

**Rural Reform in Bangladesh:  
Missing the opportunity to free the Royal Bengal Tiger\***  
- Md. Anisur Rahman

**1. Putting the cart before the horse**

1.1 On 11/1the country was saved from being torn apart by the savage pull of opposing power-and-wealth-hungry political forces by calling emergency and forming a new Caretaker Government with the backing of the armed forces. The new CTG is trying to install good governance by its bold campaign against some big corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, and is preparing the ground for impartial national elections by overhaul of the Election Commission. Among other measures a great step has been to set free the judicial system as an independent organ, a step that may go down as the greatest gift of the CTG to the nation. If all ends well according to the plans of this government i.e. if a new elected government comes into power through a decent election and if peace prevails in the country thereafter, the elite of the country whose vocal leadership is being given by the so-called “shushil shamaj” and also perhaps the ordinary middle class of the society, may thereby enjoy a better life, and a congenial climate for expansion of industry and trade by both national and foreign entrepreneurs may also reign.

1.2 But it is uncertain how much these reforms will benefit the downtrodden of the country struggling to live with dignity, those whom I shall call “*dukhi manush*” in the language of the architect of our national struggle for self-determination Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. If these reforms are successful and if peace reigns in the country for an extended period, some kind of ‘development’ will advance in the country, giving certainly some ‘trickle-down’ benefits to some of the *dukhi manush*. But such ‘development’ will also increase economic and social inequalities – the kind of ‘development’ that the nation has been experiencing since its independence. Such development may also reduce at some rate the proportion of people below the ‘poverty line’ drawn by the “dollar-a-day” type of count; but a large proportion of such people will remain deprived of the benefits of this kind of development, and many will even roll downwards by the sweep of such ‘development’. The country has actually been experiencing this kind of ‘development’ since its independence at various rates, at the same time that millions of its *dukhi manush* are ending their lives

remaining *dukhis*, and many many are becoming *dukhi* anew. I have been calling these hapless people the “other half of the glass” - those who are witnessing this development banquet from outside the fence - some of them silently in despair, some getting engaged in acts of ‘anti-social’ nature with the term being applied more to these people than to many members of the upper layers of society also engaged in obviously anti-social acts, and some enlisting in fundamentalist religious camps in the hope of salvation in the afterworld with such camps also revealing more and more their frighteningly terrorist nature. Besides, in the perception of the *dukhi manush* themselves their poverty is naturally a relative notion, so that some of them even possessing the “basic needs basket” prescribed for them by the World Bank and our own economists are stabbing the passer-by to snatch a mobile set, and the ten- year-old daughter of the rickshaw-wallah is committing suicide failing to get a new frock for Eid (as came out in the *Daily Star* earlier in the month before *Eid-ul-Fitr*). Such news do not warrant an editorial in any of our dailies on the contents of the “basic needs basket”, as if the notion of poverty is a very technical one best left to economists. The development-watchers are rejoicing if the rate of growth of GDP rises by a percentage point, but the great bulk of *dukhi manush* themselves are not finding much solace in such glorious achievements.

- 1.3 We have, of course, forgotten the promise of our independence struggle given by the “Father of the Nation” “Bangobondhu”, himself. The *dukhi manush* of the country were mobilized for struggle staking their lives and honour with the promise of building an egalitarian and democratic nation, with very clear negation of a path of development with increasing inequities. This promise was not honoured after independence. Today members and supporters of the two major political parties are endlessly chanting the slogans of “*Bangabondhu’s adorsho*” or “*Ziaur Rahman’s adorsho*”. But what were these *adorshos* ? That *Bongobondhu* and the Awami League imbibed the principle of secularism is a very great thing. But mere secularism does not fill the stomach of the *dukhi manush*, nor does it protect a mother from the chilling choice between her honour and feeding her child. Secularism dissociated from fulfillment of the basic human needs of the *dukhi manush* is bound to be defeated by religious fundamentalism insofar as such fundamentalism promises a compensatory other world and also arranges access to some basic needs to many even in this world if one joins this camp. The nation

