APPENDIX
Appendix I

Six-point Formula- Our Right to live
I have placed before the country a Six-point Programme as basic principles of a firm solution of the country’s inter-wing political and economical problems. I expected, and in fact, was ready to welcome criticism. But instead of criticising the programme and pointing out its defects, if there be any, a class of people has started hurling abuses at and ascribing disruptionist motive to me. Normally I would have ignored these vilifications firstly because these abusive voices are too familiar, these grimacing faces are too well-known, and these sallying patterns are too old to deserve anything but such ignorance; secondly because I have no manner to doubt that my Six-point Programme has truly reflected the mind and correctly represented the demands of seventy-five million East Pakistanis of their right to live. Neither have I any doubt that all right-thinking patriotic elements of West Pakistan agree with me on these points. This has been amply demonstrated by the newspaper writings and reports, statements and speeches by all the sections of the intelligentsia, students and workers. This tremendous countrywide support to the six-point programme is spontaneous. It is spontaneous because these demands are no new points invented afresh by me or any individual, but are, in reality longstanding demands of the people and pledges of their leaders awaiting fulfilment for decades. This being the case, I am confident that the mischievous propaganda and motivated campaign in carried on by the vested interests through their agents and protectors will fail to mislead our people. They will surely not forget that whenever in the past any demand was made by East Pakistanis, however small, simple and reasonable it might be, these beneficiaries and agents of vested interests kicked up the selfsame dust by raising the wellknown cries of Islam in danger! disruption of Pakistan and Sovereign Bengal etc. It was the same set of people who discovered the hidden hand of India in our simplest demand for inclusion of Bengali as a State Language along with Urdu. These are the people who brazenly dubbed our Sher-e-Bangla as a traitor and incarcerated our beloved leader Suhanwardy on a fantastic charge of wrecking Pakistan with the help of foreign money. Nothing is
too mean for them to achieve their selfish objective which is perpetuation of their exploitation of the people of East Pakistan. I know our people are quite aware of these events of very distant past. But I also know that the mischief-making potentialities of these enemies of the people are inexhaustible that their resources are unlimited; that they are a multi-color variety of human species with subhuman conscience. It is the variety who will be found in large number in the camp of the ruling coterie in the name of unity, faith and discipline; they will found a large number in the opposition camp for the sake of Islam and democracy. But wherever they may be, in whatever color, under whichever garb, they actually belong to one and the same camp, that is the camp of enemies of the people. They are thus solidly united in their attitude of denial towards East Pakistan. So naturally they will leave no stone unturned to achieve their objective as they have done in the past. Whenever it suited their purpose to think that the people of East Pakistan were secretly inclined towards Communism, they turned the stone of American aid and assistance by singing military pacts of fight communism and thereby save East Pakistan from secessionist design engineered by the Communists. If, on the other hand, it suited their convenience to imagine that East Pakistan was too much wedded to Western democracy and too much attached to U.S.A., they hastened to turn the stone of aid and assistance of Communist China to save East Pakistan from falling a prey to dollar imperialism. So on this occasion also they will come to the field to fight the Six-point Programme just as they did to the 21-point Programme in the past. They have, in fact, already taken the field with varieties of weapons brandished by different heroes of numerous battlefields. The target is the same; it is the Six-point. Therefore it is quite in the fitness of things that President Ayub, Choudhury Mohammad Ali and Maulana Maudoodi, outwardly three avowed mutual enemies, welding their respective weapons from three antipodal horizones, are aiming poisoned arrows on the same target of the Six-point. I, therefore, deem it may duty to issue this booklet as an explanatory note to the Six-point Programme and fervently appeal to the democratic forces in general, and the Awami Leaguers in particular, to spread out in the country and carry the massage of the Six-Point to every hearth.
and home. Now that the Six-point Programme has been formally adopted by the Awami League, it has undoubtedly become the national demand of the people, particularly the people of East Pakistan. I hope they will find this booklet useful in their confrontations with agents of the vested interests who are likely to be lying in ambush everywhere. Point 1

In this point I have recommended as follows:

The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in its true sense on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and Parliamentary form of Government with supremacy of Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. It will be seen that this point consists in the following seven ingredients viz: (a) Pakistan shall be a Federation, (b) it shall be based on the Lahore Resolution, (c) its Government shall be of Parliamentary form, (d) it must be responsible to the Legislature, (e) the Legislature must be supreme, (f) it must be directly elected, and (g) election must be on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Let the opponents of the Six-point Programme speak out. Which of these seven ingredients are they opposed to? Let the people know who are federalists and who are unitarists. Those who are unitarists are definitely against the Lahore Resolution. Conversely those who are opposed to the Lahore Resolution are definitely unitarists. So let it be decided once for all who own and who do not own the Lahore Resolution by which Pakistan was created and is rightly called the Pakistan Resolution. The people who disown the Lahore Resolution disown Pakistan itself. It is evidently those people who did not rise their little finger in the struggle for Pakistan but subsequently jumped on it to grab power after it was created with the blood and tears of the people. These opportunists and job-hunters cannot naturally have any regard for or attachment to the sanctity of such a historic Resolution which brought about a Revolution in the sub-continent and created Pakistan. Even amongst those who swear by the Pakistan Resolution, there are some pseudofederalists. They pay lip-service to the Lahore Resolution but disregard it by speaking against the very fundamental principle of Federation and by introducing extra-political controversies. This confusion has been further confounded by the power that be by the forcible addition of political aberration like basically controlled democracy.
It was against such future personal likes and dislikes, whims and caprices, hunger and thirst for power of individuals, that the Lahore Resolution was pledged as guarantee by the creators of Pakistan under the able guidance of Quaid-e-Azam. It will be sheer political dishonesty to deviate from the Lahore Resolution after Pakistan was created by people's votes obtained on the basis of that Resolution. If it is now found necessary to so deviate for the sake of stability and integrity of Pakistan itself, the people will certainly agree to such changes or even complete reversal. But in any event it is the people who will decide, and not anybody else. As far as the people of East Pakistan are concerned, they in the 1954 general election, overwhelmingly voted for a constitution based on the Lahore Resolution. If, however, anybody has any doubt about their present attitude due to lapse of long twelve years, we are prepared to face another referendum on the issue. Until that is done by a specific referendum on universal adult suffrage the Lahore Resolution and all its corollaries remain the Magna Carta of the people of Pakistan, and the rulers and leaders are bound to give them a Constitution based on the Resolution.

