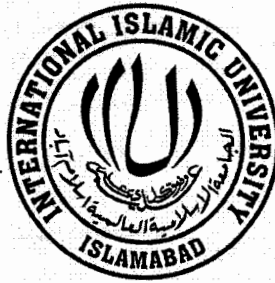


**PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN BANGLADESH (1991-2006):
PROBLEMS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION**

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**PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN BANGLADESH (1991-2006):
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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
degree of Masters of Philosophy in discipline Politics and International
Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic
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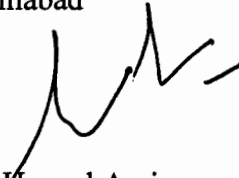
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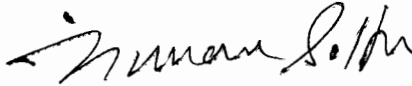
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DEDICATION

***To
the Memory of my Beloved
Mother and Father***

**“Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh (1991-2006):
Problems of Institutionalization”**

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***“Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh (1991-2006):
Problems of Institutionalization”***

Abstract

Parliament is the *sine qua non* of democracy. Legislative developments in Asia have contributed to the general perception that we now live in the age of Parliaments. Accordingly, parliamentary democracy deserves much greater scholarly attention than it has so far received. This research endeavour attempts to enquire into the ineffectiveness of parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh. It starts with the hypothesis that effectiveness of the Parliament depends upon the empowerment of the individual Member of Parliament (MP). According to existing law of the country, a people’s representative or an MP has little or no scope to play an independent and effective role in the House. Article 70 of Bangladesh’s Constitution does not allow any party-MP to express his independent opinion in the Parliament. In fact, with a very few exceptions of non-party MP(s), all members of Parliament must abide by the decisions of their concerned parties, even if they go against the interests of their electorates. The members of the Parliament should speak and act according to the “general will” of their respective electorates, however, they cannot go beyond their party directives and its interests. In contrast to the democratic norm, according to the current practice of Bangladesh, party-MPs are under the strong dictates of their party Chief. Without the approval of the party Chief vis-à-vis party, a party-MP is not allowed to speak in the *Jatiya Sangshad* (Parliament). Absence of independent deliberations by the MPs is resultant into absence of lively debates, which in turn further aggravates the problems of institutionalization of the Parliament. Those, altogether, lead to an ineffective Parliament in Bangladesh. Thus, enquiring into and removal of the causes of ineffective Parliament are the primary task of the time to make parliamentary democracy institutionalized and effective in all respect.

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My thanks are also due to Syed Mansoor Ali Shah for his patient and meticulous typing.

Finally, all errors found in this thesis are solely mine.

Abbreviations

AL	-	Awami League
BNP	-	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
M.P	-	Member of the Parliament
<i>J.S</i>	-	<i>Jatiya Sangshad</i>
CG	-	Caretaker Government
<i>JP</i>	-	<i>Jatiya Party</i>
TIB	-	Transparency International Bangladesh
POs	-	Presidential Orders
<i>BAKSAL</i>	-	<i>Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League</i>

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Chapter I: Introduction

I:I Statement of the Study

Bangladesh witnessed first phase of parliamentary democracy with the introduction of its Constitution in 1972. However, it was a short-lived experience. The Fourth Amendment to the Bangladesh Constitution brought about a change in the form of government. Thus, the country turned into Presidential form of government. In course of time, the country experienced many bloody and tragic political changes. The military rulers governed the country for about 15 years. However, after the interval of more than a decade, the country has again chosen for itself parliamentary democracy which could be considered as the second phase of parliamentary democracy. Analysts view, due to ineffectiveness of parliament, the long cherished parliamentary democracy is about to ruin. Nonetheless, the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Parliaments have had the record to endure with great handicap. Since 1991, each of the two major parties of the country—Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Bangladesh Awami League (AL) has adorned the positions of both the ruling and opposition parties. However, when a party goes to power with majority seats in the Parliament, it becomes the ‘absolute guardian’ of the polity. On the other hand, the same party when goes to the Opposition Bench it takes a different look.

However, for various reasons, the rule-making functions of the parliamentarians were hampered. Political analysts view ‘introduction of bills in the Parliament after promulgation of Ordinance and presence of punitive clauses like Article 70 of the

Constitution' contribute to reduce the sovereignty of the Parliament (*Jatia Sangshad*)¹. That makes the *Jatia Sangshad*/JS (Parliament) ineffective. Ineffective Parliament is the breeding ground of political instability. The scholars of parliamentary democracy usually mention unresolved enmity between the ruling and opposition parties as the main cause of political instability in Bangladesh. However, sovereignty of Parliament is key to parliamentary democracy. In parliamentary democracy, Parliament should be the centre of all activities including resolution of political conflict. Nonetheless, performance of Bangladesh Parliament could hardly be termed as successful in mitigating the rivalries among the political parties.

In reality, the Bangladesh Parliament is yet to be tuned as the centre for all activities.

I:II Theoretical Framework

Any organization of democracy is to operate in an atmosphere of conflict and consensus. Since mutually conflicting interests are represented in a legislature, the prevalence of a milieu of conflict can be well presumed. Very often consensus emerges among the ruling and Opposition actors involved in the conflict and this may contribute to the endurance of the representative system. This is not to argue that legislative conflict is entirely dysfunctional; rather it has a highly functional aspect. Conflict dictates the actors involved in it to behave in a sensible manner and keeps them alert about the probable scrutiny that might originate with any unacceptable behavior. Parliamentary democracy may be described as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power through their representatives in the periodically elected Parliament. In a

¹ *Jatia Sangshad* (JS) is the official name of the Bangladesh Parliament. Henceforth, the words *Jatia Sangshad* and Parliament will be used in this study interchangeably.

parliamentary democracy, Parliament is the supreme institution of expression. And in last analysis... the population's basic question of social direction and policy is discussed, debated and resolved in the Parliament. Larry Diamond² explored the challenges of maintaining and institutionalizing democracy by analyzing three tensions of "paradoxes" intrinsic to all democracies and particularly troubling for the emerging ones. The first, and perhaps the foremost, among these tensions is the tension between conflict and consensus. Dissension and division are inherent in democracy's very nature. Any attempt by those in power to suppress dissension adds only fuel to the political conflict and thereby makes it more intense, which may ultimately lead to the breakdown of the system. Therefore, dissent and division in a democracy should be on a basis of consent and cohesion. Too much conflict and least consensus jeopardize the stability of a political system. To enable a democratic system to survive some required elements of political culture are;

- i) a degree of restraint in one's partisanship;
- ii) considerable trust and minimum of suspicion in rival political actors;
- iii) tolerance of opposition and criticism; and
- iv) readiness to compromise accommodate and cooperate.

It can therefore, be assumed that parliamentary conflict within certain limits is functional, but too much of it may be dysfunctional and may make a society so conflict ridden that civil peace and political stability become virtually impossible to achieve. Making a parliamentary system workable to the satisfaction of the electorate is as much a responsibility of the opposition Bench as it is of the Treasury.

² Diamond, Larry, "Three Paradoxes of Democracy", in Larry Diamond and Mare F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Democracy*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press Ltd., 1993, pp. 95-107

Even though Bangladesh's acquaintance with parliamentary system is not much longer than many other developing countries including Pakistan it could awfully craft little progress in consolidating and institutionalizing parliamentary democracy. For a number of reasons, the focus of this study is on the Parliaments that have been elected after the successful pro-democratic movement of 1990s especially the fifth, seventh and eight Parliament.

First, these three parliaments were elected under the administration of non-party Caretaker Governments (NPCTGs) and were broadly applauded, both at home and abroad as free, fair and neutral. Hence, the legitimacy of these Parliaments is somewhat clear of any gust of wind.

Second, the first four and sixth Parliament elections were held under partisan government and are alleged to be significantly rigged. The Parliaments that were formed through these elections could not work effectively.

Third, with the exception of a period from 1972 to 1990 the Bangladesh Parliament (when it existed somehow) worked under a presidential system where the Presidents had effectual formal and informal mechanisms to make the MPs belonging to the majority party behave according to their-desires.

Finally, from September 1991 the Parliament began to operate within the framework of a parliamentary system. Free and fair elections coupled with the reintroduction of parliamentary democracy aroused public enthusiasm about the performance of the fifth and seventh Parliaments. It should, however, be mentioned here that the tenure of the sixth Parliament was only twelve days-which is not considered in this study.

Further, it refers that democracy accommodates the lawful rights and privileges of the opposition legislators... the denial of this proposition will not make parliamentary democracy workable.

By 'parliamentary democracy' this study means democracy that revolved around Parliament. All important individual, whether local, national and international issues of Bangladesh, are to be presented in the Parliament for discussion, debate and decision by majority parliamentarians.

I: III Review of the Literature

Parliamentary democracy refers to a system of political arrangement which provides regular constitutional opportunities for the removal of Government and it impels, as an absolute minimum, free elections, constitutional recognition of more than one political party, a free press and an independent judiciary. The key to the success of this system lies in the willingness of those with grievances to submit to law and seek a remedy through the process of representative government and above all through orderly discussion.

In the country, such as Great Britain, parliamentary democracy functions mainly on two assumptions:

First, the power that government exercises is a trust exercised on behalf of the society in a manner approved by it. If the government fails or if the society perceives that the government has failed, the government must quit.

Second, it is law that safeguards the interest of all classes of people and law is to be obeyed (even if it is a bad law) until it is changed and only the representatives of the people are entitled to make or change a law. The environment of parliamentary

democracy is totally different; here it is the force of argument and not the argument of force that reigns and spirit of compromise and not one of confrontation that prevails in the society. Parliamentary democracy succeeded in Great Britain principally because of two reasons.

First, the social terrain, which is the fountain of democratic ethos, is marked more by egalitarianism and not by conflictual hierarchy.

Second, economic gains of the society which constitutes the lifeblood of any social group or class are distributed in such a fashion that every group or class is assured of a minimum level of decent living.

To make a law really the mirror of public opinion it is necessary that it should not be made hurriedly. It needs proper thrashing so that its contents and ends may be considered from all points of view. For discussion, two heads are better than one, and two hundred are better than two. In this respect, a legislature is *par excellence* a deliberate body. The term Parliament, which may be used for a legislature is derived from the French word **parler**, which means to talk, and Parliament which means a meeting for discussion. Parliament is a forum where thinking is done, as it consists of many persons representing numerous interests, various points of view and different sections of the community³.

Since independence, Bangladesh started its political journey with these hold assumptions. The country under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman invariably was to be happy with the ideals of parliamentary democracy. Besides this political mooring of Mujib, there were other reasons for which the country accepted parliamentary democracy as the only possible form of government.

³ Please see, Kapur, A.C., *Select Constitutions*, New Delhi, S. Chand and Co Ltd., 1970; and also see this author's, *Principles of Political Science*, New Delhi, S. Chand and Company Ltd, 1986.

First, it found in the concept of majority rule, which is an integral part of the democratic system, a handy instrument to fight constitutional battle with the British colonial and latter Pakistani internal rulers. With the help of this instrument Sheikh Mujib could label the internal rule as alien unresponsive, undemocratic and irresponsible. The autonomy movement in the then East Pakistan during 60s could only be firmly rooted and strengthened all those years through the legitimacy of majority rule.

Second, not only the nationalists fight against Pakistani rulers with the weapon of majority rule, but also they could fight more effectively within their own societies against other religious and ultra left politics with the same weapon.

For all these reasons Bangladesh had its automatic choice for democratic government even though it had very little experience in constitutional politics. Thus, the country accepted the Parliamentary form of democracy with a Prime Minister as the head of government and a President as head of the State.

I:IV(a) Related Research Questions

After a protracted movement for long 16 years the people of Bangladesh returned to parliamentary polity in 1991. The country has been rolling through 19 years since the introduction of the parliamentary norms yet it is struggling to institutionalize or consolidate its parliamentary democracy. The related questions regarding the improvement of the system may be:

First, how to institutionalize the revived parliamentary democracy?

Second, how to attain the target rate for sustainable economic growth for development which is related to institutionalizing process of democracy?

Finally, how to improve the deteriorating law and order situation in the country?

I:IV(b) Objective of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i) To identify problems those have limited the scope of the parliamentarians (MPs) in discharging their responsibilities as people's representatives.
- ii) To identify the gap existed between the role performance and role desire of the members of the parliamentary committees.
- iii) To find out the impact if any upon the general quest for the Parliament to make the government responsible and accountable.
- iv) And to come up with some suggestions to resolve the problems.

I: V Hypothesis of the Study

The study attempts to test the following hypothesis:

Perhaps the most important single source of effectiveness of the Parliament depends upon the empowerment of the individual member of the Parliament. Thus the hypothesis is that the empowerment of the MPs at large will contribute strongly to the feasibility of effective Parliament and conversely the Parliaments whose members are restricted to play their active roles in the House will produce an ineffective or rubber-stamp Parliament.

According to existing law of the country, a people's representative or an MP has little or no scope to play any independent and effective role in the House. Article 70 of Bangladesh's Constitution does not allow any party-MP to express his independent opinion in the Parliament. In fact, with a very few exceptions of non-party MP(s), all members of Parliament must abide by the decisions of their concerned parties, even if

they go against the interests of their electorates. The members of the Parliament should speak and act according to the “general will” of their respective electorates; however, they cannot go beyond their party interests. In contrast to the democratic norm, according to the current practice of Bangladesh, party-MPs are under the strong dictates of their party chief. Without the approval of the party chief *vis-à-vis* party, a party-MP is not allowed to speak in the House. Absence of independent deliberations by the MPs resultant into absence of lively debates which in turn further aggravates the conflict instead of being resolved. Those, altogether lead to an ineffective Parliament. Thus, enquiring into and removal of the causes of ineffective Parliament are the primary task of the time to make parliamentary democracy fruitful in all respect.

I: VI Justification of the Study

Although there has been a number of research/works or workshop carried out to deal with the parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh, but no serious attempt has been made to have in-depth study to come up with the root causes of the problems of democracy in Bangladesh. This study is an attempt to analyse the problems and suggest some measures to improve the situation.

I: VII Methodology of the Study

The study utilizes the data both from the primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include various types of data relating to the debates and proceedings of the *Jatiya Sangshad* (Parliament). The proceedings of workshop on “The Committee System” held on October 1-2, 1993, and the proceedings of the Seminar on “Making Parliament

Effective” held on 1st September 1995 organized by the *Centre for Analysis and Choice (CAC)*, Dhaka are some of the important documents. The study of these documents has helped in reviewing the official records related to the study. Besides, official records of Parliament have been reviewed to collect information on a number of variables: number of meetings and the actual decisions taken by the Committees. Interviews were conducted with a number of leading personalities/ intellectuals to assert on the working and policy formulation of the 5th as well as the 7th Parliament.

