# Full Text of Speech of the Hon'ble President at the Inaugural Function of the Electoral Reform Workshop

An Electoral Reform Workshop was organised by FEMA (Fair Election Monitoring Alliance) yesterday (October 16) at Hotel Sonargaon in Dhaka

I am delighted to be here today (October 16) to associate myself with the Workshop on Electoral Reform. I commend the initiative taken by the Fair **Election Monitoring Alliance** (FEMA) in collaboration with the Study and Research Group of Manabik Shahajya Sangstha in organising this workshop.

Election constitutes a very important and essential step in the democratisation-process and in building a democratic edifice. It is virtually the basis of democracy. It can never take its roots unless we can ensure clean and honest election which must not only be free and fair but also be competitive, periodic, inclusive and meaning-

The formation of FEMA and its initiatives constitute a milestone in the process of democratic development in Bangladesh. It succeeded in mobilising public opinion on a matter of vital public interest and through comprehensive monitoring it helped make the election process open and transparent. Its involvement in a comprehensive election monitoring effort in the 1996 General Elections was appreciated from different quarters and enhanced its credibility.

Elections in societies, such as ours, have wide dimensions. Election-centered controversies have intensified social unrest for years together resulting in untold sufferings to the commonmen. Election monitoring groups, both domestic and international, have played an important role in enhancing the credibility of the General Elections in 1991 and 1996 to the contestant political parties as well as the general public. The Election Commission, a Constitutional body having independent power of decision making, played the vital role in organising and conducting those elections. It has its own organisational set-up and powers for implementing its decisions. But the Election Commission should remember that its every step is monitored by thousands of conscious eyes

"Election is fair only if I win" kind of attitude is common to us. This attitude emanates from lack of democratic tolerance which is essential for a democratic environment. Habits of tolerance and compromise and rejection of con-

with critical scrutiny.

flict and confrontation as a means of resolving dispute have been absent in our politics. Consensus on the fundamental State policies and constructive opposition politics are essential in resolving problems that hinder development and good governance. The need of the hour is to practice democratic culture as the democratic form of Government, in spite of its defects, is better than any other form of Government.

What spontaneous mass participation in franchise can do was demonstrated in the two "model" election of Dapunia Union Parishad and Tongi Municipality. These two elections, considered the fairest of the elections in Bangladesh, were conducted by the voters themselves through the formation of All-Party Steering Committees, which also included members of various sections of the society. The Election Commission played the role of a facilitator. These model elections were marked by high turn-out of voters transparency and drastic reduction in election expense. It is proved that elections provide grounds for optimism toward improving the quality of election procedure in the country as such a "vigilant voter" is capable of guarding his own ballot against manipulation.

Election laws should undergo periodic changes to keep pace with time and situation. An election will become meaningless if it is dominated by money, black or white, spent far exceeding the limit fixed by law. This law is neither strictly enforced, nor is stringent enough to punish persons who violate it glaringly. Law should be amended requiring every candidate in a Parliamentary election to submit daily statement of election expenses from the date of acceptance of his nomination papers till submission of his final Return within 24 hours of the conclusion of the poll with further penal provision for automatic cancellation of the election result for non-compliance, besides provision for long-term imprisonment on trial as an election offence. At present Election Tribunals are presided over by over-worked Judicial officers who follow the ordinary Procedure as laid down in the Code of Civil procedure.

Consequently, an election diswhose character and integrity pute when brought to the Trimust be beyond all questions Returning officers may be apbunal takes a number of years for disposal, and in many cases pointed from among Election such election disputes remain Commission's Officers, if undisposed even when life of available as suggested by the Parliament expires. Law FEMA, but in no case Judicial may be made providing for officers like District Judges and speedy trial of election cases, Additional District Judges will say within a period of six be involved in such executive months. An Election Tribunal functions as such involvement may be constituted for each Diis likely to make them controvision with a retired Judge whose service record was very good as Presiding Officer and

