice, the product pricing is leaving only a meager surplus in the form of excess of sales revenue over the cost of goods sold.

9. Unutilized Capacities: Many PSEs have excess plant capacities. These capacities are never fully utilized. While plants operate at below full capacities, costs will be adversely affected because of overheads and wage bills. A study (K. Aswathappa p.305) conducted in 1981 found that over the previous 20 years each taka of additional annual output had necessitated 7.4 taka if the public sector was producing the goods, but only 3.6 taka if the private sector did it. During 1990-91, four percent of the units recorded capacity utilization of less than 75 percent. Only 54 percent registered capacity utilization of more than 75 percent.

10. Communication Gap: There are no effective linkages between Government, concerned ministry and state owned enterprises. As quoted by Mr. Salahuddin Ahmed was revealed by the Mikardo Report (investigation conducted by the Parliamentary Select Committee in UK under the chairmanship of Mr. Jan Mikardo, a prominent Labor M.P.). In part II of the report the inherent cause for bad working of the nationalized industries is attributed to the lack of proper relationship between the nationalized industries, their sponsoring department and the government. It is also said that the "lack of clarity about purposes and responsibilities has revealed itself in a lack of understanding and in some cases, a break-down of mutual confidence between board and ministries which has impeded the achievement of the basic purposes of the ministerial control, namely, securing the wider public interest and ensuring efficiency of the industries" (Sallahuddin Ahmed, May 18, 1980).

11. Others: Wrong choice of locations, uncertainty of financial allocation, or quality products, high cost, higher social costs, and nepotism and corruption have also contributed to the low performance of PSEs. At the workers level absence of

right attitude is the main problem. It is unfortunate that a majority of employees have taken the public sector enterprises as a milch cow meant for squeezing, little realizing that cow must be fed well if it is to hold sufficient milk. Employees have long forgotten the basic and simple philosophy that they have to serve the organizations they are employed in before expecting the organizations to help them (the workers). Dedication to work, commitment to serve and professional character are woefully absent.

Probable Actions to Overcome Poor Performance

After reading throughout the study, it is cleared that except on the profit and profitability counts, public sector units have done fairly well in other areas. But it is the profit that their performance is thoroughly disappointing. Thus, there is urgent need to improve their performance and survival. The following actions may be recommended in improving the financial performance of public sector enterprises.

A. Management Development in Public Enterprises

1. Assist the Public Enterprises Selection Board in the selection of Board level appointments and determining their terms and conditions of employment.
2. Maintain a computerized data bank for senior management personnel below the Board level in respect of all the public enterprises, and to classify persons with reference to their qualifications, service background, experience and potential for planning their training needs and career development (K. Aswathappa p.316).
3. Organize an in-service training program for managerial personnel at all levels utilizing the services of the existing organizations engaged in the fields of training.
4. Interact with the efficient public and private enterprises abroad, as also with advanced management training organizations overseas with a view to taking advantage of such good management practices as can be introduced in the Bangladeshi companies.
5. Maintain a panel of consultants for different areas for reference to public sector undertakings; also to provide management consultancy services, especially to smaller public enterprises, in specified areas where such assistance is sought.

B. Monitoring Performance

1. Consolidate and prepare quarterly analytical reports on the performance of the public sector as a whole.
2. Identify the enterprises facing serious problems such as fall in production, continuous losses, heavy inventories, surplus labor on a large-scale, etc., and give timely signals to governments.
3. Analyze and monitor the annual performance of each government company against the predetermined benchmarks of physical, commercial, financial and other performance indicators; and submit to the government as a combined annual performance appraisal of the public sector.

4. Collect and act as a repository of the accumulated knowledge and experience on the results of investigations and research to determine ways and means of improving the performance of public enterprises as a whole.
5. Undertake jointly with the concerned ministries continuous in depth studies of individual public enterprises as also groups.

C. General

1. Assist any special committee which the government may appoint to examine the operations of public enterprises. While the implementation of the decisions of any committee is to be left to the concerned administrative Ministry; the Sector Corporation Apex Body may, however, monitor the action taken on such recommendations.
2. With a view to ensuring co-ordination on respect of an employee's remuneration in the public sector, to issue guidelines in the area of salaries and wages in the public enterprises keeping in view the overall economic considerations and the relativities between the government employees and employees in the public sector, and having regard to long-term industrial relations.
3. Issue guidelines to enterprises for implementation of the government policy in special areas like reservations for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.
4. Discharge the role of an efficient public relations agency for the public sector as a whole, etc.

Conclusion

In Bangladesh, as in most developing countries, the state has played a leading role in development, especially in the industrial sectors. During British rule (1757-1947) public enterprises had largely been confined to providing public and quasi-public goods in the form of communications, transportation, and limited banking facilities and certain defense establishments. During the Pakistani rule (August 1947 - December 1971), virtually all developmental activities were carried on, directly or indirectly, by the state. Economic, including rural development, was heavily subsidized from the state budget. Public enterprises were created in the development of power, gas, water supply, communications, drainage, and in the industrial and financial sectors.

The prevailing ideology was that the state should take the lead where private entrepreneurs were incapable or unwilling to take the risk. Public projects were financed by the World Bank and other aid donors and the World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB) played a dominant role in channeling funds through the Development Funding Institutions (DFI) to promote private entrepreneurship in Bangladesh. This reflected the Pakistan government's strategy during the 1960s to actively encourage the emergence of state-sponsored entrepreneurs with a stake in the economy.

During the Bangladesh Liberation War (26 March - 16 December, 1971) Pakistani businessmen began pulling out of Bangladesh for fear of possible

massacre, leaving only a few entrepreneurs in Bangladesh after the war. In this exodus, top management were joined by middle managers, foremen and even skilled workmen. As a result, a major part of the private sector in Bangladesh, especially industrial and other trading enterprises owned by non-Bengalis, came to a standstill.

Thereafter, the Bangladesh Government (after liberation through the Presidential Order 1972) nationalized about a total of 725 industrial units exceeding Tk.1.5 million in assets with a view to eliminating poverty of Bangladeshi poor people, reduce unemployment, balance regional development and to control the country assets which were disorganized.

The sad part of this study was that the performance of public sector enterprises was gradually fall and Bangladesh Government step by step denationalized maximum public sector units and at present only 44 non-financial public sector enterprises in the country with very miserable conditions. Bangladesh Government at now also tries to denationalize some public units but fails because of public pressure. The public units operate at present are very vital for public service and the sovereignty of our country. So it is needed to their survival.

This document provides a general idea on public sector enterprises in Bangladesh with its historical background and present phenomenon. The study also includes some implementing guidelines to improve the performance (especially financial and profit oriented) of public sector enterprises in Bangladesh.

Reference

- Banglapedia National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh* Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, pp. 239-243.
- Bangladesh Economic Review*, Finance Division, Ministry of Finance-2005.
- Bangladesh Economic Review*, Finance Division, Ministry of Finance-2007.
- Chowdhury J.A., (1990), "Privatization in Bangladesh", Working Paper Series No. 92, Institute of Social Studies.
- Dr. Saroj Kumar Saha (1980), "Performance criteria of public sector of Bangladesh", The Dhaka University Studies, Part C.
- Economic Indicators of Bangladesh*, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.
- Economic Times* of March 12, 1986.
- F. Cherunilam (1995), *Business Environment*, Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay.
- Fernandes P. and Scherl P.(1981), "*Seeking the Personality of Public Enterprises into the Concept, Definition and Classification of Public Enterprises*", ICPE.
- Government of Bangladesh, The planning Commission*, The Fifth Five Years Plan- 1973-78, p.26.
- Government of Bangladesh, The planning Commission*, The First Five Years Plan- 1997-02, p.113.
- Hanson, A. M. (1959), "*Public Enterprise and Economic Development*", Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.London, p. 115.
- K. Aswathappa (1999), *Essentials of Business Environment*, Himalaya Publishing House, Mumbai, pp. 289-317.
- K. R. Gupta (ed), *Pricing in Public Sector Enterprise*, Atalantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1987.
- Privatization Board, Government of Bangladesh (1999), *Privatization in Bangladesh*, BG Press, Dhaka.
- Sallahuddin Ahmed (1980), "Management of Public Corporations in Bangladesh".
-
- A paper presented at the Second Alumni Day observed by IBA, Dhaka Unuversity, on May18, 1980.
- Sobhan, Rahman (1978), "*Nationalized Industries in Bangladesh:Background and Problems*" in Robinson, E. A. G. and Keith Griffin (eds).

Growth Performance and Factors Affecting Growth of Production, Area and Export in the Fisheries Sub-Sector of Bangladesh

Md. Akhtaruzzaman Khan*
Khan Jahirul Islam†
Md. Ferdous Alam*

Abstract

This study is concerned with the estimation of growth performance of fisheries sector in Bangladesh and tried to identify the factors which affects the growth rates. Data were collected from secondary sources (Fisheries statistical yearbook and DOF report) and divided into two periods as 1984-85 to 1993-94 (period -I) and 1994-95 to 2003 -2004 (period-II). Linear and exponential growth estimation procedure was followed to estimate the different growth rates. Production growth rates of culture fisheries (both shrimp and other culture fishes) has increased significantly over the years which mainly because of innovation and adoption of new technologies. In both periods, yield growth rate of capture fish has increased significantly because government took many strategies to increase capture fisheries like stocking program, habitat restoration program, creating migration routes of the fish etc. Export growth rate of shrimp has significantly increased over the periods due to high international demand.

Key words: Growth performance, growth factors, export.

Introduction

Agricultural sector plays a vital role in the Bangladesh economy. As an agro-based developing country, Bangladesh is striving for rapid development of its economy. The food problem is one of the most critical aspects of economic development. It bears upon the rate and structure of economic growth. Agriculture sector contribute 23.11 percent of total GDP in the Bangladesh economy (BBS 2003). Fisheries is one of the most important sub-sector of agriculture, has been playing very significant role in increasing nutritional status, employment and foreign exchange earning etc.

Bangladesh is uniquely rich in water resources. Her near-shore sea, estuaries and mangroves and her rivers, lakes and ponds, all offer tremendous opportunities for farming of fisheries organisms. She is fortunate enough in having such an extensive inland water resources and extensive coastal line with a very productive area. There are over 17.67 million ponds and tanks, 0.06 million *Dighis, beels, haors, etc.*, covering an area of 1.33 million hectares (BBS, 2003). The country has another 2.8 million hectares of flood plain water resources during the monsoon.

* Assistant Professor & Professor, Department of Agricultural Finance
Bangladesh Agricultural University, Mymensingh-2202, Bangladesh

† Lecturer, Department of Economics, Shahjalal University of Science & Technology, Sylhet

Beside, the country has a coastal belt of 480 km (BBS 2003). The continental shelf, not deeper than 50m, extends over an area of 69,900 sq. km. Most of the fishing grounds are located in this region. An economic zone of 320 km from the coast covers an area of about 43,302 sq. km. (Islam, 2000). Above 1.2 million people have been directly employed in this sub-sector. Another 11 million people indirectly earn their livelihood out of activities related to fisheries (FFYP, 1997-2002). Fisheries sector contributes significantly to the GDP. In 1999-2000, it contributed about 22.51 percent (10.67 percent: old series) to the agricultural GDP and 6.09 percent (3.37 percent: old series) to the total GDP of the country (BBS 2002).

Fish culture systems require a relatively less amount of energy for protein production than any other farming system. Besides, a large number of the country's population depends on the fisheries as their source of income. The total production of fish has significantly increased from 1984, because of establishment of Bangladesh Fisheries Research Institute (BFRI). Scientific research of BFRI on fish brought a revolutionary change in fish sector. For future planning, it is necessary to examine the growth pattern of fish production that is achieved at the time in the country. The present study was undertaken to determine the growth performance of fisheries sector and factors affecting growth of production area and export from 1984-85 to 2003-04.

Methodology

Data and Growth Model

To achieve the stipulated objectives, the present study has been carried out using time series data pertaining to the period 1984-85 to 2003-04 collected from Fisheries Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh published by the Department of Fisheries (Fisheries Statistical Yearbook 1985 to 2005). In addition, data published by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) were also used. As the DOF started generating organized data from 1983-84, time series data for the production, area and export are not available prior to 1983-84. For convenience of interpretation, growth rates of production, area, yield and export were analyzed for the three different phases as:

- (i) Period -I (1984-85 to 1993-94)
- (ii) Period -II (1994-95 to 2003-04) and
- (iii) Overall Period (1984-85 to 2003-04)

The deterministic growth models are very common to use in practice for growth analysis. Deterministic type time series models, often called growth models such as linear, quadratic, cubic, logarithmic, exponential, compound, inverse, power and S-shaped are very quick to estimate, inexpensive and very easy to understand. In the study, linear, and exponential growth model have been estimated for all inland, marine and total fish production in Bangladesh.

The growth models are as follows:

Linear: $Y = a + bt + \varepsilon$

Exponential: $Y = ae^{bt}$

Testing the Stability of Growth Parameters

The stability of growth parameters was tested using the following F-statistics.

$$F = \frac{[e_p^2 - (e_1^2 + e_2^2)]/K}{(e_1^2 + e_2^2)/(n_1 + n_2 - 2K)} \quad \text{with d.f. } K, (n_1 + n_2 - 2K)$$

Where, e_p^2 = Residual sum of squares for pooled sample.

e_1^2 = Residual sum of squares for period I

e_2^2 = Residual sum of squares for period II

n_1 = Sample size of period I

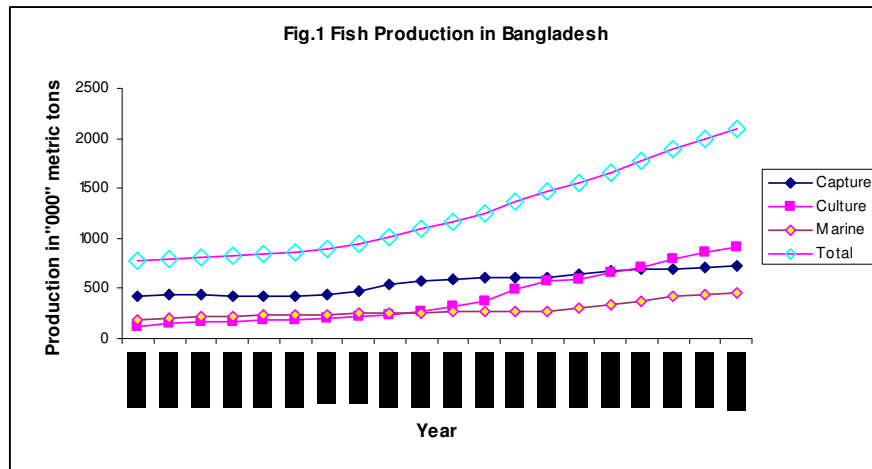
n_2 = Sample size of period II

K = No. of parameters.

Results and Discussions

Looking at the original series

Inland capture, inland culture, marine and total fish productions during the period 1984-85 to 2003-2004 are presented in Fig. 1. The total fish production in Bangladesh was 774 thousand metric tons in 1984-85 (Fisheries Statistical Yearbook 1987). Fish production thereafter started gradually increasing. In the year 2003-2004 the total production of fish stood at 2102 thousand metric tons (Fisheries Statistical Yearbook 2005). The total capture fish production was 427 thousand metric tons in 1984-85 and it was more or less similar up to 1991-92. Then the total capture fish production started increasing gradually each year up to the end of the study period. Culture fish production has increased significantly. In the year 1984-85 the total culture fish was only 112 thousand metric tons and it was gradually increasing and in the year 2003-04 it was 800 thousand metric tons. The latest estimate shows that inland capture, inland culture and marine constitute respectively 43.53%, 34.82% and 21.65% of the total fish production in 2003-04 (DoF, 2005). Marine fish production was 187 thousand metric tons at the beginning. After then it started increasing gradually and maintained its increasing nature till the end of the study period.



Growth rate of fish production

The two growth models, as explained in the last section, were applied to estimate the growth rates of different fish production, acreage, yield and export. Though the results of both the linear and the exponential models were presented together for comparison, the growth rates calculated from the later model are interpreted here as this model provides direct estimate of the growth parameters.

Here the total inland fish has been classified into (i) capture and (ii) culture. Again the total cultured fish production has been divided into fish culture without shrimp and shrimp. Since shrimp is an important export commodity in our country, examining its growth is of strategic importance.

Over the 20 years (after establishment of BFRI) aggregate fish production grew positively @ 5.72 percent per annum. In period -I (1984-85 to 1993-94) the growth rate was only 3.56 percent per annum but in period-II (1994-95 to 2003-04) it was 6.54 percent per year. This higher positive growth rate has been achieved due to the innovation, dissemination and adoption of new technology in fish sector. Effort to generate fish culture technology was an important concern of the BFRI as increasing fish production had been a concern in the eighties. The technology generation took considerable time and it got momentum in the nineties. Following fish technology generation, it has to be adopted. Adoption normally takes long time. The production growth was therefore lower in the first phase. As adoption proceeds, rate of production growth increased.

The growth rate of capture fish production has decreased from 2.81 in the first phase to 2.45 percent in the second phase due to environmental degradation by progressive physical alternation, shrinkage and pollution of natural water bodies, over exploitation of resources and intensification of agriculture for green revolution. The area of the capture fish like rivers, beels flood lands has been decreased over the study period. Water pollution has hampered the production of natural fish. For

these reasons growth of capture fish production has not gradually increased over the time. The natural fisheries has not been increased because of over-exploitation and indiscriminate killing of juveniles due to unregulated fishing pressure and total capture by complete drying up of water bodies in the dry season. Another cause was loss and destruction of breeding and nursery grounds due to flood control, water management, road and river embankments, hampering natural recruitment. The aggregate growth rate of capture fish production was 3.34 percent per year.

Table1. Production Growth rate of fish

Item	Period -I (1984-85 to 1993-94)		Period -II (1994-95 to 2003-2004)		Aggregate period (19984-85 to 2003-2004)	
	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential
Capture	3.01*	2.81*	2.81*	2.45*	3.43*	3.34*
Culture without shrimp	7.36*	7.18*	7.18*	11.81*	15.46*	10.97*
Shrimp	10.20*	10.23*	10.23*	7.23*	15.08*	11.28*
Marine	2.86*	2.92*	2.92*	6.85*	4.48*	4.03*
Total	3.70*	3.56*	3.56*	6.54*	6.44*	5.72*

Note: * and ** denotes significant at 1% and 5% level respectively

Although, a large number of freshwater ponds remain scattered all over the country, they were not used for scientific aquaculture since independence of the country in 1971 till 1990. As a result, the average production from these ponds had been only about 700 kg/ha. This was due to lack of aquaculture technologies and awareness of the people about the potential of the aquaculture sector. However, the development of improved aquaculture and pond management technologies by BFRI established in 1984 (functioning from 1986) made a breakthrough in the development of freshwater aquaculture sector. The transfer of BFRI evolved aquaculture technologies tremendous improved to grow freshwater aquaculture. Aggregate growth was @10.97 percent per annum in the study period in culture fish (culture without shrimp). In period -I (1984-85 to 1993-94) the growth rate was 7.18 percent but in period -II it has increased in 11.81 percent per annum. This breakthrough in aquaculture technology development has opened a new horizon for self-employment and income generation for the rural population of the country.

