# Focus

## Interpreting and cultivating democracy

ETTER FROM EUROPE

Today, when almost everywhere in Western world

universal suffrage has been introduced, can

democracy be considered as the panacea for all

evils?... In my opinion, democracy based on

universally accepted ethical values, is a noble

ideal and a credible political goal to pursue. I

agree with King Juan Carlos of Spain, when he

said, " building a solid and endurable democratic

on them

base is a complex and delicate task."

terrorist acts" was endorsed. No

one, of course, bothered to define

terrorism or to ponder over whether

carpet bombing of an impoverished

far-off country like Afghanistan by

the most powerful nation on earth

and killing innocent civilians includ-

ing men .women and children could

be justified as legitimate acts of self-

defence. Everybody took great care

on good governance and democ-

racy were at hand to give advice on

subjects as diverse as how to go

about framing a constitution, how to

ensure individual liberties, how to

democratise the armed forces, how

to obtain a safe balance( for democ-

racy) among the executive, legisla-

tive and judicial branches of govern-

ment, how to fight corruption, the

role of political parties, how to

develop a pluralistic culture, the rule

of law, freedom of expression etc.

etc. The conference also

emphasised the need for a fair

distribution of wealth and the cre-

ation of proper economic and social

One of the legacies left behind by

conditions for democratic stability.

the conference was the establish-

ment of the Madrid Club for the

purpose of creating "a space for

More than one hundred experts

not to upset the big brother.



CHAKLADER MAHBOOB-UL ALAN writes from Madrid

T was in 1991 that the first international conference on Middle East was held in Madrid with a view to making a serious effort to bring peace to that troubled region and to do justice to the longsuffering Palestinians. A few days ago, Madrid hosted another international meeting called the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Ten years (it seems 1991 was an eventful year) after the beginning of the end of the cold war and the rise of the US as the world's only superpower (which in turn gave birth to the conceited theory of "end of history"), it was certainly appropriate to hold a conference of this nature, if not for anything else but to reaffirm the Western world's unflinching faith in democracy and capitalism. It was organised by two private institutions called the Gorbachov Foundation of North America (GFNA) and the Spanish Foundation for International Relations and Dialogue (FRIDE). The main objectives of the conference - which was presided over by the former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov -- were to " foster democracy in this globalised world" and to "develop ways to assist in and consolidate transitions to

democracy. Participation in the conference was restricted. Not everyone could attend the meeting. According to the Spanish philanthropist Diego Hidalgo, President of FRIDE, invitations to participating countries were issued on the basis of the following criteria :1) that the country had initiated a process of democratisation no more than 25 or 30 years ago. 2) That the country had a total population of more than two million and 3) That the democratisation rating of the country according to Freedom House (an American institution) was acceptable.

Finally it was attended by 32 current and former heads of state. The former Soviet Bloc East

European countries were heavily represented. It is interesting to mention that in the list of the participating countries, I did not find the name of any Arab country. Besides the king of Spain and the former Spanish Premier Adolfo Suarez, whose contribution to Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy is recognised all over the world, the meeting was also attended by Bill Clinton.

In the inaugural session, a joint declaration recognising a country's " right to legitimate defence against

permanent dialogue and consultation for countries involved in the complex process of transition to democracy". The club's central objective is to "foster democracy in a globalised world"

No attempts were made to define democracy . Dogmatic discussions were avoided. King Juan Carlos of Spain went so far as to say that there were no universal models of democracy. As an independent analyst, it is my impression that everything at the conference was too gentlemanly. Although some

controversial subjects were touched

upon, no attempts (at least openly)

were made to have serious debates

totalitarianism) literally means rule

of the people (from the Greek words

"demos" and "kratos", meaning

people and rule). But since democ-

racy and political power always go

hand in hand, the term has often

been manipulated by different

people to mean different things.

Conceptually, in democracy every-

body is equal and therefore, no one

or no group should be "more equal

than others". Yet even in ancient

Greece, which is attributed to be the

cradle of democracy, slaves were

not considered as human beings but

as personal chattels. Therefore,

they did not have any votes. Women

(all women), who were considered

as human beings but as lesser

ones. They did not have any votes

either. Even today ,in the most

advanced democracies, big busi-

ness and certain religious lobbies

exercise unfair and undue influence

on the entire democratic process.