schedule of any instalment

within six months prior to the

submission of nomination pa-

pers. It has been found that some persons having taken

loans of hundreds of cores of

taka and evading instalment-

payment become eligible for be-

ing candidates by repaying a

small insignificant amount,

just a few hours before the filing

of nomination papers. This act

by itself constitutes a criminal

intent to evade the mischief of

law. Again, legal provision

should be made for constituting

Advisory Councils and All-

Party Watch Committees to

monitor election process in co-

operation with the Election

Commission. Provisions may

also be made for compulsory

declaration of election results

of every Polling Station on

conclusion of the polls on the

spot. Eligibility of a person for

becoming a candidate in a Par-

liamentary election has been

laid down in Article 66 of the

Constitution. This article, to-

tally debars an insolvent or a

convict from becoming a candi-

date or from remaining a mem-

ber of Parliament. If this pro-

vision is not being obeyed, a

convict can represent people in

Parliament by just filing an ap-

peal and then avoiding its hear-

ing for years together. Pen-

dency of an appeal against con-

viction can neither suspend the

conviction nor can over-ride

any provision of the Constitu-

tion. A provision of the Consti-

tution, and for that purpose of

any law in force, shall be re-

spected, obeyed, more so, in the

case of people's representatives

Electoral reform should originate from Parliament and two members - one nominated seek to correct any impediby the Petitioner and one by the ments to access, eligibility and main Defendant. To check a transparency. Access relates to bank defaulter from seeking ballots, to polling stations, election, the existing law should be amended so that a candidates and voters. Transparency involves the presence person taking loan from any of observers and openness of bank can be taken as a "dethe process. faulter" for the purpose of election if he has not paid any instalment or has obtained a re-

Parliamentary government runs the country through meaningful debate and dialogue. Unfortunately, we have had very limited opportunity to see positive interaction in the Parliament. Under parliamentary dispensation it is through the Committees that the Parliament asserts its legislative leadership. But even after sixteen months, our Parliamentary Standing Committees on different ministries could not be formed, and dialogue and discussions among the political parties in the matter have been abortive.

Democracy must positively be related to two important issues like development and people's participation in the process of governance. There can be no democracy unless citizens take an active interest in the complex and often mundane process of governance Without popular participation even democratically elected leaders and governments can become unresponsive and unaccountable. We should also remember that for democracy to flourish, human rights must be ensured and respected. Organisations like FEMA should increasingly play an active role and function as a watchdog of democracy for its smooth func-

I hope the discussions in the workshop would heighten awareness about the various ramifications of the election process and would help in formulating suggestions and rec ommendations to update our election laws and to make them more relevant and effective.

tioning.

# Report of the Panel of Economists on the Draft Fifth Five Year Plan

A 13-member panel of economists headed by Prof Wahiduddin Mahmud was assigned to review the Fifth Five Year Plan prepared by the Planning Commission for 1997-2002. The other members of the panel include: Dr A H Shahadat Ullah, Dr A I Aminul Islam, Ataur Rahman Kaiser, Abu Ahmed Abdullah, Prof A T M Zahirul Haq, Prof Mahfuzul Haq, Prof Moinul Islam, Dr Mohammad Farash Uddin, Prof Sanat Kumar Saha, Prof Abdul Bayes, Rushiden Islam Rahman, Dr Debapriyo Bhattacharya.

#### The Background and Context

The Planing Commission deserves credit for preparing a Plan document in such a short time which many thought to be well-nigh impossible. The Commission really rose to the occasion to meet the challenge. Unfortunately, while the enthusiasm is certainly welcome, the outcome may not have been entirely what one would have expected in such a document of utmost national importance.

Past experience of development planning in Bangladesh has not been inspiring in terms of meeting lofty expectations set out in successive five-year plan documents. These documents contained a great deal of generalised statements of expectations (if not wishful thinking) without articulated well-reasoned programmes of actions backed by political determination and popular support. Quantitative projections coming out of sophisticated planning models were not translated into implementable programmes of institutional developments and policy reforms; as a result, the planning exercises have had little relevance to actual management and performance of the economy. To restore the credibility of the planning process, there must be a break from this past