During the middle 1980s basic training in fish breeding and hatchery operation and management was undertaken, initially by DOF, and later by BFRI. Basically, fish culture in pond has been started commercially after introducing private hatchery. Before that, farmers collected fry from natural sources which were infected and bad quality and the amount of fry was not enough for commercially production. So, after the introduction of a good number of private hatcheries, tremendous improved had taken place in fish culture. Moreover, the use of

supplementary feed for fish production has contributed lot to the high growth rate of cultured fish production.

Shrimp is the part of culture fish. Shrimp is primarily an export oriented commodity. From last two decades shrimp production has been increased. Due to international market demand and its contribution to increased foreign exchange earning of the country, shrimp sector has developed at a much faster rate than freshwater aquaculture. Involvement of elite class in the shrimp sector also played a positive role in its development. Two types of shrimp are cultured for export namely bagda and galda. Especially Bagda shrimp is cultured in large scale in coastal belt (Khulna region). In the last twenty years a countable growth rate has taken place in shrimp production. Shrimp production has increased from 11,246 tons in 1984-85 to 114660 tons in 2003-2004. Production of shrimp grew positively @11.28 percent per annum which is higher than culture without shrimp and capture over the last twenty years. It has contributed greatly to our national economy. BFRI helped the shrimp farmers with the new technology and encouraged them to culture shrimp. The demand and market price of shrimp in European market was very high. For these reasons the total production of shrimp has increased year to year. During the period-I (1984-85 to 1993-94), growth rate of shrimp production was higher (10.23 percent per annum) and statistically significant compared to the period-II (7.23 percent per annum). In period-II, some factors hampered to the production. The normal production from shrimp farming ranges from only 300 to 450 kg, which is very low, compared to its potential and production level obtained in other shrimp producing countries. If this remains restricted to the specific shrimp culture zone, it can be said that by the intensity shrimp is cultured in the country, it will not make any undesirable environmental consequences. This sub-sector is facing a lot of problems for which, the desired level of production has not been possible to be achieved as yet. One of the most devastating problems is the outbreak of viral disease, which is regarded as a catastrophe affecting the growth of shrimp culture. Unmanageable and improper farm design, poor soil water quality management, unscientific culture practices, lack of technical know-how, conflicts over the land use pattern among the various user groups, high fluctuation in salinity and unavailability of seeds were some of the other important reasons contributing to this low productivity. Environmentalists raise hue and cry on the pretext of damaging environment, which also stands as obstruction foe normal growth of shrimp culture industry as well. It is important to note here that shrimp farming is being done only in the shrimp culture zone in the coastal area (Mazid 2002).

The Bay of Bengal offers a great potential for marine fisheries production. This sub-sector contributes 20 percent of the total production. This sub-sector is divided into artisanal and industrial fisheries- based on subsistence and commercial scale of operation. About 22000 mechanized boats and 29,000 non-mechanized country boats are involved in artisanal fisheries, while a fleet of 48 shrimp trawlers and 20 fish trawlers are operating for commercial fishing. The demersal stock within 100 meter depth, the shrimp and the pelagic stocks beyond 100 meter depth are the major resources in the marine sub-sector (Mazid 2002). The growth rate of marine fish production was higher in period-II (6.85 percent per annum) than period-I (2.92

percent per annum). The aggregate production growth rate was 4.03 percent per year and it was statistically significant. This enhancement took place mainly due to the expansion of the trawler fleet and artisanal gears over the years. The increase was attributed by modernization of small-scale artisanal fisheries. There is possibility to further increase marine fish production with needed investment for proper assessment and exploitation of the high sea pelagic and demersal fish-stock. However, inshore water is already overexploited, which need to be controlled by the regulating fishing boats, banning harmful fishing practices and gears, imposing closed fishing season and by implementing other regulatory measures.

Growth Rates of Area

Capture fishery is “self-sustaining and self-reproducing”. On the other hand, culture fishery is not self-sustaining and self-reproducing” and needs direct inputs and human care for the sustenance. The marine fishery, a renewable resource, is totally open. The total area of capture fishery was more or less same in the study period which is near about 4047316 hectare. The marine area of Bangladesh is fixed. The country has a coastal belt of 480 km. The continental shelf, not deeper than 50m, extends over an area of 69,900 sq. km. Most of the fishing grounds are located in this region. An economic zone of 320 km from the coast covers an area of about 43,302 sq. km. (Islam, 2000). So there is no area growth rate in the capture and marine fishery in over the study period. Only cultured area has been increased over the time.

Table 2. Growth rates of area

Item	Period I (1984-85 to 1993-94)		Period II (1994-95 to 2003-2004)		Aggregate period (19984-85 to 2003-2004)	
	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential
Culture without shrimp	1.83*	1.94**	7.28*	7.32*	5.09*	4.52*
Shrimp	5.96*	5.99*	2.62*	2.28***	3.94*	3.89*
Total culture	3.47*	3.57*	5.39*	5.27*	4.60*	4.29*

Note: * and ** denotes significant at 1% and 5% level respectively

Cultured area without shrimp includes mainly ponds & ditch and baors. In year 1984-85, the total cultured area without shrimp was 125 thousand hectare and in year 2003-04 it increased in 311 thousand hectare. The aggregate growth rate of cultured area (culture without shrimp) for fish was 4.52 percent per annum over the study period. The growth rate has tremendously increased in period-II (1993-94 to

2003-04) which was 7.32 percent per annum. Because of high profit in scientific aquaculture, the number of pond as well as the rate of adoption of technology-based aquaculture has progressively increased. A host of factors has contributed to the area expansion of the culture fish. Main expansion has however, taken place in the pond area. Because of the comparative production advantage of fish over rice and other crops, many rice lands have been converted to fish ponds. Moreover, in rural area, each new house construction requires digging up of land to raise the level of house. Thus, such ditches are being used as new areas of fish culture. The increasing price trend as well as extension work for aquaculture by a number of NGOs, projects and the government departments has also contributed positively to the expansion of area for culture fisheries.

On the other hand, the shrimp area keeps expanding day-by-day over the last twenty years. The total shrimp area has increased more than 3 times over the study period. In year 1984-85 the total shrimp area was only 64 thousand hectare and in year 2003-04 it has increased to 203 thousand hectare. The average growth rate in shrimp area was 3.89 percent per year which was statistically significant. The growth rate of shrimp area was higher in period-I (5.96 percent per annum) than the period-II (2.28 percent per annum). Mainly, shrimp is cultured in costal belt and the land resource is limited. Shrimp culture is more profitable than other fish. Most of the farmers brought their land under shrimp cultivation during the first phase. But in period –II, the farmers could not put land under shrimp cultivation due to the scarcity of land, food dependency and lack of quality seed etc. It is normally expected for obvious reason that, in the shrimp culture zone, shrimp should be cultured as the primary crop, while the other crops should be regarded as secondary. At the same time, environmental management should also receive due consideration.

Growth Rates of Yield:

The yield growth rate of capture, culture fish without shrimp and shrimp are shown in table 3. Growth rate of yield of capture fishery was 10.97 percent per annum and it has gradually increased over the year. The total production of capture fish has been increased but the total area for open water fish has not increased over time. For this reason the yield growth rate of capture fish has increased gradually. The capture yield rate increased because of many factors such as stocking program of the government, habitat restoration program, creating migration routes of fish, establishment of fish sanctuaries and compliance in fisheries regulations.

During period –I the yield growth rate of culture without shrimp was higher (7.35 percent per annum) than the period-II (4.49) and the average growth rate of was 6.98 percent per annum which was statistically significant. In period –II, culture fisheries sub-sector has faced some technical problems. A poor quality fish seed due to inbreeding depression in the private hatcheries has tremendously hampered the yield rate. Disease epidemics and loss of fish crop due to water quality deterioration resulting the low yield rate of culture fisheries in period-II.

As for yield of shrimp, it grew @ 7.39 percent per annum over the whole period; whereas yield growth rates were 4.24 percent and 4.95 percent during period-I and period-II respectively. The average shrimp production was only about 300 kg/ha, it is still very low.

Table 3. Growth rates of yield

Item	Period I (1984-85 to 1993-94)		Period II (1994-95 to 2003-2004)		Aggregate period (19984-85 to 2003-2004)	
	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential
Capture	7.37*	7.18*	12.31*	11.81*	15.41*	10.97*
Culture without shrimp	7.35*	7.18*	4.45*	4.49*	7.69*	6.98*
Shrimp	4.73*	4.24*	4.50*	4.95**	8.56*	7.39*

Note: * and ** denotes significant at 1% and 5% level respectively

Unmanageable farm size ranging from a few hectare to few hundred hectares, lack of appropriate farm design, shortage of seeds, poor soil-water management and appropriate production guidelines and occurrence of viral disease have emerged as major problems towards increasing shrimp yield.

Export Growth Rates

Bangladesh earns a considerable amount of foreign exchange every year by exporting fisheries products. The main items of fisheries exports are frozen shrimp and frozen fish. Export earning from fisheries occupy the third position of the country's total export. Export growth rates were calculated on the basis of total quantity of exported fish, not in money term.

Table 4. Growth rate of Export

Item	Period I (1984-85 to 1993-94)		Period II (1994-95 to 2003-2004)		Aggregate period (19984-85 to 2003-2004)	
	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential	Linear	Exponential
Shrimp	5.09*	4.97*	6.66*	5.83**	5.83*	5.24*
Total fish	3.80*	3.65**	3.24*	2.92*	5.06*	4.64*

Note: * and ** denotes significant at 1% and 5% level respectively.

Over 20 years time period total shrimp export grew at a 5.24 percent per annum but in period-I and period-II it were 4.97 and 5.83 percent per year respectively. The major shrimp market of Bangladesh is in Europe. Before the purchase of shrimp, European authority examined the quality which is called SPS (Sanitary and Phytosanitary Regulation). After 1997, some dishonest businessman tried to export

bad quality shrimp in the European market but EU authority has returned their imported shrimp for quality fault. The occurrence of this practice had reduced the shrimp export of the country. The total fish export growth rate was 4.64 percent per annum and it was higher in period-I (3.65 percent per annum) than the period-II (2.92 percent per annum).

Conclusion

Fisheries sector has undergone a very big transformation during the last 25 years. Aquaculture got emphasis and new fish culture technologies got evolved. Production has also increased. Unit productivity has increased due to new technology and supplementary feed use. This has also happened in the shrimp. Growth of production was the highest in the culture fisheries than those of the marine and inland capture fisheries. The improvement in the inland capture fisheries will take longer time, and since many of its areas are common property, public intervention is very much necessary. Marine fishery is also common property but exploitation is cost intensive. The opportunities lie in the off shore areas but because of capital constraint exploration is limited. Major opportunities remain in the culture fishery. Possibilities for both intensification and area expansion still remain. Bangladesh must take this opportunity to produce more fish from inland culture fisheries. Derelict and unutilized ponds must be brought to modern fish culture. Side by side, the medium and long term strategy to improve the fishing habitat in rivers and floodplains through establishment of fish sanctuaries should be continued.

References

- BBS (2002), “Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh” Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistic Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka.
- BBS (2003), “Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh” Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistic Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, Dhaka.
- DOF (1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004). Annual Report, Department of Fisheries, Dhaka.
- DoF (1985), Fisheries Statistical Yearbook, Department of Fisheries, Dhaka.
- DoF (1986 to 2005), Fisheries Statistical Yearbook, Department of Fisheries, Dhaka.
- FFYP (1997-2002), Fifth Five year Plan, The Government of the peoples Republic of Bangladesh.
- Islam (2000), “Recent Trend of Fisheries Sector of Bangladesh”, in M.A.S Mandal. (ed) Changing Rural Economy of Bangladesh. Bangladesh Economic Association, Dhaka.
- Mazid M.A.(2002) Development of Fisheries in Bangladesh, plans and strategies for income generation and poverty alleviation. Bangladesh fisheries Research Institute, Mymensingh

Foreign Exchange Reserve Accumulation: Is Bangladesh following the Same Path of Asian Leaders?

Benazir Ahmed Siddiqui*

Rubina Afroze†

Abstract

In the wake of considerable international attention on large-scale accumulation of foreign exchange reserves by the Asian economies, whether Bangladesh is trailing the same path is the main focus of this paper. The authors compared the trends of Bangladesh with the same of some selected leading Asian economies in respect to foreign exchange reserve holding pattern, its composition, and reserve adequacy requirements. Although in general there is a recent upward trend in the total reserve holding or its components and also to the reserve adequacy indicators, the authors found no similarity in the trends of Bangladesh with the selected Asian economies. It brings to the conclusion that Bangladesh is maintaining its own approach in reserve holdings that do not corresponds with the neighbors or the Asian leading economies.

Keywords: Foreign Exchange, Reserve, Bangladesh,

Introduction:

Financial globalization has been accompanied by frequent and painful financial crises. In the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis, developing countries cannot rely on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or reforms in the “international financial architecture” to protect themselves from such crises or even on sound macroeconomic policies since well-managed countries can be hit by contagion from elsewhere. So, they undertook the self-protection through increased liquidity to reduce not only the costs of financial crises but also to make such crises less likely with the assumption of countries with higher (net) levels of liquid foreign assets are better able to withstand panics in financial markets and sudden reversals in capital flows. Among various strategies for increasing liquidity, raising foreign reserves have clearly taken to the heart of developing countries and in consequences foreign exchange reserves held by developing nations are today at an all time high and stand at levels that are a multiple of those held by advanced countries (in relation to their incomes or trade). Thus, the reserve hoarding by the leading Asian economies that are following the strategy could successfully attract considerable international attention over the past years and so on. How this wind of change affected the foreign exchange reserve accumulation pattern of Bangladesh and which pathway it is walking is the focal point of this paper.

*Lecturer, School of Business, Uttara University

†Post Graduate Student, Department of Business Administration, Jahangirnagar University

Objective and Methodology

The objective of this paper is to compare the trends of Bangladesh with the same of the selected leading Asian economies in respect to foreign exchange reserve holding pattern, its composition, and reserve adequacy requirements.

The authors used uniform & continuous time-series data published by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to calculate, analyze, and present the findings. From the ADB's developing member countries (DMCs), China, India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea, Thailand, and Singapore has been chosen as leading Asian economies by them for comparison purpose. The authors compared the reserve holding, reserve composition, and reserve adequacy of Bangladesh with the same of the selected leading Asian economies to identify any similarity in their trends.

Foreign Exchange Reserve: Why to Accumulate?

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) defines foreign exchange reserves as: "those external assets those are readily available to and controlled by monetary authorities for direct financing of payments imbalances, for indirectly regulating the magnitude of such imbalances through intervention in exchange markets to affect the currency exchange rate, and/or for other purposes". These so-called reserve assets are composed of monetary gold, foreign exchange assets and other claims in foreign currency. The US dollar is the most important currency in terms of global reserves.

Foreign reserves, in general, are held by central banks for a variety of reasons including among others transaction needs, intervention needs and wealth diversification needs. Transaction needs are of minor importance to developed economies that have good access to international capital markets. However, for countries that have strict exchange rate controls, transactions needs may play a larger role. Intervention needs arise when countries desire to have convertible currencies while at the same time wishing to retain the power to influence exchange rates. This type of demand for reserves is by far the most important one for those countries that have well-developed capital markets. Lastly, wealth effects may play some role in the final choice of the currency composition of the reserves. During recent years, this aspect has been receiving greater attention as the need for central banks to be more transparent about the role and use of currency reserves, which are considered to be part of the national savings, has grown. Moreover, the size and growth of currency reserves may provide signals to global financial markets on the credibility of the country's monetary policy and creditworthiness. In such a case, the return on the reserves held may not be inconsequential (Ramaswamy 1999).

Foreign Exchange Reserve Accumulation: In Which Direction?

The unprecedented reserve buildup by Asia that started just the aftermath of the ferocity and suddenness of the Asian crisis of 1997-98 continues till today. Although precautionary motive or insurance against the currency crisis is the initial focus, many researchers have shown that it stems from a deep-rooted mercantilist

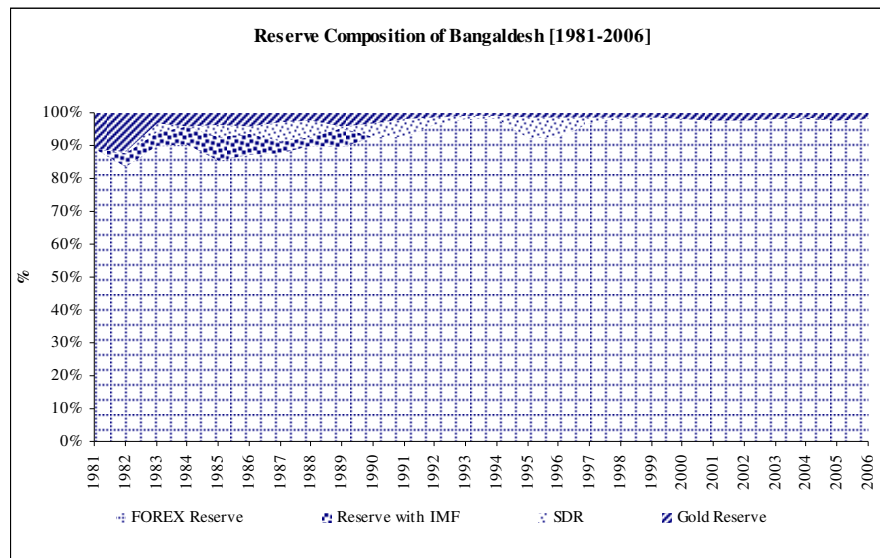
desire by regional central banks to maintain undervalued exchange rates and bolster domestic employment. China is leading among the foreign exchange reserve holding countries with more than USD 1 trillion, while the South Korea, India, Singapore and the others are following the tally that can be observed from the following table:

Table-1: Reserve Holding by the ADB's DMCs at the end of 2006

Country	Total Reserve Holding (Billion USD)	Proportion of Reserve Holding (% of the Total Reserve Holding)
China	1,080.15	46.37%
South Korea	239.13	10.27%
India	177.69	7.63%
Singapore	136.26	5.85%
Malaysia	82.84	3.56%
Thailand	66.92	2.87%
Indonesia	42.81	1.84%
Pakistan	12.81	0.55%
Bangladesh	3.87	0.17%
Other DMCs	486.75	20.90%
Total	2,329.23	100.00%

Source: Author's calculation based on the data published by ADB.

The authors divided the components of the total reserve into 4 broad categories—gold reserve, foreign currency reserve, reserve with IMF, and in SDR. Recent trends (2001-2006) of all countries including Bangladesh shows an upward trend for the total reserve, gold reserve, and foreign currency reserve. However, the trends of reserve with IMF and SDR show a mixed picture. The trend of reserve with IMF is upward for Bangladesh as well as for Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand, while flat for India and downward for Pakistan, China, Malaysia, and Singapore. However, most of the countries shows upward trend for SDR, except the reverse situation for India, Indonesia, and Singapore. A comparative scenario of the reserve holding and its components has been shown in appendix 1-9. Besides, the reserve composition of Bangladesh and its trends are shown by the following graph:



The authors ran t-test on the calculated time-series data of total reserve & its components and found no similarity in the trends of Bangladesh with the selected Asian economies. However, similarity found with Pakistan for reserve with IMF, while with Pakistan, Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand for SDR. The t-test result has been shown in appendix 10. The recent growth rate of the total reserve holding of the Asian economies shows a mixed scenario. Most of the countries including Bangladesh has more than 15% growth rate except Malaysia, while, a negative growth trend is found for Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea, and Singapore. However, for gold reserve all countries including Bangladesh has positive trend except Singapore as it does not have any gold reserve at all. In case of foreign exchange reserve holding, most of the countries including Bangladesh have the similar growth trend like the total reserve. Except India, China and Indonesia, all the countries growth rate of reserve with IMF increases, while same is also true for SDR except Thailand.