Does it not go against the very

essence of democracy? What can

In many industrially developed

The grand edifice of Islam stands

be done to lessen their power?

Democracy (as opposed to

who actually bother to participate in the democratic process is low. which effectively leaves politics and power in the hands of interest groups and professional politicians. Needless to say, this often leads to a situation, where the masses live in a cocoon of material comfort and ignorance and a relatively few clever political bosses manipulate public opinion at will to serve their own interests. Can this still be called democracy where a significant number of the "demos" has opted out of the system living the "kratos" in the hands of a clever few (creating an oligarchy)? What measures can be taken to prevent a situation of this

countries, the percentage of people

In Chile, Turkey, Indonesia and Algeria, the military finances its activities in part or in full through its control over a significant part of the national wealth. It literally functions as a state within a state. Can these be considered as real democratics?

Today, when almost everywhere in Western world universal suffrage has been introduced, can democracy be considered as the panacea for all evils? After all, German democracy produced Adolf Hitler and Israeli democracy has given birth to Ariel Sharon. In this globalised world, can any system of government without certain universally accepted ethical values and a deep sense of universal social justice be accepted as a good system? After the tragic events of September 11, American-led Western democracies have been very quick to launch a global war on terrorism . Now, one may ask instead of paying mere lip service to social justice for so long why have they not yet started a global war on poverty and state-terrorism ? Western democracies, in the past may have practised the basic principles of democracy within their borders but have inflicted enormous suffering on human beings in other parts of the world. From an ethical point of view, have they (the Western democracies) been faithful to the true spirit of democracy?

on universally accepted ethical values, is a noble ideal and a credible political goal to pursue. I agree with King Juan Carlos of Spain, when he said, "building a solid and endurable democratic base is a complex and delicate task." He could have added that the task never ends.

In my opinion, democracy based

### Lest we forget

## Moulana Bhasani--the leader of the oppressed

M INAMUL HAQUE

OULANA Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani is that great leader who first expressed his dream of an 'independent East Pakistan' at the Kagmari Conference in 1957 and on 25th November 1970, he declared it. In 1971 he was the Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Mujibnagar Government. Moulana Bhasani is a legendary figure of the subcontinent. He will live in the hearts of the vast multitude of common people whose rights he fought for during his entire life.

Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani was born at Dhangara village near the Sirajganj town in 1885. In 1917 when Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das arrived at Mymensingh, Bhasani was highly attracted by his lecture. In 1919 Bhasani joined the Indian National Congress. In 1923 when Deshbandhu formed the Swaraja Dal, Bhasani worked for organising this party. In 1924 he went to Assam and organised a big congregation of peasants at Bhasan

Char. After this congregation he was named as 'Bhasanir Moulana'. In 1932 when he organised another big congregation of peasants at Sirajganj, he became famous all over the country. In 1937 the Assam government introduced a repressive 'Line Law' against the migrating Muslim peasants. Moulana Bhasani formed 'Assam Chashi Mojur Samiti' and organized agitation against this law in Dhubri, Goalpara and other areas.

In 1945-46 there was a drive to evict Bangalees from Assam in the name of 'Bangal Kheda', which erupted in riots. Moulana Bhasani toured to Mangaldoi, Barpeta and Guahati areas in Assam to save the Bangalees. After creation of Pakistan he returned home and settled at Santosh, Tangail. He was elected to the State Assembly of East Bengal as a member of the Muslim League. He was the first to demand the right to speak in Bangla and spoke in Bangla in the Assembly. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> June of 1949 the East Pakistan Awami Muslim League was formed under his leadership.

