

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

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I. Introduction

Classical political scientists categorized forms of governments into different types, which have been discussed in almost all standard textbooks. Those classical types include democratic vs. autocratic government, parliamentary vs. presidential form and federal vs. unitary form. Those classifications were made on the basis of the style of leadership, system of governance, or the fitting needs with the size of the state. As the subject produced ample literature delineating each type, details of that have not been reiterated here; rather attempt has been made to deal with a subject, which has not so far received much attention from scholars. This has happened not because they have not seen any importance of the subject, rather they paid more attention to the political development of each society instead of looking for an analytical framework for analyzing government and politics, taking into consideration the extent of people's participation in government.

II. Types of Government

The present paper, therefore, considers the classification of the government based on some other characteristics, such as 'decision-making process'. Taking into account the types of decision-making process, the governments may be broadly classified into three broad categories, such as:

1. Governments by Public Opinion or GPO-1 (or altruistic)
2. Governments by Party Opinion or GPO-2 (or partisan), and
3. Governments by Person's Opinion or GPO-3 (or individualistic)

The number added to at the end of each above-mentioned type does not contain any specific feature for itself, rather for making each one distinctive some sort of numerical identity has been ascribed, as otherwise all types have the same nomenclature, namely

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GPO. It could therefore be the other way around e.g. the 'first' type may be numbered as number 'three' and vice versa. Indeed, since the same word denotes different forms of governments, therefore, some sort of exclusive identification of each type or call number may be attached to them for clear distinction from one another. However, details of each of the above-mentioned types along with major features have been presented below.

The Government by Public Opinion (GPO-1) is run by people's opinion i.e. under which system each of the activities is pursued as per desire of the people. It mainly possesses the universal features of the absolute democratic form of government. On the other hand, the Government by Party Opinion (GPO-2) is of that type, where predominantly all activities are done in compliance with narrow party point of view or partisan view. In some countries there are governments run by single party which maybe called rule of one party. Likewise, the Government by Person's Opinion or GPO-3 is of that type where government is run only by a single person's wish and whims, predominantly ignoring people's aspiration. This type of government may be called as autocratic form of government or rule of one man.

III. Characteristics of three forms of government

Now attempt is made to examine the characteristics or features of each type of the above-mentioned government and find the reason of people's liking¹ for GPO-1 rather than the other forms of governments.

Government having those characteristics which include well known universal features such as taking public opinion into consideration while making any important decision or adopt policy likely to affect people commonly and extensively falls under the category of GPO-1. It also adheres to involving people in various forms of state policy, planning and implementation. Likewise, it also inclines to promote public interest, imbibes the idea of rule of law, allows freedom of press, equality of opportunity, organizing election from time to time and some sort of role of public representatives in managing the state affairs. Nevertheless, it maybe mentioned here that there are two types of democratic governments, one may be called *absolutely democratic* and the other *relatively democratic* government. The country which falls under the category of absolutely democratic is the one where all universal features of an elegant democratic government² prevail, while in a country where some forms of fragile democracy is there that maybe called relatively democratic. The government, which is democratic in principle but not

1 They tend to like does not mean that they want to adhere to it.

2 Even in a pure democratic country some issues may go beyond the liking of all people or which all people may not concede. Therefore, all decisions that may be taken up by government may not be liked by the people as that may not be commensurate with the liking of the people.

necessarily in practice and which is only relatively democratic compared to absolute democratic government, is described here as relatively democratic government.

On the other hand, characteristics of GPO-2 include party interest and party peoples' interest including allowing them to operate the whole state affairs. Indeed, leave the devil take the hindmost and self-seeking people get united to reap the maximum benefits accrued from the state's side even at the cost of national interest. In order to strengthen and promote party interest the party nominates or appoints their party men to important positions of the state so that the whole state machinery may remain subservient to them.

Usually people working for GPO-2 do not always adhere to the principles of rule of law; nor do they care for accountability to the people for their activities. Often there are open or secret support to the unlawful activities of the party and party people. Likewise, other anomalies and irregularities are there, which include unfair election, pursuing important state works as per party decision, ignoring public opinion and the opposition's view, etc.