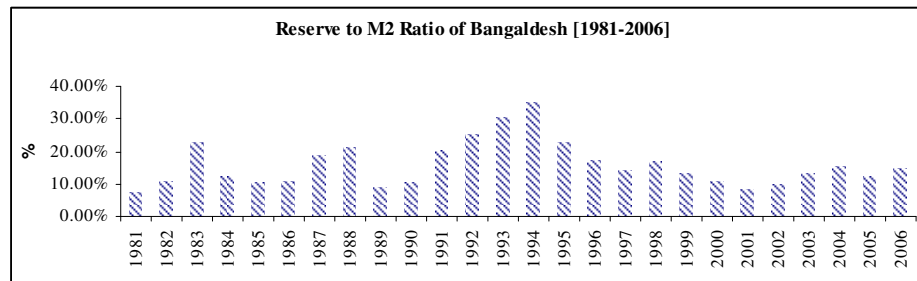
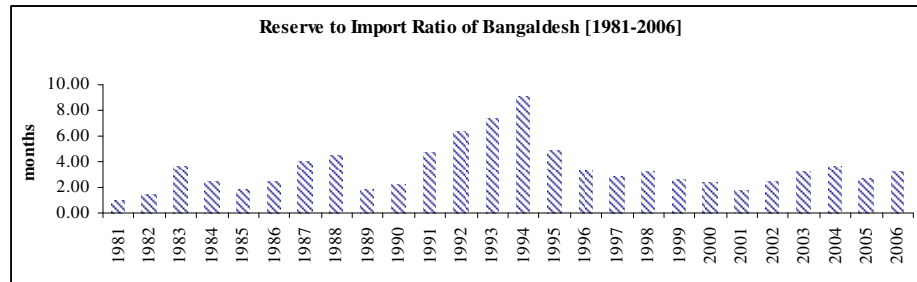
Reserve Holdings: How Much is Enough?

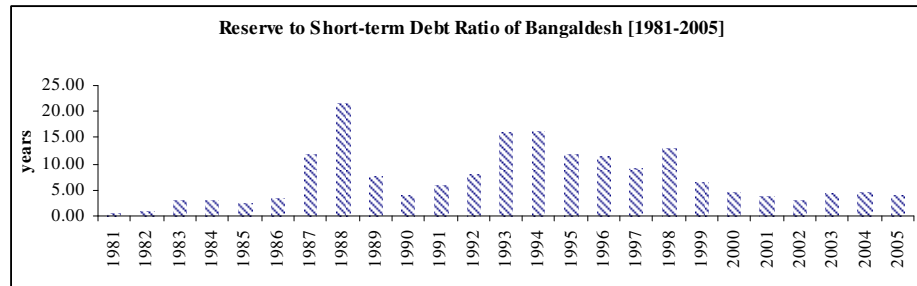
Without doubt, global reserves have increased rapidly over the past decade, principally as a means of combating financial market turbulence. Although at times reserve accumulation was done in precautionary motive, now many researchers found that mercantilist motive is behind holding reserves, especially for the countries that look towards achieving export led growth as reserve accumulation facilitates export growth by preventing or slowing appreciation of the currency.

The accumulation of foreign exchange reserves depends on the structure & vibrancy of the economy, the split between the share in GDP of the traded and non-traded sectors, the level & rate of capital inflows and outflows, and on the attractiveness of returns offered in other currencies. Since the holding of reserves,

which by definition is denominated in other countries' currencies, generally means that the home country is financing investment and development of other people's countries, then on the basis of pure arithmetic, countries should hold no more foreign exchange reserves than they think is necessary. However, most countries tend to do the reverse; they tend to accumulate as much foreign exchange as possible that happened in the case of the leading Asian economies.

For comparison purpose, the authors used 3 common reserve adequacy indicators—reserve to import, reserve to M2 and reserve to short-term debt. Recent trends (2001-2006) shows a mixed picture in case of reserve to import ratio. The trend is upward for Bangladesh as well as for China, Malaysia and South Korea, while flat for India and downward for Pakistan, Indonesia, Thailand, and Singapore. However, both reserve to M2 and reserve to short-term debt ratio's trend are upward for most of the countries including Bangladesh. The trend of reserve to M2 is downward for Indonesia and flat for Pakistan, while the trend of reserve to short-term debt is downward for India. It may specially noted that except Bangladesh none of the selected Asian economies follow the once widely followed rule of thumb of keeping reserve equivalent to at least 3 months of import. A comparative scenario of these reserve indicators has been shown in appendix 1-9. Besides, the trends of these indicators for Bangladesh are shown by the following graphs:





The authors ran t-test on the calculated time-series data of these reserve indicators from 1981-2006 and found no similarity in the trends of Bangladesh with most of the selected Asian economies. However, similarity found with Pakistan & South Korea for both reserve to import and reserve to M2 ratio, while with India for reserve to short-term debt. The t-test result has been shown in appendix 10.

Why there is a Mismatch?

By keeping themselves in a safe position by accumulating sufficient reserve depending on the strength of the economy and sources of reserve, leading Asian economies now shifted from the precautionary motive to mercantilist motive, whereas Bangladesh still remains in the previous one. Besides, all the Asian economies compared here including Bangladesh follow the export-laden growth strategy and uses foreign reserve to influence the exchange rate in different degrees for boosting up their export. This difference in economic objectives, motives or economy's ability reflects on the size of the reserve. When the leading Asian economies are accumulating more than their economic requirements, Bangladesh is following the prescribed policies of the Breton Wood organizations. May be, not being affected by the Asian crisis gives the Bangladeshi policymakers more confidence to stand against the regional wind of change.

Conclusion:

Although Asia is continuously hoarding unprecedented large amount of foreign exchange reserve, Bangladesh is following a prescribed path of reserve accumulation depending on its sources of reserve which is not similar with the compared countries. We hope that the ongoing development and matured transformation of the Bangladeshi economy will at some stage help to respond and reflect the regional or global trend.

References:

- Asian Development Bank. *Key Indicators*. Manila: ADB, 2007.
- B. Ram. "India's Foreign Exchange Reserves: When is Enough – Enough?" *Panel Discussion at India Habitat Centre* July 2002.
- D. Rodrik. "The Social Cost of Foreign Exchange Reserves". *Working Paper of National Bureau of Economic Research* No. 11952 (2006).
- Garton. "Foreign Reserve Accumulation in Asia: Can it be Sustained?" *International Economy Division of Australian Treasury*. 2006.
- International Monetary Fund. "Issues in Reserve Adequacy and Management". *Training Seminar for Reserve Managers by the World Bank and New York Federal Reserve Bank* on February 2001.
- , "Debt and Reserve-Related Indicators of External Vulnerability". *Policy Development and Review Department*. 2000.
- J. Aizenman and J. Lee. "International Reserves: Precautionary versus Mercantilist Views, Theory and Evidence". *SERC Conference and FRBSF Conference at Singapore* 2006.
- M. V. Williams. "Foreign exchange reserves - how much is enough?". *Twentieth Adlith Brown Memorial Lecture delivered at the Central Bank of the Bahamas* November 2005.
- R. S. Rajan. "International Reserve Holdings by Developing Countries: Why and How Much?". *School of Economics of the University of Adelaide Australia*. 2002.
- Srichander Ramaswamy. "Reserve Currency Allocation: An Alternative Methodology". *BIS Working Papers* No. 72 (1999).

A Comparative Study of FDI Inflow between Bangladesh and India

Md. Lutfor Rahman*
Ahammad Mohammad Ali †

Abstract

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is a potent weapon of economic development, especially in the current global context. The major challenges for the host countries are to ensure an eye-catching and favorable investment climate to foreign investors for FDI inflows. Economic development of the developing countries like Bangladesh and India largely depends on FDI. In recent years, both Bangladesh and India have devoted great efforts to attract FDI, offering a lot of lucrative incentives and benefits. Though a considerable number of attempts have been taken to increase FDI inflows, the result achieved is not appreciable enough for Bangladesh compared with that of India. FDI inflow in Bangladesh grew by 11 times from the year 1995 to 2006 while for India it grew by 6 times for the same period. In 1995, India received 19 times more FDI than Bangladesh, but in the year 2006, it received 11 times more FDI. However, the study also reveals that in the year 2007, India received 23 times more FDI than Bangladesh. For attracting more FDI, Bangladesh requires to create more congenial and favorable atmosphere towards the foreign investors.

Key words: FDI, economic development, impact of FDI, problems and prospects, Bangladesh, India.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is defined as investment made by the transnational corporations or by a non-resident in the host country in which investing units have power to exert some control over decision making process of the invested unit. According to the Balance of Payments Manual of IMF the forms of investment by the direct investor which are classified as FDI are equity capital, the reinvestment of earnings and the provision of long and short-term intra-company loans (between parent and affiliate enterprises).

The proponents of FDI argue that it brings prosperity to the recipient countries through technological transfer, increasing volume of exports, enhancing job opportunities and increasing government revenues. Furthermore, it increases the volume of domestic capital to finance new development projects in the country and simultaneously provides access to new technology, managerial, marketing and operational know-how. But the inflows of FDI in Bangladesh are not commendable though it has more or less an increasing trend. According to UNCTAD Report, in 2003 Bangladesh achieved only 0.05 percent of total FDI while the proportion was 0.9

* Assistant Professor of Economics, Department of Business Administration, Northern University Bangladesh.

† Post-Graduate student of London School of Business.

percent in India, 0.52 percent in Vietnam, 10.2 percent in Indonesia and 70 percent in China (The Daily Star-November 7, 2004 Issue). In Bangladesh, it even declined in 2001(US\$ 354.5 million) from 2000 (US\$ 578.6 million). Although, we find an increasing trend after ward, it declined again in 2007 (US\$ 792 million) from the previous year (US\$ 845.3 million).

The inflow of FDI is being restricted in Bangladesh by infrastructural, bureaucratic, environmental complicity and political unrest (Mian, M.E. Alam, Q. 2006). In contrast, in India, the largest democracy in the world, with its consistent growth, performance and abundance skilled manpower provides enormous opportunities for investment. India is the fourth largest economy and the tenth most industrialized country. Indian economy with a GDP growth rate of 9% was the second fastest growing economy in the world during 2007-08 (India Economic Survey 2007-2008). In addition, India has comparatively transparent situation for FDI. Therefore, there is a drastic need to explore the issues regarding inflows, restrictions and potentiality of FDI in Bangladesh and compare with that of a neighboring country such as India. This paper is a small attempt in this regard.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The main aims of this paper are:

- i. To make a comparative analysis of FDI inflows and policies of Bangladesh and India
- ii. To find out the determinants, impediments, favorable environment and potential of FDI for Bangladesh.
- iii. To portray the conclusion giving possible modest suggestions for better FDI inflow into Bangladesh for her economic development.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

1.3.1 Sources of Data:

This paper is entirely based on secondary information. Content analysis method, which is commonly known as the review of the previous literature or publications, has been followed for preparing this paper. This secondary information have been collected from the statistics Department of Bangladesh Bank; Investment Handbooks of Bangladesh Board of Investment; Bangladesh Economic Review; Bangladesh Bank's Annual Report; Government of India's Ministry of statistics; Manual of India; Reserve Bank of India; Asian Development Outlook; and various journals.

1.3.2 Analysis Procedure:

The used data has been presented through tabular and graphical analysis to make a clear view of the two selected countries. In addition, a comparison of the ratios between the two countries for a year and for both the countries over the period of 1995 to 2005 has been made to analyze the comparative FDI inflow ratios. We will use a ratio analysis for comparison of the FDI inflows.

2.1 Literature Review

The present paper is related to a great number of different literatures. It pertains to work on FDI inflows in Bangladesh and India, its impact on the economy of the affirmed countries as well as to find out the problems and prospects regarding FDI inflows in Bangladesh.

2.1.1 Determinants of FDI Inflows

FDI is increasingly becoming a preferred form of capital flows to developing countries in recent years, as compared to other forms of capital flows as explained by Alam, (2005); Bahar & Murtaza, (2006); Liu, (2006); and Mian & Alam, (2006). According to Beena, et al. (2004); Bhanu & Usha, (2005); Haque, (1991) and Robin, (2007), until the 1980s, most developing countries viewed FDI with great suspicion. Since 1991 Bangladesh and India have been devoting efforts for attracting FDI offering a lot of lucrative incentives and benefits as mentioned by Kafi, et al. (2007); Robin, (2007); Singh, (2005) and Supro, (2006).

It is now generally recognized that FDI brings multiple benefits to its recipient countries like- rise the availability of jobs and a fall in the unemployment rate. Consequently, GDP and per capita income increase which, in a developing country, fosters poverty alleviation. In addition, FDI strengthens ties with developed countries that may yield cost advantages in the form of advanced technology transfers and resulting positive externalities and domestic firms can learn from foreign invested firms by observation or by establishing business relations with the latter or through labor turnover as illustrated by Bahar & Murtaza, (2006); Liu, (2006); Kabir, (2007); Mian & Alam, (2006) and Weisbrot, (2007). However, the major determinants of FDI inflows are- size of the market; openness; labor costs and productivity; political risk; infrastructure; incentives and operating conditions and privatization (Chowdhury, (2008); Klink, (2008); Lin & Zhang, (2007) and Overseas Development Institute, (1997)). Given the easier access to their markets, motives for investment in China, India, and Vietnam were mainly due to the low cost of labor and the availability of natural resources and Overseas Development Institutions in these countries. (Kinomoto, (2008); Lin & Zhang, (2007)).

2.1.2 FDI Inflows in Bangladesh

Economic development for the developing countries like Bangladesh is largely dependent upon FDI (Kafi, et al. (2007) and Mian & Alam, (2006)). Though Bangladesh has liberalized its FDI policies as well as provides very attractive incentives to foreign investors but with little inflow, FDI has an insignificant influence on the economic development of Bangladesh (Ahmad, (2008); Alam, (2005); Amin & Islam, (2008) and Hossain & Rashid, (2008)). Moreover, Bangladesh has strategic geographic location; availability of natural resources; skilled human resources; lower cost of business; private sector led economic development strategy; easy access policies, flexible government policies; easy repatriation policies; investment friendly environment. (Chowdhury, (2008); Haque, (1991); Klink, (2008); Rashid, (2008) and Yussuf, (2008)).

Nonetheless, there are many reasons for the failure in attracting FDI in Bangladesh for example- weak infrastructure; inadequate power supply; political instability; increasing cost of doing business, small market size. (Alam, (2005); Kabir, (2007); Mortaza & Hasnayan, (2008); Rashid, (2008) and Robin, (2007)).

However, the primary challenge for Bangladesh is to establish a transparent, broad and effective enabling policy environment for investment, along with infrastructural development and also to build the human and institutional capacities to implement policies supporting FDI. (Mian & Alam, (2006) and Amin & Islam, (2008)). The stock market is also an important ingredient of the financial system in Bangladesh that can be an attractive sector (Rahman & Hossain, 2008). Beside these, BOI should act as one stop service to foreign investors and government should initiate proper attention regarding to foreign investment in the potential sectors (Hossain, 2008). BOI, BEPZA and other related institutions should function effectively and should emphasize the need for implementing the concept of efficient as well as effective services for investors to attract more investment in Bangladesh. (Alam, (2005); Amin & Islam, (2008); Hossain, (2008); Klink, (2008); Mian & Alam, (2006); and Rahman & Hossain, (2008)).

2.1.3 FDI Inflows in India

First four decades after achieving independence from British colonial rule, the economic policies of the Indian government were characterized by planning, control and regulation (Beena, et al. 2004, Singh, 2005). In recent years, India has emerged as one of the leading FDI destinations in Asia. (Chowdhury, 2008; Henley, et al. 2008; Kinomoto, 2008; Palit & Nawani, 2007; and Shah & Patnaik 2008).

As far as the Foreign Direct Investment Confidence Index is concerned, China and India rival one another and are aggressively challenging the United States as the world's most favored destination for FDI, (Bhanu & Usha, 2005). The reasons for this to India has been identified as that it has a stable democratic environment over 55 years of independence; large and growing market; world class scientific, technical and managerial manpower; cost-effective and highly skilled labor; abundance of natural resources; well developed accountancy, legal, actuarial and consultancy profession; and one of the fastest growing economies in the world. (Henley, et al. 2008; Mehta, 2006; and Singh, 2007; Mehta, 2006; and Shah & Patnaik, 2008).

2.1.4 FDI in Developing Countries

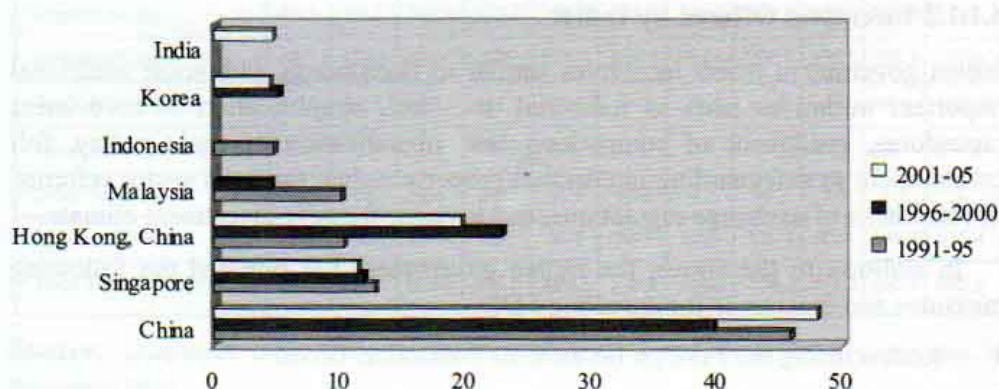
The flow of FDI to the LDC is still very thin with the exception of India and Vietnam constituting less than one percent of the global FDI inflows. About 80 percent of FDI is confined within developed countries (Bahar, H. Murtaza, M. G. 2006). This denotes that investments from developed and developing countries are heading mainly for developed countries. In fact, even investments from least developed countries, though small in volume, are also heading for developed countries. This is rather unfortunate, especially in the context that the governments

of almost all the LDCs and the developing countries have been trying to attract FDI with policy formulation and other attractions.

3.1 FDI INFLOWS TO EAST, SOUTHEAST AND SOUTH ASIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In 1991-95 the top five FDI recipient countries of Asia were China, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Indonesia. Since 1996, Korea has also been figuring among the top five FDI recipients in Asia. But apart from Singapore, no other Southeast Asian economy figures among the top five FDI destinations in Asia in the current decade. On the contrary, India has become the first economy from South Asia, to reach the league of top five countries during the period of 2001-05. However, in terms of share OF total Asian FDI inflows, India is still much below that of China, Hong Kong and Singapore. Figure 1 depicts the percentage share of the FDI inflows to the top recipients of Asia for the period of 1991 to 2005.

Figure 1: FDI Inflows (% share) in Top Five Asian Countries from 1991-2005



4.1 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FDI INFLOW BETWEEN BANGLADESH AND INDIA

4.1.1 Incentives Offered By Bangladesh Vs India

4.1.1.1 Incentives Offered by Bangladesh:

The foreign investors may choose Bangladesh for their investment destination as Bangladesh created a favorable environment for the investors over the years concerned. The foreign investors enjoy the following incentives for investing in Bangladesh.