had a taste of *Bangobondhu's adorsho* after independence when he invited an inequity-loving superpower into the country which was opposed to our independence war and himself led the country toward a path of inequity contrary to *muktijudher chetona*, remained indifferent to rampant corruption and anti-social acts by some members of his family and associates in his party, and subsequently in the formation of “Bakshal” killing democracy altogether. And Ziaur Rahman after coming into power as a gift of history liquidated many of those in the armed forces who had rescued him and put him into power, formed a political party with the comradeship of many anti-liberation-war elements, altered the country's constitution to embrace anti-secular state ideology, allowed his close associates to engage in corruption as a price for loyalty to him, and took the country further along a path of growth with inequity – one wonders about the merit of such leadership to be idealized as “*Ziaur Rahman's adorsho*”.

- 1.4 On its part it seems that the present CTG has also, with its full commitment to giving the nation a fair election and putting it on the track of good governance, and punishing some glaringly corrupt politicians and administrators including the two top leaders (if proven guilty), has set about to return political power to the very those who have been ravaging the lives and honour of the *dukhi manush* all these years. It seems oblivious to the fact that it is this class which stands in the way of meaningful development of the country for emancipation of the *dukhi manush*. What is the character of this class?
- 1.5 Development of capitalism in Bangladesh has not matured, and the principal trait of a feudal society i.e. a patron-client relation between the power-holders and the *dukhi manush* still reigns, in the countryside in particular. It is the ‘maliks’ who are on the whole ruling in the villages, through control over either land or water or technology or market or *mahajani* credit or a combination of these. This power of the maliks over the *dukhi manush* has made the latter dependent upon their mercy for their livelihood and the women among them even for their honour. With this patron-client relationship it is neither possible for the *dukhi manush* to put up their own candidates for elections, nor to vote with safety for anyone other than their patron's choices. A study by Shapan Adnan<sup>1</sup> of the consequences of an attempt by the *dukhi manush* to do so in one area will reveal the dire hazard in such venture:

1.6 In a cluster of ten villages, to which Adnan has given the pseudonym “daripallah”, near the city of Pabna, a few rich “shamajprodhans” (social leaders) belonging to the Awami League ruled over the landless who comprised 70-75 per cent of the population of the area. In the national elections of 1986 one Panjab Ali Biswas, a member of Jashad and seen as a “friend of the people”, won the seat from that constituency by the votes of its *dukhi manush* by promising some progressive reforms. These *dukhi manush* themselves raised money for Panjab’s election contributing 2/3 taka each and making a “garland of takas” which they presented to him in a public ceremony. Thus the traditional chain of loyalties in that area was broken during the election. But after Panjab’s victory (1) he could not keep his promises of reforms because of the formation of alliance in the parliament between Jashad and the ruling Jatio Party; (2) one of the supporters of Panjab in daripallah who had been active in his campaign was physically assaulted by the “shamajprodhans” people, and unable to bear this torture Panjab put the blame on one Hasnat for giving leadership to the election campaign of the *dukhi manush* of the area. As a result Hasnat lost the job he was doing in a cinema hall, and under threat of physical torture fled from that area. The network of Awami League chased him up to the city of Pabna to “give him a good lesson”. The remaining landless of daripallah quietly resubmitted, heads down, their loyalty to the shamajprodhans as they had no alternative means of subsisting.

1.7 This is the general character of the voting game in ‘feudal’ (or, if one prefers, ‘semi-feudal’) rural Bangladesh, where lives of the *dukhi manush* are mortgaged to the shamajprodhans. If the head of the CTG and his Finance Adviser, both brilliant students of economics, are unaware of this fact, then incompetent teachers like myself have no choice other than admitting the responsibility for this before the ‘Truth Commission’ and beg the forgiveness of the nation.