tradition. The decision to formulate the Draft Fifth Five Year Plan is based on the government's well-founded belief that medium-term economic planning has not become irrelevant in the context of the new market-oriented liberalised policy environment. Such a planning framework is needed to provide a strategic vision for the country's development potential and for guiding policies towards implementing that vision (even if the sphere of the government's direct participation in economic activities may become

narrowed down). It needs to be recognised however, that the traditional process of development planning has to undergo a radical change in order for it to remain meaningful and to have an impact on national economic management. Since investments in most of the directly producing sectors in agriculture and industry now lie mainly in the domain of the private sector, it is not vary meaningful to highlight quantitative investment and output targets for these sectors. There should be therefore a shift from quantitative and allocative planning to indicative and policy planning. The primary focus should be on policies rather than on targets, on reforms rather than on projection of performance indicators. Of course, the govto undertake elaborate planning exercises for the sectors which remain mostly within the domain of the public sector i.e., physical infrastructure and

### Approach to Planning in

social sectors)

the Draft Plan The Draft Plan in its content and style of presentation, does not entirely reflect the changed context of development planning as discussed above. There on setting quantitative targets even for sectors dependent entirely on private initiatives Quantitative projections for ply-side and (or) demandside constraints to output growth, so that appropriate support programmes may be devised. Such an analytical approach does not seem to underlie the detailed numerical projections of

the Plan The targets set for the Plan may appear to be ambitious. sometimes even overly ambitious. The authors of the Plan seem to have been inspired by the widely-held view that the Bangladesh economy has the potential to go into an accelerated growth path - to even match the performance of the so-called East Asian miracle economies. In order for these targets to be credible, it needs to be shown why similar targets could not be achieved in the past and what policies will now

make the difference. There are indeed lengthy discussions on policies in the Draft Plan, but these are mostly in the nature of generalised statements or a listing of all possible policy measures as are usually found in development literature. There is little prioritising of these polices in terms of their administrative implementability or political feasibility. On difficult policy mea sures, such as those involving what is termed as 'conflict resolution, the discussions in the Draft Plan give an impression of telling what the government should do rather than what the government actually proposes to do. As a result, the Draft Plan does not adequately convey the government's determination to implement a set of time-bound

able policy measures as proposed in the Draft Plan. Ironically, however, the preparation of the Draft Plan itself seems to have undergone very little consensus-building or popular par-ticipation. At the least, the Planning Commission would do well to enlist the ownership and support of the Plan by all segments of the government. On the whole, the present document may be viewed as a first cut at a very difficult task; it may provide the basis for eliciting the views of different stakeholders and for initiating public debates and political discourses on important policy is-

It should also be recognised that the plan-making exercise should not stop at producing merely a single Plan document. There must be continuous efforts for operationalising the Plan and for reassessing its targets and strategies in the light of the evolving economic realities. Further work needs to be done to dovetail the portfolio of the government's development projects into the Plan framework. The absence of such a macro-micro link is one of the weakest points of our planning

#### **GDP** Growth Targets

The Draft Plan envisages an average annual GDP growth rate of 7.3 per cent which contrasts with the trend growth rate of about 4 per cent annually achieved over the last 15 years. To achieve this annual average growth target, the GDP growth rate is projected to increase to over 8.5 per cent by the end of the Plan period. The growth rate is in fact shown to be raised to 7.3 per cent by the second year of the Plan (that is, 1998-99). These are very optimistic targets given the current economic outlook.

For the purpose of the Plan projections, the bench-mark level of GDP growth rate can perhaps be taken to be no more than 5 per cent annually (although the actual growth rate in 1996-97 is estimated to be 5.7 per cent ). The increase in the GDP growth rate in 1996-97 can be attributed entirely to a very high rate of agricultural growth, which more than compensated for the decline in the growth of manufacturing production. (This is also true, although to a lesser extent, in the case of the realised GDP growth of 5.3 per cent in 1995-96.) To maintain this GDP growth rate (let alone improve upon it), manufacturing activities will have to be vigorously reactivated along with accelerating growth in other nonagricultural sectors, since agricultural production is not likely to continue to have above-trend rates of growth.