Point 2
This point recommends as follows:
Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects, viz: Defence and Foreign Affairs, and all other residuary subjects shall vest in the Federating States. Let us dispassionately discuss whether a two subject Centre will be sufficiently strong to be a respectable Federation. It should be borne in mind that what makes a Federation strong is not heaps of subjects under it. A Federation becomes strong by the loyalty and affection in which it is held by the people in peace and the allegiance they owe and obedience they show it in war. The happy and strong people represented through efficient and strong units that make the Federation, are the real source of its strength irrespective of the number of subjects dealt with by it. Indeed, a State which serves the base rather than the apex is really the strongest. It is now a well established principle of political science that decentralization, rather than centralization, makes the work of a State efficient both in the administrative and in the development spheres. It is also a well recognized principle of Federation that only those
subjects be in the Federal list which can be jointly managed more efficiently and profitably. It is the same principle that is underlying the system of Local self-government like District Councils and Municipalities. The very concept of Federation is based on the maxim of unity in diversity and union without over centralization.

It was on this principle that in 1946 the Cabinet Mission proposed an Indian Federation with only three subjects viz.: Defense, Foreign Affairs and Communication. Both the congress and Muslim League accepted the Cabinet plan. The fact that ultimately it did not materialize due to a hitch elsewhere is a different matter and quite irrelevant to the issue now before us. Now, the British Government, by proposing the plan and the Congress and the Muslim League accepting it, have all demonstrated their agreement on the feasibility of a Federation with only three subjects. The only difference between the Cabinet Plan and my proposal is that I have given two subjects instead of three given in the Cabinet Plan. Even that deference is only apparent and not real as will be seen in my explanation to the Point 3 given later on. That explanation will show that I, too have given three subjects to the Centre and not two. Only I have recommended Currency in place of Communication as had been earlier done in the famous 21-Point Programme. I have omitted Communication for obvious reasons. The basic principle in which subjects are handed over to a Federation, as has been earlier, is the oneness and indivisibility of the interest of the federating units in the subjects concerned. In the case of an undivided Indian Federation, communication was really such a subject. In it, all the federating units would have been commonly interested and could have been more efficiently and profitably run if jointly managed by the Federation. An unbroken railway line and non-stop through railway train could have run from Khybar to Chittagong. This would have been so because of the geographical contiguity. It is not so in Pakistan. Pakistan, being comprised of two geographical units separated by over a thousand miles of foreign territory, cannot possibly have any unbroken line of communication between the two wings. The two wings being themselves two compact geographical areas, must have their own system of communication separately organized and managed.
It can, therefore, never be a Federal subject. By transferring the railway to the Provinces though after prolonged procrastination the present regime has reluctantly admitted the hard fact of geography. The same will have to be also in the case of Posts and Telegraphs and all other branches of communication. In this connection another point need to be clarified. Here I have recommended designation of the federating units as state instead of provinces as is now done. This very mention of the word state is liable to be mischievously misinterpreted by the unitarists and pseudo-federalists. They will tell the unwary public: Look, Mujib is wanting independent Statesi. This would be viciously wrong. Everywhere in different Federation of the world federating units are called ėstateî and not ėprovincesî. U.S.A., U.S.S.R, Federal Germany, Federation of Malaysia, and last of all our neighbour India, all have designated their units as ėstateî instead of ėprovincesî. Our next door neighbours like West Bengal and Assam are ėstateî of the Indian Union and no ėprovincesî. That designation of Indian provinces has not rendered their Union loose or their Central Government weak. If Assam and West Bengal can have the dignity and honour of being called ėstatesî without impairing the solidarity of Bharati Union, why cannot we have the same dignity and honour without impairing the solidarity of Pakistan Federation? Why are our rulers so allergic to our dignity?

Point 3

In this point I have recommended either of the following two measures with regard to our Currency, viz:
Two separate but freely convertible currencies for two wings may be introduced, or
One currency for the whole country may be maintained. In this case, effective constitutional provisions are to be made to stop flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. Separate Banking Reserve is to be made and separate fiscal and monetary policy to be adopted for East Pakistan.

From the above it will be seen that I have not recommended the straightway taking of Currency out of the Federal list. If my recommendation contained in B above is accepted, Currency remains a Central subject. In this case, the only difference is that I have recommended the creation of separate Reserve Bank for
two wings in a Federal Reserve System as obtained in U.S.A. According to this arrangement, the State Bank of Pakistan will have two Reserve Bank for two wings. The currency for East Pakistan shall be issued through the East Pakistan Reserve Bank and shall be marked "East Pakistani" or simply "Dhaka". Similarly, West Pakistan currency shall be issued through West Pakistan Reserve Bank and shall be marked "West Pakistani" or simply "Lahorei."

This is the only way by which we can save the East Pakistan from sure economic ruination by effectively stopping flight of capital from this wing to the other. The geographical separateness has made the two wings ipso facto two economic units. An economic convulsion, either for the better or for the worse, in one wing has no corresponding convulsion in the other wing. So progress and development in the one does not, in the least, benefit the other. These economic incidents are quite independent of each other in the two wings. Expenditure in one cannot create employment in the other. This economic independence and separateness of the two wings is correctly reflected in their respective price and wage structure including price of gold. This is what is known as the absence of mobility of labour and capital. This immobility of capital, however, does not prevent flight of capital. This is how it happens under the present dispensation. We are supposed to belong to one indivisible economy. We have one currency. There is no distinguishing mark to show the currency circulation wing wise. We are under only one Finance Ministry situated in and operating from West Pakistan presided over always by a West Pakistani Minister formulating financial, fiscal and monetary policies through one single Central Bank, that is the State Bank of Pakistan, also located in West Pakistan, issuing money minted, coined and printed in West Pakistan. This money after travelling and meandering in circulation throughout the country, journeys back to and rests in accumulation in West Pakistan. Along with the head office of the Government Central Bank, the head office of all the joint stock Banks, except one or small ones of very recent origin, are also located in West Pakistan.