1. Tax Exemptions : Generally 5 to 7 years. However, for power generation exemption is allowed for 15years
2. Duty : No import duty for export oriented industry. For other industry it is only at 5% Ad Volverom tax.
3. Tax law : i. Double taxation can be avoided in case of foreign investors on the basis of bilateral agreements.

- ii. Exemption of income tax up to 3 years for the expatriate employees in industries specified in the relevant schedule of Income Tax ordinance.
4. Remittance : Facilities for full repatriation of invested capital, profit and dividend.
 5. Exit : An investor can wind up on investment either through a decision of the AGM or EGM. Once a foreign investor completes the formalities to exit the country, he or she can repatriate the sales proceeds after securing proper authorization from the Central Bank.
 6. Ownership : Foreign investor can set up ventures either wholly owned or in joint collaboration with local partner.

Source: Guide to Investment in Bangladesh Foreign Private Investment (Promotion and Protection) Act, 1980 and Bangladesh Bank (2006), available at: <http://www.bangladesh-bank.org/investpr/invesfac.html> and Board of Investment Bangladesh (BOI) Hand Book 2007

4.1.1.2 Incentives Offered by India:

Indian government offers incentives similar to Bangladesh with some additional important initiatives such as industrial decontrol, simplification of investment procedures, enactment of competition law, liberalization of trade policy, full commitment to safeguarding intellectual property rights, financial sector reforms, liberalization of exchange regulations, and investor friendly investment climate.

In addition to the above, the Indian government has initiated the following measures and incentives for attracting FDI:

1. Restructuring the Foreign Investment Promotion Board.
2. Establishment of the Indian Investment Commission to act as a one-stop shop between the investor and the bureaucracy.
3. Expanding the number of industries for which 100 per cent FDI is allowed through the automatic route.
4. Progressively raising the FDI cap in other sectors like telecom, aviation, banking, petroleum and media sectors among others.
5. Removal of the investment cap in the small scale industries (SSI) sector.

Source: Secretariat for Industrial Assistance (SIA) (2004), Foreign Direct Investment-Policy and Procedures, Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India.

4.1.2 Sectors Attracted For FDI in Bangladesh Vs India

As of 2005, most of the FDI in Bangladesh had been in Service, Industry, and Telecommunication sectors. However, the most lucrative sectors are- agro-based industries; artificial flowers; computer software and information technology;

electronics; frozen food; cut flower; gift items; infra-structure; jute products; jewelry and diamonds and polishing; leather; oil and gas; Seri-culture and silk industry; stuffed toys; textiles industries and; tourism etc (DCCI, 2002 and Board of Investment Bangladesh (BOI) Hand Book 2007). On the other hand, India's most lucrative sectors include electrical equipments (including computer software & electronic); telecommunications (radio paging, cellular mobile, basic telephone service); transportation industry; services sector (financial & non-financial); fuels (power + oil refinery); chemical (other than fertilizers); food processing industries; drugs & pharmaceuticals; cement and gypsum products; metallurgical industries (Mehta, H. 2006). The table below shows the FDI inflows in Bangladesh for the period of 1995 to 2005.

Table 1: The Aggregate and Sector-wise FDI inflow, 1995-2005 (US\$ in million)

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Agriculture & Fishing (Total)	0	0.3	1.4	1.4	2.9	15.2	1.1	1.6	4.1	1.7	2.3
Power, Gas & Petroleum	3.2	47	242.1	235.2	83.5	301	192.4	57.9	88.1	124.1	208.3
Manufacturing	45.5	89.2	162.4	139.8	191.8	193.5	132.2	142.9	165.2	139.4	219.3
Industry (Total)	48.7	136.2	404.5	375	275.3	494.5	324.6	200.8	253.3	263.5	427.6
Trade & Commerce	41.3	92.3	158.9	164.3	27.5	53.2	27.6	63.7	44	66.6	130.5
Transport & Telecom.	1.7	1.5	5.9	25.3	0.5	5.4	0.9	48.5	45.9	127.5	281.9
Other Services	0.6	1.3	4.6	10.5	2.9	10.3	0.3	13.7	2.9	1.1	3
Services (Total)	43.6	95.1	169.4	200	30.9	68.9	28.8	125.9	92.8	195.2	415.4
Total FDI to Bangladesh	92.3	231.6	575.3	576.5	309.1	578.6	354.5	328.3	350.2	460.4	845.3

Source: Bangladesh Bank Enterprise Survey (2006), Conducted by Statistics Department of Bangladesh Bank.

4.1.3 Periodic FDI Status of Bangladesh Vs India

Since independence, Bangladesh is trying to be a suitable location for FDI. In 1972, annual FDI inflow was 0.090 million US\$, and after 33 years, in 2005 annual FDI reached to 845.30 million US\$ and to 989 million US\$ in 2006 (UNCTAD-2005, Bangladesh Investment Handbook 2007-BOI). Contribution of FDI was not remarkable until 1980, when policy change was initiated regarding FDI when the Government enacted the 'Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Act, 1980' in an attempt to attract FDI. Enacting the Act Government opened all sectors for FDI other than defense equipment and machinery, nuclear energy, forestry in the reserved forest area, security printing and mining, and railways (Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Act, 1980).

On the other hand in 2006, FDI inflows into India were more than double than those in 2005. Indeed, in 2007 alone FDI into India was at US\$17.92 billion, far higher than the annual average inflow of US\$2-3 billion during the late 1990s. In recent years, India has also emerged as one of the leading FDI destinations in Asia.

On the whole, the pattern of FDI inflows to developing Asia itself has changed significantly over the years. Some leading Southeast Asian economies (for example, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Philippines), with the exception of Singapore, no longer attract as much FDI as they used to in the past. This is in sharp contrast to some East and Southeast Asian economies that continue to draw large FDI (for example, China, Hong Kong and Singapore). Open door policies adopted by the government of India through its new economic policies has attracted more investments in the country which resulted in becoming among the 5 top FDI recipients of Asia. A comparative flow of FDI between the two countries since 1995 has been given in table 2.ⁱ

Table 2: FDI inflows from 1995-2007 (US\$ in million)

Year	◆ FDI Inflows of Bangladesh	■ FDI Inflows of India
1995	92.3	1757.5
1996	231.6	2455.5
1997	575.3	3226
1998	576.5	3382.5
1999	309.1	2761
2000	578.6	2673.5
2001	354.5	3565
2002	328.3	3678
2003	350.2	2884
2004	460.4	3194.5
2005	845.3	4652
2006	989	10624.5
2007	792*	17920*

Source: ◆ Bangladesh Bank Publications and Data, 2007 (except the year for 2007)

* - Board of Investment Bangladesh (2007), BOI Hand Book-2007

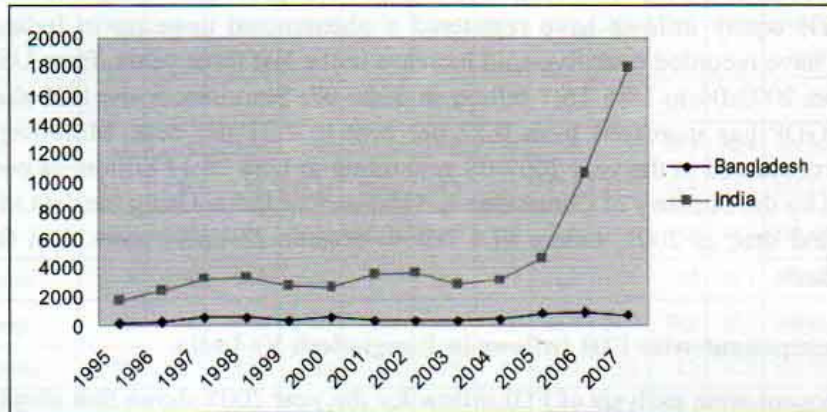
■ Data is collected from UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2007; www.unctad.org/wir

* - The Associated Press Published, (2008); see www.iht.com/articles/2008

The above table shows a fluctuating trend of the FDI inflows over the last 13 years of two aforementioned countries. Data reveals that in 1999 there was a sudden fall in the FDI for both the countries and again in 2001 and 2002 the falling trend continued for Bangladesh. In spite of having an increased FDI inflow trend up to the year 2006, it decreased in the year 2007 in Bangladesh. On the other hand, with the exception of the years 1999, 2000 and 2003, the overall trend shows an increasing trend for India. However, it is notable that a surprising and dramatic

upward change happened in the years 2006 and 2007. The following graphical presentation gives us clearer picture of the FDI inflows over the years.

Figure 2: FDI inflow in Bangladesh Vs India from 1995-2007



For better understanding of the FDI inflow between the two countries we can use a ratio analysis.

We can compare the FDI inflow for Bangladesh in 2006 compared with 1995.

$$I_{BAN2006vs1995} = \frac{\text{US\$ } 989,000,000}{\text{US\$ } 92,300,000} = \frac{11}{1} \text{ . So, we can write,}$$

$$I_{BAN2006vs1995} = 11 : 1$$

The above calculation clearly reveals that FDI inflow increased 11 times in the year 2006 with compare to 11 years back in 1995. On the other hand, according to table 1, India's FDI inflow was approximately US\$ 1,757,500,000 and US\$ 10,624,500,000 in the year 1995 and 2006 respectively. So, the ratio for India becomes $I_{INDIA2006vs1995} = \frac{6}{1}$. So, we can write,

$I_{INDIA2006vs1995} = 6 : 1$. We can articulate that, in 2006 India's FDI inflow was increased by 6 times compared to that of the year 1995.

Similarly we can make a comparison between India and Bangladesh for the year 1995 and 2006. We see that in 1995, the ratio was,

$$I_{INDIAvsBAN1995} = \frac{\text{US\$ } 1,757,500,000}{\text{US\$ } 92,300,000} = \frac{19}{1} \text{ , So, we can write,}$$

$I_{INDIAvsBAN1995} = 19 : 1$. Hence India's FDI inflow was 19 times more than that of Bangladesh in the year 1995. On the other hand the ratio in 2006 was,

$$I_{INDIAvsBAN2006} = \frac{\text{US\$ } 10,624,500,000}{\text{US\$ } 989,000,000} = \frac{11}{1} \text{ , So, we can write,}$$

$$I_{INDIAvsBAN2006} = 11 : 1$$

The above results show that even though in absolute sense India is distinctively ahead of Bangladesh, its FDI inflow grew comparatively lower than Bangladesh in 2006 than the period of 1995.

However, as a consequence, policy changes and procedural simplifications, in 2007 FDI equity inflows have registered a phenomenal upswing in India. FDI inflows have recorded over five-fold increase in the last three years, from US\$ 2.2 billion in 2003-04 to US\$ 15.7 billion in 2006-07. Simultaneously, FDI share in India's GDP has increased from 0.77 per cent to 2.31 per cent. Moreover FDI inflows continued in the year 2007-08 amounting to US\$ 20.14 billion, as per data released by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of India. Using the data in table 1, we find that, in 2007, Indian FDI inflow became 23 times more than that of Bangladesh.

4.1.4 Component-wise FDI Inflows in Bangladesh Vs India

A component-wise analysis of FDI inflow for the year 2005 shows that about 50% of FDI came as equity, 29% as reinvestment, and the rest as intra-company borrowing in Bangladesh. In contrary, India's 55.13% of FDI came as equity, 38.48% as reinvestment, and the rest as intra-company borrowing in the same year. The higher equity and reinvestment rate indicates unwavering confidence of foreign investors on overall investment climate of the India than Bangladesh. This also indicates that the percentage repatriation FDI investment in Bangladesh is considerably higher than that of India, where quite a considerable amount is reinvested back in the country. This is a considerable factor which through Bangladesh at backward position compare to India in terms of FDI inflows. The table 3 depicts the component wise FDI inflows between the two countries.

Table 3: Component-wise FDI Inflows in Bangladesh Vs India during 2005 (US\$ million)

FDI Components	*Bangladesh		# India	
	Total	Share %	Total	Share %
Equity Capital	425.6	50.35%	2564.5	55.13%
Reinvested Earnings	247.5	29.28%	1790	38.48%
Intra-Company Loans	172.2	20.37%	297.5	6.39%
Total	845.3	100%	4652	100%

Source: *-BOI Hand Book 2007 and Bangladesh Bank Enterprise Survey 2006

#- UNCTAD, *World Investment Report 2007*; www.unctad.org/wir

4.1.5 Diversification of FDI Sources: Bangladesh Vs. India

Table 4: Country-wise FDI Inflow in Bangladesh and India 1995-2005 (In million US\$)

Country	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	B'desh Total	Indian Total
Denmark	0.78	2.23	0	0.03	0.14	22.5	4	3.1	14	18.8	18.3	83.88	
Egypt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19.9	48.4	68.30	
China	2.73	5.94	21.63	13.14	20.52	14.8	5.8	17.1	11.7	13.9	53.1	180.36	
Japan	6.61	5.37	51.31	15.65	35.04	10.5	2.2	11.9	17.5	30	46.4	232.48	2,059.33
Malaysia	0	0.08	6.12	5.01	2.91	6.2	0.3	11.4	13.4	39	33.1	117.52	
Norway	0	0	0	23.71	3.31	0	0	26.4	21.9	59.6	53.5	188.42	
Singapore	0.06	0.03	2.83	0.5	1.1	1.9	1.6	12.7	3.2	2.3	97.5	123.72	962.41
South Korea	18.23	43.2	34.59	70.94	101.36	31.4	16.8	30.7	24.5	18.5	29.9	420.12	748.98
UAE	0.05	0.15	0.14	0.18	1.58	0	0.9	0	16.7	12.8	55.5	88.00	
UK	20.26	86.36	255.88	40.93	35.61	157	52.9	18.5	83.6	91	152.8	994.84	1,911.77
USA	15.16	14.4	67.64	232.9	66.94	29.3	29.1	24.5	32.1	61.8	141.8	715.64	4,912.75
Mauritius	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,115.47
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,987.18
Germany	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,338.88
France	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	772.99
Switzerland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	613.58
Others	28.42	73.85	135.17	173.47	40.63	305	240.9	172	111.6	92.8	115	1488.84	4029.07

Source: Bangladesh Bank, (2006), Statistics Department; and *Reserve Bank of India*, (2006).

The above table shows the comparative sources of FDI between Bangladesh and India. It shows that among the top 5 sources of FDI, there are three common sources- USA, the UK, and Japan. The other two sources of FDI for Bangladesh are South Korea and Norway- primarily due to the investment by the Telenor (Grameen Phone). For India, it is interesting to note that Mauritius is by far the number one FDI source, and the other uncommon source being the Netherlands. An overall analysis also shows that the sources of FDI for both the countries are highly diversified, thus reduce the risk from the guest nation's affecting factors.

5.1 PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF FDI IN BANGLADESH

5.1.1 Impediments of FDI in Bangladesh:

The FDI plays an important role in the economic development of Bangladesh in terms of capital formation, output growth, technological progress, exports and employment. (Rashid, M. A. 2008). The factors blocking foreign investment in

Bangladesh would be as follows:

- The country has a bureaucratic system that is not at all compatible with an investment environment. The bureaucrats and regulatory bodies are steeped in corruption. For business enterprise, corruption works as taxation or lubrication cost.
- The political situation in Bangladesh is extremely vulnerable because of the continuous hostility among the political parties, which in turn pollutes the entire investment environment (Ahmad, Q. K. 2008).
- Government control and management has been extremely ineffective and inefficient. The politically influenced government agencies are functioning as regulatory bodies without any operational autonomy.
- Though there are regulations to provide equal treatment of local and foreign investors, certain inequitable conventions are practiced with the foreign investors (Kinomoto, T. 2008).
- Data from the World Bank's 'Doing Business project' (2002) suggest that to start up a new firm in Bangladesh is relatively costly. Another measure suggests that including regulatory and utility connection is relatively difficult in Bangladesh compared with other Asian countries. JETRO said that the investment cost in Bangladesh has increased further recently (The Daily Ittefaq, 9th July 2008).
- Bangladesh faces a system loss often more than 40% of the gross power generation probing with the lowest per capita power consumption and network coverage of electrification among developing countries.
- Bodies like the EPZs are there to promote export orientation and privatization based growth strategy. In reality, none of these favorable policies and strategies are implemented.
- The government of Bangladesh has given its tax administrators discretionary authority and they unduly apply it to bother businessmen and investors. This authority has made many of the officials highly corrupt.
- The BOI of Bangladesh has a One Stop Service cell to serve and assist with various investment facilities, mostly FDI. But, materializing the service in reality is still an illusion.
- Each year the government declares Fiscal Policy that quite often goes adverse to the investors and disrupts their regular business and operations plans and strategies.
- The inefficient and corrupt customs system quite often takes more than twenty signatories to discharge a shipment along with physical inspection by the authorized personnel.
- Inflation rate is very high in Bangladesh with compare to other neighbor countries like India.

5.1.2 Prospects and competitive advantages of FDI in Bangladesh:

Better-off news for the inhabitants is that Bangladesh places 65th position among 155 countries in terms of Ease of Doing Business in the World Bank report. This ranking is based on 39 indicators grouped into 10 categories. It recognizes Bangladesh as one of the easiest location for doing business in south Asia, better than Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Besides, persistent growth in FDI is the best testimony of a favorable business climate prevailing in Bangladesh. (Doing Business in 2006: Creating Jobs, World Bank 2006). In 2005, total FDI inflows in Bangladesh was increased by 84% amounting US\$ 845 million—highest ever in any year since her independence. The growth is second highest in entire South Asia (Bangladesh Investment Handbook 2007-BOI).

Some competitive advantages of Bangladesh are as follows:

- Geographic location of the country is ideal for global trade with very convenient access to international sea and air route.
- Natural gas, oil, coal, water etc. sufficiently exist in Bangladesh.
- It has a population who are hard working and generally intelligent and available at a very low-cost.
- Bangladesh is a liberal democracy and mostly a one race and one religion country.
- Although Bengali is the official language, English is generally used as second language.
- It provides easy access to foreign investors.
- Bangladeshi products enjoy duty free and quota free access to almost all the developed countries and enjoys GSP (Generalized System of Preferences) Facility.
- Overall cost of doing business in the country is fairly competitive in the global standard.
- Bangladesh offers Sustainable Competitive Sectors like- Textile, Electronics, Information Technology, Natural Gas-based Industries, Frozen Foods, Leather, Ceramic, Light Engineering, Agro-based Industry etc.

6.1 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Though India is now in better position than Bangladesh but the later has a number of positive attributes that can successfully attract the attention of foreign investors from both developed and developing countries. The increasing availability of skilled and unskilled labor at relatively low wages and the success in maintaining reasonably stable macroeconomic environment are a few factors behind making the country an attractive destination for foreign investors. They are generally aware that the wage rates in Bangladesh are among the lowest in Asian countries, the exchange rate is reasonably stable, custom regulations are investment friendly without discrimination between foreign and domestic investors, and attractive incentive packages are available for the foreign investors.

Over the last decades, almost all developing Asian economies including Bangladesh have progressively adopted more open policies toward FDI and this trend is likely to continue in the foreseeable future. The general conclusion of this study is that FDI brings net benefit to Bangladesh. These benefits appear to be important for integrating the domestic economy with the global economy and in the area of technology and skill transfer. The global experience suggests that, depending on the country context, the benefits of FDI are highly uneven and can become ambiguous or possibly negative. However, given its present characteristics, Bangladesh is likely to benefit through more FDI inflows. It is important, therefore, for Bangladesh to ensure an investment climate that can attract more FDI inflows to the country.