According to the Draft Plan,

investment in the economy

would increase by as much as 27 per cent in real terms during 1997-98 alone compared to the estimated actual level of investment in the base year 1996-97. The projected annual growth rate of investment in the subsequent Plan years, however, varies from 9 to 13 per cent (which is nevertheless way above the historical trend rate of growth of investment in the economy). The projected sudden 'jump' in the investment rate in 1997-98, which is highly implausible, is presumably required to achieve the planned acceleration in GDP growth by 1998-99 as discussed above (given the assumed time-lag of one year between investment and output). It is thus most likely that the actual performance of the economy will be way below the Plan expectation

If the Plan projection are to avoid these initial jumps in the investment rate and in the GDP growth rate, the total Plan size as well as the GDP growth target for the Plan period may need to be somewhat scaled down. The alternative would be to assume that in the later years of the Plan, investment and GDP growth would be higher than shown in the Draft Plan. However, such adjustments in the Plan figures should be made keeping in view the policy implications, so as not to give an impression of merely engaging in a numbers game.

## The Resource Balance

To finance the projected investment, adequate resources (national savings and external capital) must be mobilised if macroeconomic stability is to be maintained. In this respect, the Draft Plan provides aggregate estimates for the Plan period as a whole, which is not helpful in assessing the extent to which the national saving rate and the rate of capital inflow would have to increase during the Plan period. Moreover, the projection of the current account deficit in the balance of payments is grossly inconsistent with the assumptions made elsewhere in the Draft Plan regarding the net inflow of foreign capital. The five-year aggregates

shown in the Draft Plan imply an annual average net aid inflow of over US\$ 1.5 billion (compared to slightly over US\$ billion in both 1995-96 and 1996-97) and an annual net private capital inflow of US\$ 500 million. Together this would imply a net capital inflow at. less than 5 per cent of GDP in the final Plan year compared to

an estimated 3.2 per cent in 1996-97. Since the investment/GDP ratio is projected to increase by about 7 percentage points during the Plan period (from 17.4 per cent in 1996-97 to 24.3 per cent in 2001/2002). most of this increase in the investment rate would have to be therefore matched by the increase in the rate of national saving. In other words, the national saving/GDP ratio would have to increase from about 14 per cent in 1996-97 to about 19 per cent by the end of the Plan. How will this additional

savings be mobilised? An increased rate of surplus in the government's revenue budget could generate more public savings, but this would depend on achieving the revenue mobilisation targets (discussed below). Private savings may be mobilised into productive investment by better financial intermediation and providing better investment opportunities especially to small investors (who invest more out of their own savings compared to large bank-borrowers). On the problem of private savings, all that the Draft Plan has to say is that "information.. [regarding the saving behaviour of different sectors and classes].. will be collected and appropriate savings mobilization strategy will be devised" (para 3.3.5), which is

#### Fiscal Implications

not very convincing.

The Draft Plan presents yearwise numerical projections of fiscal balances showing how resources for financing the government's development spending will be generated. Crucial to this exercise is the projected growth of government revenue. Here again, the projections involve an inexplicable large jump in the first year of the Plan. The projected total revenue in 1997-98 represents and incredible 30 percent increase in real terms (implying about 35 percent increase in nominal terms) from the actual level of 1996-97. To achieve the target of total revenue collection for the entire Plan period, revenue collection would have to increase at an annual uniform rate of more than 15 percent annually in real terms from the actual base level (instead of about 9 percent annually as assumed in the Draft Plan). This would imply that the reve enue/GDP fatio would increase to over 16 percent in the final year of the plan compared to the actual level of less than 12 per-

cent in the base year. Increasing the revenue/GDP ratio is a highly desirable objective of fiscal planning in Bangladesh. The above revenue targets, however, need to be based on very courageous assumptions regarding the possibility of strengthening the government's tax effort. The Draft Plan enumerates different possible sources of increased revenue collection, such as better tax administration, expanded VAT coverage and increased efficiency of state-owned enterprises. Before committing itself to the projected size of public development spending, the government needs to make sure that it is willing to implement the required revenue-generating measures.