The secondary sources include books, articles, unpublished research works and many other relevant materials.

I: VIII Periodization and scope of the Study

The research covers mainly the period of 1991 to 2006. This was the period when, the parliamentary democracy was revived in 1991 by introducing Constitution (Twelve Amendment) Act 1991 and the working of the 5th, 7th and 8th Parliament were examined which existed during this period of 1991 to 2006.

I: IX Thesis Structure (Chapters)

In formulating a suitable composition for the thesis the researcher has pursued as far as possible rules and conventions set by the University and as advised by the Supervisor.

Chapter One is the introductory Chapter.

It is a statement of the significance of the study. It also provides theoretical framework and review of the literature, objectives, hypothesis and methodology of the study.

Chapter Two provides the historical background and first wave of parliamentary democracy that includes constitutional development (1970-1991).

Chapter three provides circumstances that led to the return of parliamentary democracy and its working in Bangladesh that is second wave of parliamentary democracy (1991 to 2006).

Chapter Third presents a brief analysis of different electoral results (General Elections).

Chapter Four provides an analysis of the working of the parliamentary Committees, role of the Speaker and the challenges to institutionalize parliamentary institutions.

Chapter Five draws a conclusion with a tentative recommendation for future directions.

At the end of the Chapter Five, Appendixes and detailed Bibliography will be provided.

Chapter 2: *The First Phase of Parliamentary Democracy*

Even though, the seeds of parliamentary democracy were sown during the British colonial era, Bangladesh's cohabitation with Pakistan had been marked with Presidential form of government with army at helm of the affair. The birth of Bangladesh made in effective the importance of the Two-Nation Theory and also marked the end of presidential form of military rule. 'On return from Pakistan (January 1972) Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib, an avowed believer I constitutional politics, opted for parliamentary democracy of Western variety....⁴ Accordingly, with the introduction of its Constitution in 1972, Bangladesh witnessed the first wave of parliamentary democracy. However, 'the question arises: was the socio-political environment in Bangladesh in 1972 suitable for parliamentary democracy or was parliamentary democracy adequate enough to rebuild/restructure a society emanating from a liberation War? The answer is possibly no. This portion of the research work deals with the *Constitutional Development (1971-1991), End of Parliamentary Democracy, and Causes for democracy's failure in Bangladesh.*

2:1 Constitutional Development (1971-1991)

Unlike the Indian Independence Act of 1947, which brought about the partition of the Indian subcontinent into two independent dominions, Pakistan and India, Bangladesh inherited no such legal document except for the Declaration of Independence on 26 March 1971. From the very day of Declaration till the surrender of Pakistan army on 16

⁴ Haque, Azizul, "Politics in Bangladesh ... see bibliography for 4

December 1971, Bangladesh was run by a government –in-exile formed on 10 April 1971 at Meherpur (later named as a Mujibnagar) bordering the Indian State of West Bengal.

Thus, the Declaration of Independence served the legal basis of Provisional Constitution, which provided a presidential system of government, empowering the President with absolute power in all areas⁵.

According to the terms of the Declaration, sovereignty of Bangladesh was proclaimed on the “26th day of March 1971” and a Constituent Assembly was formed consisting of the 167 Bengali members of the National Assembly from former East Pakistan and the 298 members of the Provincial Assembly of the then East Pakistan elected on the Awami League tickets in the first and last general elections of undivided Pakistan held in 1970. This Constituent Assembly (CA) empowered the Bangladesh Government-in-exile to form a Cabinet with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (popularly known as Sheikh Mujib) as President (in absentia) as (Mujib was earlier arrested on the night of 25 March 1971 and was sent to a jail in West Pakistan), Syed Nazrul Islam as Vice-President and Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister. Among the other members of the Cabinet included some prominent and senior-most office bearers of the Awami League, the party that has won the majority in the General Elections of 1970. The proclamation of Independence also empowered the Vice-President in his capacity as President, would be the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and he would exercise all the executive, legislative and judicial powers; and also do “all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangladesh an orderly and just Government”⁶ until a new Constitution was framed by the Constituent Assembly.

⁵ See Bibliography for 5

⁶ *Ibid.*

2:II The Provisional Constitutional Order

Returning from the Pakistani prison on 10 January 1972, President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced the Provisional Constitutional Order on 11 January 1972, which abandoned the presidential system providing a parliamentary form of government. The political system outlined in the Provisional Constitutional order was modelled on the parliamentary system of Britain. Under the terms of the Order, a Cabinet form of government was formed. Justice A.M. Sayem was sworn in as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh by President Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman; and thereupon Sheikh Mujib resigned as President and formed a new government with Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dhaka, as President of the country; Mujib himself became the Prime Minister of the 14-member Cabinet having absolute majority in the Constituent Assembly. The country was ruled by the Awami League regime for about 11 months virtually without a Constitution in the strict sense. During this period 179 Presidential Orders were issued, most of which were incorporated in the 1972 Constitution in the Fourth Schedule of article 150 entitled "Transitional and temporary provisions"⁷.

In course of time, however, it abandoned or suspended the system of parliamentary democracy. Thus the Fourth Amendment of the Bangladesh Constitution in 1975 abolished the parliamentary system and outlawed the political opposition. When the newly independent Bangladesh adopted the parliamentary form of government, it was not yet ready for it, and the democratic system was in fact, transplanted into an alien and

⁷ Jahan, Rounaq, *Bangladesh: Problems and Issues*, Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1980 and also see Johari, J. C. et. al., *Government and Politics of South Asia*, New Delhi: Sterling publishers Ltd., 1991.

uncultivated social soil. The Western societies, where liberal democracy flourished, were characterized by consensus and unity, but the society in Bangladesh is marked by dissensions and conflictual hierarchy. Equalitarianism in some form prevailed in the Western societies at that time while in Bangladesh inequality reigned supreme in its blatant form, involving intense party, group and class cleavages. In Bangladesh, the parliamentary democracy has been set to solve the socio-economic problems. Moreover, there was a growing lack of efficient and experienced leadership. Thus, in Bangladesh, democracy was put to a very severe test, and as time went on it was revealed that in an alien soil, democracy could not succeed. It was, in fact, collapsed.

2:III End of Parliamentary Democracy

On 25 January 1975, the nation witnessed the eclipse of the parliamentary democracy. The amendment, which changed the pattern of the government from a parliamentary to presidential, was the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act 1975. It took less than thirty minutes to get the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution. It not only altered the form of the government but also brought about drastic changes in the political processes of the country. It abandoned competitive party politics and introduced single party system named as *Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL)*⁸. It curbed fundamental rights of the citizens, controlled the freedom of the press and publications, and finally restricted the powers of the Judiciary a hallmark of a constitutional government. Under

⁸ Zaglul, Haider, Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh: From Crisis to Crisis" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, No.I, (June 1997), pp. 69-82.

this Amendment, Sheikh Mujib became once again President, the most powerful figure in the Country⁹.

The passage of the Fourth Amendment incurred widespread resentment at home and abroad. Not only the political opponents of the Mujib regime sharply reacted, but a section of the close associates of Sheikh Mujib himself also were opposed to the Fourth Amendment, particularly to the intelligentsia of the country also got agitated with the introduction of the Amendment. Even the members of the civil bureaucracy were annoyed with the enactment of the Fourth Amendment as their “traditional” powers and position were usurped by the politicians. On the other hand, the Bangladesh military personnel felt alienated because of the creation of the *Jatiyo Rakshi Bahini*¹⁰ the latter were set up virtually as parallel to the regular Army, and thereby the minimize its traditional importance. The story of Bangladesh economy and the AL regime’s economy management seems laden with all failures.

While the economic as well as political crisis of the country reached its peak, some junior officers of the Bangladesh Army staged a bloody coup in the early hours of 15 August 1975 that assassinated President Sheikh Mujib, most of his family members and his close associates and disciples. Thereafter, the country was kept virtually under martial law regulations until General Ziaur Rahaman managed his presidency legalized first by the referendum of 30 May 1977, and latter by the presidential election of 3 June 1978 after resigning from the military service. During this period certain undemocratic provisions of the Fourth Amendment were abandoned including the one-party polity. In the meantime, elections to the Second Parliament (*Jatiya Sangshad*) were held in February 1979, and

⁹ Islam, M. Nazrul, *Consolidating Asian Democracy*, Dhaka: Nipun Printing Industries Ltd., 2003, p.196.

¹⁰ An alternative para military or security armed forces.

the newly formed Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) of President Zia captured 210 out of 300 general seats in the Parliament. All the amendments and constitutional changes made after the August *coup* of 1975 were incorporated into the Fifth Amendment passed by the Second Parliament. Thus, a pseudo-constitutional government was revived in April 1979.

President Zia was assassinated in Chittagong by a group of rebel army officers on 30 May 1981. Vice-President Justice Abdus Sattar succeeded President Zia as the Acting President. He was formally elected President on 15 November 1981. Within less than a year of its restoration, the constitutional government of Justice Sattar was toppled by a bloodless *coup* led by the army Chief-of-Staff, Lt. General H.M. Ershad, on 24 March 1982, and he kept the administration of the country under his direct control for about 9 years. The Ershad government brought about further changes and amendments to the Constitution, the most important one was the Eighth Amendment, which declared Islam as the state religion of the country. Of course, the Supreme Court of Bangladesh subsequently annulled the part of amendment relating to judiciary. Paradoxically, authoritarian characters of the presidential type incorporated in the controversial Fourth Amendment were kept undisturbed by the subsequent regimes¹¹.

The two Generals who ruled Bangladesh between 1975 and 1990 were Ziaur Rahman and H.M. Ershad. The developments of this period has been the formation of political parties by the Generals—Bangladesh Nationalist party (BNP) by Ziaur Rahman and *Jatiya Party* (JP) by Ershad—and the reintroduction of at least a semblance of a multi-party system, holding of referenda, and presidential and parliamentary elections.

¹¹ Islam, M. Nazrul, *Consolidating Asian...*, *op.cit.*

The fundamental dilemma faced by the military like other praetorian regimes has been how to evolve a national political process that ensures the effective participation of the military and at the same time involves a myriad of social groups and interests in the governance of the nation.

The military rule could not produce a record of good governance in Bangladesh –its promise of order and discipline in the society and implementation of basic reforms remained unfulfilled. The authoritarian regime of General Ershad produced strong executive, rubber stamp parliaments and a complaint bureaucracy¹². The police and paramilitary forces were often used to maintain political control of the regime. Economic and social performances of the regime were not also very satisfactory. The country faced enormous challenges even to sustain a modest growth amidst poverty, overwhelming aid dependence and frequent natural disasters. This period also witnessed escalating social inequalities and enormous distortions in the educational and social fabric of the nation. Bangladesh's achievements in this period were visible in infrastructure development and in the initiation of some administrative and local government reforms-particularly in the implementation of the Upazilla scheme that attracted the interests of the rural people.

From the very beginning, the Ershad regime was unacceptable to the most people because it overthrew an elected government of Justice Sattar by force. Moreover, the third parliamentary elections held under the Ershad-regime in 1986 were alleged to have been grossly “rigged” by General Ershad's *Jatiyo Party*. The BNP did not participate in the 1986 elections but the AL and the right-wing party Jamat-e-Islami, and also by most of

¹² Please see Islam, M. Nazrul, “Two Decades of Democracy in Bangladesh (1991-2010): Disillusionment with practice”, a key-note paper presented in June 25-28, 2010 in Dhaka, p.24

the left-wing parties participated. Thus, the fourth Parliament of Bangladesh lost its democratic credibility.

2:IV Causes for Parliamentary Democracy's Failure in Bangladesh

What were the causes of democracy's failure in Bangladesh? A number of reasons can be cited. First, the political elites whether in position or in opposition did not exhibit any restraint either in the exercise of political power which they inherited from their colonial masters or in their attempts to capture political power from their cohorts. Governmental office turned out to be a valuable asset or a source of privileges to the ruling elites in Bangladesh.

Second, the parliamentary democracy, which was adopted in Bangladesh in 1972, became at one stroke mass democracy in the sense that universal suffrage was introduced since the dawn of independence even though the society remained as elitist as ever.

Third, political role of the military in Bangladesh took away everything that was left for the democratic system. In democracy professional armed forces hold the guns but the firing order comes invariably from the political elite. This art of obeying their political masters forms the core of military professionalism. The armed forces, moreover, are for defense purposes only and not for maintaining law and order within the country. That task is assigned to the police. Once the armed forces are politicized their professional norms get lost. If the armed forces, moreover, are asked to aid the civil authorities in handling day to day affairs of the government, they became not only aware of the weakness of the political elites but also become sensitive to political power. That is why a politicized army and their frequent involvement in the civil affairs cut the very root of

parliamentary democracy¹³ in one hand and on the other frequent army intervention left the task of institutionalization democratic system a remote possibility.

¹³ For details please see Islam, M. Nazrul, *Project Report on Challenges and Future of Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh*, Dhaka University: Centre for Advanced Research in Social Sciences, 2005, pp. 1-13

Chapter 3: *The Second Phase of Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh*

The second wave of parliamentary democracy in independent Bangladesh got the momentum with anti-autocratic movement against former President General H.M. Ershad. However, early in 1990, the three alliances of the main opposition parties led by the BNP, AL, along with a group of five left-wing parties and religious based parties, got more united to wage a mass movement in order to force the Ershad government out from power. The anti-government movement finally turned into a mass upheaval. Following the prolonged and violent anti-government agitation, the Ershad regime ultimately had to step down in early December 1990, surrendering power to a Caretaker Government led by Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The tentative understanding and agreement made among the parties in their movement against authoritarian rule faded away quickly. The major challenge came from governing a highly turbulent polity with a contradictory tradition of rule and conducting politics in an environment of mistrust, factional political culture and rent-seeking behavior of political elite. The hope of *Jatiya Sangsad* (Parliament) being centre for all activities got its momentum immediately after the passing of Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution.

3:1 Bangladesh Returns to Parliamentary Democracy

The first and the foremost task of the Caretaker Government headed by Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed was to elect members for the 5th JS and thereby hand over powers to the elected representatives of the people. Thus, in February 1991, Bangladesh went to the

polls for the 5th JS. The elections were highly acclaimed as free and fair, and were fought between the two leading contenders- the AL and the BNP. The other parties who fielded their candidates were Jatio Party (JP) headed by General H.M. Ershad (at that time, General Ershad was in the jail and in his absence his party's senior-most Vice-President Mijanur Rahaman Chowdhury led the party). Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, and a group of five left-wing parties. Besides, a large number of independent candidates also contested in the elections.