It is seen in the study that there are some interrelated administrative barriers that result inferiority in policy formulation and implementation, competitive drawbacks, poor quality of skills and infrastructure, ineffective institutions, and below average governance dampen potential of FDI. Besides, the above study also found out that Bangladesh is not full of hindrances of FDI, but some opportunities and prospects are also available there.

To attract more FDI, the government of Bangladesh and the other relevant bodies can consider implementing various measures more effectively. Some of these measures are required immediate implementation while others are long term in nature. The factors that pose challenges may be removed for increasing FDI in the country. The factors that require immediate attention may include restoration of democracy in the country for ensuring congenial business environment, ensure smooth supply of utilities, active regulatory and monitoring bodies such as BEPZA, BOI and the likes, and regular evaluation of the FDI friendly policies as far as the other developing countries are concerned.

Finally, it is to be noted that Bangladesh may not grasp India in terms of FDI inflows but it should at least maintain its growth so as not to lag so much behind compared to India and other developing countries. The above recommendations should be taken seriously for its share of global FDI inflow given its impacts on the economic growth of Bangladesh.

References

- Ahmad, Qazi K. "Encouraging FDI." *The Executive Times* March 2008: pp. 20-21.
- Alam, M. S. "Foreign Direct Investment & the Pattern of Economic Growth in Bangladesh." *Journal of Business Studies, Southeast University I.1* (January 2005): pp. 11-22.
- Amin, M. N., and Islam M. N. "Attracting FDI." *The Executive Times*. March, 2008: p. 18.
- Bahar, Habibullah, and Murtaza M. G. "Foreign Direct Investment and Growth in Bangladesh: The Challenges of Globalization." (2006): pp 1-7.10 April 2008. <<http://fdi.developmentgateway.org/uploads/media/fdi/FDI%20Article%20by%20Murtaza.doc>>.
- Bangladesh Bank Annual Report 2006*
- Bangladesh Bank Enterprise Survey 2006*
- Bangladesh Economic Review 2005, 2006*
- Beena, PL., Laveesh Bhandari, Sumon Bhaumik, Subir Gokarn, and Anjali Tandon. "Foreign Direct Investment in India." *Investment Strategies in Emerging Markets* (2004): pp. 126-147. 19 April 2008 http://www.london.edu/assets/documents/PDF/foreign_dir_investment_india.pdf.
- Bhanu, V., and Usha. "Role of Foreign Direct Investment India's Manufacturing Exports and Fiscal Decentralization." *National Productivity Council* (March 2005): pp. 3-17.
- Board of Investment Bangladesh (BOI) Hand Book 2006, 2007.*
- Chowdhury, M. E. "Foreign Direct Investment Implications and Realities." *The Executive Times* March 2008: pp. 24-26.
- Fites, D. V. "Make Your Dealers Your Partners." *Harvard Business Review* 74.2 (March-April 1996): pp.84-95.
- Haque, M. S. "Foreign Investment in Bangladesh: A Distant Reality." *Journal of Finance and Banking* 1.2 (December 1991): pp.77-89.

- Henley, John, Stefan Kratzsch, Mithat Külür, and Tamer Tandogan. "Foreign Direct Investment from China, India and South Africa in sub-Saharan Africa: A New or Old Phenomenon?" (March 2008). *United Nations University Library*, Helsinki, Finland. 7 May 2008 http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/research-papers/2008/en_GB/rp2008-24/_files/79003842094498051/default/rp2008-24.pdf
- Hossain, M. A. (2007), "Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on Bangladesh's Balance of Payments: Some Policy Implications." <http://www.bangladesh-bank.org/research/policynote/pn0805.pdf>. Accessed on 09/05/2008 at 5:30 pm
- Hossain, K. M. "Creating a Conducive Environment for Investors." *The Executive Times March 2008*: pp.20-21.
- India Economic Survey 2007-2008, Central Statistical Organization.*
- JETRO (2008), Investment cost in Bangladesh increases nominally, News paper-The Daily Ittefaq Web Edition, <http://nation.ittefaq.com/issues/2008/07/09/news0989.htm> Accessed on 17/07/2008 at 5:37 pm
- Kabir, R. "Foreign Direct Investment and Sustainable Growth: A Case Study on Bangladesh." A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Emory University, Department of Economics, 2007.
- Kafi, M. A., Uddin M. M. and Islam M. M.. "Foreign Direct Investment in Bangladesh: Problems and Prospects." *The Journal of Nepalese Business Studies IV.1* (December 2007): pp. 47-61.
- Khan, S. (2008), "Making Bangladesh EPZs more effective, investment-attracting locations." *Bangladesh Information & Tech (IT) Group*, Issue 3-April 2008. http://www.thefinancialexpressbd.com/search_index.php?page=detail_news&news_id=29696. June 02, 2008.
- Kinomoto, Tomobira. "Creating Better Conditions for Existing Investors." *The Executive Times March 2008*: pp. 22-23.
- Klink, Rudlof P. "The Ambassadorial Role of Foreign Investors." *The Executive Times March 2008*: pp.22-23.
- Lin, J. Y. Zhang, P. (2007), "Development Strategy, Optimal Industrial Structure and Economic Growth in Less Developed Countries," Center for International Development at Harvard University, *CID Graduate Student and Postdoctoral Fellow Working Paper No. 19*, Issue July 2007 © 2007 Fellows of Harvard College.

- Liu, Z. (2006), "Foreign direct investment and technology spillovers: Theory and evidence," *Journal of Development Economics*, Volume 85, Issue 1-2, February 2008, pp. 176-193. <http://hinari.gw.who.int/whalecomwww.sciencedirect.com/whaecom0/science?ob=Articles> Accessed on 02/06/2008 at 8:39 pm
- Mehta, H. (2006), "Foreign Direct Investment in India." <http://www.i-n-d-i-a.info/indianlegalguide/Presentations/FDI.ppt>. Accessed on 02/06/2008 at 7:30 pm
- Mian, M.E., Alam, Q. "Foreign Direct Investment and Development – The Bangladesh Scenario." *Monash Business 2.1* (April 2006).
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry (2008), Foreign Trade Policy: 1st September 2004-31st March 2009, w.e.f. 1.4.2008, Department of Commerce, Government of India. <http://dgt.gov.in> Accessed on 07/05/2008 at 9:15 pm
- Mortaza, M. G. Hasnayan, S. (2008), "Inflation Accounting Across Income Groups: Does Inflation Hurt the Poor More in Bangladesh?." <http://www.bangladesh-bank.org/research/policynote/pn0807.pdf>. Accessed on 07/06/2008 at 7:30 pm
- Palit, A. Nawani, S. (2007), "Technological Capability as a Determinant of FDI Inflows: Evidence from Developing Asia & India." *Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations*. Working Paper No. 193, Issue April 2007.
- Rashid, M. A. "FDI, How to Improve the Present Situation." *The Executive Times March 2008*: p. 27.
- Reserve Bank of India* (2007), *Manual on Financial and Banking Statistics*, March 2007.
- Robin, I. A. (2006), "Foreign Direct investment: impact on sectoral growth in Bangladesh." *NDC Journal*, 2007, pp. pp. 81-191
- Shah, A., Patnaik, I. (2007), "India's experience with capital flows: The Elusive Quest for a Sustainable Current Account Deficit," In S Edwards (ed.), "Capital Controls and Capital Flows in Emerging Economies: Policies, Practices and Consequences," chapter 13, pp. 609-643, *The University of Chicago Press*. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w11387> Accessed on 15/07/2008 at 9:55 pm
- Shah, A., Patnaik, I. (2008), "Managing capital flows: The Case of India," *NIPFP-DEA Research Program on Capital Flows and Their Consequences*, *National Institute of Public Finance and Policy*. New Delhi, Working Paper 2008-52, Issue May 2008. <http://www.adbi.org/research.managing.capital.flows.event/> Accessed on 15/07/2008 at 10:05 pm

- Singh, K. (2005), "Foreign Direct Investment in India: A Critical Analysis of FDI from 1991-2005." *Centre for Civil Society*, New Delhi, Research Internship Programme, 2005.
<http://ideas.repec.org/129.3.20.41/eps/dev/papers/0511/0511013.pdf> Accessed on 15/07/2008 at 10:17 pm
- Singh, K. (2007), "International Investments: Is Policy Pendulum Swinging Back?." *Global Politician*, Issue 25-July 2007.
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/ffd/fdi/2007/0725policypendulum.htm>
Accessed on 15/07/2008 at 10:31 pm.
- Supro: (2006), Campaign for Good Governance, "Foreign Direct Investment and its Impact on National Economy." http://www.supro.org/FDI%20Essay_Final.pdf. Accessed on 19/07/2008 at 9:45 pm.
- Uddin, K. M. (2006), "FDI marks 50pc rise to \$692m: UNCTD-Bangladesh ranks 2nd in South Asia, 5th among LDCs," *Daily Star*, 13-October 2006, pp. 1-2. UNCTAD, *World Investment Report 2005, 2006, 2007*.
World Bank Annual Report 2006.
- Yusuf, A. A. "FDI and Export Processing Zones." *The Executive Times* March 2008: 24-26.

Analysis of Performance Enhancement of Single and Cascaded WDM Optical Interface in Optical Network

Md. Sujan Ali*
Mst. Jannatul Ferdous†

Abstract

A modified wavelength-division-multiplexed optical interface with the capability to enable optical-add-drop-multiplexing functionality as well as to deliver an uplink optical carrier to the base stations in a millimeter-wave fiber-radio system is investigated and an optimal configuration demonstrated. The performance of single and cascaded wavelength-division-multiplexed (WDM) optical interfaces that support 37.5-GHz band 25-GHz-separated wavelength-interleaved dense WDM feeder networks for millimeter-wave fiber-radio systems are characterized experimentally. The interface offers consolidated base station (BS) architecture by enabling a wavelength reuse technique with transparent optical add-drop-multiplexing functionality to the BS. The modeling of the system predicts that the interface can be cascaded up to ten units without much change in the existing setup. The incorporation of the modification significantly enhances the performance of both uplink and downlink transmission.

Index Terms—Broadband wireless access (BWA), carrier-to-sideband ratio (CSR), fiber-radio base station (BS), cascaded optical add-drop-multiplexing (OADM), millimeter-wave (mm-wave) fiber-radio system, optical single sideband (OSSB) modulation, wavelength interleaving (WI), and wavelength reuse.

I. Introduction

Optical networks are promising technologies for the transport of future broadband wireless access (BWA) services. In these networks, multiple remote antenna base stations (BSs), suitable for providing untethered connectivity for BWA applications, can be directly serviced by a central office (CO) via an optical fiber feeder network [1]. The introduction of wavelength interleaving (WI) enables these systems to be consistent with dense-wavelength-division-multiplexed (DWDM) feeder networks [2], while the reuse of downlink optical carriers for uplink data transport eliminates the need for a light source at the BS [3]. A multifunctional wavelength-division-multiplexed (WDM) optical interface was presented that effectively adds and drops the desired channels to and from wavelength-interleaved-DWDM (WI-DWDM) feeder network[4], in addition to offering a simplified and consolidated BS by enabling a wavelength reuse the technique. However, one issue associated with the WDM optical interface described in [4] was the relatively low power of the uplink optical signals due to the low power “reuse” optical carrier, the high optical single sideband with carrier (OSSB+C) modulation loss as well as the passive nature of the BSs.

*Lecturer, Dept. of Computer Science and Engineering, Jatiya Kabi Kazi Nazrul Islam University, Trishal, Mymensingh-2220, Bangladesh.

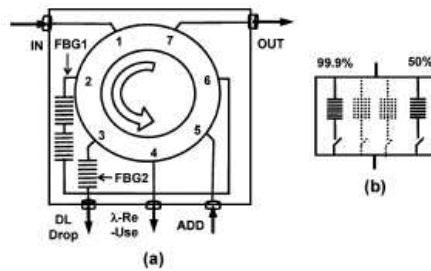
†Lecturer, Dept. of Information and Communication Technology, Metropolitan University, Sylhet.

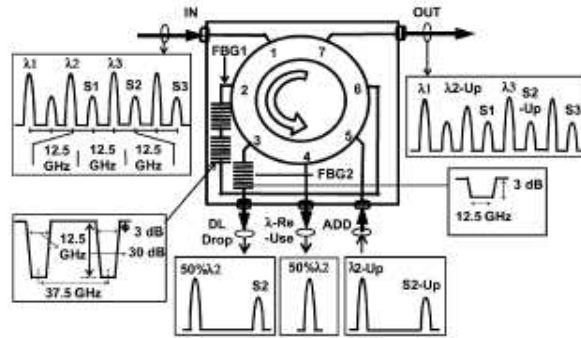
As a result, the performance of the uplink signals can be severely affected by optical crosstalk and fiber nonlinearities. In order to realize higher power uplink signals, it is, therefore, important to maximize the power of the reuse optical carrier that is delivered from the WDM optical interface.

A multifunctional wavelength-division multiplexing (WDM) optical interface was proposed in [4] that enables wavelength reuse, supports wavelength-interleaved dense WDM (WI-DWDM) feeder networks and ensures transparent optical add-drop-multiplexing (OADM) functionality to the BS. However, the interface was comprised of narrow-band fiber Bragg gratings (FBGs) and multiport optical circulators (OCs) that unfortunately have the potential to incur additional crosstalk and chromatic dispersion [5]. Furthermore, the accumulated effects of the impairments in cascaded interfaces in the WDM ring/bus networks may limit the network dimensioning [6]. In this paper, we experimentally characterize the performance of single and cascaded WDM optical interfaces, which is extended to the modeling of the system based on link's budget estimation.

In mm-wave fiber-radio systems, electrooptic intensity modulators [e.g., a dual electrode Mach-Zehnder modulator (DE-MZM)], suitable for generating OSSB+C modulation, often exhibit reduced optical modulation depths (carrier-to-sideband ratios, CSRs > 10dB are typical) which leads to poor overall link performances. This situation can be improved by employing techniques where the CSRs of the modulated channels are reduced by some external means [5]. However, such schemes often require additional wavelength-selective components, which are inherently susceptible to performance degradation. If the multifunctional WDM optical interface, however, can be modified in such a way that the CSRs are reduced by avoiding additional hardware and while still retaining its usual functionality, an efficient and effective fiber-radio network architecture can be achieved. In this paper, we investigate a modification to the multifunctional WDM optical interface presented in [4] in order to improve its performance. Without employing additional hardware, we show that the interface can deliver a higher power reuse optical carrier for uplink communication, while at the same time reducing the CSR of the downlink signal if the characteristic of one of the components of the WDM optical interface is optimized.

II. Proposed WDM Optical Interface





(c)

Fig-1. WDM optical interface enabling OADM functionality and providing an uplink optical carrier to the BSs of a WI-DWDM fiber-radio system: (a) reported WDM optical interface, (b) variable reflective FBG2 to be incorporated and (c) wavelength reuse and OADM functionality in a WI-DWDM fiber-radio network.

Fig-1(a) shows the schematic of the multifunctional WDM optical interface, as described in [4]. Fig-1(c) shows the proposed WDM optical interface of an antenna BS with the input, output, and drop and add spectra shown as insets. It consists of a seven-port optical circulator (OC) connected to a two-notch fiber Bragg grating (FBG1) between Ports 2 and 6 and a single-notch fiber Bragg grating (FBG2) at Port 3 of the OC with a notch bandwidth of ≤ 12.5 GHz each. FBG1 is designed in such a way that it reflects 100% of the desired downlink optical carrier with its respective modulation sideband from the input 37.5-GHz band WI-DWDM signals spaced at 25 GHz. The reflected signal is received at Port 3 of the OC while the transmitted signals (the “through” channels) are routed to Port 6 to exit the WDM optical interface via Port 7 (OUT). FBG2 at Port 3 was designed to reflect only 50% of the desired downlink carrier, while the remaining 50% of the carrier and the corresponding sideband will be dropped at Port 3 (DL Drop) of the OC from where the downlink mm-wave signal can be detected using a high-speed photo detector (PD). The reflected 50% carrier is recovered at Port 4 (λ -Reuse) of the OC and is reused at the BS as the optical carrier for the uplink path. The OSSB+C formatted uplink optical mm-wave signal is added to the WDM interface via Port 5 of the OC. The added signal is then routed to Port 6 where it combines with the through channels, before being routed out of the WDM optical interface via Port 7 (OUT).

Table-1:

Effects of increasing the reflectivity of the fbg2 of the wdm optical interface, in both the uplink and the downlink direction

FBG2 Reflectivity (%)	Downlink Optical Carrier (dBm)	Reduction in Downlink CSR (dB)	Reuse Optical Carrier (dBm)	Increase in Reuse Carrier (dB)
50	-3.0	3.0	-3.0	n/a
60	-3.98	3.98	-2.2	0.8
70	-5.23	5.23	-1.55	1.45
80	-7.0	7.0	-0.97	2.03
90	-10.0	10.0	-0.46	2.54
95	-13.0	13.0	-0.22	2.78
99	-20.0	20.0	-0.04	2.96
99.9	-30.0	30	-0.004	3

The generated uplink signal using the recovered carrier approach shown in Fig-1(a) is very weak and is prone to the impact of greater optical crosstalk and fiber nonlinearities. If the 50% reflective FBG2 is replaced with an FBG having higher reflectivity, however, a higher power reuse carrier for the uplink path can be realized. Also, the replacement of the 50% reflective FBG2 with a higher reflective FBG inherently enables the system to further reduce the CSR of the downlink signals, although in its current implementation the WDM optical interface provides a 3-dB reduction in CSR without the use of additional devices [3]. Table-I shows how the intensity of the reuse optical carrier and the CSR of the downlink signal change with the increase of reflectivity of FBG2 for a 0-dBm optical mm-wave signal. It shows that the increase in reflectivity of FBG2 from 50% to 99.9% enables a reduction in CSR from 3 to 30 dB, while increasing the reuse optical carrier power from -3 to ~ 0 dBm.

In order to determine the optimum reflectivity of FBG2, information regarding the CSR of the downlink signals before entering the WDM optical interface is required, as the optimum modulation depth is generally achieved when the CSR is 0 dB. The selection of FBG2 can be made independently if the FBG2 with a fixed reflectivity is replaced by an FBG with a variable reflectivity from 50% to 99.9%, as shown in Fig-1(b). The reflectivity of FBG2 can be tuned and adjusted in such a way that the CSR of the signal at the downlink (DL) Drop port of the WDM interface approaches 0 dB. A typical CSR for an optical mm-wave signal is more than 10 dB; therefore, FBG2 will be required to be tuned to more than 90% reflectivity, for which the recovery of the uplink optical carrier is almost maximized. This modification in the WDM optical interface thus offers optimum

modulation depth for the downlink signals and maximizes the recovery of the reuse optical carriers, while also enabling the BSs of the WI-DWDM fiber-radio networks to drop and add the desired signals.

III. Experimental Characterization

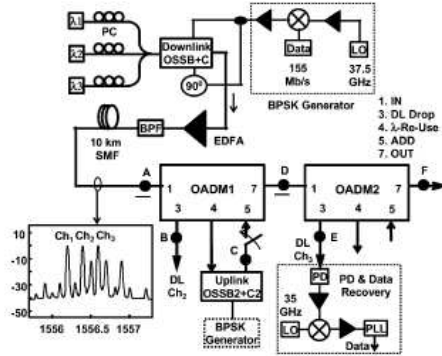


Fig-2. Experimental setup to characterize effects of optical impairments in single as well as cascaded WDM optical interfaces.