In the past, there has been a huge wastage of public resources due to poor planning and implementation of development projects. The Draft Plan lists the pitfalls of the present implementation apparatus and suggests several improvements. Nothing has however been suggested to mark a break from the traditional arrangement. Admittedly, the poor quality of the projects, the cost/time overruns and the allegedly huge leakage of resources are remediable and must be attended to on a priority basis.

#### **Environment for Private** Investment

The Draft Plan gives only the total estimate of private sector investment during the Plan period. This estimate implies an annual uniform rate of growth of about 15 percent in real terms from the estimated level of private investment in the base year, thus representing a sharp upswing from current trends. Instead of debating on the prospects of achieving such investment targets, it is more worthwhile to consider how the government actually proposes to create the necessary environment conducive to the growth of private investment. The proposed thrust for pri-

vate-sector-led growth is laudable and even possible. However, given the prevailing situation, one would need to have a very solid set of arguments to convince the skeptic that an enabling market environment can be created so as to make the private entrepreneurs feel comfortable to get going in a big way. Nothing so far seems to have been done convincingly enough to reassure the investors

The factors responsible for undermining business confidence and vitiating the investment climate are well-known and have to be faced squarely. The weakness of the financial institutions, poor infrastructure, corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy and an inadequate legal system are some of these factors. Illegal financial extortion, often under political patronage, has also proved to be an increasing menace con-

tributing to the 'cost of doing business' in Bangladesh. The politics of agitation and confrontation is another important factor responsible for a feeble response of private sector investment. A Plan document, which constitutes a comprehensive statement of policy perspectives and directions for the future, cannot skirt around these issues of grave national

The Draft Plan does not provide a clear perspective on how the government will perform its facilitatory role in promoting market-based, private sector-led economic development. This is where the present planning process has to deviate from past approaches. The Plan needs to provide a well-articulated policy framework, including inducements. incentives and institutional developments, to activate the private sector in achieving the role visualised for it in the

#### Development Strategy of the Plan The statement of the under-

lying development strategy of the Draft Plan can be found only in bits and pieces spread over the Draft Plan document and therefore needs consolidation. The Plan emphasises the objective of alleviating poverty through accelerated economic growth. The implicit policy implication is to promote the kind of market-oriented private-sector-driven growth that is also conducive to poverty alleviation. The economic philosophy underlying such a development strategy, particularly in respect of the envisaged role of the state in a liberalised economic setting, could perhaps be explicitly stated in this context (preferably at the beginning of the Plan document).

In spite of the stated emphasis of the Draft Plan on a strategy of export-led growth (para 6.8.12 and 5.12.4), it is curious that the export target has been kept so modest (only 10.5 percent annual growth). This export target contrasts with the much higher average rate of export growth achieved in the recent past as also with the generally optimistic growth targets of the Plan. It is doubtful whether, with such modest export growth, the external balance can be maintained without. very large real devaluation.

The Draft Plan appears to be in favour of further economic liberalisation, although policy signals are not unambiguous. For example, if there is a firm deadline for completing privatisation (para 6.8.15), there should also be a commitment not to set up new enterprises in the public sector (which is not the impression given in para 6.7.3). It is not clear whether this deadline for privatisation (year 2000 for all SOEs with interim annual targets for specific groups of SOEs) is the agreed position of the government. The exchange rate policy does not also appear to be well articulated (page V-21). It is noteworthy that the Draft Plan is firmly committed to continue providing Tax Holiday for new industries ranging from 5 to 15

years (para 14.5.7) The Plan rightly emphasises the role of microcredit programmes for poverty alleviation. Little attention is however given to the need for promoting small-scale enterprises that lie outside the scope of the existing microcredit programmes (which mainly cater for only low-productivity self-employment). The experience of East Asia shows that it is the growth of small enterprises which can play a dynamic role in raising productivity and diversifying the rural economy.

Agricultural growth and diversification has been given due emphasis in the Plan. However the implications of a projected 4.5 percent growth annually in rice production do not seem to have been looked at seriously. What would be its effect on the rice price and the profitability of rice production? The estimation of the food balance on the basis of dietary requirements (page XIII-26) does not much help in analysing such demandside constraints to growth in rice production. In the past, the trend growth rate in rice production has never exceeded 3 percent annually.