However, the BNP emerged as the single largest party in the 5th Jatiyo Sangsad polls, though slightly short of absolute majority. The AL became as the second largest party capturing 92 seats, while Ershad's Jatio Party stood third in the race with 35, and Jamaat-e-Islami became fourth with 19 seats. The remaining seats were shared by the five left-wing parties and independent candidates. The elections were a stunning surprise for the AL as it failed to bag the majority seats, whereas it was a remarkable success for the BNP.

One of the remarkable achievements of the 5th JS was that it scrapped the provisions providing the presidential system of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act of 1975 through the passage of the famous Constitution (Twelfth Amendment Act) in September 1991. The amendment in effect restored parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh after long 16 years.

Earlier, in March 1991, Begum Khaleda Zia, the leader of the majority party in the JS, was sworn in as the Prime Minister by the Caretaker Government, President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. She continued to hold the same office after the passage of the September (1991) amendment, but with more executive powers.

3:II Brief Analysis of Electoral Results

The movement for establishing parliamentary democracy that had originated against the “internal administration of Pakistan during the pre-independence period continued against the ruling authorities of Bangladesh even after independence. The ‘national coalition’ witnessed in the pre-freedom movement, and which had successfully liberated their motherland from the clutches of the occupied forces, was found falling apart soon after the emergence of Bangladesh in December 1971. Bangladesh, in its first three years of independence, lived under three different form of government, paradoxically under the same political leadership.’ For all the three cases, the long cherished political process of parliamentary democracy not only got stagnated, but also at times deteriorated. The new ruler’s inability to resolve the clashes of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of social, economic and political cleavages, clearly demonstrated their inadequacy as an agent for solving the problems of economic as well as political development facing the country. Instead of creating conditions for a democratic settlement to these and other crisis, the ruling elite deliberately abandoned the country’s parliamentary democratic process and opted for authoritarian rule.

After an interval of more than a decade, the circumstances that led the country returned to parliamentary democracy in 1991 are also examined. Nevertheless, the story of parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh since 1991 has not been palatable. It is evident from the proceedings of 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th parliamentary elections, the support base of the institution was very strong. It was the incapacity of the subsequent ruling actors and

their counterparts in the opposition camp to nurture and appreciate the norms of parliamentary institution and its institutionalization in Bangladesh.

The first four parliamentary elections, held between 1973 and 1988 were alleged to be considerably flawed although the intensity of electoral frauds varied. It has been observed that the very first parliamentary election in 1973 witnessed the deceitful practices. Even though the fraudulent practice in the first parliamentary elections was minor, the intensity of such practices increased during the second and third JS elections held in 1979 and 1986 respectively, and surpassed all previous records of intimidation, ballot stuffing, and surreptitious counting in the fourth JS elections held in 1988¹⁴. The major purpose of these elections was not to offer the electorate an opportunity to exercise the right to vote, but to convince the donor countries and organizations that a democratically elected government was in power. The divergence in the preferences of the ruler and the society was the main reason why the elections were characterized by state-sponsored rigging. It is obvious that the preference of the society was to have genuinely elected government while the preference of the rulers was to ensure their continuation in power by any means¹⁵.

Sheikh Mujib, Ziaur Rahman and Ershad treated the Election Commission (EC), a constitutional body, as one of the many government departments. Although during each of the parliamentary elections held between 1973 and 1988, the EC was headed by a judge of the highest court of the country, it miserably failed to make these elections free and fair. The four elections completely shattered public confidence in the sanctity of the electoral process.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.15

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Chapter 4: Parliamentary Democracy in Bangladesh and the Challenges of Institutionalization

4:I Working of the Parliamentary System

Bangladesh's Parliament, officially known as Jatiya Sangsad(JS)consists of 300 members. The members (called member of Parliament or MP) are directly elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The normal tenure of the JS is five years from the date of its first meeting unless it is earlier dissolved by the president. The JS has its own secretarial staff. The terms of recruitment and conditions of services of persons appointed to the secretarial staff of the JS are to be regulated by an Act of the JS and until such law is made, the President may in consultation with the Speaker make rules regulating the recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to the secretariat of JS and those rules shall have effect subject to the provisions of law¹⁶. The overall picture of the Bangladesh *Jatia Sangsad* Parliament is reflected in the Table-I.

**Table -1
Bangladesh Jatiya Sangsad (JS) in different years**

Subject matter	1 st JS	2 nd JS	3 rd JS	4 th JS	5 th JS	6 th JS	7 th JS	8 th JS
Term	32 months	36 months	17 months	31 months	56 months	11 days	Five years	Currently in Existence
Total Session	08	08	04	07	22	01	--	--
Amendments	4	2	1	3	2	1	--	--
Bill passed	154	65	38	142	172	01	--	--

¹⁶ For details, please see, Ahmed, Ali, *Theory and Practice of Bangladesh Constitution*, Dhaka: Book Syndicate, 1998, pp.100-125

Leader of The House	Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	Shah Azizur Rahman	Mizanur Rahman Choudhury	Moudu d Ahmed	Khaleda Zia	Khaleda Zia	Sheikh Hasina	Khaleda Zia
Leader of the opposition in JS	none	Asaduzzaman Khan	Sheikh Hasina	A.S.M. Abdur Rob	Sheikh Hasina	none	Khaleda Zia	Sheikh Hasina
Date of Dissolution	6 November 1975	24 March 1982	6 December 1987	6 December 1990	24 November 1995	30 March 1996		
Date of Election	7 March 1973	18 February 1979	7 May 1986	3 March 1988	27 February 1991	15 February 1996	12 June 1996	01 October 2001
Number of Participating Political Parties	14	29	28	08	75	43	81	
Number of competing candidates	1089	2125	1527	977	2787	1450	2574	
Vote cast	54.91 per cent	50.94 per cent	61.07 per cent	57.90 per cent	55.45 per cent	20.97 per cent	74.96 per cent	54.91 per cent
Number of Seats won by different parties	AL: 293, others: 7	BNP: 207, AL: 39, Indep.: 16, Others: 38	JP: 153, AL: 76, Jammata: 10, indep.: 32, others: 29	JP: 251, Indep.: 25, Others: 24.	BNP: 140, AL: 88, JP: 35, Jammata: 18, others: 19	BNP: 278, others: 11	AL: 146, BNP: 116, JP: 32, others: 6.	BNP-191, JI-17, AL-62, JP(N)-04, JP(E)&IJ-14, IOJ-02, others-08

Source: *Bangladesh Election Commission, 2005, Dhaka*

Table-1 gives us the picture of Bangladesh's JS in different years. It may be mentioned that from 25 January 1975 to 1991 the country was ruled under presidential form of government. Furthermore, in most of these times military rulers were at the driving seat of state. The power to summon the session of the JS is under the jurisdiction of the

President, who acts according to the written advice of the Premier. After a general election, the JS must be summoned to meet within thirty days after declaration of the election results. After that, another session must be convened within sixty days of closing one parliamentary session. At the commencement of the first session after a general election and at the commencement of the first session in every year, the President shall have to address the JS and it is mandatory and the JS shall thereafter discuss the matters to in such address of the President.

An important characteristic of the parliamentary system in Bangladesh is the predominance of the Cabinet, which virtually monopolize the business in the JS. An MP who is not a Minister can sponsor a Bill. However, the private member's Bill has little chance of being passed without the government's support. The power of the private members is extremely limited and not much scope is left for their individual enterprise and initiative. Most of the parliamentary time is consumed by the government's business and only one day in a week is reserved as private member's day¹⁷.

Allegedly rigged elections contribute enormously to the ineffectiveness of the first JS. The legislature remained substantially handicapped vis-à-vis the executive. Numerical weakness of the opposition members of parliament and an unquestioned loyalty of the ruling party MPs to the executive, government reduced the first four JSs to rubber stamp bodies. Sheikh Mujib, Ziaur Rahman and Ershad used the JS as their approval even to the most authoritarian policy proposals and constitutional amendments. None of the first four parliaments could complete its five-year term. They all were dissolved prematurely. Military takeovers caused the dissolution of the first two JSs, and the third and fourth Parliaments were dissolved in the face of irresistible movements for the restoration of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

democratic rights. As a result, Parliamentary polity got little opportunity to institutionalized.

Table-2
Numerical Strength of Government, Opposition and Independent Members in different Parliaments of Bangladesh

Jatiyo Sangsad (JS)	Year of Election	Ruling Party	Main Opposition Party	Number of MPs			Total	Tenure
				Government	Opposition	Independent		
First	1973	AL	None	308	02	05	315	32 months
Second	1979	BNP	AL	248	77	05	330	36 months
Third	1986	JP	AL	206	115	09	330	17 months
Fourth	1988	JP	COP	251	24	25	330	31 months
Fifth	1991	BNP	AL	168	159	03	330	56 months
Sixth	1996	BNP	---	319	01	10	330	12 Days
Seventh	1996	AL	BNP	175	155		330	60 months
Eighth	2001	BNP	AL	216	82	02	300	Current

Source: Goswami, A.K., "The Grits of Democratisation in Bangladesh" in *Bangladesh Political Science Review*, Dhaka: Vol.I, No.I, June 2001; and cited in "John Rawls' idea of consensus: Bangladesh Perspective" Seminar Proceeding of 1st International Congress 2002, *DUPSA*, Dhaka: 2002, pp.52-61.

It was found by observing the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th sessions of the Parliament held in 2004 that,

- (1) Parliament failed to ensure the accountability of the government;
- (2) parliamentary Standing Committees on different Ministries could not play an effective role in investigating corruption and irregularities in different organizations under the Ministries concerned;
- (3) the lawmakers of the main opposition party Awami League were absent from Parliament for 48 out of 83 days last year;

- (4) the lawmakers raised irrelevant issues including praising their own party leaders and criticizing the opponents 1565 times in four Parliament sessions;
- (5) none of the 491 adjournment motions moved in Parliament saw the light of discussion;
- (6) the four sessions witnessed severe quorum crises alone;
- (7) of the Tk.22.11 crore spent to run the four sessions of House last year (2001), more than Tk.5 crore had been wasted due to quorum crises alone;
- (8) Prime Minister's question-answer session, boycotted by the main opposition, was not held on 32 per cent of the scheduled days or questions were just tabled. Ninety percent of the questions were from Treasury Bench lawmakers, which does not show any health sign to in the process of institutionalization.

4:II Parliamentary Committees

Parliamentary Committees are often called "Mini Parliament" as they assist the House in the efficient discharge of its functions by making detailed examination of bills and other matters that require expert views. However, Parliamentary Committees are either appointed or elected by the House or nominated by the Speaker. Parliamentary Committees of the JS are conspicuous entities of the Constitution of Bangladesh. The structure, scope and jurisdictions of the Committees have been sketched out in Article 76 of the Constitution and the Rules 187-266 of Chapter 27 of the Rules of procedure of the Parliament. Article 76 empowers the JS to appoint Standing Committees following the Rules of Parliamentary Procedure. Additional committees are appointed by the JS for the purpose of considering draft bills, examining legislative proposals, reviewing and

7/1- 7978.

proposing measures of enforcement of laws and investigating or inquiring into the functions of the ministries and administration. Committee system in Bangladesh can be broadly classified into four categories:

1. Core Committee-management and administration of the JS, statutory bodies of the government etc.
2. Ministerial Committee-means one Committee for each Ministry
3. Select Committee and Special Committee-have already been deployed in the history of Bangladesh Parliament. Parliament appoints Special Committee to inquire into special kind of problems.

The size of the Committee of the Bangladesh JS ranges from 8 to 15 members.

The rules of procedure framed and adopted by Parliament guide and regulate functional details, overall operation and terms of reference of the Parliamentary Committees. The Parliamentary Standing Committees are generally grouped into such categories as Ministerial Committees, for example, Committee on Ministry of Commerce, Committee on Ministry of Foreign Affairs, etc.; finance and audit committees; and a number of other committees of standing nature, for instance, Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions, Committee of Privileges, Committee on Government Assurances, Committee on Rules of Procedure etc. The above groupings exclude for special committees.

The Parliamentary Standing Committees that are of greater importance to general public are Ministerial Committees, and Finance and Audit Committees. According to rules of procedure, the functions of a standing committee on a ministry are to examine any bill or other matter referred to it by Parliament, to review the works relating to a ministry which

fails within its jurisdiction, to enquire into any activity or irregularity and serious complaint in respect of the ministry and to examine, if it deems fit, any such other matter as may fall within its jurisdiction and to make recommendations. Finance and Audit Committees namely, Committee on Public Accounts, Committee on Estimates and Committee on Public Undertakings “are considered as special mechanism as of the Parliament to perform its supervisory role over the government expenditures. The Public Accounts Committee scrutinizes annual financial accounts and appropriations as approved, and pinpoints the irregularities of the government bodies and remedial measures. The Committee of Estimates examines estimates throughout the financial year and gives suggestions for ensuring economy and efficiency in governance process. Accounts and reports of public institutions are reviewed by the Public Undertakings Committee, which points out the gap between the affairs of public offices and the on going government policies.”¹⁸

The above standing committees submit their reports with findings and recommendations within the fixed or extended period of time for presentation to the House. The committees are thus recommending entities. The prompted some chairmen of the standing committees to observe that the inability of the committees to implement the decisions simply made the committees “sound and fury, signifying nothing”¹⁹.

It is beyond doubt that parliamentary committees could be the most effective instrument of parliamentary oversight if they could effectively discharged their duties. But this has not always happened. Public Administration Reform Commission in its report of June, 2000 has observed, “The activities of the standing committees are usually confined to

¹⁸ Quoted in Islam, M. Nazrul, Project on Challenges ..., *op.cit.*, p.21

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.22

review of some routine findings of Ministries and other Agencies rather than in-depth investigation into budgetary and implementation performance”²⁰.

4:III Working of the Committees during the 5th Jatiya Sangsad (Parliament)

As many as 1258 meetings of the forty-nine Standing Committees and sixty-three sub-Committees were held during the tenure of the 5th Parliament. However, the reports and recommendations came from those meetings remained ignored. For example, in its third report, the Standing Committee on Public Accounts categorically mentioned that in most cases its recommendations were not given due importance and in some cases not implemented at all. Ministers seldom paid any heed to audit objections and thereby ignored the instructions to have their extra expenditures approved. Same fate was received by the Standing Committee on Public Undertakings, which did a commendable of examining mismanagement in different government organizations.