1.8 It is very clear today, that our independence has been hijacked to lift skyhigh the living standard of the nation’s elite. What does it matter if the child daughter of the rickshaw-wallah commits suicide failing to get a new frock for Eid – enough other child labour will be available to sweep our floors in this country with its cheap labour. And aren’t we throwing a dollar from our balcony for parents of such children to rush in a race to get it whoever can get a hand on it, and

isn't the 'poverty' count going down as a result? It should of course suffice to give this argument to the Truth Commission – there also we are putting our own men and women – after all it will not be a panchayet or shalish board of the *dukhi manush!*

1.9 Corruption of persons of the ruling class is not the issue of the *dukhi manush*. They have to decide on their loyalties to the masters on the basis of who will extend a hand in pity to offer them a minimum of security for their subsistence and honour, and they have to decide whom to vote for with this consideration irrespective of whether they are corruption-champions or not. With all their corruptions directly or indirectly Ershad-Hasina-Khaleda-Tarek are even today fully qualified for votes of the people – such corruption is only natural for Kings, Queens and Princes, yet offering a hope that in their moment of dire distress the *dukhi manush* may get a touch of their kindness to survive. And of course there is none to save them from the wrath of the palace if they show disobedience – the story of daripallah is a glaring and ample testimony of what may happen if they show the folly of turning toward friends of the *dukhi manush* like Panjab. If the *dukhi manush* of this country cannot be liberated from the stranglehold of the 'maliks' they will, if they get the opportunity again, vote for the King or the Queen or the Daughter of the Father of the Nation. Besides, corruption of the palace does not directly touch the *dukhi manush* in their bones – rather they regard this as a proof of success of the Kings and Queens and their sons and daughters, and become more convinced that in their hour of the direst distress it is the palace from which they may get the blanket that they need to survive.

1.10 It is rather significant that most of the mainstream economists of the country are not asking for elimination of this feudal/semi-feudal relationship in the society, and are instead giving this indirect support in their poverty arithmetic. The 'dollar-a-day' calculus counts only the current income of the *dukhi manush*, ignoring the fall-back saving or other assets they possess to survive hours of crisis that strike them often. In such hours, of course, the 'maliks' are there to save them as a prize for their loyalty – i.e. it is the 'maliks' who are implicitly recognized as their 'saving/assets'. In other words, lamentably, it is a feudal concept of poverty that is being propagated by our mainstream economists (how right was Karl Marx in recognizing this 'class-character' of intellectuals!). Even with this feudal poverty calculus

more than 40 per cent of our people are today living below the 'poverty line', and of course in terms of their minimum needs in their own perception the figure will be much higher. This, of course, is a global phenomenon, and the strategy of the global masters to nurse elements of the religious fundamentalist camps as a contingency against possible turbulence of this "other half of the glass" is also widely known. One wonders whether, at the hint of the global masters, the same strategy is also not being followed in Bangladesh as well.

1.11 The 'democracy' which we are chasing is a concept we have borrowed from the west, and such democracy has come in the west following (a) end of feudalism and (b) spread of secular education. We, on the other hand, are chasing this democracy keeping the fundamental character of feudalism in full force and also by expanding religious education in the society. Needless to say, this is like trying to advance by putting the cart before the horse, and of course the cart will crash again and again, even if courageous CTGs come and target for elimination some individual members of the palace only by applying 'minus-two-three-four' kind of formulae.

## **2. The path of needed reform**

2.1 This state of affairs will continue to rule until an alternative life can be given to the *dukhi manush* of the country. Over the last few decades the countries of East Asia have shown a path in this direction, freeing their *dukhi manush* from the shackles of feudal/semi-feudal rule and putting them in the drivers' seat in their development efforts along with other development entrepreneurs<sup>2</sup>. In order to prepare the *dukhi manush* for this task they have given high priority to their education and health – in doing so they have viewed poverty alleviation not merely as a humanitarian question but also as a strategy for raising the country's growth rate itself. All these countries have defied the "structural adjustment" prescription of the World Bank by giving protection to selected promising industries in their early stages to help them develop in experience and strength before setting them free to compete in the world market. Moving through ups and downs these countries have experienced growth with considerable equity, as a result of which achievements of these countries known as "East Asian Tigers" have been evaluated as the "fastest reduction in poverty for the largest number of people ever witnessed in history" (Watkins, see endnote 2, p 7). It is

noteworthy in particular that two of these countries – South Korea and Taiwan – have experienced radical agrarian reform at the initiative of the world leader of capitalism itself because of the geographical location of these countries. Unfortunately, Bangladesh does not have such locational advantage so that the indecent undiplomatic visits of foreign diplomats to the houses of this country's leaders have not extended beyond the concerns of 'fair election' and 'good governance'.