The seat of the Government being located in the West Pakistan, head offices of the three armed forces, all Foreign Missions and
almost all foreign and national trade and industries organizations are situated in the wing. As a result, all money transactions done in East Pakistan are instantaneously transferred to West Pakistan. All share money of joint-stock companies, all deposite of Banks, their security money, all Government reserves, all earnings, profits and savings of trade and industry operating in East Pakistan moves, in a matter of seconds to West Pakistan. Any one conversant with banking operation knows well that only barely ten percent of the entire deposits needs be kept ready for payment and the rest can be and generally is invested. Savings, when invested, become capital. This investment is naturally done in West Pakistan as West Pakistanís capital. This is how capital formation in West Pakistan has been so rapid. This again is how there has been total absense of capital formation in East Pakistan. As investment means employment, this incident has meant employment in West Pakistan only. As capital formation is followed by rapid industrialization, this has mean industrialization of West Pakistan alone. This process will continue unless and until the prevailing one-daytraffic of finance is effectively checked by stopping this flight of capital. This can be done and capital investment can be generated in East Pakistan only by creating a Reserve Bank for East Pakistan as suggested by me. It is the only way to save East Pakistan from economic extinction. This reform in our currency system while saving East Pakistan from economic collapse will keep currency, a Central subject as a symbol of our unity and oneness. If, however, our West Pakistani brothers think otherwise, then my other alternative may be adopted. Under that arrangement currency will, no doubt, be a provincial subject, but that will not weaken our centre. Nither will it affect the oneness of Pakistan. For even then we can have the same currency symbol by mutual discussion and agreement. And for the other, a Federation can effectively work and be strong and stable without Currency as its subjects. The Cabinet Mission recommended an Indian Federal Centre without Currency in the Federal list. Had it been thought unworkable the British Government would not have recommended it, nor would the Congress and the Muslim League have accepted it.

Point 4
In this point I have recommended that the power of taxation and revenue collection shall vest in the federating units, and that the Federal Centre will have no such power. The Federation will have a share in the State taxes for meeting their required expenditure. The Consolidated Federal Fund shall come out of a levy of certain percentage of all State taxes. It is this proposal that seems to have annoyed the unitarists and pseudo-federalists. They are making a lot of noise and kicking up dust of confusion such as disintegration and disruption. These are old bogeys and shibboleths used by the vested interests against all reforms in all ages. They need not worry any Pakistani. The fact is that a strong Federation can successfully work and is working without the power of taxation. It makes the federation rather stronger. This is so because taxation is a duty and necessity rather than a right and power. Levying taxes and collecting them is a responsibility and a botheration. It is just like manually earning one's own livelihood. In our daily life we find people wanting to better employ themselves in finer and nobler work, lease out their properties to others at fixed rent leaving to them the arduous task of collecting small amounts from individual tenants and earning pretty sums from day-to-day transactions. The monarchs of the past used to, and land-lords of the present do, lease out their realms in ijara for tax collection. The Central authorities in all ages have tried to be spared the botheration of tax collection for their own maintenance. It is only the banya mentality of the present-day rulers that compels them to handle all money matters themselves. A little reflection will show that the right and power concerned do not rest in the act in the tax collection but in the money so collected. If a Central Government is constitutionally assured of the required amount, why should it bother about the actual collection? In the case of Federation it is only the fiscal taxation in which it is interested. The rest of the purposes of taxation, viz., protective, social, commercial and moral, are the responsibility of the federating units. This is what is done in the U.S.A., and in some other Federations. In the U.S.S.R., even the fiscal taxation is not done by the Union. There is no Finance Minister and Finance Ministry in the Union Government of the Soviet Union. The Finance Ministries and Ministers are all with the Federating Republics. They meet the requirements and serve
the purpose of the Union Government. Have these arrangements weakened the Central authorities of the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R.? It was with this knowledge and experience of the working of a Federation that the Cabinet Mission offered an Indian Federation without the power of taxation, and it was for the same reason that the Congress and Muslim League accepted the offer. It will, therefore, be seen that a Federation can be firmly provided with its fiscal finances without being burdened with the duty of tax collection. My proposal is precisely to this effect. According to my recommendation, the Constitution will provide that a certain percentage of the Revenue collection on all heads shall automatically be credited to the Federal fund by the Reserve Banks, on which amount the unit Governments shall have no control. Constitutional provisions may also be made empowering the Federation to raise funds to meet the increased Defence expenditure at the time of war including expansion of Federation jurisdiction in such emergencies. It is therefore, sheer bunkum to call the autonomists the disruptors of Pakistan. On the contrary, relieving the Federation of the burden of tax collection will have the following salutary effect, viz:
The Federation will have more time to devote in matters of Defence and External Relations and to act as a unifying force. Wastage due to overlapping, duplication and litigation etc. will be saved, and money thus saved and officials thus relieved will be available for better and nobler utilization. The tax and revenue collection will be cheaper and easier. Economy of having a single authority for tax collection will have been achieved. It will pave the way for introducing and adopting the most modern taxation method, viz single taxation.
Point 5
In this point, I have recommended that:
There shall be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings of the two wings. Earnings of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan Government and that of West Pakistan under the control of West Pakistan Government. Foreign exchange requirement of the Federal Government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ratio to be fixed.
Indigenous products shall move free of duty between two wings. The constitution shall empower the unit governments to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in and enter into agreements with foreign countries. Now, a panoramic glance at the economic history of Pakistan since its creation will show the following consistent incidents: East Pakistan has earned bulk of the annual foreign exchange of Pakistan.

East Pakistanis earnings have been spent in West Pakistan in industrializing that wing and earnings from those industries have been reinvested in West Pakistan as the earnings of that wing. East Pakistanis earnings are not being spent in East Pakistan on the plea of its inability to absorb them due to absence of capital formulation.

Import to East Pakistan is less than her export, whereas import to West Pakistan is more than her export. Two-thirds of Pakistanis foreign exchange is earned by jute; but that earning is utilized neither for the benefit of the jute-growers nor for East Pakistan. Almost all foreign aids and loans are secured against foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan; but they are spent in West Pakistan on the same plea for non-absorbing capacity of East Pakistan. The irony is that interest on these loans and their instalments are being borne by East Pakistan.