As regards social sectors, the singular emphasis on quantitative targets needs to be modified in favour of quality in education and health services. The priority given to achieving mass literacy is well appreciated; even then it is highly unlikely by any calculation to advance the present literacy rate of 44 percent or so to 75 percent in five years' time as stipulated in the Draft Plan. A more modest target will better carry con-

#### Style of Presentation The Draft Plan suffers from

viction.

many deficiencies in its style of presentation, presumably because it was prepared under a severe time-constraint. Apart from frequent grammatical errors and linguistic shortcomings, there are repetitions, inappropriate uses of statistics, clumsy sequencing and unnecessarily lengthy discussions (details are given in the comments included in the Annex). Drastic shedding of long background narratives and erudite editing would be advisable.

#### treaty" -- Israel won BANGABANDHU MURDER CASE

## Verbatim Text of Cross Examination of Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Prosecution Witnesses

Cross examination of Risaldar (retd) Abdul Alim, the PW-23 in Bangabandhu murder case, continued when the court

resumed on Wednesday. Following are the excerpts from his examination by advocate Khan Saifur Rahman, defence counsel for accused Lt Col (dismissed) Syed Farooqur Rahman:

Q: Do you know who were on leave of your barrack during the incident?

A: I can't recall. Q: Isn't it correct that staying in station while leave means on

A: No, it will not mean on duty. It will mean leave. Q: Do you know LD Bashir? A: Yes.

Q: Do you know ALD Sirajul A: I can't recall him. Dafadar Shaffuddin Sar-

Q: And Dafadar Abdul Jab-

A: Yes, I know him.

A: I can't recall Q: You said, "I came to know from JCOs, NCOs and jawans that Faroog Rahman and his associates killed Bangabandhu

and his family members." Was any one involved in the killing from whom you came to know about it? Q: Are ordinary soldiers as-

signed for maintenance of tanks? A: Every tank has its respec-

tive tank crew. Q: The tank crews for the B squadron are also from the

same squadron. A: Normally. But the CO can appoint crews from other squadron if the squadron does not have enough crews for its own tanks.

Q: Were there any deficit of crews for the four squadrons? A: I can't say about all the squadrons. But on the day of occurrence there were deficit of one gunner and an operator for

my squadron. Q: Was there any roll call in your squadron? A: No roll call took place in my squadron at that night (Aug

Q: Were there regiment police in the area of your squadron? A: I don't know.

Q: You said the road was of southern direction. The 46 Infantry Brigade Headquarters situated at that direction. A: I don't know.

Q: Were you included among the tank crews or ordinary soldiers at that night? A: I was not as a tank crew.

Q: You were not needed to drive tank at that night.

A: I can operate tank. I was needed. Beside, I was an SDM at that time. Q: There are different types of functioning in operating a

A: Yes. A driver drives, gunner guns and operator operates. Q: What is march up?

A: March up takes place after Q: Is it correct that the march up is the next stage of pa-

A: Yes. Troops march towards a specific direction from the parade. Q: Did you take part in

march up on August 14 night? A: We went upto the garage of tanks after the parade. Q: Do the senior officers come to the march up?

A: Yes, they come for inspec-Q: There were no deficit of ordinary soldiers in your

squadron on August 14. Cor-A: Tank squadrons have no ordinary soldiers. So, no question of ordinary soldiers arises. Q: Where you on duty until

the tanks were brought out? A; Yes, I was on duty at the tank garage. I didn't go to the signal gate.

Q: Were you sleeping at barrack at that night? A: I went to barrack at 5 am on August 15 and slept.

Q: Does a tank when it starts moving makes any sound or sakes the earth? A: Not heavy sound. Sound is

heard when a tank starts and the earth slightly shakes when Q: The earth, on which a

tank moves, sustains any mark. A: A minor mark. Q: Will a carpeted road sustain any mark if a tank moves

on it? A: Yes, major mark in the

summer and minor in the win-Q: Were the six tanks, taken from garage to the signal gate.

in starting condition or those had been pulled? A: The tanks went towards southern direction. Q: Did you ever discharge

duty under martial-law during your service life? A: I can't recall. Q: Do you know that martiallaw was imposed on August 15

morning?