2.2 The positive development-with-poverty-alleviation experience of the East Asian countries, and the not so encouraging experience in so many other countries of the south has made the world's frontier development thinking reject the mantra of growth of GDP as the principal index of development quite some time back. The Nobel Laureate in Economics from the soil of Bangladesh Amartya Sen joined in this rejection almost two-and-a-half decades back<sup>3</sup>. In recent times western text books on development have also started dropping this index and embracing reduction in inequity as an indispensable element of development<sup>4</sup>. But development thinking in Bangladesh, alas, is still stuck with the development thinking of the World Bank – a dis-self-respectful submission to a 'money-lender' that is best abandoned to stand up with pride as a profession to assert our own point of view on what development should mean.

2.3 The great leader of Bengal A.K. Fazlul Huq, a genuine friend of the downtrodden, initiated during his Chief Ministership toward the end of 1930's "rin shalishi boards" (debt settlement boards) in villages to return to the peasantry land mortgaged to the rural money lenders. This well-intentioned reform, however, could not bring lasting benefit to the peasants as they had to resort to distress borrowing again thus losing their land again to the money lenders. There has been lasting rural reform in West Bengal under its left government. This government has given priority to the needs of the rural *dukhi manush* and have remained steadfastly by their side, and as a result has been winning with ease every election of the province for nearly three decades. Their reforms have given security of tenancy to the sharecroppers, have abolished absentee ownership of arable land, have transferred rural power from the traditional rural masters to collectives of small farmers and the landless thereby moving toward genuine "democracy" and, not allowing money-lending business by Grameen Bank and NGO-type agencies as in Bangladesh have arranged for loans to the rural underprivileged within the framework of government credit institutions so that they do not have to surrender their land to the money lenders again.

Even a World Bank commissioned study could not resist praising them for such reforms<sup>5</sup>. The reforms that they have done do not quite qualify them to be called (revolutionary) “communists” – they have merely come to hold the hand of the *dukhi manush* wearing sandals. Such progress in the conditions of the *dukhi manush* very next door to ours points rather harshly to the sad failure of the promise of independence of Bangladesh.

2.4 In another province of India, Kerala, also a series of land reforms were initiated in the decade 1960-70 as a result of which ownership of land was fully vested in the tillers. This province has shown unprecedented progress in respect of education and health – today the rate of adult literacy in Kerala is 91 per cent and life expectancy at birth is an amazing 73 years. Behind these achievements lie not only state initiatives but also contribution of the “science for social revolution” movement of teachers-students-scientists-doctors” of the society – e.g. the “shushil shamaj” of the province – who go every year in big vacations to the people all over the state to have sessions and workshops with them to spread and update mass literacy, health knowledge, technology appropriate for mass-based development and environment care. This province lags behind many other provinces of India in terms of per capita income which is only about 12-13 per cent of the national average; but it is mocking all talks of high growth rate of GDP by its human development index which is leading in India, by an index of “comprehensive living standard” which is close to that of the USA, and by being acclaimed as the “Mount Everest” in social development<sup>6</sup>.

2.5 Amartya Sen is also giving due importance to people’s education and health as a precondition of development. He is also well-known for his advocacy of democracy over totalitarianism, but has not to my knowledge given due importance to the end of feudal/semi-feudal socio-political relations as a precondition of genuine state interest in raising the levels of popular education and health and for that matter for genuine democracy. The interest of feudal masters of society is in keeping their ‘subjects’ engaged loyally in serving them, a loyalty that remains firm in the absence of the light of education and in a sick body as the beaconing of light and the strength to advance toward it remains dim and feeble in such an existence. This is why under feudal/semi-feudal rule in Bangladesh the standards of education as well as of health for the ordinary people are both sliding downwards, and the rate of functional literacy for the youth is floating at the level of 20 percent or so mocking their and the country’s future<sup>7</sup>, while

glittering institutions for education and health care for the un-ordinary are growing rapidly.