Now, the cumulative effects of these economic incidents, all of which are artificial, are the following consequences, viz.

East Pakistan has not been industrialised sufficiently. The little industrialization, that has been done, has been done by West Pakistanis or by people other than East Pakistanis with all the characteristics of foreign investments both in the matter of employment and profit earning.

There is chronic inflation causing soaring high prices of commodities with all its concomitants like black-marketing and profiteering bringing untold miseries to the life of the People. Jute-growers are not only not getting fair economic price for their produce but even the cost of production is denied to them resulting in their perpetual indebtedness and progressive impoverishment.

There are man-made iniquities and are, therefore, remediable.
The obvious remedies are, firstly, to industrialize East Pakistan to produce wealth among and provide employment for East Pakistan; secondly, to check inflation by equalizing import and export and thereby supplying commodities to the people at reasonable prices; thirdly, to nationalize jute trade and thereby give fair price to the growers and ensure the state's earnings in foreign exchange. It was with this last object in view that Awami League Government set up the Jute Marketing Corporation in 1957. It was sub-sequently reduced to nothing by the vested interests with the help of the Central Government.

Each and every one of these steps presupposes acceptance of the above proposals recommended by me.

Point 6

In this point, I have recommended setting up of a militia or a para military force for East Pakistan. This is neither unreasonable nor new. We had pledged in the famous 21-point programme in 1954 that we would give arms and uniforms to our Ansars. Neither is the proposal unprecedented and impracticable. There are instances where such para-military territorial forces are maintained in outlying regions. We ourselves had one such regiment from before Independence. It was the Eastern Rifles. After Independence, it became East Pakistan Rifles. The Present regime has taken this away from the hands of East Pakistan Government.

East Pakistan is the home of the majority of Pakistanis. To defend it is the political obligation as well as moral duty of the Government of Pakistan. Why then should it be necessary for East Pakistan to demand it? Why do they not do it on their own initiative? How and with what conscience do they say that defence of East Pakistan lies in West Pakistan? Does it not tantamount to saying that the mouth, the belly and the stomach of East Pakistan lie in West Pakistan? How will the arms, ammunition and wealth in West Pakistan help East Pakistan when transport between the wings can be snapped in a matter of seconds? Has not the recent 17-day war proved our utter helplessness? How can one brag that some event in Warsaw saved East Pakistan? It is the defence policy of our Government that has reduced us to this position. Inspite of all this we want a united Defence of the country and to retain it as a Central subject. But
at the same time we want that East Pakistan be made self-sufficient in the matter of Defence; that an Ordinance Factory, a Military Academy and the Navy Headquarter must be set up in East Pakistan. These things were actually demanded in 1954. Nothing, however, has been done in the course of long twelve years. We do not yet know when these will be done.
So in the meantime we want to make our own Defence arrangement in a small way with unsophisticated weapons suited to our own field craft within easy reach of our limited resources.

What is the objection? Where does it lie? It is easy to comprehend. Neither is it easy to understand why a fund separately raised for East Pakistan war purposes is promptly taken over by the Centre.

An Appeal

Now, before concluding, I want to submit a few words to my West Pakistani brethren:
Firstly, they should not run away with the idea that whatsoever I have stated above, I have done in the interest of East Pakistan only. It is not so. In each of my Six-Point Programme is inherent a corresponding benefit to my West Pakistani brethren. They are sure to derive equal benefit out of their implementation.
Secondly, when I speak of East Pakistan's wealth being flown to and concentrated in West Pakistan, I only mean regional concentration. I do not, thereby, mean that this wealth has reached the masses of West Pakistan. No, I do not, and cannot mean that. I know there are millions like us in West Pakistan who also are unfortunate victims of this economic exploitation. I also know that the entire wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of a few families. This will continue till the capitalistic pattern of our society is not changed. But before that, this regional exploitation must cease. I however, do not blame West Pakistanis for this regional exploitation.
Thirdly, it is the geographical situation and the unnatural system that is being pursued which are responsible for this injustice. Take only one instance:
Had the capital of Pakistan been located in East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan this regional exploitation would have occurred in reverse, 62% of our Revenue that is being spent on our Defence forces, and 32% of our Revenue that is being spent on our
Central Administration would have all been spent in East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan. The well-known Public Finance maxim that the expenditure of the Government is the income of the people and the incoming of the Government is the expenditure of the people would have worked in favour of East Pakistan instead of West Pakistan. This 94% of our total Revenue which has been annually spent in West Pakistan, and thus formed the income of West Pakistan, would have, in that case, been spent in and enriched East Pakistan. The seat of the Government being in West Pakistan, all the three Headquarters of the Armed Force and all central institutions and Foreign Missions have got their head offices in West Pakistan as a matter of course. Constantly, all their spendings are done in that wing. All these spendings would have been done in East Pakistan had the seat of the Government been here. East Pakistan would have been enriched and West Pakistan impoverished to that extent and in that proportion.

In that event, you, the West Pakistanis, would have made the same demands for regional justice for which you are condemning us, the East Pakistanis, and ascribing all sorts of evil motives. In that case you would have realized that there was no other motive that the motive of self-preservation. In that context when West Pakistanis would have made such demands of regional justice, do you know what would have been our attitude? We, East Pakistanis, would have straightway accepted your demands instead of calling you bad name like provincial, narrow-minded and disruptionist, we would have at once conceded that it was your right to demand justice and equality and it was your duty to do so. Nay, we would have gone further. We would not have waited for you to make these demands. Instead, we would have met your requirements before you would have demanded them. We really believe in justice, equality and fairplay amongst brothers. A State is nothing if not a big family. Even in a family, eating by one member does not fill the stomach of another. So, how and with what conscience do you call us selfish for demanding our share? What will others call you who are not only enjoying your own share but devouring the share of your brothers also? We are, however, demanding our share only, not yours, too. We want to live with you as equal partners, not exploiters.
Fourthly, if we happen to have more than enough, we can even sacrifice something for you from out of our share. We did so in the past. Do you not remember? Please recall:

In the first Constituent Assembly we had 44 and you had 28 representatives. If we wanted we could most democratically have brought the Capital and Headquarters of the three Armed Forces to East Pakistan. We did not.