Fig-2 shows the experimental setup. In the DL direction, three narrow-line width lasers λ_1 (1556.2 nm), λ_2 (1556.4 nm), and λ_3 (1556.6 nm) were combined and applied to a dual electrode Mach-Zehnder modulator (DE-MZM). A 37.5-GHz mm-wave signal was generated by mixing a 37.5-GHz local oscillator (LO) signal with 155-Mb/s data in binary phase shift keying (BPSK) format [4]. The mixer output was then amplified and applied to the DE-MZM that generates OSSB+C modulated optical mm-wave signals, with three optical carriers and their respective sidebands interleaved. The interleaved signal was again amplified by an erbium-doped fiber amplifier (EDFA) and passed through an optical bandpass filter (BPF) prior to being transported over 10 km of single-mode fiber to the two concatenated WDM optical interfaces (OADM1 and OADM2) [2]. The signal entering concatenated interfaces is shown in the inset of Fig-2, where the three interleaved carriers with their respective sidebands are denoted as Ch_1 , Ch_2 , and Ch_3 for simplicity. Each interface in Fig-2 is shown as a block with five ports, namely, the input (IN), the downlink drop (DL drop), the wavelength reuse drop (λ -Re-Use), the add (ADD) and the output (OUT) port. During the experiment, OADM1 was assigned to drop and add Ch_2 while OADM2 was to drop and add Ch_3 . In the Uplink (UL) direction, the OSSB+C formatted UL Ch_2 was generated by modulating the recovered λ -reuse carrier with the 37.5-GHz-band UL mm-wave signal carrying 155-Mb/s BPSK data. The UL Ch_2 was then routed to OADM1 via the ADD port. The effects of impairments on the WI-DWDM channels due to traversing OADM1 and OADM2 were characterized by recovering the transmitted channels at positions A, B, C, D, E, and F indicated in Fig-2. The experimental setup shown in Fig-2 is the worst case scenario in performance degradation potential; therefore, the exhibited penalties may contain contributions from the data

correlation in addition to other network impairments. A tunable double-notch FBG along with a three-port OC were used to recover the desired channels at points A, D, and F. To make the measurements comparable, the same photodetector and data recovery circuit was used for the different channels at the positions with the characteristic parameters unchanged.

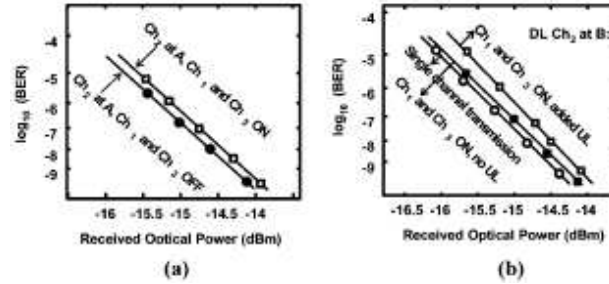


Fig-3. BER curves as a function of received optical power: (a) DL Ch₂ at point A with Ch₁ and Ch₃ ON and OFF, respectively, and (b) DL Ch₂ at point B with conditions mentioned in graph.

Fig-3(a) shows the recovered bit-error rate (BER) curves for DL Ch₂ at point A with the other two channels ON and OFF, respectively, where the recovered DL Ch₂ experiences a negligible ~ 0.15 -dB power penalty [5]. The incurred penalty can be attributed potentially to the effects of out-of-band crosstalk from the neighboring WI-DWDM channels. In OADM1, the DL WI-DWDM channels traverse FBG1 between ports IN and DL Drop, which reflects a fraction of DL Ch₁ and Ch₃ to the DL Drop port and contaminates the desired DL Ch₂ by out-of-band crosstalk. Also, the UL Ch₂ added to the OADM1 encounters FBG1 while traversing from the ADD port to the OUT port that allows a fraction of the UL Ch₂ to be transmitted to the DL Drop port, causing in-band crosstalk to affect the desired DL Ch₂. To quantify these effects, DL Ch₂ was measured at point B under three different conditions: 1) removing DL Ch₁ and Ch₃ from the WI-DWDM channels along with the UL Ch₂ from the ADD port of OADM1; 2) removing only the UL Ch₂ from the ADD port of OADM1, but having Ch₁ and Ch₃ present; and 3) having all the DL WI-DWDM channels along with the added UL Ch₂ present. The recovered BER curves can be seen in Fig-3(b). It again shows that the DL Ch₂ at the DL Drop port experiences a negligible ~ 0.15 -dB power penalty due to the presence of out-of-band crosstalk, which increases to ~ 0.30 dB at the presence of in-band crosstalk from UL Ch₂. However, compared to the BER curves at A [shown in Fig-3(a)], DL Ch₂ at B exhibits a negative power penalty of ~ 0.30 dB, which can be attributed to the reduction of the carrier-to-sideband ratio (CSR) of DL Ch₂ by 3 dB while 50% of the carrier is recovered with FBG2.

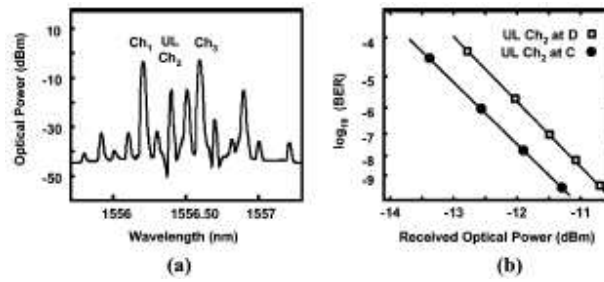


Fig-4. (a) Optical spectrum at point D with UL Ch₂ added to OADM1 and (b) BER curves for UL Ch₂ recovered at points C and D, respectively.

The UL Ch₂ being reflected by FBG1 combines with the through channels and is contaminated by the in-band crosstalk from the DL Ch₂ before leaving OADM1 via the OUT port. Fig-4(a) shows the measured optical spectrum of the combined channels at point D. As expected, the UL Ch₂ is much weaker than the neighboring DL channels. Fig-4(b) shows the measured BER curves for UL Ch₂ at points C and D. The UL Ch₂ exhibits a ~0.65-dB additional power penalty at point D which also can be potentially ascribed to the in-band and out-of-band crosstalk as explained earlier.

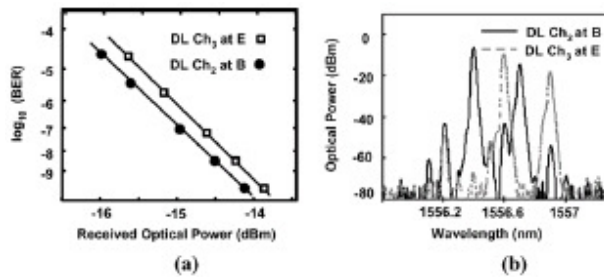


Fig-5. (a) BER curves at points B and E for DL Ch₂ and Ch₃, respectively, and (b) recovered optical spectra at points B and E showing DL Ch₂ and Ch₃.

In the cascaded configuration, DL Ch₂ and Ch₃ were recovered at points B and E, respectively. The measured BER curves and the respective optical spectra can be seen from Fig-5(a) and (b), respectively. The measured BER is of the order of 10^{-9} , which confirms the functionality of the proposed interfaces in cascade. The difference in sensitivity of DL Ch₃ (~ 0.25 dB) is mainly due to the difference in CSR as well as the performance degradation due to traversing OADM1 before entering to OADM2.

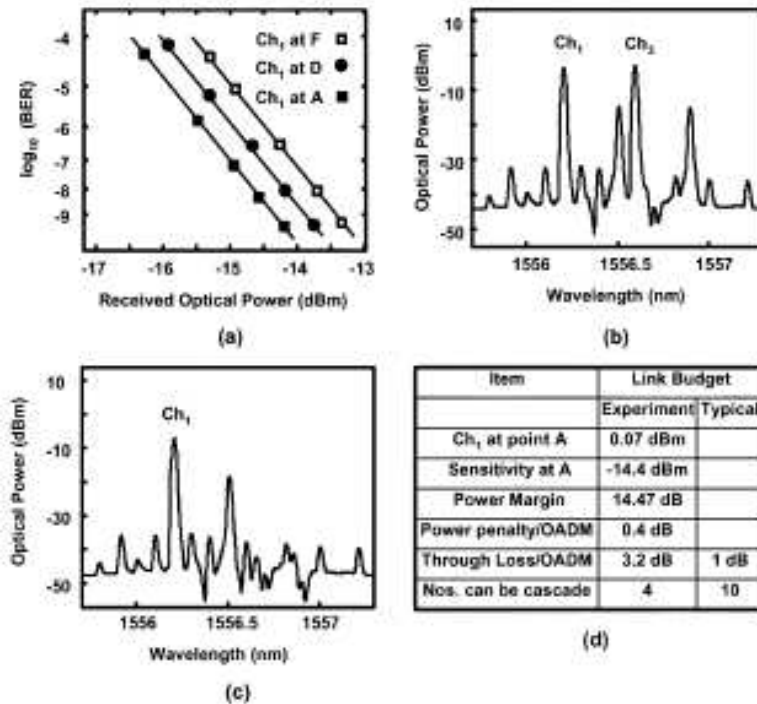


Fig-6. (a) BER curves for DL Ch₁ at points A, D, and F. (b), (c) Optical spectra of DL Ch₁ at points D (unrecovered) and F, respectively. (d) Highlights of modeling of system based on link's budget estimation

The cascading effects on the through channels were quantified by recovering DL Ch₁ at points A, D, and F with simultaneous drops of DL Ch₂ and Ch₃ from the respective interfaces. BER curves along with the optical spectra at points D and F are shown in Fig-6(a)–(c). The measured optical spectra at A (shown in the inset of Fig-2), (D), and (F) show that, due to lossy OCs, the through DL Ch₁ experiences unusual losses of 3.1 and 3.3 dB in OADM1 and OADM2 (typical loss = 1dB) [6]. The BER curves show that at each stage of cascade the through channels experience ~ 0.4 dB additional power penalty, which can be attributed to the unusual losses of the through channels as well as the filtering effects of the mult notch FBGs.

To predict the allowable number of units in cascade, the system has been modeled based on link's power budgeting, the highlight of which is tabulated in Fig-6(d). It shows that DL Ch₁ at point A exhibits a power margin of 14.47 dB with received optical power and receiver sensitivity (at a BER of 10⁻⁹) of 0.07 and -14.4 dBm, respectively. If the power penalty is considered to add up linearly with an increasing number of OADMs and the same lossy OCs are used, four OADMs can be used in cascade. However, if the lossy OCs are replaced with standard OCs having typical through channel loss, the number of cascadable units will increase to ten.

IV. Conclusion

The performance of the proposed WDM optical interface in a single and cascaded configuration is characterized experimentally. The results show that the 37.5-GHz band 25-GHz separated WI-DWDM channels can be routed via the proposed interface without significant performance degradation. The characterizations as well as the modeling results confirm the viability of the proposed interface in ring/bus network architectures with observed negligible power penalty for each stage of cascade. The interface enhances the performance of the system in both the uplink and downlink directions, while continuing to perform its routine OADM functionalities and delivery of uplink optical carriers.

References

- H. Ogawa, D. Polifko, and S. Banba, "Millimeter wave fiber optics systems for personal radio communication", *IEEE Trans. Microw. Theory Tech.*, vol. 40, no. 12, pp. 2285–2293, Dec. 1992.
- C. Lim, A. Nirmalathas, D. Novak, R. S. Tucker, and R. B. Waterhouse, "Technique for increasing optical spectral efficiency in millimeter-wave WDM fiber-radio", *Electron. Lett.*, vol. 37, no. 16, pp. 1043–1045, 2001.
- A. Nirmalathas, D. Novak, C. Lim, and R. Waterhouse, "Wavelength reuse in the WDM optical interface of a millimeter-wave fiber-wireless antenna base station", *IEEE Trans. Microw. Theory Tech.*, vol. 49, no. 10, pt. 2, pp. 2006–2012, Oct. 2001.
- M. Bakaul, A. Nirmalathas, and C. Lim, "Multifunctional WDM optical interface for millimeter-wave fiber-radio antenna base station", *J. Lightw. Technol.*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 1210–1218, Mar. 2005.
- R. D. Esman and K. J. Williams, "Wideband efficiency improvement of fiber optic systems by carrier subtraction", *IEEE Photon. Technol. Lett.*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 218–220, Feb. 1995.
- "Experimental verification of cascadability of WDM optical interfaces for DWDM millimeter-wave fiber-radio base station", in *IEEE Top. Meet. Microwave Photonics (MWP'04)*, 2004, pp. 169–172.

The Evolution and Role of the UN Peacekeeping Operations towards Peace and Security of the Contemporary World

Ahmad Rajib Chowdhury*
Farzana Hoq*

Abstract:

So far 20 UN peacekeeping missions have already been working in different parts of the world since its first launch in 1956 as a result of the Suez crisis. These UN peace operations have succeeded to save the world from another third world war. The peacekeepers have been busy with the duty of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding from its inauguration to this modern 21st century. As the nature of the conflicts is changing, the peacekeepers have been undertaking different activities like the prevention of conflict, assisting in political process, reforming, restructuring, training and strengthening institutions, electoral assistance, assisting in human rights and judicial mechanism, humanitarian assistance etc. Despite of some problems, the UN peacekeeping operations have achieved enormous success to the peaceful coexistence among and within the nations which was the primary objective of the United Nations itself. A successful coordination between the various factors within and outside the United Nations is necessary for their better performance.

1. Introduction

Economic stability between the countries and peaceful coexistence among the nations are crucial for the proper development as we are now passing through the era of globalization. As a world organization, the United Nations (UN) was established after the 'World War II' in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to prevent disputes from escalating into war, to persuade opposing parties to use the conference table rather than the force of arms and to help restore peace when conflict breaks out (United Nations, Charter). So, there was a strong commitment by the UN to strengthen means of conflict management. The UN Charter mainly conceptualizes the concept of peace with the maintenance of international peace and security through renunciation of the use of force except in defending collective interest (United Nations, Charter).

Over the decades, the UN has helped to contain or end numerous conflicts, in many cases through the deployment of peacekeeping operations. It has developed its capacity both in the political field as a peacekeeping and peacemaking organization and as a crucial factor in relationships among nations and, in the economic, social and humanitarian fields as an agent for peaceful change (Karmakar 488-89).

*Lecturer, Department of Law and Justice, Metropolitan Universit, Sylhet

The historical ride of peacekeeping shows us the dramatic changes in managing conflict by the UN, by both qualitative and quantitative initiatives to overcome the challenges of the changing world. The peacekeepers have been quite successful in their multidimensional activities throughout the world. In some areas of the world, they helped maintaining prevention of conflicts, assisting in the peace-process as a mediator or negotiator and helping the institution building in the post-conflict situations in the areas of peace-operations. But the road to success is not so easy for the peacekeepers. Still now the UN presides over a world which, on the one hand, is already armed to its teeth and, on the other hand, where one-fourth of mankind languishes in squalor and impoverishment (Khan 419).

So, it is like a mammoth-task for the UN to revise and restructure the overall policies, training, cooperations in relation to the management of the peacekeeping operations. Now it is time to see how the United Nations responds to the upcoming crisis and challenges as those are relevant reputation and perception of the United Nations as a successful universal organization.

2. Evolution of the UN Peacekeeping Operation

The term peacekeeping does not exist in the UN Charter. It has been referred as belonging to "chapter six and a half" of the UN Charter (Slim 6) because chapter six provides for mediation and fact finding while chapter seven provides for more forceful measures such as military intervention. As various perceptions and definitions exist, in this study 'peacekeeping' will refer to the collective deployment of force by the international community to keep or enforce peace. Since establishment, the United Nations has been applying certain methods for the preservation of peace and security. One of the many methods is the use of military personnel. The first such opportunity came in 1948 when the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) was formed to supervise the truce following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 (Ali 89). The first peacekeeping activity took place in 1956 as a result of the Suez crisis. The UN Emergency Force (UNEF) was established to position itself between the hostile forces and to supervise the withdrawal of British and French forces from the Suez Canal and Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula (Shaw 847).

2.1. The First Generation of Peacekeeping

At preliminary level, the very concept of UN Peacekeeping Operations was known as 'The First Generation of Peacekeeping'. These early peacekeeping operations were rather narrowly defined - usually along a line of control or a border zone. According to Taylor, their simple mandate was simple- "Step between warring countries that have just called a cease-fire and make sure the two sides don't shoot at each other" (2005). This generation had to follow some guidelines like the full support of the Security Council, consent of all parties involved in the conflict, representation of regional interests of the participating nations, prohibition for the permanent members to contribute forces and the ability of peacekeepers to use force only in case of self-defense etc. (Mackinlay and Chopra 114).

This practice of the UN forces to act as a buffer between the warring parties with troop withdrawals and negotiations was known as 'peacekeeping'. It is defined by

Ghali as “a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflicts and the making of peace” (12). For example, UNEF patrolled the Egypt-Israel armistice demarcation line and the international frontier to the south of the Gaza Strip and brought relative quiet to the area. In 1967, when another fighting broke out between Israel and Egypt, UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization) supervised the cease-fire. Almost a year later, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) was authorized to monitor relations between the two nations. Other operations have monitored troop withdrawal in Afghanistan in 1988-90, in the Iran- Iraq truce in 1988-91 and in Georgia in 1993.

2.2. The Second Generation of Peacemaking

The concept of ‘The Second Generations of the Peacekeeping Operations’ (commonly cited as ‘peacemaking’) evolved during and after the end of cold war, especially during the period of 1990s. Monitoring the cease-fire agreements by traditional activities was not all successful in the sense that fighting could occur again. So, there was urgent need for the transformation of the peacekeeping missions for the achievement of permanent peace instead of a provisional one like the objective of the traditional peacekeeping. The other reasons were the end of superpower conflict, growing number of intra-state wars, reduction of state power, ambiguity of the position of the traditional front lines, difficulties in identifying the warring parties, rapid growth of militia groups and private security forces, abandonment of the rules of combat, prolonged existence of conflicts, difficulties for the civilians as they were the target with mass murder, rape, ethnic cleansing, and other acts of aggression targeting civilians (Ramsbotham and Woodhouse 53; J. Singh 81). The second generation peacekeepers find themselves in more challenging environments, as William said “with a shift from intervening in static (or ‘frozen’) inter-state conflicts to increasing engagement in ongoing (or ‘hot’) civil wars. Within these complex environments, the emphasis has shifted from a monitoring or observation role to attempts to actively resolve and settle conflicts” (1). The process ‘peacemaking’ has been defined as “an action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations” (Ghali 20). It was used where the normal institutions of a state are near collapse, or have collapsed, and a state of anarchy exists (J. Singh 81).

In the 1990s, such peacekeeping missions were undertaken in Cambodia (1991–93), the former Yugoslavia (1992–95), Somalia (1992–95) etc. Between 1988 and 2000 more than 30 peacekeeping efforts were authorized, and at their peak in 1993 more than 80,000 peacekeeping troops representing 77 countries were deployed on missions throughout the world. These missions became much more dynamic and complex in terms of conflict resolutions in that phase of second generation. For example, the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia and the United Nations Observer Mission for the Verification of the Elections in Nicaragua (UNOVEN) from 1989 to 1990, the United Nations Observer Group in EL Salvador (UNOSAL) from 1991 to 1995, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTC) from 1992 to 1993 and the United Nations

Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ) from 1992 to 1994 are show cases for this enlarge new type of peacekeeping (Wikipedia). These operations not only monitored cease-fires and the withdrawal of foreign forces but also reconstructed and demobilized the conflict areas by disarming combatants and gaining custody of weapons.