2.6 Very sadly, the ‘revolution’ of 11 January has declared *jehad* against illegal occupation of land mainly in the urban areas, with some inquiry into the landed wealth all over the country of a few specially targeted personalities, but no campaign has been launched against appropriation of land by rural power-holders of the *dukhi manush* in the countryside by many kinds of treachery, corruption and even by the savagest of violent means. The illegal occupation by these elements of *khas* land in rural areas that are earmarked for the rural landless is also well known and has been well documented in Professor Abul Barkat’s paper. It is rather significant that campaign against illegally erected urban structures has been launched to create space for constructing highways for the plying of cars of the elite, but no bulldozer is being aimed against illegal residential structures that have mushroomed on arable land in the countryside despite the shortage of such land in relation to the country’s population. Reports also abound of illegal, often forceful, occupation of land of religious minorities, of “untouchable” communities in many parts of rural Bangladesh, and of indigenous communities in the Hill tracts, also documented in Professor Barkat’s paper. The two years that the CTG got, according to its professed time-table, could have been well invested to launch a campaign as well against such atrocities upon the rural *dukhi manush* including illegal/forceful appropriation of their land. But it seems the Moment that had come is disappearing, and such a moment may not come soon again in the future. If nothing at all is done in this respect, will this not be worth recording in history as a big minus alongwith some of the plusses that the CTG has done and is trying to do with the strength of its emergency powers.

2.7 On the other hand the nation is also being assured that genuine representatives of the people will be elected merely because of the electoral reforms that are being undertaken. The claim makes one utterly incredulous! One may perhaps end family rules by the ‘minus-two’ kind of formula, if such formula can be implemented – but genuine representatives of the people cannot be elected by such formulae alone in a feudal/semi-feudal society. How will the *dukhi manush* master the courage to elect their true representatives – won’t those amongst them who will give leadership in such disobedience have to suffer the same kind of fate of the leaders of the ‘daripallah’ movement, or even worse in today’s much more violent culture?

2.8 The Moment that had come in the country's history on 11 January to move toward freeing the *dukhi manush* of the country from feudal/semi-feudal clutches and toward freeing our Royal Bengal Tiger to join the race for growth with equity is slipping away. Some proposals toward this had been tabled in the media<sup>8</sup>, and had been sent to the policy makers as well, but their fate has been like crying in the wilderness of the Sunderban. No editorial in the media on this has come to my notice either – it seems our 'patriotic' media is also looking up for guidance on such questions to our foreign friends whose uncalled-for dictates they are publishing with major headlines.

2.9 It is nevertheless important that the question of rural socio-economic reform be discussed widely in the country, if for no other reason than to build social and popular awareness on this. If the country's "shushil shamaj" or its media will not be interested in this question will some other quarter – maybe some elements of the country's youth – take up this issue for a continuing search for a positive direction for the society? Otherwise what is their own future except for those among them who may be especially fortunate by birth or circumstances? How can this nation snatch its independence from the World Bank, IMF and the ADB to become a "development-tiger" to race toward growth with equity?