Out of sheer brotherly feeling and sense of equality we elected 6 West Pakistanis to constituent Assembly from East Pakistan by East Pakistan votes.

By our majority we could have made Bengali our only State Language. We, however, demanded and got both Urdu and Bengali. By majority of votes we could have framed a Constitution favourble to East Pakistan.

To remove any possible complex of domination we sacrificed our majority and accepted parity on your assurance that you would concede parity in all respects.

Fifthly, the above should be enough to convince West Pakistani brothers that we, East Pakistanis, are really consumed with a sense of brotherly equality towards you by which we want to live in honour and dignity. That we are capable of making sacrifices for you, if you need it, has also been proved in the past. Had the Capital been in East Pakistan we would have, on our own initiative, set up a real Second Capital in West Pakistan, not merely a hoax of a Capital. We would never have taken advantage of that vantage position and would not have grabbed all the important offices ourselves. We would not have captured all the high and lucrative posts of West Pakistan like chairmanships of Cotton Board, P.I.D.C., Railway Board, P.C.S., Port Trust and WAPDA etc. We would not have thought of capturing the Governorship of your wing. On the contrary, we would have equitably distributed the high offices between the people of the two wings, we would have made effective arrangements for spending Central revenues equitably between East and West Pakistan, we would have extended regional and provincial autonomy instead of curtailing them. We would never have allowed any disparity to grow between two wings either political, administrative or economic.

We would never have done anything to create any feeling that
because we, East Pakistanis, are in a majority, because the seat of the Government is here, we are, therefore, the masters of Pakistan. We would rather have done everything to make you feel that this country belongs to you as well as to us, both in thought and in action. We have shared State powers equally with you. We believe that this feeling of absolute equality, sense of interwaving justice and impartiality is the very basis of Pakistani patriotism. Only he is fit to be a leader of Pakistan who is imbued with and consumed by such patriotism. A leader who sincerely believes that the two wings of Pakistan are really two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, two rows of teeth, two hands and two legs of the body-politic of Pakistan, a leader who feels that to make Pakistan healthy and strong one must make each one of these pairs equally healthy and strong; a leader who earnestly believes that to weaken any one of these limbs is to weaken Pakistan as a whole, a leader who zealously holds that any one who deliberately or knowingly weakens any limb of Pakistan is an enemy of the country, and a leader who is ready to take strong measures against such enemies, is the only person entitled to claim the national leadership of Pakistan. Pakistan is a magnificent country with an uncommonly wide horizon. To be fit to become its leader one must possess a similarly magnificent heart with an uncommon breadth of vision.

Sixthly, let me humbly remind my West Pakistani brothers and sisters that when we demanded Bengali to be made one of the two State Languages of Pakistan you condemned it as a move to undo Pakistan. When again we demanded joint electorate particularly in the context of parity in representation demanded by you, you condemned our demand to have been inspired from across the border. Both of these two demands have now been accepted; but there has been no undoing of Pakistan due to their acceptance. Does it not put you to shame that every bit of reasonable demand of East Pakistan has got to be secured from you at tremendous cost and after bitter struggle as if snatched from unwilling foreign rulers as a reluctant concession? Does it do you any credit? Please put a stop to such attitude once for all. Please be brothers instead of rulers.

In conclusion, I fervently appeal to my countrymen to deeply ponder over the formula put forward by me. They will find that
none of the items in my Six-point Programme is either unjust, impractical or disruptive of the country's integrity. I hope I have succeeded, in the short space of this booklet, in showing that the acceptance of these points will not weaken Pakistan but will, on the contrary, make it stronger.

But the vested interests, for obvious reasons, will not agree. They have got their own way of judging things. To them, only continuation and the perpetuation of their exploitation mean stability of a Society and a State. To them, anybody who disturbs or threatens to disturb this process of exploitation is a traitor and a disruptor. This is neither new nor surprising. Our great forebearers like Fazlul Huq and Suhrawardy had to fall victims to such vitriolics. In taking up the cause of the exploited masses one must, therefore, be ready and prepared for such vilifications and incarcerations. To my lot have fallen many such trials and tribulations in the past. Through the blessings of my superiors, comradeship of my colleagues and affectionate support of my countrymen, God, in His infinite mercy, gave me courage and fortitude enough to withstand those oppressions. With this boundless affection of my countrymen as my asset, I am fully prepared to make any sacrifice in their service. The life of any individual like myself is nothing compared to the salvation of the people of my country. I know of no nobler battle than to fight for the rights of the exploited millions. This is the lesson I have learnt at the feet of my political master Suhrawardy. He is no longer in our midst to guide us. But I am determined to live up to that lesson and keep his flag flying. The country is passing through the darkest hour of her life. At such a difficult time, Awami League Council has placed the heavy responsibility of its Presidentship on my already overburdened shoulder. But through Allah's mercy I am no shirker. I am not afraid of work. So, I have, with all humility, accepted the great reasonability. I have great faith in my people. I also know that the darkest hour of night is just a harbinger of dawn. My beloved countrymen will only pray to Allah so that He may continue to give me mental strength and physical fitness to devote the rest of my life in fighting for restoration of their rights which have been forcibly snatched away.

(Issued by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President of the Awami League on March 23, 1966)
## Appendix II