A: I can't recall. Q: You were at the garage to clean four tanks until the tanks A: This is not true.

Q: All of you cleaned the tanks after the martial-law was proclaimed. A: This is not true.

Q: Did you know that it was decided that tanks would be taken to Dhaka University at 10 am on August 15 where

Bangabandhu was scheduled to A: I don't know about it. Q: The tanks were cleaned to take those to the Dhaka Uni-

A: This is not true.

Examination of Risaldar (retd) Abdul Alim by advocate Abdur Razzaq Khan, defence counsel for accused Lt Col (retd) Sultan Shahriyar Rasid Khan:

Q: You gave statement to the IO on 3/12/96. You didn't make

any statement before that. A: Yes. Lancer unit?

Q: What was the area of A: 300 to 400 yards in length and 200 to 250 yards in width. Q: Were all the squadrons

inside it? Q: Did any soldier from outside come where you were in between 4 am to 4:30am? A: I was at the garage. No

soldier from outside came to the Q: Did you see when the tanks started towards the signal

Q: Did you see soldiers from any other unit when the tanks started? A: I didn't see anybody at

about 4 to 5 am. Q: You didn't hear that where the tanks would go in the town? A: I learnt those would go on exercise. I didn't hear where those would go.

Q: Did you show the IO any document that you didn't come out with tank? A: A soldier does not belong to the papers of his work. Q: Isn't it correct that you

along with other witnesses in this case are in fact accused. A: This is not true. Q: You, being taught by po-

lice, has given false statement. A: This is not correct. Examination by advocate Sharfuddin Mukul, defence counsel for accused former state minister Taheruddin Thakur:

Q: Who was the Army Chief on August 14 in 1975? A: Major General K M Shafiullah Q: Who was the Army Chief on August 15 in 1975?

A: Major General Ziaur

Rahman. (Court: Who?) A: Major General K M Shafiullah Q: Were you a freedom fighter?

A: No, I was not a freedom

fighter.

#### Twenty-fourth **Prosecution Witness**

Examination of PW-24 Havildar (retd) Aminur Rahman by advocate Belayet Hossain, state defence counsel for absconding accused Captain (retd) MA Ma-

Q: When did you come to know about the night parade? A: On August 14 afternoon.

Q: From whom? A: Havildar Major.

Q: What is his name? A: I can't recall. Q: Was the night training scheduled from earlier? A: I don't know.

Q: How many officers were in the night parade? A: I don't know. Q: There is no provision of

taking ammunition in night parade. A: Correct Q: Was there any rule of

holding night parade altogether by Artillery and Lancer? A: I didn't see, except on that Q: Were all of the first fall-in

present at the fall-in at the New Airport? A: Yes, all. Q: Was Captain Majed a regular officer of Army on August

14, 1975? A: I don't know. Q: Do you know that a dismissed officer can't take part in any activity of the Army?

A: I don't know. Officers Q: You didn't see him on that

A: This is not true. I saw Q: You are an arranged witness of the prosecution. A: This is not correct.

counsel for absconding accused Major Noor: Q: When did you go to the radio station?

Examination of Havildar

(retd) Aminur Rahman by advo-

cate Ruhul Islam, state defence

Q: When did Major Noor and Captain Majed reach the radio station? A: At about 5:30 am. Q: When did you last see Major Noor at the radio station?

A: At about 5 am.

coming and going. I can't recall when I saw him last. Q: You didn't see Major Noor and others coming to the radio station. A: I saw them. - UNB

Further texts of cross exam-

ination will be published as and

when received.

A: I saw him all over the day

seems to be too much emphasis such sectors can be useful if these are used to identify sup-

well-reasoned programmes of

democratic participatory process. Without popular support, fully implementing many politically difficult but highly desir-

in the very first 1-2 years of the

The Draft Plan makes a departure from the past tradition by rightly emphasising the need for consensus-building and there is little chance of success-