In this way most of the important Committees of the 5th Parliament (for example the Committee for investigating the corruption of the Agriculture Minister, the Committee for Zia Parishad etc.) remained ineffective and was moribund.

4:IV Parliamentary Committees in the Seventh Jatiya Sangsad

A number of remarkable changes were brought about in regard to the Committee System of Bangladesh Parliament since October 1997.

Features:

1. One Committee for each Ministry examines the respected bill

²⁰ *Ibid.*,

2. No Committee functioned under the control of the Minister-in-Charge of the Ministry; Ministerial Committee Chairperson is empowered to work independently;
3. Committees sit once in a month;
4. Committee System enjoys constitutional sustenance;
5. 1016 meetings held up to May 2000²¹.

Even, when the Members of the opposition did not participate in the session of the Parliament, they joined in the Committee meetings and made valuable contribution in resolving problems. Despite the improvements, Committee system structurally remained dysfunctional like that of previous regimes. In defiance of legal, constitutional and conventional support the authoritative command in the Committee, poor implementation and monitoring system disappointed the virtue of the Committee system of this Parliament too. Bangladesh can further improve her situation if she utilizes experiences of the leading parliamentary democracies where Committees are treated with difference and their suggestions and recommendations are seriously honoured. The crux of the problem in Bangladesh lies in the reluctant demeanour of the Executive towards the recommendation of the Committees during the period of 7th Parliament up to May 2000, but most of them remained unimplemented²². Consequently, the question of institutionalization of Parliamentary democracy remains an impossible proposition.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Islam, M. Nazrul, *Consolidating Democracy, op. cit.*, p.207.

Table-3: Parliamentary Committees in the Seventh Parliament

Permanent Committees	Number	Appointment of Committee members
Privileges	1	
Public Accounts	1	Business Advisory Committee, House Committee, Library Committee, and Committee on Petition-nominated by the Speaker only. Other Standing Committee on different Ministers are appointed and nominated by the House.
Rules of Procedures	1	
Standing Committees on Ministers	35	
Select Committees		
Special Committees	1	
Others		
Advisory	1	
Petition	1	
House	1	
Library	none	
Public Undertaking	1	
Estimates	1	
Govt. Assurance	1	
Private member's Bill and Resolution	1	

Source: *Parliament Secretariat*, Bangladesh, 2000.

4:V Committees in the Eighth Parliament

During the 5th and 6th sessions of the Eighth Parliament no committee was constituted.

However, the Committees that were constituted or recommended during the 7th and 8th sessions of the Eighth Parliament are shown in the Table below:

Table-4: Committees in the Eighth Parliament

Sl No.	Name of Committee	Date of Appointment /nomination	Remarks
1	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs,	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
2	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Religious Affairs	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
3	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Defence	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
4	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Textiles	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
5	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
6	Committee on Estimates	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
7	Committee on Public Undertakings	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
8	Committee on Government Assurances	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
9	Standing Committee on Public Accounts	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
10	Committee on Petition	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
11	Committee on Library	12 May 2003	During Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament
12	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
13	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Cultural Affairs	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
14	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Establishment	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
15	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Youth and Sports	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament

Sl No.	Name of Committee	Date of Appointment /nomination	Remarks
16	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Food	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
17	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
18	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Finance	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
19	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Land	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
20	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
21	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Planning	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
22	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Shipping	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
23	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Social Welfare	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
24	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Science and Information and Communication Technology	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
25	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Communication	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
26	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Labour and Employment	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
27	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Jute	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
28	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Commerce	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
29	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Water Resources	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament

Sl No.	Name of Committee	Date of Appointment /nomination	Remarks
30	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Liberation War Affairs	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
31	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Housing and Works	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
32	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Information	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
33	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Agriculture	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
34	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Education	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
35	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
36	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Industries	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
37	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Home Affairs	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
38	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
39	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Forest and Environment	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
40	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
41	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament

Sl No.	Name of Committee	Date of Appointment /nomination	Remarks
42	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
43	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Expatriates Welfare and Overseas Employment	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
44	Standing Committee on the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education	15 July 2003	During Eighth Session of the Eighth Parliament
45	Committee on Public Undertakings	15 July 2003	The Committee had been reconstituted. It was first constituted on 12 July 2003
46	Standing Committee on Public Accounts	15 July 2003	Do
47	Standing Committee Estimates	15 July 2003	Do
48	Standing on the Ministry of Religious Affairs	15 July 2003	Do
49	House Committee	15 July 2003	The Committee had been reconstituted. It was first constituted on 12 December 2001

Source: Parliament Secretariat, 2005

Even though most of the committees have been constituted, however, no lawmaker of the main opposition party has been appointed Chairman in any Parliament Standing Committee. This has adversely affected active participation of the main opposition party members in the Parliament Committees. Nevertheless, it is alleged by the Committee Chairmen, the Ministers and high officials of various Ministries did not cooperate with the Committee moves and thus, recommendations of the Committees remained non-

implemented. Standing Committees play the major role in ensuring the accountability of the Government to Parliament. However, like the Committees of the 5th and 7th Parliament, the Committees of the 8th Parliament were not functioning properly as most of the Ministers, Secretaries and other high officials were reluctant to join Parliamentary Committees meetings and to provide the Committees with necessary papers and documents²³.

It was also alleged that even though the Committees took decisions and made recommendations in presence of the Ministers, the recommendations were rarely implemented.

4:VI Speaker

The functioning of a vibrant Parliament depends largely upon how the Speaker conducts the business of the House. As to a father, all children are equal (rather he extends his protective hands more to the weaker offspring), so is the expectation from a Speaker that his weaker child sitting on his left will receive encouragement for more active participation in the business of the House. But the Speaker seems to be timid and shaky because his position depends largely on the mercy of the Treasury Bench.

Article 74 of the Constitution provides that Parliament shall at the first sitting after any general election elect, from among its members, a Speaker. The Rules of Procedure of Parliament (ROP) framed and adopted by Parliament to conduct its business in pursuance of Article 75(1) of the Constitution have laid down detailed procedure on the election of the Speaker. Rule 8 has prescribed the procedure for the election of a Speaker by Parliament at its first meeting after a general election. The substance of the procedure is

²³ *Ibid.*, pp.207-213, and the lawmakers appointed/nominated in the various Committees in 8th Parliament, please see Appendix-I

that any member of Parliament (MP) may give notice in writing addressed to Secretary of Parliament proposing another MP to be chosen as the Speaker subject to the condition that the notice shall be seconded by a third MP and the MP whose name is proposed, expresses in writing his willingness to serve as a Speaker, if elected. The motions which have been moved and duly seconded shall be put one by one in order in which they have been moved, and decided, if necessary, by division. If one motion is carried, the presiding officer shall, without putting the other motions, declare that the MP, proposed in the motion which has been carried, has been elected as the Speaker.

The procedure prescribed in rule 8 for the election of the Speaker shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, for the election of the Deputy Speaker.

Article 74(2) of the Constitution mentions a number of circumstances when the Speaker shall vacate his office. One of the circumstances is the passage of a resolution supported by the votes of a majority of all the members of Parliament, requiring the Speaker's removal from office.

The powers and functions entrusted to the Speaker by the Constitution and ROP may be summed up as follows:

1. presiding over the sittings of Parliament;
2. regulating the proceedings of Parliament under the ROP;
3. certifying a Bill as a Money Bill;
4. maintaining discipline and order in Parliament;
5. chairing meetings of certain Parliament Committees such as, Business Advisory Committee on Rules of Procedure, Committee on Privileges, Committee on Petitions, Committee on Rules of Procedures;

6. acting as a channel of communications between the President and the House and vice versa;
7. acting as the President of Bangladesh in the absence of the President.

The allegations leveled against the Speaker of the Parliament (Fifth to Ninth) may be summarized as follows:

4: VI (a): Lack of Neutrality

As the guardian of Parliament, the Speaker's behavior has not been always neutral. Mostly he has to act in the interest of the ruling party that nominated him for the office of the Speaker. The Opposition Bench, in the particular the main Opposition party, were seldom allowed required time to speak even on important national issues. Even there were instances of switching off the microphone of the Leader of the Opposition in the House.

4: VI (b): Not allowing the notices, etc. of the Opposition

The main opposition party members' notices relating to matters of general public interest and notices relating to matters of urgent public importance, etc. had in many cases, been disallowed by the Speaker.

4: VI (c): Failure to Prevent the Executive from Violating the Provision of ROP

In 2005 the Law Minister asked the ruling BNP lawmakers in writing to take permission of the Leader of the House or the party's parliamentary wing before placing a private Member's Bill in Parliament. Sensing that the instruction was not compatible with the

ROP, the Speaker requested the Law Minister to sit with the BNP lawmakers to resolve the issue. But the Government in the Law Ministry stood by its decision. This amounts to the Speaker's failure to protect the rights of the legislators from the executive arrogance and an obstacle to the process of institutionalization.

4: VI (d): Main Opposition Party not Persuaded to Attend Parliament Session

Prolonged boycott of the parliamentary session by the opposition parties has become an endemic problem in the parliamentary history of Bangladesh. It is maintained that the Speaker could not take any serious initiative to end the Parliament boycott by the main opposition party MPs nor it could assure them that their genuine grievances pertaining to the conduct of business in the House or its precincts would be removed. As a result, Parliament remained largely ineffective since the early nineties.

Now the question is whether the existing powers and position of the Speaker enable him to take steps to make Parliament effective.

First, a close look into the procedure of the election of the Speaker reveals that only the MP who is proposed and seconded by the majority party in Parliament is sure to be elected as Speaker.

Second, the Speaker's position is not very well secured. According to Article 74 (2)(c) of the Constitution, the Speaker may be removed by Parliament by the votes of a majority of all the MPs. This means that the Speaker's continuation in his office depends to a great extent on his allegiance to the party in power.

Third, the Speaker's neutrality in the discharge of his functions and responsibilities in Parliament may incur the displeasure of the Prime Minister, the leader of the House, and

other high-ups of the party in power. He may not get party ticket to contest the next parliamentary election. Thus, he stands a chance to lose his parliamentary seat in his constituency and or displeasure of the party leadership may mark the end of his political career if he sticks to his ideology of neutrality. This is a major problem for most of the third world democracies to get institutionalized.

4:VII Problems of Institutionalization

The 1972 constitution of Bangladesh had accepted parliamentary democracy as the form of government. It was interrupted first by the adoption of Fourth Amendment to constitution in 1975 and the subsequent measures of the ruling elits. However, after the interval of more than a decade, the country has again 'chosen for itself' parliamentary democracy in 1990's. Nonetheless, due to ineffectiveness of Parliament, the long cherished parliamentary democracy is about to collapse. It is evident from the fact that the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Parliaments have had the record to endure with great handicap.

Since 1991, each of the two major parties, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Bangladesh Awami League (AL) came to power through three general elections, held under an unique system of '*Caretaker Government*' to ensure a 'free and fair' election. In these elections, the AL lost twice- in 1991 and in 2001, while the BNP lost once in June 1996. However, in each time, after the declaration of election results, the losing party invariably questioned the result and the role played by the supposedly '*neutral Caretaker Government*'. However, neither of them did ask any question when they won the election. This aptly reflects the partisan nature of the political leaders and their politics, which duly gave birth to a system of anachronistic politics of confrontation in the country.

The direct result of this confrontational politics is boycott of the parliament and observing frequent *hartals (strike)* by the main opposition. While the opposition party abstains from the Parliament, many of the ruling party parliamentarians do not feel much interest in joining the Parliament regularly. The and result was quorum crisis.

4: VIII: *Quorum Crisis*

According to Article 75 (2) of the Bangladesh Constitution, Parliament cannot go for business without the presence of minimum sixty parliamentarians. Even though, the Constitution has clearly mentioned about situation during the proceeding of the session, however, there is no clear direction about the beginning of the session. Observers view, before the 15th session of the Eighth Parliament, parliamentary sessions were seen to be begun with at least sixty parliamentarians. During that time parliamentarians were called to join the session with huge ringing of the bell. However, the method of ringing the bell was waning rapidly. Thus, being failed to bring requisite number of parliamentarian through ringing the bell, parliamentary sessions have been opening without quorum since the 15th session of the Eighth Parliament.

In absence of the members of Opposition Bench, the attending few parliamentarians of Treasury Bench tried to hide the scenario of quorum crisis. This had been evident by observing the fact that the ruling party parliamentarians, present in the session, were pretending not to see non-forming of quorum, even if, there was a constitutional binding to draw the attention of the speaker, whenever the non-existent of quorum was noticed by any attending member of Parliament. Thus parliamentary session had been running without quorum.

Most of the parliamentarians, irrespective of their party affiliations, have less or no eagerness to join the parliamentary sessions. Observers found, now-a-days, no law and custom are being followed to maintain quorum in the house. Even passing of Bills and opening of sessions without quorum have become a common practice. Parliamentarians from the ruling party were/are equally responsible for quorum crisis in the Parliament²⁴.

To bring down the crisis of quorum, the parliamentary party of BNP lined up an order, for its parliamentarians to present in the parliamentary sessions. Even if, there is a possibility to loosing the membership of the Parliament for not carrying out the party whip, parliamentarians do not pay any heed to the order.

Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) in its recent report titled *Parliament Watch* based on the proceedings of the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th sessions of the Eighth Parliament revealed, among others, that

- a. the above sessions witnessed sever quorum crisis almost every day;
- b. of the TK.22.11 core spent to run the four sessions of House in 2005, more than Tk.5 crore had been wasted due to quorum crises alone.

A Bangla Daily (The Daily *Jugantor*) of March 17 carried a news item which revealed that in the prorogued first session of the 15th session of the 8th Parliament in 2005 sittings started without quorum on 16 days against 22 working days. This happened when the ruling alliance commanded more than two-thirds of the total seats of the Parliament. The repeated quorum crisis speak of the Speaker's inability to run the House smoothly. Parliamentarian apathy in the business of the Parliament, both the Treasury & opposition

²⁴ For detail account of the quorum crisis, please see author's project on *Challenges and Future of Parliamentary...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 33-34.

Bench were to be blamed for the gross violation of Constitutional obligating to attend the session and participate in the proceedings.

4: IX Boycotting Parliament by the main opposition

Boycotting of the Parliament by the major opposition parties since 1991 is a major challenge for its institutionalization and making it effective. Some boycotts continued for months, some for the whole session, and some for a few days. This jeopardises and devastates the prospect of democracy in the country. The Parliament of Bangladesh is boycotted for rather trivial or petty reasons, which are magically and emotionally translated into monumental concerns by those involved.