### Comparative Study of the Election Manifestoes of Major Political Parties for 12 June 1996 Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Bangladesh Awami League</th>
<th>Bangladesh Nationalist Party</th>
<th>Jati Party</th>
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<tr>
<td>Government, Constitution and Parliament</td>
<td>Transparent and accountable government on the basis of the spirit of liberation struggle and consensus.</td>
<td>Democratization in all level of administration on the basis of four basic principles of the constitution.</td>
<td>Responsible and accountable government giving new structure of interim government.</td>
<td>Declaration of the Islamic Republic of Bangladesh, changing constitution in the light of the holy Quran and Sunnah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration, Corruption, Law and order situation</td>
<td>Corruption and party influence free administration, ensuring people's leadership, pay commission for government service holders, formation of terror-free society.</td>
<td>Stepping for formation of corruption free society, accountable administration; pay commission for government service holders, establishing rule of law with giving sovereignty of the people's will.</td>
<td>Reconstruction of Upozila system, formation of Zila Parisad with the elected representative, taking steps in the enhancement of law and order situation.</td>
<td>Establishing honest men's governance, free from corruption and nepotism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy, Agriculture, Trade and Industry</td>
<td>Economic reform, expansion of free market economy, cancellation of nationalization policy, granting agricultural subsidy, expanding national industry, increasing employment opportunity, increasing export and reducing import through incense in production.</td>
<td>Expansion of free-market economy, expansion of national and foreign investment, giving priority to establishing industry and reducing in production cost, ensuring low price of agricultural equipment and subsidy in agriculture, reform in land policy and labor laws.</td>
<td>Expansion of national capital, priority in industrialization, establishment of free market economy and land reform, increase in production through modernization of agriculture system.</td>
<td>Equilibration between economic development and distribution system, conversion of agriculture into profitable occupation, introduction of corruption free modern land policy, expansion of industry, abolition of interest system and introduction of free-market economy on the basis of Islamic policy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judiciary</td>
<td>Ensuring freedom in judiciary, separation of judiciary from the executive division.</td>
<td>Taking steps to protect the independence of judiciary.</td>
<td>Taking initiative for the separation of judiciary from the executive division.</td>
<td>Judiciary will be separated from the executive division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense</td>
<td>Army, Air force and Navy will be built well equipped.</td>
<td>Defense force will be built more skillfully, with well equipped and</td>
<td>Modern defense force will be built and employed in the national</td>
<td>Armed force will be resuscitated with the spirit of Jihad; military</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

581
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mass media</th>
<th>Giving autonomy to the radio, television and government controlled press media, denationalization of government own newspapers</th>
<th>Obedience to the policy of free and uncontrolled flow of information.</th>
<th>Abolition of the government trust system and transfer of newspapers to private ownership, withdrawal of government restriction in advertisement rationing.</th>
<th>Use of mass media to the development of character and humanity, enhancement of professional standard and status to the government.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women, Children and Unemployment</td>
<td>Ensuring equal right to the women, accepting special project for establishing rights of the children in the light of UNO declaration, taking comprehensive steps towards removal unemployment.</td>
<td>Ensuring participation of womenfolk in all spheres of development activities, arrangement for alleviating loan to enhance women’s ability, children will get preference.</td>
<td>Initiative will be taken regarding women’s emancipation socially and economically, ensuring proportional representation of women in the national assembly, creating opportunity of work for the unemployed.</td>
<td>Women’s right and dignity will be elevated according to the Islamic laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government and Infrastructure</td>
<td>Restarting Upozila system, revival of Union Parisad, decentralization of administration through empowering the elected representative in the Zila parishad.</td>
<td>Formation of Zila Parisad and Thana Parisad, revival of Union Parisad, introduction of self-reliance Gram-Sarkar.</td>
<td>Reconstruction of Palli Parisad, Transportation development through construction of bridges in place of ferry service, arrangement of electricity at every Upozila level.</td>
<td>Democratization in local government and giving priority of development at the village level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, Human resource and Health</td>
<td>Reform in education system in the light of Kudrat-E-Khuda Education Commission, removing terrorism from the campus, removing curse of illiteracy within ten years, conversion of vast population into</td>
<td>Introduction of suitable and modern education system, encouraging arrangement of education at the mosque, expanding food for education project, increasing investment in health and</td>
<td>Introduction of suitable and modern education system, ensuring health for all within ten years on the basis of national health policy, unveiling means of earning for the young people through arranging</td>
<td>Reduction of educational expenses, imparting religious education with vocational training, inspire students to develop career keeping aloof from the present system of politics, making the mosques the centre point of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Resource</td>
<td>Establishment of School in Every Village, Attempt to Ensure Health System for All.</td>
<td>Arrangement of Pension Scheme for the Aged People.</td>
<td>Vocational Training and Arrangement of Special Loan for Them.</td>
<td>Education and Ensuring Health Facilities to All.</td>
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Appendix III

Parliamentary Debates on the Factionalism and Splits in Bangladesh Nationalist Party

Date. 08-03-1998

Mr. Hafiz Uddin Ahmed, (Bir Bikram): We know they (the two BNP MPs) are not accommodated as technocrat ministers. They have crossed the floor and are ousted from the party (BNP). Have you sent the matter to the Election Commission, if you kindly inform us we will be thankful to you.

Mr. K.M. Obaidur Rahman (Faridpur-1): Honorable Speaker thank you.
Honorable Speaker, at present in the parliament of ours you as the speaker and honorable Prime Minister and the members of her cabinet have taken oath to guard/protect the constitution and to sustain the constitution. But for some days we have been observing that the cabinet of our government has been violating the constitution. It is very sad happening that they are hindering the democratic process.

On previous 10 February night suddenly, through television, we saw that Hasibur Rahman Shapan was being administered to take oath. After some days of it Dr. Mohammad Alauddin was also administered to take oath. I want to say, it is totally the violation of the constitution and it has been clearly stated in the 70th article of the constitution that if any person cross the floor or change the party then automatically his membership becomes invalid.

Honorable Speaker, it is not only the matter of constitution, not only the matter of rules and regulations. It is the matter of ethics. At present it is the matter of morality. Now a day although their party has numerous members, our Prime Minister’s eyes don’t look at them. But in which place, in which corner, which opposition party member is sitting – she find out them by switch on the torch and by kindling lanent (Harrican) and administered their oath taking as ministers.