2.10 I dare say that this country will not attain social stability until the fruits of development is shared with the country's *dukhi manush*, not as attempts at some development deliveries of government and NGO programmes but by making them equal partners in development entrepreneurship to directly benefit from the country's development effort. This is true not only of Bangladesh but of all countries – the advance of savage terrorism and religious fundamentalism worldwide has only one lasting answer, i.e. to remove the fundamental cause of such advance, which is the inability of human civilization to share its fruits and its creative joy with the bulk of the human populace. For this, in Bangladesh, the task of the hour is to initiate major reform in our rural economy and its society as has happened in the countries of East Asia. Such reform has to return to the *dukhi manush* the resources and assets that have been taken away from them by cunning devices and by force. Along with this they need to be helped to mature as production entrepreneurs not by micro-credit with stringent conditions that allows them only to go for quick-yielding activities like petty trade and livestock and rickshaw-pulling or van driving, but by bringing to them relevant education and technical knowledge where necessary and

ensuring them sound low-cost health care to keep them fit and able as agents of production. At the same time they should have access to credit for their entrepreneurial activities not from profit-seeking NGOs who are creating their respective colonies developing patron-client relations with the *dukhi manush* to whom they are not accountable for their conduct, but from public credit-giving structures offering them credit at easy and corruption-free terms. It does not make any sense as a development strategy to make credit available to the *dukhi manush* only at stiff terms or not at all, while the elite of the society can run away with cheap credit worth crores of takas subject to endless rescheduling so that they may in effect not have to be repaid at all, so that they can merrily invest them in un-entrepreneurial activities including simply rent-seeking residential housing or in capital-flight operations, some investing a part of such stolen money in charitable or cultural ‘foundations’ to build up their image and popularity in society. Like the effort of A.K. Fazlul Huq a major target in the campaign against corruption should have been the usury-seeking money lenders who are directly taking advantage of the hapless plight of the *dukhi manush* and thereby throwing them into further misery – the boundless corruption of Tareque Rahmans (if proven) is certainly worth the severest axe of law and justice, but this is nevertheless not directly affecting the lives of the *dukhi manush* as the money lending business of rural mahajans and many of the NGOs are doing. At the same time, in order that at times of dire distress or need they do not have to permanently lose whatever assets they have as mortgage for loans, they need to be encouraged and assisted if necessary to form self-help kind of saving and loan samities of their own whose members will get loans from such samities at easy terms as well as get collective assistance from their samities if necessary for their use.

2.11 It is also important to spread many other types of group/cooperative-based socio-economic activities of the *dukhi manush* to reduce their dependence upon rural overlords, in particular to enable them avoid dependence on middlemen for marketing their products so that they can themselves keep the bulk of the fruits of their labour and enterprises – the kind of activities some of them are already taking in some places calling them “rakhi business” (“keep it ourselves business”). They need also cooperative paddy banks as well as cooperative consumer stores of their own – poverty alleviation can be achieved not only by raising incomes but also by reducing consumption expenses. There are many examples of such cooperative self-managed initiatives including self-help-based group saving and loan programmes of the *dukhi manush* themselves spread out in various

parts of the country<sup>9</sup> ; in recent years such initiatives are spreading further through “gonogobeshona” (people’s research) work in projects of RIB (Research Initiatives, Bangladesh) as well as of the Hunger Project working to promote gonogobeshona in collaboration with RIB<sup>10</sup>. Any patriotic government should pick this up as one of its prime responsibilities to spread the experience of such initiatives nationwide and to inspire and assist *dukhi manush* in other areas launch such initiatives themselves.

2.12 It does not look like the present CTG is moving toward any such reform notwithstanding the great opportunity history has given it. Perhaps our foreign ‘friends’ including the World Bank, whose diplomats have been trespassing before and after January 11 into our bedrooms disregarding all diplomatic decorum, will also not like such reforms for fear this may not keep our cheap labour so cheap. Even if the recent challenge to the IMF by our CTG deserves to be praised, it appears that this government is giving first priority to the interests of the elite in the country with which the interest of the world masters also overlap. Obviously, apart from giving a fair election the ‘revolution’ of 11 January is interested mainly in giving some kind of bureaucratic ‘good governance’, which if it can be given will make life of the “shushil shamaj” more convenient and will also be conducive to expansion of national and foreign investment in the country. Notwithstanding some daring moves against graft the coming national election if this is held peacefully and without problem is expected to install in power the same old ‘masters’ in power who have so far reigned over the people and have been parties in the unspeakable corruption, and savage barbarism of their respective camps to fulfill their lusts for power and wealth. In other words, the rural class-base of the CTG, if not directly but at least in the *default* sense, remains the same old rural rogues (perhaps not directly in view of its action to make the judiciary independent which the rogues could not have wanted). Along with them religious fundamentalists if they are permitted to contest the elections are also likely to get some seats promising fulfillment of the unfulfilled dreams of the *dukhi manush* in the afterworld.