2.3. The Third Generation of Peacebuilding

This latest generation is often been called as 'The Multidimensional Era or Peacebuilding'. 'Peacebuilding' is defined as "an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Ghali 21). The very aim of this new generation is to deal with intra-state conflicts and civil wars, to essentially seek their de-militarization, so that peace and security can be restored. These have often been called as peace-enforcement operations.

According to Bertram, it was the second move by the United Nations towards a prominent role for the organisation as an agent of democratic transitions (388). The concept of such generation was to work as a counterpart of preventive diplomacy, which seeks to avoid the breakdown of peaceful conditions (Ghali 45).

3. Multidimensional Functions of the Present Peacekeeping Operations

Although past military observer missions have also included non-military tasks, a growing number of UN peacekeeping operations have become multidimensional, composed of a range of components including military, civilian police, political, civil affairs, rule of law, human rights, humanitarian, reconstruction, public information, gender etc. Peacekeepers are now busier than ever before with different tasks according to their mandate. This growth is not only in quantity but also in quality. The soldiers of peace are expected to be the philosophers, moralists and humanists. They are expected not only to be placed in tactical high ground but also to hold the moral high ground (Mufleh 47). So, it's not an easy task to explain all the activities of the variant nature of the peacekeeping. Realizing this factor, former UN Secretary General Kofi A. Annan has said that the peace operations:

[. . .] could be rapidly overtaken by new developments. It is much trying to paint a moving train. Though the engine is gathering speed and new tracks are being laid, the nature of the journey remains essentially unchanged-the United Nations' quest for peace-keeping, preventive diplomacy and post conflict peace- building. (United Nations, *UN Peacekeeping* 14)

The former UN Under-Secretary General of Political Affairs Marrack Goulding identified seven distinct types of present functions of peacekeeping. These are preventive deployment, traditional peacekeeping, negotiated settlement, humanitarian operations, assistance to failed states, cease-fire enforcement and peace enforcement (Ali 100-2).

Mandate is quite important for the multidimensionality of the peace operations. Depending on their mandate, multidimensional peacekeeping operations may be required to assist in implementing a peace agreement, monitor a ceasefire or cessation of hostilities to allow political negotiations and a peaceful settlement of

disputes, provide a secure environment for civilian life, prevent the outbreak or spillover of conflict across borders, lead states or territories through a transition to stable government based on democratic principles, good governance and economic development, administer a territory for a transitional period to carry out all the functions that are normally the responsibility of a government, help former opponents to implement complex peace agreements by negotiating with a range of political and civil society actors, support the delivery of humanitarian assistance, assist the disarmament as well as demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, supervise and conduct elections, establish the rule of law including assistance with judicial reform and training of civilian police, promoting respect for human rights with post-conflict recovery and rehabilitation and to set up a transitional administration of a territory as it moves towards independence.

Modern peacekeeper may also assist in political progress in a post conflict territory by compiling profiles of key players in a conflict or peace process, analyzing political developments, establishing contacts with parties to the conflict at all levels, developing strategies to achieve or implement peace agreements, working with diplomats to use the leverage of member states, providing policy advice to government officials, interacting with donors to mobilize resources for peace negotiations or peace-building activities etc.

In fact, it is apparent that the peacekeepers have developed a concept of peace maintenance providing an overall political framework for the objectives of diplomatic activities, humanitarian assistance, military force, and civilian components to be not only coordinated but also harmonized (Bratt 68).

4. Role of the UN Peacekeepers in Establishing Peace and Security in Contemporary World

Building peace from the ashes of war was not very easy for the United Nations but the peacekeepers have been able to do it quite convincingly over the years. Interposed between the hostile states, or sometimes between hostile communities within a state, they have saved countless lives and contributed to creating the conditions necessary for the peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiations. Tharoor points out that peacekeeping remains very useful for the United Nations itself because of some advantages like burden sharing, cost effectiveness, establishment of peace and democracy to some conflict torn countries like Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, East Timor, Haiti, Afghanistan etc. (125).

The balance sheet of successes and failures of the UN peace keeping machinery suggests that it has more success to its credit than failure. The peacekeepers have been successful in serving as buffer forces designed to cool off the situation in order to bring the parties to conference table to negotiate a durable solution to the problem. These operations have proved to be more popular in resolution of international conflicts than the enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter which is always subjected to great power politics (G. Singh 395). In a recent study of the RAND Corporation, it was concluded by Dobbins that UN peacekeeping was the most suitable institutional framework for most nation-building missions, with a

comparatively low cost structure, a comparatively high success rate, and the greatest degree of international legitimacy (27).

The UN peacekeeping forces achieved their better recognition when it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1998 for demanding and hazardous service in the cause of peace. In accepting the award on their behalf, the then Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar said:

[. . .] Peace-keeping operations symbolize the world community's will to peace and represent the impartial, practical expression of that will. The award of the Nobel Prize to these operations illustrates the hope and strengthens the promise of this extraordinary concept. (Nobelprize.org)

The followings illustrate the contributions of the UN peacekeepers in the maintenance of international peace.

4.1. In the Prevention of Conflict

Historians have charted a strong inverse correlation between peacekeeping deployments and war casualties, that is, as peacekeeping goes up, war casualties go down, in both the short and long term. The number of UN peacekeeping operations has increased by more than four times since the end of the cold war. As this upsurge of international activism grew in scope and intensity through the 1990s and 2000s, the number of crises, wars and genocides has begun to decline. For example, The MONUC (UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo) operation in Congo was aimed at preventing great power intervention, restoring domestic peace, rebuilding the nation's economy and unifying the state. During its operations, MONUC succeeded in preventing Congo from becoming a great power battle ground, integrating secessionist states, and restoring a measure of political and economic stability (Karmakar 492).

In terms of the traditional peacekeeping role, the deployment of peacekeepers to Lebanon in August 2006 was an important milestone for United Nations peacekeeping. It made possible the withdrawal of the Israel Defense Forces and for the first time, the deployment of Lebanese Armed Forces throughout southern Lebanon. Deployment of UNIFIL (The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) has created a stable operational area as a basis for international efforts to revitalize the political process leading to a permanent ceasefire (United Nations, UN peacekeeping 2007 53).

4.2. Assisting in Political Process

In addition to maintaining peace and security, peacekeepers are increasingly charged with assisting in political processes with mediation and diplomacy, reforming justice systems, training law-enforcement and police forces, and disarming former combatants. For example, under its disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, the UN Mission in Sierra Leone alone destroyed 42,330 weapons and more than 1.2 million rounds of ammunition, disarmed 75,490 combatants including 6,845 child soldiers and provided reintegration benefits to almost 55,000 ex-fighters. In Mozambique, for example, UN peace keeping helped in the time of transition to build up self- sustaining peace. UN peacekeeping aided

the transition to democratic rule in Namibia and supported similar transitions in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. The joint United Nations-African Union (UN-AU) peacekeeping in Darfur has been discharging their duties for the protection of civilians as its core mandate, as well as contributing to security for humanitarian assistance, monitoring and verifying implementation of agreements, assisting an inclusive political process, contributing to the promotion of human rights and rule of law, and monitoring and reporting on the situation along the borders.

4.3. Reforming, Restructuring, Training and Strengthening Institutions

Another task for UN Peacekeepers as 'civilian police' has been to reform, restructure and train national police services to help ensure that they become respected, sustainable, well-structured law enforcement institutions. Examples of these mandates include the missions in Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Eastern Slovenia in Croatia (United Nations, Handbook 87). In Liberia, UNMIL (United Nations missions in Liberia) continues to assist the Govt. to maintain stability and security throughout the country. This, in turn, enables the Govt. to focus their energy on national recovery and reconstruction objectives, such as implementation of anti-corruption and poverty reduction strategies, security sector reform and increasing state revenue.

4.4. Electoral Assistance

UN electoral assistance has become a regular and increasingly important feature in UN peace operations. The peace-soldiers assisted with election in countries like Nicaragua and Haiti (1990), Angola (1992), Cambodia (1993), El Salvador, South Africa and Mozambique (1994), Eastern Slovenia and Liberia (1997), and the Central African Republic (1998 & 1999). Peace-keepers also observed the 1993 referendum in Eritrea, and organized and conducted the 1999 popular consultation in East Timor and its 2001 and 2002 elections, which led to the independence of East-Timor as Timor-Leste (United Nations, *Basic Facts* 79).

In 2005 alone, UN peacekeepers supported elections in five post-conflict countries like Afghanistan, Burundi, Iraq, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo with populations totaling over 100 million people, giving a total of over 56 million registered voters the possibility to exercise their democratic franchise. The high point of the year 2006 was perhaps the surprisingly successful elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In Sierra Leone, UNIOSIL (United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone) provided technical support to both the National Electoral Commission and the Political Parties Registration Commission. These support played a vital role in the presidential and parliamentary elections considered a successful step in consolidating democracy in August 2007. In Afghanistan, cooperation between UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and provincial Afghan authorities has proved particularly effective in strengthening the capacity of local governance in 2007. UNMIN (United Nations Mission in Nepal) has also become successful to hold the elections in Nepal in April 2008.

4.5. Assisting in Promoting Human Rights and Judicial Mechanism

Some UN peacekeeping operations have assisted in establishing mechanisms to address alleged war crimes, crimes against humanity and serious human rights violations. They have advised national authorities on options, such as special tribunals, truth and reconciliation commissions, reparations programmes and traditional justice procedures.

Recently they have become directly involved in judicial assistance and support efforts. The peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, Timor-Leste and Afghanistan all established since 1999, have been mandated to provide such assistance and they have been quite successful in those areas with judicial assistance and support efforts. (United Nations, Handbook 95).

4.6. Humanitarian assistance

In addition to the other activities of the above, the peacekeepers have also been assisting in humanitarian missions, administrative management, institution building, restoration of infrastructure and services, saving relief shipments, providing services for victims, responding to refugee needs, enforcing embargoes, removing mines etc. For example, during 2006, MONUC organized over 350 humanitarian missions to Congo's most isolated and vulnerable people facilitated and implemented 100 quick-impact projects which assisted some 250,000 Congolese and also supported the transportation of 206 tons of humanitarian cargo.

5. Conclusion

The growth of the peacekeeping missions and the multidimensional tasks they have been taken so far, remind us the unified character of the peacekeepers as a soldier, a peace builder, a mediator and an architect of the people's dream. What they had done so far, really were the demand of conscience of the people of the world. They have already had success to prevent a Third World War, which was the ultimate object of the United Nations. They have also become mostly successful to create a peaceful situation within and among the disputed countries. The method of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding not only increased the credibility of the United Nations but also enhanced the prestige and international acceptance of the countries that offered their troops to make peacekeeping possible. It's true that they alone can not achieve a lasting peace. This is dependant upon the various partners involved in implementing the mandate like the parties to the conflict, the host government, opposition groups, irregular forces as well as administrative entities and other parties such as neighboring countries and communities, civil society and the local population and media; above all, the effective co-ordination by the UN in relation to its cooperation within itself. The dream of long lasting peace in the world can only be carried by them, if they are properly managed in discharging their duties.

Reference

- Ali, T.A. Zearat. "The Changing Nature of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations." *BISS Journal* 18.2 (1997): 88-123. Bertram, Eva. "Reinventing Government: The Promise and Perils of United Nations Peace Building." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39.3 (1995): 387-418.
- Bratt, Duane. "Peace over Justice: Developing a Framework for UN Peacekeeping Operations in Internal Conflicts." *Global Governance* 5 (1999): 63-81.
- Dobbins, James, et al., *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From the Congo to Iraq*. Pittsburgh: RAND Corp., 2005.
- Ghali, Boutros Boutros. *An Agenda for Peace*. Geneva: UDPI, 1992.
- Govt. of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *The Role of Bangladesh in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. Dhaka: EPW, 2006.
- Islam, Nazrul. "Blessed are the Peace Makers." *The Daily Star online* 4 Feb. 2006. 12 Aug. 2008
http://www.thedailystar.net/suppliments/2006/15thanniv/celebrating_bd/celeb_bd09.htm.
- Karmakar, Abijit. "Forty Years of the United Nations and world Peace: An overview." *BISS Journal* 6 (1985): 484-512.
- Khan, Mizanur Rahman. "UN System and Global Peace and Security: An Assessment." *BISS Journal* (1996): 418-429.
- Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra. "Second Generation Multinational Operations." *The Washington Quarterly* 2 (1992): 113-131.
- Mufleh, R. Osmany. "Training and Operation in Support of United Nations Peacekeeping Efforts." *Journal of International Affairs* 2 (1995): 46-55. Nobelprize.org. 2008. *Nobel Lecture*. 9 Jan. 1989. 18 Aug 2008 <http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1988/un-lecture.html>.
- Ramsbotham, and Tom Woodhouse. *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution*. London: Frank Cass, 48-61.
- Shaw, Malcolm N. *International Law* 4th ed. UK: Cambridge U P, 2000.
- Singh, Gurdip. *International Law*. New Delhi: Aditya Book (Pvt.) Ltd., 1992.
- Singh, Jasjit. "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: The Challenges of Chance." *Indian Journal of International Law* 35 (1995): 77-89.
- Slim, Hugo. "Military Humanitarianism and the New Peacekeeping: An Agenda for Peace?" *IDS Bulletin* 27(1996). 22 July 2008
<<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/bulletin/bull273.html>>.
- Taylor, Michael. "U.N. Peacekeeping Mandate Stretched to The Limit." *San Francisco Chronicle* 25 June 2005. 23 March 2008
<<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2005/06/25/MNGNMDEQNU1.DTL>>

- Tharoor, Shashi. "United Nations Peacekeeping in Europe." *Survival* 37.2 (1995): 121-134.
- United Nations. *Basic Facts about the United Nations*. New York: UN DPI. 2004.
- . *Charter of the United Nations*. 15 Aug. 2008
<<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/chapter7.htm>>.
- . *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*. New York: DPKO. 2003.
- . *Monthly Summary of Contributors of Military and Civilian Police Personnel*. DPKO. 30 June 2008. 19 Aug. 2008
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2008/jun08_1.pdf>.
- . *UN peacekeeping 2007: Excerpts from the report of the UN Secretary General on the work of the organization*. DPKO. Sep. 2007. 10 Aug. 2007
<<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/SGreport.pdf>>.
- . *United Nations Peacekeeping*. New York: UN DPI. 1993.
- Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia. 2001. *Peacekeeping*. 10 Aug. 2008
<<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/peacekeeping>>.
- Williams, Michael C. *Civil-Military Relations and Peacekeeping*. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1998.

Determining the Province of Judicial Review: A Re-evaluation of 'Basic Structure' of the Constitution of Bangladesh

Dr. M Jafar Ullah Talukder*
M. Jashim Ali Chowdhury†

Abstract

The fascinating doctrine of Basic Structure resides in the nitty-gritty of the highly sophisticated debate on the scope of constitution amending power. It has become a vibrant tool of judicial activism to protect the constitutional edifice faced with the invincible parliamentary super majority from ruination. The substance of the claim is that there are certain structural pillars of the Constitution which cannot be dismantled by parliament in the name of amendment. It was planted strappingly in the judicial culture of Bangladesh by Anwar Hossain Chowdhury v. Bangladesh 1989 BLD (Spl) 1. Though since Anwar Hossain it has got a confident practical acceptance, a plain reading of Article 142 of the Constitution puts the doctrine into the foggy of controversy, incongruity and inapplicability in certain cases. This article aims at outlining the clarified range of the reach of the doctrine as well as the flat standard of its identification to shun the duskiness rotating round the contents of the notion.

1. Introduction

The celebrated doctrine of Basic Structure is the most outstanding constitutional 'invention' of the Indian Supreme Court in *Kesavananda Bharati Case*. The gist of the dictum is that parliament could not use its amending powers to 'damage', 'emasculate', 'destroy', 'abrogate', 'change' or 'alter' the 'basic structure' or framework of the Constitution.

Since then the premise of this proposition has become a *cause celebre* (Hossain and Omar, *Coup d' etat*) in some newer Commonwealth countries especially in South Asia. In Bangladesh it was given a thriving trial by the Appellate Division in *Anwar Hossain Chowdhury v. Bangladesh* 1989 BLD (Spl) 1. A majority of 3:1 of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court struck down the Constitution (Eighth) Amendment Act, 1988 establishing six permanent Benches of the High Court Division outside Dhaka on the charge of being violative of the basic structure of the Constitution. While scrutinizing the *Anwar Hossain case* three most striking constitutional implications of it become noticeable.

First, the Judiciary has got a free hand in defining basic structure making the concept a fluctuating one and hence bad. *Second*, the judiciary has got a final say over the power of the parliament to amend the constitution. *Third* and the most sweeping one is that judiciary will thereby not only trump over the 'will of the people' expressed through an elected legislature, but also the 'absolute will' of the people in case of amendments effected through referendum.

*Assistant Professor, Department of Law, University of Chittagong

†Lecturer, Department of Law, University of Information Technology and Sciences (UITS), Chittagong

Against this backdrop, even though feeling deeply associated with the platitude that a democracy like ours is vulnerable to its own representatives due to 'excessive adventures with power' coupled with uncertain political consciousness and illiteracy of the people (Sethi 41), this paper argues:

First, that the plea of inherent limitation on the power of amendment is not plausible as it makes certain provisions of the Constitution (which again are to be determined by the court on case to case basis) virtually fixed for ever;

Second, that though mere parliamentary amendments (effected through two thirds majority in the House) may be subjected to judicial oversight, amendment effected through referendum (Article 142 (1A)) must not be; and

Third, the judicial oversight on parliamentary amendment again should be circumscribed by fixing or expanding, if necessary, the list of basic structures in Article 142 (1A) of the Constitution so that the basic structure does not become a matter of continuing uncertainty.

Before the assertions are presented with justifications and replies to possible objections, we start with a brief account of the constitutional provision regulating the amendment procedure.

2. Amending Process of the Constitution

The Parliament is given the legislative power in Article 65 while the procedure of amending the constitution is prescribed in Article 142 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. An amendment to the constitution may be made through a Bill passed in the parliament by the votes of not less than two thirds of the total members of the Parliament. There is however, clause (1A) inserted in Article 142 by the Second Proclamation Order No IV of 1978. This clause provided for referendum in excess of two thirds majority in cases where the amending Bill intended to amend the preamble or any of the Articles 8, 48, 56, 58, 80, 92A and 142. The President shall refer the Bill to referendum before his assent is given. This again was amended by the Act No XXVIII of 1991 which omitted Articles 58, 80 and 92A from the list.

3. Is There anything Anamendable in the Constitution?

In *Anwar Hossain* case the Court emphasized on the inherent limitation on the power of amendment. It was assumed that amending power is a limited power, by express provisions or necessary implications. Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed made a difference between 'adoption of a new constitution' and 'the derivative power of amending the constitution' and having regard to the term 'amendment' took the view that amendment of the Constitution does not mean its abrogation or destruction or a change resulting in the loss of its identity and character (Para 378).