Date. 25-01-2000

Dr. Mohammad Alauddin: Honorable Speaker.... I congratulate the Bangabandhu-daughter Sheikh Hasina, at present who is the Prime Minister, ..... who called this country’s people to form the government of national consensus. I joined the government of national consensus responding to her call. As I joined through this I availed the opportunity to development work for my local people. For that I congratulate her from my inner heart. I congratulate her because she accommodate me in the government of national consensus and gave me the responsibility of water development ministry; after taking up the responsibility I tried to save the Rajshahi town throw engaging my self in building the dam to protect Rajshahi town. As I was given the responsibility I availed that opportunity. As I was included in the government of national consensus and was given the responsibility I have been able to include 17 schools, colleges and madrasas in the MPO list. It is a great success. If I would not join the government of national consensus, then I could not get these opportunities. In my constituencies for last 21 years roads and highways were not built, the roads were not good enough for the passers by. In this condition I got the opportunity to build up a 20-kilometer concrete road as I joined in the government of national consensus. When I was advancing towards total development of my area including the development of roads, I was hindered in my way to social development. The BNP leadership sewed case against me in the High Court. To dismiss my membership they engaged doggedly. From high they went to Supreme Court. Supreme Court dispatched the matter to the Election Commission for a verdict of the case. By the verdict of the Election Commission my membership was dismissed. That constituency
became vacant. As the constituency became vacant, I got another chance to come here (by peoples verdict).... I have to give thanks to the people of my constituency, by electing me, they have given me opportunity to come to this Parliament. Honorable Prime Minister, the leader of the masses, the ideal of democracy, arranged an opportunity for me. She nominated me to contest the by-election by Awami League ticket and gave me the symbol (of Awami League) 'boat'.

(Source: In the translated form from the Bengali original version of the Bangladesh National Parliamentary debates, dated 8 March 1998 and 25 January 2000)
Appendix IV

Parliamentary Debates on the Factionalism and Splits in Jatia Party

Date. 29-03-2001

Begum Rawshan Ershad: By the name of Allah Almighty.
Honorable Speaker thank you. I want to present something in front of you.

In a critical stage of the nation I have appeared in front of you in the honorable parliament. In present the total politics and parliamentary democracy is in danger and is in confusion. At this historical moment I want to say something to overcome the crisis.

You know it very well, politics is a recognized scientific process. Election is a part of it. One is complementary to other. One country cannot run without a political government. To elect a political government political parties and election symbols are essential. By the accommodation of all things it is a continuous process. The whole process is thwarted/obstructed if there is a lack of one of these things. There is political crisis in Bangladesh; the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party believes that at least the Jatia Party is the victim of this condition. The Jatia Party Chairman Hossain Mohammad Ershad, who is also the Chairman of Jatia Party’s Parliamentary Party, is presently imprisoned. Even though the Supreme Court has freed him from the imprisonment still he is imprisoned by Special Power Act. Even an attempt has been taken to expel him from politics by canceling his parliamentary membership. On the other hand, by a decision taken by the Election Commission, it suspended to distribute the party symbol ‘plough’. On this excuse that – in the parliament the leader of the majority faction of the Jatia Party is not proved. Although after the 1996 parliamentary election with ‘plough’ symbol, in the meeting of the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party, which was presided over by Jatia Party Chairman Alhaz Hussain Mohammad Ershad, unanimously elected him the leader of it, necessary documents of the meeting were given to the honorable Speaker and thus completed all the formalities. But recently during his meeting with the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party when the Speaker informed that there is no such kind of documents in the Parliament Secretary, it made all astonished. These are not any separate incidents. Jatia Party believes that all are planned happenings. So again on 27 March 2001 we were compelled to resubmit a written proposal, was taken on the 23-06-1996 meeting i.e. by showing majority Jatia Party parliamentary members support behind Mr. Hossain Mohammad Ershad. His leadership is still unbroken/intact and unhindered and we are asking your kind ruling on the matter. We believe that your ruling will be helpful for Jatia Party to protect/preserve its party symbol ‘plough’.

Honorable Speaker, thank you for giving me scope to present this political speech and to overcome the crisis on the matter, we proposed, we are requesting your ruling. Jatia Party Chairman Hassain Mohammad Ershad has been the parliamentary member still now. For that thank you.

Mr. Speaker: Honorable member, the question you have raised, you have said that you have sent a written application letter to me. Whatever decision you took in 1996; there is no documents about that matter; I did not get that. Before this time I also told you if you have any documents about the matter, submit that to me. Without that matter, just now you have said about your party decision, that one you have sent in black and white. I have not received this paper still now. If I get this paper, I shall evaluate that with great importance, investigate
it and I shall take decision according to the law and comparing the proceedings of the country and foreign countries.

Advocate N.K. Alam Chowdhury (Nilfamari – 1): Honorable Speaker thank you. Honorable Speaker following the speeches of Rawshon Ershad on behalf of our Jatia Party, I want to tell you something and I feel it necessary to tell you. Honorable Speaker you have said that the matter we have discussed just before a while, the written papers of that is not reached to you yet or you don’t have. In this moment our proposal is in my hand and by raising the issue in the parliament we want to submit it to you. Honorable Speaker, so with your permission in the light of the speech, that has been presented by our honorable parliamentarian member Begum Rawshan Ershad, I want to produce this proposal to you.

Honorable Speaker, connecting to this matter you have said that there is no record with you. I humbly want to put up a request to you, previously in the of the formation of the government, i.e. on 23 June 1996, we did a meeting of our Parliamentary Party and in that meeting we made our leader Hossain Mohammad Ershad our Parliamentary Party Leader and that will be found if the records i.e. the tape of the meeting is searched. Even after that by giving reference of that one on 27-03-2001 we have accepted a resolution, we have shown our confidence behind him and we believe that his leadership is still intact and unhindered. Honorable Speaker, we believe you will give us a ruling very soon, within 4-5 days, on the proposal which we have put up in front of you. We ask this for the reason that this ruling will help us to get election symbol, so we are expecting your ruling very soon.

Honorable Speaker, if you allow me I want to submit our written proposal which is already discussed in the parliament.

Mr. Speaker: You are telling contradictory to each other - Begum Rawshan Ershad has said that the papers are already sent to my office. But again you are telling that you will give me papers. I have said that I shall take the decision on the matter by examining it with the precedents of the country and abroad, according to the prevailing law. In this position I don’t have any thing more to say.

Date. 08-04-2001

Begum Rawshan Ershad (Mymensingh-4): Honorable Speaker thank you. The Parliamentary Party of Jatia Party is the part of Ershad led Jatia Party. We clearly demanded to you about this matter in this honorable Parliament. And we demanded your ruling on this matter. We mentioned in that demand that before the first session of 1996 the Jatia Party’s Parliamentary Party unanimously elected Jatia Party Chairman and honorable parliamentary member Hossain Mohammad Ershad, the leader of Jatia Party’s Parliamentary Party. It is mentionable that on 27 March 2001, 20 out of 32 Jatia Party’s Parliamentary Party members appeared in front of you physically and expressed their support for Ershad.