4:X Supremacy of the Executive

In a parliamentary system the executive branch is accountable to the legislature. Parliamentary Standing Committees provide such accountability by overseeing the activities of the executive. They attempt to ensure that legislation is faithfully implemented and that resources are honestly and efficiently utilized. In fact, the effectiveness of a legislature is directly related to the aggressiveness of its oversight activities. In Bangladesh, the oversight role of the legislature was/is almost nonexistent. Consequently, executive abuses of powers often go unchecked. Judicial independence is also yet to be ensured.

Article 70 of the Bangladesh Constitution, which enforces party discipline by preventing the floor crossing legislators, compromises the oversight role of the legislature. Article 70 effectively makes members of The Parliament “accountable” to the party high-ups who

hold executive positions, rather than the other way around. This, along with the lack of democracy within the party hierarchies, has for all practical purposes contributed to the emergence of a system of “*imperial premiereship*” in Bangladesh. Such concentration of unchecked powers and the potential for excesses and abuses that go along with it, perhaps pose the biggest threat to the future of parliamentary democracy and its institutionalization in Bangladesh.

4:XI Promulgations of Ordinance by Avoiding The Legislature: Extra Constitutional Measures

One reality of Bangladesh’s legislatures from the first to the eighth has been that majority of the bills were introduced in the Parliament after promulgations of Ordinances. The Parliament’s rule-making functions, thus, had been greatly disturbed because of the incumbent government’s announcements of Ordinances and later bringing those to the Parliament for ratification. Such practice in effect contributed to reducing the sovereignty and status of the Parliament and hampered the proper process of legislation and its function.

In many instances, the legislatures had been preoccupied with more procedural stuffs and thereby approving the respective government’s ruling the state by executive dictums. In this way, the orderly legislative procedure in the Parliament’s rule-making function remained more or less non-existent. This aspect has been true in case of the Parliaments formed during ‘quasi-democratic’ presidential rules and equally relevant for the legislatures elected during the era of parliamentary democracy.

In this context much of the public enthusiasm and optimism regarding legislative sovereignty gradually evaporated when the elected Parliaments since 1991 started following its predecessors. The reason for executive's preference for regularization of Ordinances in the post-1990 legislatures was that it was "used as a strategy to put maximum pressure upon its own back bencher, especially to restrict the choice of independent actions"²⁵. Moreover, the punitive clauses against the parliament members 'not only restricts floor crossing, but also provides for heavy penalties for those seeking to follow independent courses of action.

4: XII Lack of Parliamentarians' Freedom of Choice

Effectiveness of the Parliament depends upon the parliamentarians' freedom of choice. According to Professor C.F. Strong the parliamentarians must work to produce "**the best possible type of legislature**"²⁶. It seems that, in Bangladesh, the individual parliamentarian has very little or no choice to express the will of his own or his electorate in the floor of the Parliament. In fact, parliamentarians having no freedom of choice can hardly contribute to make Parliament an effective representative institution and centre for all activities of the polity. The question of its institutionalization remained a far cry.

Article 70 of The Bangladesh Constitution does not allow any party –MP to express his independent opinion in the Parliament. Even if a person, after being elected a Member of The Parliament as an independent candidate, joins any political party, he shall, for the purpose of this article be deemed to have been elected as a nominee of that party. Accordingly, he also loses his membership, if he goes against the will of that particular

²⁵ Quoted in Islam, M. Nazrul's *Challenges...*, *ibid*, p.35

²⁶ *Ibid*.

party. It is alleged that this is an example of extremity. There should be no doubt about the fact that the extremes in democracy are dangerous for democratic-culture in making. As has been maintained by the father of Political Science, Aristotle, “the best practicable average of state results from avoiding extremes in democracy...”²⁷

Article 70 of the Bangladesh Constitution reads: (1) A person elected as a member of Parliament of an election at which he was nominated as a candidate by a political party shall vacate his seat if he resigns from the party or votes in Parliament against that party.

1. Explanation-If a member of Parliament-

- a. being present in Parliament abstains from voting, or
- b. absent himself from any sitting of parliament, ignoring the direction of the party which not to do so, he shall be deemed to have voted against the party.

2. If, at any time, any question as to the leadership of the parliamentary party of a political party arises, the Speaker shall, within seven days of being informed of it in writing by a person claiming the leadership of the majority of the members of that party in Parliament, convene a meeting of all members of Parliament of that party in accordance with the Rules of Procedure of Parliament and determine its Parliamentary leadership by the votes of the majority through division and if, in the matter of voting the direction of the leadership so determined, he shall be deemed to have voted against that party under clause (1) and shall vacate seat in the Parliament.

3. If a person, after being elected a Member of Parliament as an independent candidate, joins any political party, he shall, for the purpose of this article, be deemed to have been elected as a nominee of that party.

²⁷ Aristotle, *The Politics*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

In a multiparty democracy, elections are held under the banner of a political party. Election system in Bangladesh has very little scope for any individual or even a small group to get elected on his or their own. All the demerits of democracy seem to be prevalent in the election process of Bangladesh.

An MP, before seeking vote from the people has to get the nomination from one of the political parties. It has been observed through a close background study of the members of the last three Parliaments, that majority of them are not from the ranks and files of the party but are from various sections of the society, who have joined politics to become MPs. They have no idea about the Constitution nor they know anything about the party manifesto. They want to become MPs now that they have no other job and there is nothing left for them to achieve. They have been either Chiefs of Army Staff or Generals in the Military, Secretary to the government, retired professionals or made money as businessmen but now need the status of an MP and a share of the state power. Hence, they choose either of the two big parties and declare their full loyalty to the chief of that party and secure nomination and thereafter get elected as MPs. After being elected in this process, if anybody realizes that he has a responsibility and an obligation to the people which if he has to fulfill, he will have no option but to quit the Parliament.

Article 70 alone is responsible for instilling autocratic attitude in party chiefs. Article 70 restrains an MP to even speak in the Parliament without the endorsement of his party leaders. Any obstruction or obligation will lead to the loss of seat of a member. The said Article states that a member "... shall vacate his seat if resign from the party," which can be explained in a manner from suits the party leader. This explanation is even used to expel a member from the party if a dispute arises on some political e.g. continuous

boycotting of the Parliament. The party in power and the party that was in power, have both very strongly and loudly criticized the boycotting of the Parliament, and that too for a longtime, as a wrong practice, unethical, unparliamentary and against the interest of the people and democracy as a whole.

Most unfortunately a lone MP has been slaughtered under Article 70, though he neither voted against nor resigned from the party but only attended Parliament sessions in keeping with his firm belief in the aforesaid rationales. It is an irony that no member of the country's highly conscious civil society had raised his voice on the issue, but they are now provoking various members of the party in power to raise their voice against the government.

A parliamentarian who had been the victim of Article 70 said that "by keeping Article 70 intact in the Constitution, true democratic practices cannot be carried out in the country and there will be no chance of getting good quality persons elected as MPs"²⁸. No party chief will ever nominates a person who has the slightest potential to challenge any of his/her decisions vis-à-vis his/her leadership.

No doubt, this article is the strongest safeguard for stability of the government but it is one of the strongest hindrances to uphold promotion of democratic norms to institutionalize democracy, and making the parliament effective for protection the interests of the people.

The parliamentarians could not utilize their legislative hours, either to perform rule-making functions or obtain the chance of gaining experience in the art of legislation. Even if the opposition parliamentarians are boycotting the parliamentary sessions, they are joining in the Committee Meeting. However, the decisions of the parliamentary

²⁸ Islam, M. Nazrul, *Challenges...*, *op.cit.*, p.38

Committees are not executed at all. Even if the committees are obligatory for the executive organ, however, nobody pays any heed to these decisions. As a result, parliamentarian could not ascertain the accountability of the government

When the issue of enhancing their material benefits and privileges are concerned, some of the parliamentarians become most vocal, prompt and ideal lawmakers. Some wonder, whether the enhanced remuneration, living allowances, house rent, travel allowances etc. will increase the efficiency and enable the parliamentarians to perform functions better or will these impart them greater arrogance of power?

Indeed there are many illustrious members in the Parliament who were/are sagacious and endowed with rich and varied experience. People have or at least should have great respect for members of the legislature who are their elected representatives. The latter are not only supposed to safeguard and promote interests of their constituents, but also assist the government by formulating policy and providing guidance for good governance through debate and enactment of law. But how well do they carry out these bounden duties? It is a pity that many of the parliamentarians appear non-serious about the need to be present in the parliament promptly and regularly. It seems that these members consider that once they are elected, their responsibility in attending the parliament is over. A big question arises about their duties towards their constituencies being carried out with fairness, justice and impartiality.

The majority of the legislatures are wealthy, mostly industrialists and business people. During the British regime and for some considerable period thereafter politicians used to be drawn mostly from among the ranks of lawmakers, litterateurs, insolvent patriots, hereditary landlords and others. However, due to various reasons there has been a

qualitative change in this regard. Now-a-days the principal criteria for nominating candidate by a political party are his or her ability or prospect for winning the elections. The questions of commitment to the ideals, dedication of the party rendered to the party etc. are relegated to a secondary position. Now to win election one needs money and muscle power. If one has money, or can procure it from other sources, muscle can be arranged easily. Those who spend that much money for election, they obviously do so with the hope making good that loss from the willing investors. But, members of Parliament are provided with too modest means to do so. Yet, they do fulfill their obligations in some way or other and most often accomplish much more.

4:XII Parliamentary democracy in the grip of wealthy class

It is alleged that gradually Bangladesh's politics is going under the grip of wealthy business class. Ideology and values are being sold in exchange of money. Big amount of bank balance has become the criterion of qualification for candidature. Eighty three per cent of 300 members of the 8th *Parliament*, are businessmen. Beside politics, the socio-economic premises of the country have become corrupted for the free and unjust competition of money. Once the relation between money and politics was very negligible. Even, in the initial years of independent-Bangladesh, the influence of money upon politics was not found. The use of money started during the legitimization process of army rule. Splitting parties, buying and selling politicians with money and competition to purchase votes were the rules of the time army rule. A group of business class emerged to invest money into politics. Governmental assistance was provided to this group of people due to the need of money. Gradually they became involved with the political process and over all politics of the country. At once, they started to extend influence upon politics.

The dominance of money over politics was fully established with the downfall of autocracy and reintroduction of parliamentary democracy in 1990s. The suppliers of money became involved physically with politics. An unhealthy competition to nominate and select the wealthy persons in election and in top posts of the state ensued. Successful businessmen transformed into important political personalities. The foundation of businessmen into politics became strong with the holding of three successful parliamentary elections since 1990s. The importance parliamentary democracy became fade with the dominance of money. The talented, hardworking and dedicated politicians became cornered. It is alleged that all political parties including Awami League have been searching for successful businessmen. .

During the parliamentary elections of 1991, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) had been suffering with the crisis of candidatures. To overcome the crisis many businessmen, civil and military bureaucrats, and professionals were picked up for nomination. Unexpectedly, at that time, the BNP had won the majority seats in Parliament. Since then the businessmen cum politicians need not look backs. New horizon of business was opened for the businessmen in the name of free market. A new wealthy class has been emerging with the direct assistance of government. With a view to protect legally and illegally earned money and to get social status apart from wealth and fame, they use politics as shield. Finally, the businessmen became the determining force of politics. A recent survey of Bangladesh Economic Association (BEA) found tremendous increment of the number of business class in the Parliament. In the Pakistan National Assembly during 1954, the number of businessmen in the legislature was 44 percent. However, it become 83 per cent in 2001. In another survey, it was seen that only 11 per cent out of

total 300 MPs were from businessmen. The percentage of businessmen further increased in 1991 when their presence grown up to 35 per cent. It may be mentioned that most of the businessmen MPs belong to the BNP. Nevertheless, the number of businessmen further increased, and it became 55 per cent in 1996 during the tenure of the 7th Parliament. Lastly, during the life term of the 8th Parliament it was observed that 83 percent out of total 300 members of parliament belong to business class. It will be not a surprising matter that the coming parliamentary elections will also be dominated by moneyed men. It is learnt from the newspaper report that major parties are making lists of prospective businessmen who could be nominated in the coming parliamentary general elections. Amidst the increasing tendency of businessmen in the Parliament, the Bangladesh High Court has given a judgement.

Following judgement of the High court, the Election Commission has approved a format of a form containing the 8-point information, asking the Commission to make mandatory the submission of the information by the aspiring candidates for the parliamentary elections along with the nomination papers. The information are academic qualifications along with certificate/s, assets and sources of income and criminal records (whether accused in any criminal case, whether there is any previous record of criminal case and its results), profession, source of income, description of assets and liabilities of the candidate and his/her company or dependants from any bank or financial institution, and whether he/she was lawmaker earlier and the role he/she had played individually and collectively in fulfilling the commitments made to the people before the election, along with the nomination papers to the Election Commission.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

A: Summary of the Thesis

To institutionalize the revived parliamentary democracy was one of the most important issues included in almost all the manifestos of the political parties of Bangladesh. But the progress in this respect is not so much noticeable.

In the political front, the Alliance Government led by Begum Khaleda Zia had to face continuous boycotts of 8th Parliament by the Awami League (AL) MPs. The AL led by Sheikh Hasina (also leader of the opposition in the *Parliament*) expressed her total dissatisfaction with the October election results and asked for cancellation of the votes on the grounds of massive rigging and unfairness in the voting process, although the international, national or independent observers opined that the October 2001 vote was held in a fair, free and peaceful environment. Sheikh Hasina even went to the extent of challenging the impartiality of the Caretaker Government and that of the Election Commission.

However, the AL joined the last summer session of Parliament for a brief period but later on continued its programme of boycott for not finding “congenial atmosphere” created for them in the House. The main opposition AL later changed its mind and expressed their determination to join the autumn session of the Parliament even their expected “congenial atmosphere” was not created in the Parliament. This time, the AL seemed to be more concerned about the formation of Parliamentary Standing Committees on different Ministries. In fact, it is surprising to note that the 8th Parliament completed its three sessions so far but without forming the Committees deemed crucial in a

parliamentary system. Undoubtedly, AL's changed attitude may help institutionalize Parliamentary System in Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, Professor Dr. Iajuddin Ahmed was sworn in as the 17th President of the country on 6th September 2002. Professor Ahmed succeeded Professor A.Q.M. Badrudoza Chowdhury who resigned on 21 June 2002. The new President expressed his determination to uphold the Constitution and asked the country men to work for its development, forgetting all differences and conflicts. The main opposition party AL and some left parties neither attended the swearing in ceremony nor congratulated the 17th President Prof. Ahmed. Of course, Rashed Khan Menon, a leader of left-wing party congratulated Professor Iajuddin Ahmed, not only because he is distinguished academic but also his active participation in the anti-autocratic movement during 90s. On the other hand, opposition leader Sheikh Hasina appeared skeptical about new President's promise to play neutral role as he (President) "belongs to BNP".