2.13 And we are getting ample evidence in the character of regrouping efforts of some of the political forces that just with some electoral reforms it is not possible to change the rogue-character of those who have so far ravaged the *dukhi manush* of the country and its resources. Facing this kind of rogue conduct any expectation that even politically neutral quarters in the governance of the country (such as the bureaucracy and the judiciary) will

not compromise with principles for sheer safety of themselves and their families may also be a bit unrealistic.

2.14 Notwithstanding such a sad state of affairs, if some pro-people political quarters include rural reforms of the kind outlined above in their election manifesto it might be of some value. No such party has been able to establish such relation with the *dukhi manush* as to be able to form the next government. But if at least a few seats could be won by them attempt might be made in the national parliament to raise the nation's awareness on the need for rural reform, provided of course that the culture of discourse in the parliament will improve.

2.15 Finally, without expecting too much, let me invite the able economists of the country who have remained imprisoned in the 'feudal economics' that serves only the feudal masters, to search for ways of liberating our Royal Bengal Tiger to throw its towel in the ring of the World Cup of Tiger Economics in which East Asia is reigning at the moment.

\*Free English version of presentation at a round table on "Bangladeshey Bhumi Shanskar: Nari o Prantic Janogoshthir Khamotayan" organized by the Association for Land Reform and Development at the CIRDAP auditorium, Dhaka, on 10 Nov 2007.

---

<sup>1</sup> Shapan Adnan. "Departures from Everyday resistance and Flexible Strategies of Domination. The Making and Unmaking of a Poor Peasant Mobilization in Bangladesh. *The Journal of Agrarian Change*". April 2007.

<sup>2</sup> There have been innumerable studies on this subject, of which notable are Rehman Sobhan. *Agrarian Reform and Social Transformation, Preconditions of Development*. UPL. Dhaka. 1993, and Kelvin Watkins. *Economic Growth and Equity, Lessons from East Asia*. Oxfam Publications. 1998.

<sup>3</sup> Amartya Sen's article in the *Economic Journal* 1983: "Development: Which Way Now?"

<sup>4</sup> Alastair Greig, David Hulme & Mark Turner (2007). *Challenging Global Inequality. Development theory and Practice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Palgrave. Macmillan.

<sup>5</sup> Ajitava Raychowdhury. *Lessons from the Land reform Movement in West Bengal, India*. TheWorld Bank. 2004 na. Dhaka. 2007.

<sup>5</sup> My writings on the subject in the *Daily Star* have been reproduced in the Postscript of my autobiography *through Moments in History*. Pathak Samabesh. Dhaka. Nov 2007.

<sup>6</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerala\\_model](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerala_model)

<sup>7</sup> A. Baez and Mahboob Hossain. *Gramer Manush o Gramer Arthoniti*. Writers' Foundation Bangladesh & Shwaraj Prokashona. Dhaka. 2007.

<sup>8</sup> My writings on the subject in the *Daily Star* have been reproduced in the Postscript of my autobiography *through Moments in History*. Pathak Samabesh. Dhaka. Nov 2007.

<sup>9</sup> RIB has a series of publications on such research, including presentation of such experiences in its quarterly Bulletin *Bangladeshey gonogobeshona*.

<sup>10</sup> A noteworthy example is the account of villagers in Harimondir para of Lakkhichap union of Nilfamari district freeing themselves from the ravage of *monga* by adopting lakkha and BRRI-33 rice cultivation (*The*

---

*Daily Star* 28.10.07, p 6; and Md. Motiur Rahman. *Daridryo Bimochaney Lakkha Chasher Bhumika o Prekkhit: ekti Gonogobeshona*. Research Initiatives Bangladesh. Sept 2007).