Khawaja Nazimuddin, soon after becoming Prime Minister of Pakistan on the 16th February, 1951, termed Moulana Bhasani and Suhrawardy as the agents of

India. At the start of historic language movement, Moulana Bhasani became a central leader of 'Sarbodaliya Rastrabhasha Sangram Parishad'. Moulana Bhasani was a key figure of the Jukto Front formed in 1954. At this time A K M Fazlul Haq, Moulana A H K Bhasani and H S Suhrawardy of the Front, were very popular leaders in East Bengal. The Jukto Front led by this trio captured 228 out of 237 seats in the election and got absolute majority in the Assembly. But differences emerged between Moulana Bhasani and his partners on the formation and running of the government. On 30<sup>th</sup> May 1954 the central government dissolved the Jukto Front government of East Bengal on the charges of failure to check the communist disturbances.

Before dissolution of the Fazlul Haq Ministry, Moulana Bhasani left for London on 25th May 1954 to attend the International Peace Conference in Germany. The Pakistan government put obstruction to his visit labeling him as a 'communist' and put embargo on his return to homeland. After removal of this embargo Moulana Bhasani returned home from Kolkata on 25th April 1955. At this time, East Bengal was being increasingly deprived of its due share in economy and its people were being increasingly suppressed by the government of Pakistan. Moulana Bhasani called for a council session of the

Awami Muslim League on the 7 and 8th February, 1957 at Kagmari. It was a large congregation of intellectuals and political leaders. He told the audience in his speech that, if West Pakistan did not halt its repression over East Pakistan, East Pakistan shall soon say 'goodbye' to West Pakistan. Moulana Bhasani severely opposed the policy of Suhrawardy-led Pakistan government for participating war treaties like SEATO and CENTO. Moulana Bhasani left the Awami Muslim League and formed his National Awami Party. He led the historic 1969 mass movement, which forced President Ayub Khan's military government to fall. On 12 November 1970 a severe cyclone hit the southern coastal areas of Perojpur, Barguna, Patuakhali, Bhola, Lakshmipur and Noakhali districts. Several lakhs of people died and more people were affected badly. Moulana Bhasani visited the areas but found total indifference in the attitude of the government. Returning to Dhaka he said in a mass meeting 'goodbye' to West Pakistan on 23th November 1970. Moulana Bhasani fought uncompromisingly for the oppressed people during his whole life.

At the time of the war of liberation, the exiled leftist forces at Beleghata, Kolkata, formed the 'Bangladesh Jatio Mukti Sangram Samannoy Committee' under his leadership. On the 9th September 1971 the Bangladesh Government in exile at Kolkata, formed the 'All Party Advisory Committee' under his leadership. The members of this committee were Moni Singh, Mozaffar Ahmed, Monoranjan Dhar, Tazuddin Ahmed, Khondokar Mushtaq Ahmed and other veteran leaders

After independence of Bangladesh, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took his advice to run the country. Moulana Bhasani spoke of the need of a strong opposition to establish democracy in the country. On 14th May of 1973 he declared at a public meeting to go for hunger strike to bring the prices of food, clothing and consumer goods down. During the month of April, 1975 India started unilateral withdrawal of the Ganges water through Farakka Barrage. After the assassination of Bangabandhu on 15th August, the relation between India and Bangladesh became cold. In 1976 Moulana Bhasani took a long march' programme to resolve the Ganges water dispute. But

November at Dhaka Medical College on account of old age complicacies. The year after in 1977 the Ganges Water Treaty was signed between India and Bangladesh.

Moulana Bhasani was like Mahatma Gandhi who never sought power but fourth for the appropriate people. Moulana, Bhasani was like Ho Chi Migh

after this events his health further deteriorated. Moulana Bhasani died on 17

fought for the oppressed people. Moulana Bhasani was like Ho Chi Minh who did unite all parties under his umbrella during the Liberation War. The other day was his 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of death. On the occasion I put forward the following proposals to the government to pay due honour to this great personality.

1. The Open University of Bangladesh be renamed as Moulana Bhasani

Open University.

2. The Ramna Garden of Dhaka be renamed as Moulana Bhasani Udyan.

The Noulana Bhasani Road from Shahbag be extended down to Shapla

Chattar.