In a parliamentary system, the Head of the State i.e. President, is a figure head. In spite of his ascribed status, President's constitutional position is greatly imperative in institutionalization process of democracy in a country. In the history of parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh, particularly, after revival of the parliamentary system in 1991, the opposition parties rarely welcomed the Presidents. These negative attitudes on the part of responsible political actors are not conducive to parliamentary democracy in a country like Bangladesh.

Parliamentary Committees are the *sine qua non* for a parliamentary system to work. It is surprising to note that the Alliance government could do little progress in forming the Parliamentary Committees yet. Although cooperation of all the parliamentary parties are

imperative for smooth working and functioning of the Committees, but available experience testified that in Bangladesh, tyranny of the majority prevailed immediately after its independence. No regime was successful in providing enough room to the opposition, neither in the Parliament floor and in its Committee meetings nor outside of the House. Although, the post-1991 rebirth of parliamentary democracy raised enough hopes and aspirations among the cross section of people, none of the successive regimes successively contained the opposition in the Parliament. The BNP led 4-Party Alliance Government with their more than two thirds of the majority seats in the Parliament should have availed the opportunity to turn the Parliament from dysfunctional to functional. Whatever the negative attitudes the opposition holds in Parliament, the Government cannot escape the responsibility in making Parliament effective and centre of all activities of government and politics.

One who has followed the political developments knows it well that Bangladesh achieved its independence after a bloody liberation war and its political history of about 39 years is full of traumatic events. The triumphant new political leaders were indeed duly prompted in establishing the system of parliamentary government after liberation to be regularized soon by provision included in the Constitution adopted in November 1972 but the later was drastically amended in January 1975 to provide for a one party presidential system, i.e. less than 4 years after the parliamentary system was adopted.

From August 1975 to the end of 1990, the country was virtually ruled by the civil military bureaucracy. Following the national parliamentary elections, Bangladesh was able to return to parliamentary polity again in 1991 when both the treasury and opposition bench members of the 5th Parliament agreed unanimously to adopt the Constitution

(Twelfth Amendment) Act in September 1991. The spectacular display of “unanimity” was indeed a historic event, though a similar unanimity on another occasion to enable the MPs get duty free luxurious cars has been considered by many an utterly disgraceful legislative act²⁹.

However, after the passage of the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, it was expected that the ruling party (BNP) would go by the parliamentary norms. It would pay due heed to the opposition views in Parliament, and the Prime Minister would attend its sessions consistent with the norms of the newly adopted system of government. But the post-amendment euphoria of excitement of the people soon began to subside in the wake of the ruling party’s unparliamentary acts; finally it paid the penalty of losing for its obstinate on the “Caretaker Government” issues.

However, the AL came back in power in 1996 after long twenty-one years. The victorious AL on its part seemed to have taken a tactical move in forming a sort of “consensus” Government perhaps to keep the “largest” opposition in the Parliament at bay. This time it appeared that the Government was tolerant to opposition views both in and outside the Parliament, and its policy-making styles seemed to be better than before. Yet, the ruling party (AL) seemed to have been bogged down in succession, plus the “foul play” in it was bid to entice two of the BNP’s MPs into the “consensus” Cabinet. In addition, the party in power seemed stuck ever since the assumption of the reins of government to encounter governance challenges its power sector, stock market, and its efforts to salvage the national economy from sinking.

For the last five years of AL rule was highly characterized by terrorism, unabated corruption and politicization of administration, governmental facilities and opportunities.

²⁹ Islam, M. Nazrul, *Consolidating ...*, *op.cit.*, p.218

Under this backdrop, the 8th parliamentary elections were fought mainly between the ruling AL and BNP led four parties' Alliance. The other parties including Independent group also fielded their candidates. The result of the elections was not unexpected to many. Sheikh Hasina lost the battle. Begum Khaleda Zia the four-party alliance leader is now the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. The performance of the four-party alliance Government may not be convincing. Its achievements, whatever it had achieved, had been riddled by its unscrupulous elements inside and outside of the government fold.

However, the election results demand more responsible and farsighted response from both the ruling and opposition parties. Institutionalization of parliamentary system can only bring about good governance and its proper operation should ensure the rule of law in Bangladesh.

Paradoxically, almost all the political parties in Bangladesh have been adopting authoritarian model to run their respective parties. Authoritarianism begets autocracy. For the sake of democracy, the contending parties could have inculcated democratic principles in their respective organizations. "Charity begins at home" There is no short cut answer to sustain democracy. The AL and BNP, the two leading contenders of the State craft should have come forward, without wasting time to democratize their respective institution. This could help build up confidence not only among the party followers and sympathizers but also between the party and the people. It is alleged that the growing number of peoples are skeptical about the sincerity of the politicians for establishing democratic norms and values in their institutions *Vis-à-Vis* in the country. The governing elites must put their endeavor to convince the masses of people that their policy would work towards that direction.

However, 'Democracy' has by far been the most tested political system, but its journey from ancient times to the present has never been smooth. At times its operation has to encounter traumatic experience, and often it met a tragic end, mostly at the hands of elected "brute" majority. There were occasions as well when the majority in power did not take the minority opinions on national issues important or trivial, into consideration. And one finds it most often than not that the application of rules in conformity with the norms of democracy has no or little relevance to the majority governance of the third world countries including Bangladesh.

B: Recommendation

To conclude this narrative with a cautionary note, the author is tempted to assert that the ruling as well as opposition parties should get themselves involved in a dialogue and debate both inside and outside of the Parliament, and they should try to find out mutually agreeable solutions on issues of national importance. If the contending parties fail now to address the national issues in a spirit of collaboration, mutual respect, and trust in conformity with the democratic norms then extra constitutional measure seems inevitable, a measure which will not only undo the opportunity of institutionalizing parliamentary democracy, but will eventually destroy the whole fabric of the country's body politic.

Appendix I

Name of Lawmakers appointed/ nominated on the various Committees constituted upto the 8th session of the Eighth Parliament.

[Note: Vacant seats to be filled by members of Parliament belonging to Awami League]

1. Standing Committee of Privileges

Sl. No.	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Barrister Muhammad Jamir Uddin Sircar	Chairman	1 Panchagarh - 1
2.	Begum Khaleda Zia	Member	41 Bogra - 6
3.	Sheikh Hasina	Member	216 Gopalganj - 3
4.	Mr. Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan	Member	199 Narsingdi - 3
5.	Mr. Md. Abdul Hamid Advocate	Member	169 Kishoregonj-5
6.	Khandaker Delwar Hossain	Member	172 Manikganj - 1
7.	Dr. Khondhaker Moshraf Hossain	Member	149 Comilla - 2
8.	Barrister Moudud Ahmed	Member	273 Noakhali - 5
9.	Allama Delwar Hossain Saidee	Member	129 Pirojpur - 1
10.	Mr. Md. Mizanur Rahman Minu	Member	53 Rajshahi - 2

2. Standing Committee on Rules of Procedure

Sl. No.	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Barrister Muhammad Jamir Uddin Sircar	Chairman (Ex-Officio)	1 Panchagarh - 1
2.	Khandaker Delwar Hossain	Member	172 Manikganj-1
3.	Barrister Moudud Ahmed	Member	273 Noakhali - 5
4.	Mr. M. K. Anwar	Member	248 Comilla-1
5.	Mr. Mashiur Rahman	Member	82 Jinidah-2
6.	Alhaj Md. Nurul Islam Moni	Member	111 Barguna-2
7.	Prof. Shahidul Islam	Member	76 Kushtia-2
8.	Alhaj Advocate Md. Rahmat Ali	Member	193 Gazipur-1
9.	Alhaj Vice Principal M.A. Shahid	Member	273 Moulavibazar-4
10.	Sha Md. Ruhul Quddus	Member	104 Khulna-6
11.	Mr. Golam M. Quader	Member	21 Rangpur-3
12.	Vacant		

3. Business Advisory Committee

Sl. No.	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Barrister Muhammad Jamir Uddin Sircar	Chairman (Ex-Officio)	
2.	Begum Khaleda Zia	Member	
3.	Sheikh Hasina, Leader of the Opposition	Member	
4.	Mr. Md. Saifur Rahman, Minister	Member	
5.	Mr. Md. Abdul Hamid, Advocate Deputy Leader of the Opposition	Member	
6.	Mr. Md. Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan, Minister	Member	
7.	Mr. Oli Ahmed, Bir Brikram	Member	291 Chittagong-13
8.	Khandhakaer Delwar Hossain, Chief Whip	Member	
9.	Barrister Moudud Ahmed, Minister	Member	
10.	Mr. M. K. Anwar, Minister	Member	
11.	Mr. Salauddin Quader Chowdhury, Advisor on Parliamentary Affairs to the PM	Member	284 Chittagong-7
12.	Mr. Motiur Rahman Nizami, Minister	Member	
13.	Alhaj Vice-President Mr. Md. Shahid, Chief Whip of the Opposition	Member	237 Moulovibazar-4
14.	Mr. K. M. Obaidur Rahman	Member	210 Faridpur-2
15.	Begum Rowshan Ershad	Member	33 Gaibandah-5

4. Standing Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions

Sl. No.	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Mozammel Haque	Chairman	65 Sirajganj-5
2.	Alhaj Md. Tajul Islam Chowdhury	Member	26 Kurigram-2
3.	Mr. Abu Yousuf Md. Khalilur Rahman	Member	35 Joypurhat-2
4.	Mr. Md. Shahjahan	Member	272 Noakhali-4
5.	Mr. Shawkat Ali	Member	221 Shariatpur-2
6.	Mr. A. K. M. Jahangir Hossain	Member	115 Patuakhali-3
7.	Sadar Shakhawat Hossain Bakul	Member	200 Narsingdi-4
8.	Mr. Md. Abu Hena	Member	54 Rajshahi-3
9.	Mr. Najir Hossain	Member	223 Sunamganj-1
10.	Mr. Abdus Subhan	Member	72 Pabna-5

5. Standing Committee on Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs

Sl. No.	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Khondkar Mahbub Uddin Ahmed	Chairman	188 Dhaka-9
2.	Barrister Moudud Ahmed	Member	273 Noakhali-5
3.	Mr. Khondkar Delwar Hossain	Member	172 Manikganj-1
4.	Mr. Salahuddin Quader Chowdhury	Member	285 Cittagong-7
5.	Advocate Haroon-Al-Rashid	Member	244 Brahmonbaria-3
6.	Barrister Ziaur Rahman Khan	Member	192 Dhaka-13
7.	Advocate Md. Nadim Mostafa	Member	55 Rajshahi-4
8.	Mr. Md. Mozammel Haque	Member	Shirajgonj-5
9.	Vacant	Member	--
10.	Vacant	Member	--

6. Standing Committee on Ministry of Defence

Sl. No.	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Lieutenant General (Rtd) Md. Mahbubur Rahman	Chairman	7 Dinajpur-2
2.	Begum Khaleda Zia	Member	41 Bogra-6
3.	Mr. Hafiz Uddin Ahmed, Bir Bikram	Member	119 Bhola-3
4.	Air-Vice Marshal (Rtd) Altaf Hossain Chowdhury	Member	113 Patuakhali-1
5.	Mr. Md. Rezaul Bari Dina	Member	37 Bogra-2
6.	Maj. (Rtd) Abdul Mannan	Member	189 Dhaka-10
7.	Mr. Shamsul Alam Pramanik	Member	49 Noagoan-4
8.	Major (Rtd) Sayed Eskander	Member	266 Feni-1
9.	Vacant	Member	--
10.	Vacant	Member	--

7. Standing Committee on Ministry of Textile

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Prof. M. A. Matin	Chairman	67 Sirajganj-7
2.	Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury	Member	202 Narayanganj-1
3.	Mr. Md. Abdul Gani	Member	74 Meherpur-2
4.	Engineer Shamsuddin Ahmed	Member	154 Mymensingh-6
5.	Mr. A. K. M. Selim Reza Habib	Member	69 Pabna-2
6.	Mr. Md. Abdul Gafur Bhuiyan	Member	258 Comilla-11
7.	Col. (Retd) M. Anwarul Azim	Member	257 Comilla-10
8.	Mr. Abu Sayed Md. Shahadat Hussain	Member	86 Jessore-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

8. Standing Committee on Ministry of Women and Children Affairs

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Mozahar Hossain	Chairman	2 Panchagarh-2
2.	Mrs. Khurshid Jahan Haque	Member	8 Dinajpur-3
3.	Mufti Mow. A. Sattar Akon	Member	98 Bagerhat-4
4.	Mr. Majibur Rahman Monju	Member	170 Kishoreganj-6
5.	Mr. M. Nurul Islam	Member	102 Khulna-4
6.	Mr. S. A. Sultan	Member	263 Chandpur-4
7.	Mr. Md. Nasirul Haque Sabu	Member	208 Rajbari-2
8.	Ms. Israt Sultana (Elen Bhutto)	Member	128 Jhalokati-2
9.	Vacant	Member	
10.	Vacant	Member	

9. Standing Committee on Government Assurance

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Abdus Subhan	Chairman	72 Pabna-5
2.	Mr. Md. Alamgir Haider Khan	Member	265 Chandpur-6
3.	Dr. Dewan Md. Salauddin	Member	191 Dhaka-12
4.	Mr. Mostafa Kamal Pasha	Member	281 Chittagong-3
5.	Mr. S. A. Sultan	Member	263 Chandpur-4
6.	Mia Golam Parwar	Member	103 Khulna-5
7.	Vacant		
8.	Vacant		

10. Standing Committee on Petition

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Barrister Muhammad Jamir Uddin Sircar	Chairman	1 Panchagr-1
2.	Barrister Ziaur Rahman Khan	Member	192 Dhaka-13
3.	Mr. Md. Kabir Hossain	Member	56 Rajshahi-5
4.	Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan	Member	203 Narayanganj-2
5.	Gazi Nazrul Islam	Member	109 Satkhira-5
6.	Mr. Zahiruddin Swapon	Member	121 Barisal-1
7.	Mr. Md. Shahidul Islam	Member	94 Narail-2
8.	Kazi Alauddin	Member	108 Satkhira-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