If you acknowledge your decision about this matter today, we will be obliged to you. Because, the issue is too much important for our party’s existence and for our politics. And one is interrelated with another.

Honorable Speaker thank you very much.

Mr. Speaker: Honorable member Begum Rawshan Ershad and honorable members. In the national parliamentary session held on 29 March, 2001, honorable member of Jatia Party Begum Rawshan Ershad gave some speeches on the parliamentary party leader of our party and mentioned that from the side of her party I have been informed in black and white on this
issue. On this issue some other members of Jatia Party delivered their speeches. All of them wanted my decision on the matter.

One proposal including the resolution taken by the Jatia Party’s Parliamentary Party was given me after a while of the speeches of honorable member Begum Rawshan Ershad during the proceedings of the Parliament. It is found in the proposal that 19 member of Jatia Party sat together in a meeting on last 27 March 2001 and took a resolution describing below:

Quote “At the conclusion of the discussion majority Jatia Party Parliamentary Party members again supported the proposal which was accepted in the post-1996 election Parliamentary Party meeting, where party chairman Hussain Mohammad Ershad was unanimously elected the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party leader. As majority members’ confidence on him exist, his leadership still remains intact and unhindered. Majority Jatia Party Parliamentary Party members proved that by showing their confidence again on him”. Unquote

This is your statement. Another honorable member of Jatia Party, Mr. Mujammel Hossain, could not present in that meeting as he was under treatment in hospital. However it is mentioned that he has agreed with this proposal and at one stage his presence was seen with other members of Jatia Party.

Honorable member it should be mentioned here that by which resolution the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party meeting made Hussain Mohammad Ershad their leader till now any copy of that is not sent to me. However referring to the proposal accepted in 1996, in last 27 March 2001 meeting of Jatia Party Parliamentary Party declared their confidence on Mr. Hussain Mohammad Ershad – it is mentioned. I am examining the matter thoroughly.

Honorable member Begum Rawshan Ershad or any other honorable member did not give any speech or did not raise any question legally referring the rules and regulations of the constitution of the Peoples Democratic Bangladesh or of the proceeding regulation of the National Parliament. No such similar questions were also raised in the written proposal of Jatia Party Parliamentary Party and in the oral speeches of the members.

An honorable member, in my eyes, in this moment the election of the leader of Jatia Party Parliamentary Party is internal matter of that Parliamentary Party. Toll now any question has not been raised according to the regulations cited in the constitution. For this reason any situation is not developed to give ruling about the matter according to the constitution of Bangladesh and the regulation of Bangladesh National Parliament. Thank you honorable members.

Honorable member Dr. T.M. Fazle Rabbi Chowdhury (Gaibandha- 3): Honorable Speaker many thanks to you for giving me chance to say something.

Honorable Speaker, by standing in this parliament with deep sorrowful heart I am bound to say that some of the quarters are creating confusion and misleading the inhabitances of the country. They are telling that it is not the fact that Jatia Party is going to the parliament for their election symbol ‘plough’; it is simply a cause and it is the outcome of their conspiracy with the government. They, moreover, are propagating that the Parliament can not provide the symbol ‘plough’. The election commission use to distribute the symbols. Then why do we go to the Parliament? Honorable Speaker, this propaganda is detrimental for the Jatia Party. So I want to explain the real fact in front of you and the inhabitants of the country.

Honorable Speaker, it is true that the Election Commission distribute the symbols. When any political parties contest elections, they do have a single election symbol. As for example the election symbol of AL is ‘boat’, honorable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina is the leader of AL as well as its Parliamentary Party, the election symbol of BNP is corn of paddy and the opposition leader Khaleda Zia is the leader of the BNP. Is it necessary to propagate it to the people that the Jatia Party participated in four elections during 1986 to till now and Jatia
Party is the party of Bangladesh National Parliament and the election symbol of Jatia Party is ‘plough’. We have contested the elections with having this ‘plough’ symbol. But why cannot we contest the election with the same symbol? I am trying to answer it.

Honorable Speaker, it is sorrowful but true that during the distribution of election symbols the election commission mentioned that the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party has been divided into two groups in the Parliament. Which group has majority number of members? Which one is the real Jatia Party- the election commission does not know it. From this point of view it has given a judgment denying the lawful demand of Jatia Party for the sanction of election symbol ‘plough’.

Honorable Speaker, according to the article 70 of the constitution each party can have only one Parliamentary Party. It is not known to the Election Commission. Even then due to the judicial verdict of the Election Commission, by showing respect to the judiciary we have come to prove that we the 33 Parliamentary Members unanimously elected Mr. Hossain Mohammad Ershad, an elected Parliamentary Member from Rangpur, the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party leader. At present through the large majority members’ support Ershad led Jatia Party in Parliament is proved only Parliamentary Party of Jatia Party and majority members proved that by their physical appearance on 29-03-2001. We have proved in this honorable Parliament that there is only one Jatia Party and the leader of the Jatia Party Parliamentary Party is Hossain Mohammad Ershad, elected parliamentary member from Rangpur – as during the distribution of the election symbols the election commission can not say which group has majority members, which one is real Jatia Party? As the result of which we can realize our election symbol demand ‘plough’. For why we have come to the Parliament. It is not an excuse (to come to the Parliament). It is not a conspiracy with any one. I want to tell it candidly in this Parliament.

Honorable Speaker, our Jatia Party leader is in jail. Our demand for our election symbol has been ignoring unjustly. If one party don’t have leader, don’t have election symbol, that party cannot exists. As for example the flag of the independent country is the symbol of that country’s existence. A country cannot exist without flag, a party cannot exists without symbol – it is the hard fact. The fundamental principle of every leaders and workers of Jatua Party is to build up exploitation free, corruption free, terrorism free happy and prosperous country. In order to upheld that principle we cannot allow to dissolve the existence of Jatia Party. Otherwise our politics will succumb to an unnatural death. For that reason it is very essential for us to save our election symbol, our plough. It is our life and death struggle to survive with our political and ideological believes.

(Source: In the translated form from the Bengali original version of the Bangladesh National Parliamentary debates, dated 29 March 2001 and 8 April 2001)