The contention that 'amendment' does not mean fundamental change resulting in the losing of identity may be disputed at least on three grounds. *First*, if the

fundamental character of a constitution can never be changed, should it not mean that a particular generation is governing the future from the grave particularly when the Constitution, as B H Chowdhury J puts it, does not contain any provision to *repeal or replace* the constitution' (Para 256)? *Secondly*, the presence of Article 142 (1A) along with the absence of provision for 'replacing or repealing' the constitution makes it clear that there is no other way to effect change, either trivial or drastic, in the Constitution except the Article 142 procedure. There is no provision for establishing a Constituent Assembly to overhaul the Constitution if necessity arises.

Thirdly, our constitution is 'the solemn expression of the will of the people' (Article 7). Now think of a situation when the people of Bangladesh think of a completely new version of it with fundamental changes in the philosophy and structure of the Constitution. Any such effort will not be tenable under the scheme of Basic Structure of the present Constitution as there are some basic features which according to *Anwar Hossain* case are not amendable in any circumstances (Para 255). Should we construe the intention of the framers of the Constitution in this way? An unamendable constitution is the worst tyranny of time. So the argument of inherent limitation is a misnomer to establish that there are some provisions which can never be changed. Constitution is particularly hard to amend but not unamendable.

4. Judicial Review of Constitutional Amendment

On judicial review of constitutional amendments, some poses an outright rejection of the concept, while some other asserts a sweeping claim of such power. However, we are not willing to generalize the formulation in that way. Taking cognizance of the nature and modes of amendment, our stance on judicial review of constitutional amendment is distinct for two types of amendments which we call *parliamentary amendment* and *popular amendment*.

4.1. Amendment made by the Parliament alone

While judicial review of laws passed by parliament is marked as a precursor of constitutional supremacy, judicial review of the constitutional amendments is seen with both 'reverence and suspicion' (Kamal 139). There are arguments disputing the judicial review of parliamentary amendment. *First*, some argue that judiciary should protect the Constitution *as it is* and check that ordinary laws do not violate the Constitution. The judiciary should not define how the constitution *should be* which, it is argued, the 'basic structure' purports to ensure. If the Court ventures into this path, that would be tantamount to Judicial Supremacy or 'government by the court' (Hossain and Omar, Constitutionalism).

Secondly, amendment of the constitution being a political question should remain out of judicial review (Hossain and Omar, Constitutionalism). *Thirdly*, the amending power of parliament (constituent power) is distinct from its plenary legislative power. The power of amendment is not dealt with in the Part which deals with composition, powers and functions of Parliament and Article 65 is not

applicable in case of amendment of the Constitution under Article 142 (Islam 404). In exercising its constituent power the Parliament is, in the words of ATM Afzal J, responsible to electorate only and hence judicial review of constituent action should be barred (Para 530).

It is submitted that all the arguments lack strong foundation and are rebuttable. *Firstly*, it is one of the salient features of 'Constitutional Supremacy' that amendment of the constitution is particularly rigid and cumbersome. There are many ways to ensure this. Requirement of two thirds majority for constitutional amendment is only one of them. Judiciary as a guardian of the Constitution should have a say in constitutional amendment. This is nothing but another sign of rigidity of the Constitution. Once elected, the parliamentarians do not inherit a blanket power to do everything they wish until they are de-elected in the next election (Hoque, A Reply). This argument is extremely relevant. This if not ensured will make the constitution a plaything in the hands of the majority party ridden parliament and thus will give birth to '*Parliamentary Supremacy*' which also is surely not contemplated by the framers of the constitution.

As to the second point, it is not disputed that amendment may be the result of political agenda or policy determination. But is this not the case with almost every law passed by a particular parliament? Does law making by a particular ruling party not reflect its political ideology and convenience? So if political question is not evoked in ordinary legislation why should it be preached only for constitutional amendments? Moreover the doctrine of political question is not applicable at least in parliamentary amendments due to Article 7 which implies the concept of limited government. Nobody can transgress the limit by asserting the doctrine of political question (Islam 311). The Appellate Division in *Special Reference no 1* of 1995 observed:

There is no magic in the phrase 'political question'. While maintaining judicial restraint the Court is the ultimate arbiter in deciding whether it is appropriate in a particular case to take upon itself the task of undertaking a pronouncement on an issue which may be dubbed as a political question.

Thirdly, the proposition that the parliament's power of amendment is a constituent power and as such is not subject to judicial review also seems no more to hold the field. In *Anwar Hossain case*, while wrongly conceding the difference between the constituent power and legislative power, the Court wrongly emphasized on 'inherent limitation' on the power of amendment to hold it to be subject of judicial review. Despite agreeing with the *obiter dicta*, we submit that the plea of amendment being a constituent power better suits in another place which we address later. That 'inherent limitation' lacks substance is already shown. Rather there is a far better approach to bring parliamentary constitutional amendment under judicial review which was mistakenly rejected in *Anwar Hossain*.

It was argued in *Anwar Hossain case* that an Act of Parliament amending the constitution will be 'any other law' within the meaning of Article 7 to attract the operation of the provision 'if any other law is inconsistent with this Constitution that other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void' (Article 7(2)). This

was rejected simply on the ground that an amendment is passed in the exercise of constituent power.

But later in *Kudrat-e-Elahi Panir Case* Mustafa Kamal J held to the contrary, “This Constitution taken as a whole is a law, albeit the supreme law and by ‘any other law’ and ‘that other law’ the Constitution refers to the definition of Law in Article 152(1), *including a Constitutional Amendment* (Para 84). Under Article 152 (1) "law" means any Act, ordinance, order rule, regulation, bye-law, notification or other legal instrument, and any custom or usage having the force of law in Bangladesh. This was again confirmed in *The Moon Cinema* verdict (Page 54). Moreover, if we compare Article 7 with Article 26 it is seen that while the latter was amended by the Third Amendment to mean that it does not hit Article 142, the former was not amended to such effect (Islam 403). So an amendment under Article 142 is very well hit by Article 7.

In fact judicial review of parliamentary amendments has become a regular practice in Bangladesh. The Tenth Amendment was challenged in *Dr. Ahmed Hossain v. Bangladesh* and *Fazle Rabbi v. Election Commission*. The Thirteenth Amendment was challenged in *Mashihur Rahman v. Bangladesh*. The Fifth Amendment was challenged in *The Moon Cinema Case*. All the challenges were decided on merit and no question regarding the propriety of judicial review was raised.

4.2. Amendments made through referendum

While launching Basic Structure, the Appellate Division did not make any distinction between amendment made by two thirds majority in the House and amendment effected by the House plus referendum. This is very much important in the sense that though the 8th Amendment was not effected through a referendum, the pronouncement of the Court at least theoretically runs the risk of affecting a popular amendment.

Only one of the judges in *Anwar Hussain Case*, B H Chowdhury J made reference to the Martial Law Amendment of Article 142 rendering the Preamble and some other provision *unamendable without referendum to the people* (Para 256). He made that reference only to establish that the constitution itself recognizes something as ‘Basic’ over which the majority was pondering. Yet by analogy of the phrase ‘unamendable without referendum to the people’ we may presume B H Chowdhury J to acknowledge that these ‘basic principles’ are amendable by the people.

But there is a tendency to camouflage the Article 142 (1A) as whole in the basic structure talk. It is evident when Mahmudul Islam, a pro-basic structure scholar, criticizes even the elusive reference made by B H Chowdhury. To him such a reference is misleading. As basic structure is an issue of original dispensation, it cannot depend on the interpretation of an amended provision (Islam 394). But total camouflage of Article 142 (1A) or its spirit in Basic Structure discourse will not be logically correct. A distinct approach to amendments under 142 (1A) procedure is warranted at least on three grounds:

First, even from the perspective of ‘originalism’ (the ‘romantic theory’ of literature wherein, the meaning intended by the author of a text is privileged and is placed above all the contesting meanings that are argued) it is well evident that while the concept of limited government in Article 7, upon which *Anwar Hossain* resides, is intended for the different functionaries of the state, the constitution being the expression of their will, the people’s right to amend any provision of the constitution by way of addition, alteration, substitution or repeal is unlimited.

Secondly, the plea of amending power to be a constituent power mentioned in the previous section nicely fits with popular amendment under Article 142 (1A). It is curious to note that while amending the Constitution it is not the Parliament who exercises the constituent power. Article 142 of the constitution merely lays down the amending procedure. It does not confer upon the parliament the power to amend the Constitution. The amending power of parliament arises from other provision of the Constitution (Article 65) which gives it the power to make laws i.e., plenary legislative power.

Rather a plain look on the Preamble of the Constitution will locate the constituent power elsewhere. The Preamble imposes a sacred duty upon the people of Bangladesh to safeguard, protect and defend the constitution and maintain its supremacy ‘as the embodiment of the will of the people of Bangladesh’. The ‘constituent power’ is here with the people of Bangladesh (Chowdhury 114). The Parliament did not and does not give us the Constitution. It is we, the People of Bangladesh who ‘adopt, enact and give to ourselves’ the Constitution. So the constituent power resides exclusively in people. The parliament’s constituent power, if it has any, is merely derivative because ‘all powers in the Republic belong to the people, and their exercise on behalf of the people shall be effected only under, and by the authority of, this Constitution’ (Article 7(1)). The logical conclusion that follows is that amendment made by referendum, being not hit by Article 7 and being in the exercise of constituent power, is not subject to judicial review; whereas amendment made by Parliament in the exercise of derivative power is subject to judicial review.

Thirdly, distinct approach to popular amendment will answer also to the controversy regarding the Twelfth Amendment. The Appellate Division verdict in *Anwar Hussain* case argued that the past amendments altering the basic structures of our constitution provides no grounds for such amendments to be made in future (Para 213). The Twelfth Amendment turned the Presidential form of government into a Prime Ministerial one. The Presidential form of government was a basic structure of the Constitution then. Though the Prime Ministerial form of government was the result of democratic revolution of the three alliances (Islam 407), it would stand *void* as per *Anwar Hossain*. But how far it sounds rational to invalidate the Twelfth Amendment?

4.2.1 Addressing the Validity of Article 142 (1A) itself

While advocating the specialized treatment for Article 142 (1A) we should not forget that there is a well founded doubt on the validity of Martial Law Amendment introducing Article 142 (1A) (Islam 394). It was substantiated in *Moon Cinema case* where the High Court Division declared the Martial Law Amendment in Article 142 void (Page 238). A.B.M. Khairul Haque J opened the Pandora's Box of anfractuous debate (Karzon and Al Faruque 192) observing:

Addition of clause (1A) was craftily made. In the one hand the President and the Chief Martial Law Administrator was not only merrily making all the amendments in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh according to his own whims and caprices by his order... but at the same time, made provision in Article 142 itself in such a manner so that the amended provisions cannot be changed even by the two thirds majority members of the parliament short of a referendum. In short by executive Order of one person, amendment of the Constitution can be made at any time and in any manner but even the two thirds majority of the representative of the people cannot further amend it. We are simply charmed by the sheer hierocracy of the whole process." (Page 199)

The decision is stayed by the Appellate Division on appeal which is pending now. Keeping in mind that *Moon Cinema* is a matter *sub judice*, we humbly submit that we cannot altogether disregard the philosophy of Article 142 (1A). One of the main intentions behind clause (1A) was to check constitutional amendments like Fourth Amendment whereby a democratic constitution took an autocratic complexion. The Fourth Amendment is widely accused to destroy the Basic Structure of the Constitution without taking fresh mandate from the people on the new standing of the majority party. Article 142 (1A) was presumably intended to compel the majority party in the Parliament to seek popular verdict before such a drastic change in future. The force and rationale of that philosophy seems not to be very weak.

Moreover, in *Moon Cinema* verdict the High Court Division's apathy to the Fourth Amendment is evident. Though the Court refused to condone the Martial Law amendment of any of the provisions of the original Constitution, it was ready to condone the amendments deleting the various provision of the Fourth Amendment (Page 242). In this regard, the position of Article 142 (1A) is interesting. It was not in the original constitution and it did not delete any provision of the Fourth Amendment. But certainly it deleted the scope of any such Fourth Amendment in future without popular mandate. Now the burden of determining the exact constitutional status of Article 142 (1A) is on the Appellate Division. The Apex court may either accept or reject the High Court Division rationale. But it is possible to cure the gangrene by a democratic amendment re enacting the present Article 142 (1A) which is needed also for another purpose discussed below.

5. Delimitation of Basic Structures

Accepting the Judicial Review of parliamentary amendment does not relieve us of another important attack on *Anwar Hossain*. It is the issue of there being innumerable and controversial basic structures. In *Anwar Hossain Case* Shahabuddin Ahmed J gave a list of eight basic features of the Constitution (Para 377). Mohammad Habibur Rahman J added another one to the list (Para 443). Badrul Haider Chowdhury J found twenty one unique features out of which some were basic which he did not identify (Kamal 100). In India more than half of the provisions of the Indian Constitution are declared to be basic and the list is still open (Uddin 31). This never ending and ever expanding list of basic structures is creating nothing but confusion and inconsistent application. Two instances below should suffice to establish the fact.

In the aftermath of the *Babri Mosque* incident the Indian Supreme Court in *S.R. Bommai v. Union of India* justified the dismissal of the BJP led governments in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh on the ground of failure to uphold the 'secular' character, which was considered to be a basic feature, of the Indian Constitution and President's Rule was imposed there. Now, strange result may follow if someone in India approaches the Court for dismissal of a particular government on account of its capitalist policy being opposed to 'socialism', another basic feature of the Indian Constitution.

In the cases of *Zafar Ali Shah v. General Parvez Musharraf* and *Wasim Sajjad v. Pakistan* the Pakistan Supreme Court conceded the Martial Law Administrator's power to amend the constitution (Islam 393) as if democratic governance was not a basic structure of the Pakistani Constitution. At the same time it held that the Martial Law Administrator couldn't destroy the basic structures of the Constitution. How curious an application of basic structure! Does there remain anything basic while a usurper makes the constitution subservient to his will?

So it is necessary to ensure certainty in list of basic structure so that parliament will not be in a fix regarding the scope of amending power (Uddin 31). Presently Article 142 (1A) provides a short list of issues amendment of which requires referendum in addition to a two third majority in the floor. To delimit the infinity of basic structures, Article 142 (1A) of the Constitution may be amended, if we think the present list to be too short, to include some other features like constitutional supremacy (art.7), elected local government (art.59), no taxation without parliamentary approval (art.83), judicial review (art.102), judicial independence (Article 22), independence of the Election Commission (art.119) in list. Doing this will require a referendum. This if done in the form of renovation, will serve two purposes in the same journey. It may solve the validity crisis of Article 142 (1A) as well as confirm that what is basic for a political entity (i.e., the state) should be determined by the political opinion of the people not by the judges. The people will certify that these are the basic structures of the constitution amendment of which would require the Parliament to seek popular approval.

Importantly, this codification shall not foreclose the list of basics for all the time to come. If any new principle emerges in future which might then appear to be

'basic' the Legislature along with the Populace shall have the option to add that in the Constitutional list through referendum. This will mitigate the fear of changes in the power equation between the parliament and the judiciary in favour of the latter (Bhanu 110). In regular Parliamentary amendments by two third majority in the House, the Supreme Court shall, if challenged, see whether the particular amendment conforms to the basics enumerated in Article 142 (1A) or not.

6. Conclusion

One of the majority judges in *Anwar Hossain*, M H Rahman J stood out in marked contrast to the views held by other judges (Kamal 109). To invalidate the 8th Amendment he stressed on its being opposed to the philosophy enshrined in the Preamble. He argued that when the Parliament cannot *by itself* amend the Preamble, it cannot indirectly amend it by amending the provision of the constitution to impair or destroy the fundamental aim of our society (Para 338). This is a unique feature. The insinuation of M H Rahman J is that so far as the *basic* provisions like Preamble, Articles 8, 48, 56, and 142 remains intact in the Constitution, there cannot be any amendment contrary to those provisions. That is to say that while the Parliament is amending any provision of the constitution, such amendment is subject to judicial scrutiny to ensure its conformity with the *basic* provisions enumerated in Article 142 (1A). However, if Parliament wishes to amend these *basic* provisions, it may do so by seeking popular verdict.

This is the true implication of Article 7 of the Constitution which *prime facie* speaks of 'Constitutional Supremacy' but on the ultimate analysis personifies 'Supremacy of the People' when it declares 'This Constitution is, *as the solemn expression of the will of the people*, the supreme law of the Republic.' The Constitution is supreme so far as it expresses the will of the people. All the supremacies - Parliamentary, Judicial or Constitutional – must give way to the Supremacy of the People. Let the people determine the basic structures of the Constitution and let them scrap anything which they think no more to be basic. Hence, any amendment effected through referendum must be beyond any sort of judicial scrutiny while amendment passed in the floor of the Parliament must pass the test of constitutionally fixed basic structure.

Reference

Books

- Chowdhury, B Haider. *Evolution of the Supreme Court*. Dhaka: University of Dhaka, 1990.
- Islam, Mahmudul. *Constitutional Law of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Mullick Brothers, 2006.
- Kamal, Mustafa. *Bangladesh Constitution Trends and Issues*. Dhaka: University of Dhaka, 1999.

Articles

- Bhanu Pratap. "India's Living Constitution: Ideas, Practices, Controversies." *The inner conflict of constitutionalism: Judicial review and the Basic Structure* in Ed. E Sridharan. Delhi: Permanent Black. 2002. 99-148.
- Hoque Ridwanul. "On coup d' etat, constitutionalism, and the need to break the subtle bondage with alien legal thought: A reply to Omar and Hossain" *The Daily Star Law and Our Rights*. [Dhaka] 29 Oct. 2005.
- Hossain, Zakir and Omar, Imtiaz. "Constitutionalism, parliamentary supremacy, and judicial review: A short rejoinder to Hoque" *The Daily Star Law and Our Rights*. [Dhaka] 26 Nov. 2005.
- Hossain, Zakir, and Omar, Imtiaz. "Coup d' etat, constitution and legal continuity" *The Daily Star Law and Our Rights*. [Dhaka] 17, 24 Sep. 2005.
- Karzon, Sheikh Hafizur and Al Faruque, Abdullah. "Martial Law Regimes: Critically Situating the Validity of the Fifth and Seventh Amendments." *Bangladesh Journal of Law*, 2.2 (1998): 152-192.
- Sethi Anuranjan. "Basic Structure Doctrine Some Reflections". *Social Science Research Network*. 12 July. 2008
<http://ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=835165>
- Uddin, Md Moin. 2005: "Debates on Constitutional Amendment and Dilemma of the Doctrine of Basic Structure." *Law Vision*. University of Chittagong. 2004-05: 28-31.

Cases

- BIMW Ltd v Government of Bangladesh and Ors* 14 BLT (Special Issue) 2006
- Dr. Ahmed Hossain v. Bangladesh* 44 DLR (AD) 109, 110
- Fazle Rabbi v. Election Commission* 44 DLR 14
- Kesavananda Bharati Sripadagalavaru v State of Kerala and another* 1973(4) SCC 225ff
- Kudrat-e-Elahi v. Bangladesh*, 44 DLR (AD) 319
- Mashihur Rahman v. Bangladesh* 1997 BLD 55
- S.R. Bommai v. Union of India* (1994) 3 SCC 1
- Special Reference no 1 of 1995*, 47 DLR (AD) 111
- Wasim Sajjad v. Pakistan* PLD 2001 SC 233
- Zafar Ali Shah v. General Parvez Musharraf* PLD 2000 SC 869