11. Standing Committee on Library

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Akhter Hamid Siddiqui, Deputy Speaker	Chairman	48 Naogaon-3
2.	Mr. Kalim Uddin Ahmed	Member	227 Sunamganj-5
3.	Alhaj Dr. Mohammad Ali	Member	160 Mymensingh + Netrokona
4.	Mr. Md. Haroon-ur-Rashid (Haroon)	Member	45 Nababgonj-4
5.	Engineer Shamsuddin Ahmed	Member	154 Mymensingh-6
6.	Mr. Md. Amzad Hossain Sarker	Member	15 Nilphamari-4
7.	Mr. Ali Newaz Mahmud Khaiyam	Member	207 Rajbari-1
8.	Mr. Mohammad Ali Sarker	Member	20 Rangpur-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

12. Standing Committee on Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Mosharraf Hossain	Chairman	268 Feni-3
2.	Begum Khaleda Zia	Member	41 Bogra-6
3.	Mr. Moni Swapan Dewan	Member	299 Rangamati Hill Tracts
4.	Mr. Shajahan Chowdhury	Member	297 Cox's Bazar-4

5.	Mr. Wadud Bhuyan	Member	298 Khagrachari Hill Tracts
6.	Mufti Mow. A. Sattar Akon	Member	98 Bagerhat-4
7.	Sayed Moazzem Hossain Alal	Member	122 Barisal-2
8.	Mr. Mostafa Kamal Pasha	Member	281 Chittagong-3
9.	Gazi Mohammad Shahjahan	Member	289 Chittagong-11
10.	Vacant		

13. Standing Committee on Ministry of Cultural Affairs

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Professor Shahidul Islam	Chairman	76 Kushtia-2
2.	Begum Rowshan Ershad	Member	33 Gaibandha-5
3.	Dr. Syed Mokbul Hossain	Member	233 Sylhet-6
4.	Alhaj Shafi Ahmed Chowdhury	Member	230 Sylhet-3
5.	Mr. K. M. Anwarul Islam	Member	70 Pabna-3
6.	Mr. Masud Arun	Member	73 Meherpur-1
7.	Mr. Md. Shahidul Islam Biswas	Member	79 Chuadanga-1
8.	Mr. M. Rashiduzzaman Millat	Member	141 Jamalpur-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

14. Standing Committee on Ministry of Establishment

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Sarder Sakhawat Hossain Bakul	Chairman	200 Narsingdi-4
2.	Begum Khaleda Zia	Member	41 Bogra-6
3.	Mr. Shahiduzzaman (Belto)	Member	84 Jhenaidah-4
4.	Mr. Md. Nurul Huda	Member	261 Chandpur-2
5.	Mr. K. M. Anwarul Islam	Member	70 Pabna-3
6.	Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah	Member	279 Chittagong-1
7.	Mr. Zahir Uddin Swapon	Member	121 Barisal-1
8.	Mia Golam Parwar	Member	103 Khulna-5
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

15. Standing Committee on Ministry of Youth and Sports

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Joynal Abedin Faruque	Chairman	269 Noakhali-1
2.	Mr. Md. Fazlur Rahman (Potal)	Member	57 Natore-1
3.	Mr. Mohammad Ali	Member	274 Noakhali-6
4.	Shah Nurul Kabir (Shaheen)	Member	156 Mymensing-8
5.	Al-haj Md. Sohrab Uddin	Member	77 Kushtia-3
6.	Mr. Ali Newaz Mahmud Khaiyam	Member	207 Rajbari-1
7.	Mr. Dildar Hossain Selim	Member	231 Sylhet-4
8.	Mr. M. Elias Ali	Member	229 Sylhet-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

16. Standing Committee on Ministry of Food

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Alhaj Mosharraf Hossain Mongu	Chairman	123 Barisal-3
2.	Mr. Abdullah Al Noman	Member	287 Chittagong-9
3.	Mr. Abdul Khair Bhuiyan	Member	276 Laxmipur-2
4.	Mr. S. A. Khaleque	Member	190 Dhaka-11
5.	Mr. Md. Azizur Rahman Chowdhury	Member	11 Dinajpur-6
6.	Mr. Md. Noor Mohammad Mondal	Member	24 Rangpur-6
7.	Mr. Ebadur Rahman Chowdhury	Member	234 Moulvibazar-1
8.	Mawlana Abdul Khaleque Mondal	Member	106 Satkhira-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

17. Standing Committee on Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Shahjahan	Chairman	272 Noakhali-4
2.	Chowdhury Kamal Ibne Yousuf	Member	211 Faridpur-3
3.	Mr. Md. A. Karim Abbasi	Member	161 Netrodona-1
4.	Dr. Md. Salek Chowdhury	Member	46 Naogaon-1
5.	Mr. Md. A. K. M. Fazlul Haque	Member	195 Gazipur-3
6.	Mr. M. M. Shaheen	Member	235 Moulvibazar-2

7.	Mr. Nasir Uddin Ahmed Pintu	Member	187 Dhaka-8
8.	Mr. Md. Shaheed Uddin Chowdhury Ani	Member	277 Laxmipur-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

18. Standing Committee on Ministry of Finance

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Mushfiqur Rahman	Chairman	245 Brahmanbaria-4
2.	Mr. Saifur Rahman	Member	288 Sylhet-1
3.	Mr. A. M. Riasat Ali Biswas	Member	107 Satkhira-3
4.	Gazi Md. Shahjahan	Member	289 Chittagong-11
5.	Mr. Md. Habibul Islam Habib	Member	105 Satkhira-1
6.	Mr. Shahjahan Chowdhury	Member	292 Chittagong-14
7.	Mr. Abdul Khaleque	Member	247 Brahmanbaria-6
8.	Mr. Md. Moshir Rahman Ranga	Member	19 Rangpur-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

19. Standing Committee on Ministry of Land

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Advocate Mahbubur Rahman	Chairman	271 Noakhali-3
2.	Mr. M. Shamsul Islam	Member	178 Munshiganj-3
3.	Mr. Md. Kabir Hossain	Member	56 Rajshahi-5
4.	Mr. Md. Nurul Huda	Member	261 Chandpur-2
5.	Mr. Md. A. karim Abbasi	Member	161 Netrokona-1
6.	Mr. Md. Abdullah Al Kafi	Member	6 Dinajpur-1
7.	Alhaj Md. Ali Kadar	Member	85 Jessore-1
8.	Mr. Md. Golam Habib (Dulal)	Member	28 Kurigram-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

20. Standing Committee on Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operative

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. A. Mannan Talukder	Chairman	63 Sirajganj-3
2.	Mr. Abdul Mannan Bhuiyan	Member	199 Narsingdi-3
3.	Mr. md. Shahiduzzaman (Belto)	Member	84 Jhenaidah-4
4.	Mr. Md. Alamgir Haidar Khan	Member	265 Chandpur-6
5.	Mr. Sarwar Zamal Nizam	Member	290 Chittagong-12
6.	Mr. Abul Khair Bhuiyan	Member	276 Laxmipur-1
7.	Mr. A. K. M. Mostafizur Rahman	Member	25 Kurigram-1
8.	Major (Retd.) Sayed Eskander	Member	266 Feni-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

21. Standing Committee on Ministry of Planning

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. M. Akbar Ali	Chairman	64 Sirajganj-4
2.	Mr. Md. Saifur Rahman	Member	228 Sylhet-1
3.	Kazi Md. Anwar Hossain	Member	246 Brahmanbaria-5
4.	Mr. Md. Hafiz Ibrahim	Member	118 Bhola-2
5.	Mawlana Abdul Aziz	Member	29 Gaibandha-1
6.	Mr. G. M. Fazlul Haque	Member	262 Chandpur-3
7.	Mr. Sarwar Zamal Nizam	Member	290 Chittagong-12
8.	Dr. Ziaul Haque Mollah	Member	39 Bogra-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

22. Standing Committee on Ministry of Shipping

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Golam Muhammad Siraj	Chairman	40 Bogra-5
2.	Lt. Col (Retd) Akbar Hossain	Member	255 Comilla-8
3.	Mr. M. A. Matin	Member	264 Chandpur-5
4.	Syed Moazzem Hossain Alal	Member	122 Barisal-2
5.	Mr. Mohammad Ali Sarker	Member	20 Rangpur-2

6.	Mr. Abul Hossain Khan	Member	126 Barisal-6
7.	Mr. M. Nurul Islam	Member	102 Khulna-4
8.	Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed	Member	173 Manikganj-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

23. Standing Committee on Ministry of Social Welfare

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Abdul Hai	Chairman	179 Munshiganj-4
2.	Dr. T. I. M. Fazle Rabbi Chowdhury	Member	31 Gaibandha-3
3.	Mr. Md. Mozammel Haque	Member	60 Natore-4
4.	Ms. Israt Sultana (Elen Bhutto)	Member	128 Jhalokathi-2
5.	Mr. Md. Shamsuzzoha Khan	Member	47 Naogaon-2
6.	Shah Shahid Sarwar	Member	150 Mymensingh-2
7.	Mr. A. B. M. Ashraf Uddin	Member	278 laxmipur-4
8.	Mr. Mohammad Giasuddin	Member	205 Narayanganj-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

24. Standing Committee on Ministry of Science and Information and Communication Technology

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Alhaj Md. Nurul Islam Moni	Chairman	111 Borguna-2
2.	Dr. Abdul Moyeen Khan	Member	198 Narsingdi-2
3.	Kazi Salimul Haque	Member	92 Magura-2
4.	Mr. M. M. Amin Uddin	Member	88 Jessore-4
5.	Dr. Syed Mokbul Hossain	Member	233 Sylhet-6
6.	Mr. A. N. M. Ehsanul Haque	Member	260 Chandpur-1
7.	Mr. Anwar Hossain Monju	Member	130 Pirojpur-2
8.	Mr. Dhirendranath Saha	Member	93 Narail-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

25. Standing Committee on Ministry of Communication

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Sayed Monzur Hossain	Chairman	44 Nababganj-2
2.	Mr. Nazmul Huda	Member	180 Dhaka-1
3.	Mr. Md. Haroon-ur-Rashid (Haroon)	Member	45 Nababganj-3
4.	Advocate Md. Nadim Mustafa	Member	55 Rajshahi-4
5.	Mr. Md. A. K. M. Fazlul Haque	Member	195 Gazipur-3
6.	Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan	Member	203 Narayanganj-2
7.	Mr. Mahmudul Haque (Rubel)	Member	248 Sherpur-3
8.	Alhaj Dr. Mohammad Ali	Member	160 Mymensing + Netrokona
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

26. Standing Committee on Ministry of Post and Tele-Communication

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. G. M. Fazlul Haque	Chairman	262 Chandpur-3
2.	Barrister Md. Aminul Haque	Member	52 Rajshahi-1
3.	Mr. Md. Adul Momin Talukder	Member	38 Bogra-3
4.	Mr. Abdul Hossain Khan	Member	126 Barisal-6
5.	Alhaj Md. Ali Kadar	Member	85 Jossore-1
6.	Syed Mehedi Ahmd Rumi	Member	78 Kushtia-4
7.	Mr. Farid Uddin Chowdhury	Member	232 Sylhet-5
8.	Alhaj Professor Kazi Golam Murshed	Member	59 Natore-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

27. Standing Committee on Ministry of Labour and Employment

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Ahsanul Haque Molla	Chairman	75 Kushtia-1
2.	Mr. Aman Ullah Aman	Member	182 Dhaka-3
3.	Mr. Mohammad Ali	Member	274 Noakhali-6
4.	Mr. Md. Akhteruzzaman (Mia)	Member	9 Dinajpur-4
5.	Mr. Sarwar Jamal Nizam	Member	290 Chittagong-12

6.	Mr. M. A. Hasem	Member	270 Noakhali-2
7.	Mr. Md. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury	Member	14 Nilphamari-3
8.	Mr. Md. Delwar Hossain Khan Dulu	Member	152 Mymenising-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

28. Standing Committee on Ministry of Jute

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mufti Fazlul Haque Amini	Chairman	243 Brahmanbaria-2
2.	Mr. Md. Lutfar Rahman Khan (Azad)	Member	135 Tangail-2
3.	Mr. Md. Abu Hena	Member	54 Rajshahi-3
4.	Mr. Md. Shahidul Alam Talukder	Member	114 Patuakhali-2
5.	Bangobir Kader Siddiqui Bir Uttam	Member	140 Tangail-8
6.	Mr. Md. Ali Asgar (Labi)	Member	100 Khulna-2
7.	Mr. Mahi Badruddoza Chowdhury	Member	176 Munshiganj-1
8.	Mr. K. M. Hemayet Ullah Aworanga	Member	220 Shariatpur-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

29. Standing Committee on Ministry of Commerce

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Redwan Ahmed	Chairman	253 Comilla-6
2.	Mr. Ameer Khasru Mahmud Chowdhury	Member	286 Chittagong-8
3.	Mr. M. Naser Rahman	Member	236 Moulvibazar-3
4.	Mr. Mojibur Rahman Monju	Member	170 Kishoreganj-6
5.	Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed Esak	Member	197 Narsingdi-1
6.	Professor Md. Yunus	Member	252 Comilla-5
7.	Mr. Md. Monirul Haque Chowdhury	Member	256 Comilla-9
8.	Alhaj Md. Karim Uddin-Bharasa	Member	22 Rangpur-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

30. Standing Committee on Ministry of Water Resources

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Ebadur Rahman Chowdhury	Chairman	234 Moulvibazar-1
2.	Mr. Hafiz Uddin Ahmed Bir Bikram	Member	119 Bhola-3
3.	Mr. Md. Haroon ur Rashid (Haroon)	Member	45 Nababganj-3
4.	Kazi Rafiqul Islam	Member	36 Bogra-1
5.	Mr. S. A. Sultan	Member	263 Chandpur-4
6.	Mr. K. M. Anwarul Islam	Member	70 Pabna-3
7.	Mr. M. Naser Rahman	Member	236 Moulvibazar-3
8.	Mr. Md. Motiar Rahman Talukder	Member	112 Barguna-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

31. Standing Committee on Ministry of Liberation war Affair

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Alhaj Salah Uddin Ahmed	Chairman	183 Dhaka-4
2.	Professor Md. Rezaul Karim	Member	204 Narayanganj-3
3.	Mr. Sadek Hossain Khoka	Member	186 Dhaka-7
4.	Mr. M. M. Shaheen	Member	235 Moulvibazar-2
5.	Mr. Md. Mozahar Hossain	Member	2 Panchagarh-2
6.	Mr. M. A. H. Selim	Member	96 Bagerhat-2
7.	Mr. Noor Mohammad Mondal	Member	24 Rangpur-6
8.	Mr. Mohammad Giasuddin	Member	205 Narayanganj-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