4. The proposed Ganges barrage be named as Moulana Bhasani Barrage.

## Ramadan--the month of the months

KAZI AULAD HOSSAIN

USLIMS all over the world prepare themselves to heartily hail the holy month of Ramadan, the month of the months, nav the best month in the attempt to throw light on the importance and significance of the month of Ramadan vis-a-vis observance of Siam (fasting), I would like to state here that this particular month, that is, the month of Ramadan, was very dear and important to our holy Prophet (pbuh) before his attainment of prophethood at the age of forty. In the beginning of the sixth century when most of the people in Mecca and its neighbourhood were idol worshippers there were few people who "felt disgust at this idolatry which had prevailed for centuries, longed for the religion of Abraham, and tried to find out what had been its teaching. Such seekers of the truth were known as "Hunafa" (sing "Hanif")..... " Our holy Prophet (pbuh), it may mentioned here, was a "Hanif" like this, that is, he was also one of the few such seekers of truth and it was his practice to retire with his family for a month every year to a cave at Mt. Hira for meditation. And the month he chose for this purpose was the month of Ramadan, the month of heat. While at this cave one night toward the end of the month (on the night of 27th Ramadan i.e. Shab-e-Qadar) he heard a voice from the Archangel Jibril (A.S.) and a little later the first few Ayats of Sura Alaq of the holy Qur-an were revealed to him.

Qur-an were revealed to him. So, the holy month of Ramadan was very important to our holy Prophet (pbuh) and it is also very important to Muslims the world over for two reasons viz (1) the holy Prophet (pbuh), as has been indicated about, used to retire with his family to the desert cave at Mt. Hira for a month of every year and the month was Ramadan and (2) while in this cave during this very month of Ramadan Allah Rabbul Alameen revealed for the first time His first five Avats (Verses) of Sura Alag (or the clot of Congealed Blood) of the Holy Qur-an to him.

We may now see what Almighty Allah says about observance of Siam (Fasting) in the Holy Qur-an. He says in Ayat (Verse) 183 of Sura Baqara (or the Heifer) of Al Qur-an: "O ye who believe

Fasting is prescribed to you As it was prescribed

To those before you. That ye may (learn) Self-restraint."

on five strong pillars and Siam (Fasting) is one of such pillars besides other four pillars viz; (1) (Salat) (3) Pilgrimage (Hajj) and (4) Poor's due (Zakat). As enjoyed by Almighty Allah in the aforesaid Ayat (Verse) of the Holy Qur-an it is obligatory on the part of all eligible Muslims to observe "Siam" (fasting) for full thirty days in the month of Ramadan. By fasting we mean abstention from food and drink for certain hours. But when judged or considered from the point of view of Islamic terminology the connotation of Siam is something else, something basically different from fasting of other communities. In Islam Siam is not simply self-denial nor it is selftorture. It is certainly a means to an end, not an end itself. Siam teaches us not only abstention from food and drink for certain hours every lav during this month of Ramadan, it also teaches us that we must refrain ourselves from all kinds of evil deeds including dacoity, theft, murder, loot, arson, rape, robbery, terrorism, mastani, collection of toll,

occupation of land, backbiting or speaking ill of others, etc.

Abstention from food and drink during the holy month of Ramadan without glorification of Allah Rabbul Alameen and proper supplication to Him entreating His Forgiveness and also without offering Him thanks fo unbounded bounties besowed on us is of no use to us. So, our Siam or "Roza" (Fasting) should be meaningful and fruitful. Our Siam should please Benign Allah. Since Siam teaches us self-restraint, the fasting Muslims can surely achieve selfpurification through self-restraint and glorification of Lord Creator. The holy month of Ramadan gives the Muslims all over the world that unique opportunity. And the achievements made during this month should not go in vain Lessons we will learn through selfrestraint during this month (Ramadan) should be carefully applied not only during the next eleven months, if possible during the rest of the life. So Muslims should hail the holy month of Ramadan and discharge their concomitant sacred duties with due solemnity as ordained by Allah Gafur-ar-Rahim.

# ernment of Pakistan. Moulana Bhasani called for a council session of the

## Garfield ®