32. Standing Committee on Ministry of Housing and Works

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Shahjahan Chowdhury	Chairman	297 Cox's Bazar-4
2.	Mr. Mirza Abbas	Member	185 Dhaka-6
3.	Mr. Md. Abdul Mottalib Akond	Member	32 Gaibandha-4
4.	Kazi Md. Anwar Hossain	Member	246 B. Baria-5
5.	Mr. Alamgir Haider Khan	Member	265 Chandpur-6
6.	Mr. Md. Sultan Mahmud Babu	Member	142 Jamalpur-2

7.	Mr. Alamgir Md. Mahfuz Ullah Farid	Member	295 Cox's Bazar-2
8.	Professor Joynal Abedin	Member	267 Feni-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

33. Standing Committee on Ministry of Information

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. A. K. M. Selim Reza Habib	Chairman	69 Pabna-2
2.	Mr. Tariqul Islam	Member	87 Jessore-3
3.	Mr. Alamgir Kabir	Member	51 Naogaon-6
4.	Major (Retd) Manjur Qader	Member	66 Sirajganj-6
5.	Alhaj Engineer Manzurul Ahsan Munshi	Member	251 Comilla-4
6.	Mr. Md. Hafiz Ibrahim	Member	118 Bhola-2
7.	Mr. Md. Mosharraf Hossain	Member	268 Feni-3
8.	Alhaj Md. Sohrab Uddin	Member	77 Kushtia-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

34. Standing Committee on Ministry of Agriculture

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. A. Mannan	Chairman	181 Dhaka-2
2.	Mr. M. K. Anwar	Member	248 Comilla-1
3.	Kazi Shah Mofazzal Hossain (Kaikobad)	Member	250 Comilla-3
4.	Mr. Md. Shamsuzzoha Khan	Member	47 Naogaon-2
5.	Shah Shahid Sarwar	Member	150 Mymensingh-2
6.	Mr. Khurram Khan Chowdhury	Member	157 Mymensingh-9
7.	Alhaj Shafi Ahmed Chowdhury	Member	230 Sylhet-3
8.	Mawlana Abdul Aziz	Member	29 Gaibandha-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

35. Standing Committee on Ministry of Education

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Shamsul Alam Pramanik	Chairman	49 Naogaon-4
2.	Dr. Md. Osman Faruque	Member	168 Kishoreganj-4
3.	Mr. Md. Shaheed Uddin Chowdhury Ani	Member	277 Laxmipur-3
4.	Mr. M. A. H. Selim	Member	96 Bagerhat-2
5.	Mufti Fazlul Haque Amini	Member	243 Brahmanbaria-2
6.	Mr. Md. Abdul Momin Talukder	Member	38 Bogra-3
7.	Professor Md. Shahjahan Mia	Member	43 Nababganj-1
8.	Begum Rawshan Ershad	Member	33 Gaibandha-5
9.	Mr. Md. Abdul Gafur Bhuiyan	Member	258 Comilla-11
10.	Vacant		

36. Standing Committee on Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Alhaj Prof. Kazi Golam Morshed	Chairman	59 Natore-3
2.	Mr. Masud Arun	Member	73 Meherpur-1
3.	Mr. A. B. M. Ashraf Uddin	Member	278 Laxmipur-4
4.	Gazi Md. Shahjahan	Member	289 Chattagong-11
5.	Mr. Md. Amzad Hossain Sarker	Member	15 Nilphamari-4
6.	Mr. Md. Motiar Rahman Talukder	Member	112 Barguna-3
7.	Dr. Dewan Md. Salahuddin	Member	191 Dhaka-12
8.	Mr. Mohammad Shahiduzzaman	Member	296 Cox's Bazar-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

37. Standing Committee on Ministry of Industries

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Mahmudul Hasan	Chairman	137 Tangail-5
2.	Mr. Matiur Rahman Nizami	Member	68 Pabna-1
3.	Mr. Md. Abdul Mottalib Akond	Member	32 Gaibandha-4
4.	Mr. Golam Md. Siraj	Member	40 Bogra-5
5.	Mr. Md. Shahidul Islam Biswas	Member	79 Chuadanga-1
6.	Mr. Md. Ali Asghar (Labi)	Member	100 Khulna-2

7.	Mr. Md. Shahidul Alam Talukder	Member	114 Patuakhali-2
8.	Shah Nurul Kabir (Shaheen)	Member	156 Mymensingh-8
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

38. Standing Committee on Ministry of Home Affairs

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Major (Retd) Abdul Mannan	Chairman	189 Dhaka-10
2.	Air Vice Marshal (Retd.) Altaf Hossain Chowdhury	Member	113 Patuakhali-1
3.	Mr. Md. Lutfuzzaman Babar	Member	164 Netrokona-4
4.	Mr. Sultan Mahmud Babu	Member	142 Jamalpur-2
5.	Mr. Aatur Rahman Khan	Member	203 Narayanganj-2
6.	Mr. Mushfikur Rahman	Member	245 Brahmanbaria-4
7.	Advocate Md. Mojibar Rahman Sarwar	Member	125 Barisal-5
8.	Mr. Md. Mizanur Rahman Minu	Member	53 Rajshahi-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

39. Standing Committee on Ministry of Health and Family Welfare

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Masiur Rahman	Chairman	82 Jhenaidah-2
2.	Dr. Khondkar Mosharraf Hossain	Member	249 Comilla-2
3.	Dr. Md. Salek Chowdhury	Member	46 Naogaon-1
4.	Dr. Ziaul Haque Mollah	Member	39 Bogra-3
5.	Alhaj Dr. Mohammad Ali	Member	160 Mymensing + Netrokona
6.	Dr. Dewan Md. Salauddin	Member	191 Dhaka-12
7.	Mr. Nasir Uddin Ahmed Pintu	Member	187 Dhaka-8
8.	Bangobir Kader Siddiqui, Bir Uttam	Member	140 Tangail-8
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

40. Standing Committee on Ministry of Forest and Environment

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Nazim Uddin Alam	Chairman	120 Bhola-4
2.	Mr. Shahjahan Siraj	Member	136 Tangail-4
3.	Mr. Asadul Habib (Dulu)	Member	18 Lalmonirhat-3
4.	Kazi Salimul Haque	Member	92 Magura-2
5.	Mr. Md. Shahidul Islam	Member	94 Naruil-2
6.	Mr. Anwar Hossain Monju	Member	130 Pirojpur-2
7.	Mr. Mahi Badruddoza Chowdhury	Member	176 Munshiganj-1
8.	Mr. Hafiz Uddin Ahmed	Member	5 Thakurgaon-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

41. Standing Committee on Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Barrister Ziaur Rahman Khan	Chairman	192 Dhaka-13
2.	Mr. M. Murshed Khan	Member	288 Chittagong-10
3.	Chowdhury Akmal Ibne Yousuf	Member	212 Faridpur-4
4.	Engineer L. K. Siddiqui	Member	280 Chittagong-2
5.	Mr. Redwan Ahmed	Member	253 Comillah-6
6.	Mr. A. K. M. Abu Taher	Member	254 Comilla-7
7.	Major (Retd.) Manjur Qader	Member	66 Sirajganj-6
8.	Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Md. Mahbubur Rahman	Member	7 Dinajpur-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

42. Standing Committee on Ministry of Power, Energy and Mineral Resources

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Sahidul Islam	Chairman	83 Jhenaidah-3
2.	Mr. A. K. M. Mosharrif Hossain	Member	153 Mymensing-5
3.	Mr. Iqbal Hasan Mahmood	Member	62 Sirajganj-2
4.	Sardar Sakhawat Hossain Bakul	Member	200 Narsingdi-4
5.	Mr. Md. Shamsuzzoha Khan	Member	47 Naogaon-2
6.	Mr. M. Elias Ali	Member	229 Sylhet-2

7.	Mr. Md. Nazim Uddin Alam	Member	120 Bhola-4
8.	Mr. Md. Habibul Islam Habib	Member	105 Satkhira-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

43. Standing Committee on Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Hazi Md. Mozammel Haque	Chairman	80 Chuadanga-2
2.	Mirza Fakhrul Islam Alamgir	Member	3 Thakurgaon-1
3.	Mr. Mahmudul Haque (Rubel)	Member	148 Sherpur-3
4.	Mr. Md. Nurul Huda	Member	261 Chandpur-2
5.	Mr. Dharendra Nath Saha	Member	93 Narail-1
6.	Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed	Member	173 Manikganj-2
7.	Mr. Md. Harunur Rashid (Haroon)	Member	45 Nababganj-3
8.	Mr. M. A. Matin	Member	264 Chandpur-5
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

44. Standing Committee on Ministry of

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Nazir Hossain	Chairman	223 Sunamganj-1
2.	Maj. (Retd.) Md. Kamrul Islam	Member	184 Dhaka-5
3.	Mr. Dildar Hossain Selim	Member	231 Sylhet-4
4.	Mr. Md. Shahjahan	Member	272 Noakhali-4
5.	Col. (Retd.) M. Anwarul Azim	Member	257 Comilla-10
6.	Kazi Rafiqul Islam	Member	36 Bogra-1
7.	Shah Md. Solaiman Alam	Member	23 Rangpur-5
8.	Mr. Md. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury	Member	14 Nilphamari-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

45. Standing Committee on Ministry of Primary and Mass Education

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Md. Helaluzzaman Talukder Lalu	Chairman	42 Bogra-7
2.	Bagum Khaleda Zia	Member	41 Bogra-6

3.	Mr. Md. Nazim Uddin Alam	Member	120 Bhola-4
4.	Alhaj Nurul Islam Moni	Member	111 Barguna-2
5.	Kazi Alauddin	Member	108 Satkhira-4
6.	Mr. A. K. M. Abu Taher	Member	254 Comilla-7
7.	Mr. Nazir Hossain	Member	223 Sunamganj-1
8.	Mr. Md. Mojibur Rahman	Member	17 Lalmonirhat-2
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

46. Standing Committee on Public Undertaking

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Abdul Alim	Chairman	34 Joypurhat-1
2.	Mr. Wadud Bhuiyan	Member	298 Parbattya Khagrachari
3.	Advocate Md. Mojibar Rahman Sarwar	Member	125 Barishal-5
4.	Mr. Shamsul Islam Khan	Member	175 Manikganj-4
5.	Dr. Md. Rustom Ali Farazi	Member	131 Pirojpur-3
6.	Mr. Alamgir Md. Mahfuz Ullah Farid	Member	295 Cox's Bazar-2
7.	Adv. Abdul Kalam	Member	206 Narayanganj-5
8.	Alhaj Salah Uddin Ahmed	Member	183 Dhaka-4
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

47. Standing Committee on Public Account

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Advocate Haroon-al-Rashid	Chairman	244 B. Baria-3
2.	Prof. Md. Shahajahan Mia	Member	43 Nababganj-1
3.	Mr. Khurram Khan Chowdhury	Member	157 Mymensingh-9
4.	Dr. Ziaul Haque Mollah	Member	39 Bogra-4
5.	Dr. Md. Salek Chowdhury	Member	46 Naogaon-1
6.	Mr. Md. Abdul Gani	Member	78 Maherpur-2
7.	Kazi Shah Mofazzal Hossain (Kaikobad)	Member	250 Comila-3
8.	Sayed Moazzem Hossain Alal	Member	122 Barisal-2
9.	Mr. Md. Sultan Mahmud Babu	Member	142 Jamalpur-2
10.	Chowdhury Akmal Ibne Yousuf	Member	212 Faridpur-4

11.	Dr. Sayed Abdullah Md. Taher	Member	259 Comilla-12
12.	Mr. Md. Mashiur Rahman Ranga	Member	19 Rangpur-1
13.	Vacant		
14.	Vacant		
15.	Vacant		

48. Standing Committee on Estimates

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Syed Mehedi Ahmed Rumi	Chairman	78 Kushtia-4
2.	Alhaj Mosharraf Hossain Mongu	Member	123 Barisal-3
3.	Mr. Hafizuddin Ahmed	Member	5 Thakurgaon-3
4.	Mr. Md. Abdul Gani	Member	74 Maherpur-2
5.	Dr. Md. Rustom Ali Farazi	Member	131 Pirojpur-3
6.	Mr. Md. Abu Hena	Member	54 Rajshahi-3
7.	Alhaj Md. Sohrab Uddin	Member	77 Kushtia-3
8.	Mr. Md. Rashiduzzaman Millat	Member	141 Jamalpur-1
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

49. Standing Committee on Ministry of Religious Affairs

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Allama Delwar Hossain Sayeedi	Chairman	129 Pirojpur-1
2.	Mr. Moshafef Hossain Shahjahan	Member	117 Bhola-1
3.	Kazi Shah Mofazzal Hossain (Kaikobad)	Member	250 Comilla-3
4.	Mufti Mohammad Wakkas	Member	89 Jessore-5
5.	Shah Md. Ruhul Quddus	Member	104 Khulna-6
6.	Alhaj Md. Karim Uddin Bharasa	Member	22 Rangpur-4
7.	Mr. Md. Matiur Rahman	Member	27 Kurigram-3
8.	Mr. Md. Shahiduzzaman	Member	296 Cox's Bazar-3
9.	Vacant		
10.	Vacant		

50. House Committee

Sl.No	Name of Members	Designation	Constituency No
1.	Mr. Khondkar Delwar Hossain	Chairman	172 Manikganj-1
2.	Alhaj Md. Tajul Islam Chowdhury	Member	26 Kurigram-2
3.	Mr. Md. Ashraf Hossain	Member	101 Khulna-3
4.	Alhaj Syed Wahidul Alam	Member	283 Chittagong-5.
5.	Syed Shahidul Haque Jamal	Member	132 Barisal + Pirojpur
6.	Mr. Md. Fazlul Haque (Aspiya)	Member	226 Sunamganj-4
7.	Alhaj Vice-President Md. A. Shahid	Member	237 Moulvi Bazar-4
8.	Mr. Abu Yousuf Md. Khalilur Rahman	Member	35 Joypurhat-2
9.	Mr. Md. Rezaul Bari Dina	Member	37 Bogra-2
10.	Mr. Shahjahan Khan	Member	218 Madaripur-2
11.	Mr. Mirza Azam	Member	143 Jamalpur-3
12.	Mr. Shahjahan Chowdhury	Member	292 Chittagong-14

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