Similarly, characteristics of the government run by a person's will mainly include the person's decision in regard to all important state affairs, restriction on freedom of speech, insecurity of intellectuals, lack of rule of law, interference in judicial activities etc. Such characteristics may vary from country to country and from society to society, which maybe of degree but not essentially of kind. Like many other countries, Bangladesh, perhaps has not experienced anything considerably different from what has been delineated in regard to the last two polity categories.³ Therefore, it may not be always easy to claim that Bangladesh now has more or less infant democracy. Of course, people always may not agree with that to make a distinction between infant democracy and adult democracy, as there is no agreement on age of democracy to be treated as infant.

Nevertheless, keeping in mind the diversity and elusiveness of the problem, essential characteristics of three types of governments have been depicted here, where each government of the world would be of any one of the above-mentioned types. The question still remains: Is it possible to classify governments in any of the groups if there is any

3 All the governments that were in power since the liberation of Bangladesh seem to fit the second or third category i.e. each of the governments ruled the country by the will of a single person (GPO-3) or by the will of party (GPO-2). But it does not mean that the will of the people has never been reflected in the activities of the governments. Rather most of the people find the negative aspect more dominant than their positive role while ruling the country. On the other hand, in Bangladesh, although there were democratic governments in recent years, those governments can better be described as relatively democratic rather than absolutely democratic government. The issue has been raised by some other scholars too who described it as infant stage of democracy struggling for sustainability. For details see Enayetullah Rahim - Bangladesh: A Historical ledger in A. M. Chowdhury and Fakrul Alam (eds.)- Bangladesh: On the Threshold of the Twenty- First Century, Dhaka, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 2002. Rounaq Jahan- Political Development, Ibid (2002) and S. Aminul Islam- Political Parties and the Future of Democracy, Ibid (2002).

deviation in the characteristics of the government under review? There maybe some diversity or variation in degree of each feature but still one needs to identify the dominant characteristics among that. The government, therefore, maybe classified in any one form from those types depending upon the dominant characteristics of that government under review.

There maybe a question: Can there be combined characteristics of two types of government or If there is a coalition government of two parties, then what would be its form? The situation may emerge like that but again one has to take note of the main or dominant characteristics. It may so happen that at first the government is run by a person, then the party or it may be the other way round also. These types of changes may occur for different reasons such as if a military government takes over the power, at first or at the outset there may be a government of person's opinion. Then to make a balance in power it may turn into a government run by the political party. Or a government initially run by the political party may turn into a government run by one person's opinion. But in each case the original characteristics may remain unchanged to a considerable extent, even if there is any kind of change in the type of government.

But then question comes: What is the difference between the party-run government and the person-run government? The issue may be explained in the following way. If the party is accountable to a person, it is a person-run government, while if the person is accountable to the party it is a party-run government and if everyone of the government is accountable to the people, it is the government of the people. The main incongruity between the government of the people and the party-run government is that in both the cases welfare activities are pursued, albeit in case of party-run government, decisions mainly come from the party adhering to their party interest. As for example, to initiate or to terminate a program, a party-run government takes the decision adhering to the party's hidden agenda where the government run by the people takes the decision in pursuit of people's interest, collecting public opinion through parliament, mass media or any other means, where people's opinions get reflected.

There are many ways to make the government answerable to the people, such as, public gathering, parliament, press conference, and mass media etc. In case of people's government, decisions are taken using the media to collect people's opinions and to inform them of the government's programs. But in case of party-run government, the scenario is considerably different as that type of government utilizes public gatherings to criticize the opponent and to publicize their imaginary success stories, utopian programs, concocted stories, etc. to make the people perplexed and brisk. They use public gatherings mainly as a medium of propaganda to bring the people's opinion in their favour and

therefore, very few replies are given to the criticism of the government. Again, in the press conference there are marginal scopes to raise questions, as less freedom is there for the journalists. And in the mass media explanatory programs are not produced impartially, rather tendency remains to exaggerate the success stories of the party government to bewilder the people. Party government is governed by some strategic self-seeking activities while the people-run government is operated targeting some ameliorative activities.

When the politicians run a government on a person or party point of view, their prime target is to fulfill self-interest or only to remain in power. People's welfare does not get prominence in their programs and attitudes as these usually do not get prominence in their politics or even moral agenda. And when any politician thinks of any ameliorative activities, the person is described as people's spokesman as the same person sets a mission and vision for a kind of job, which serves the cause of the people. For this reason, James Freeman Clarke once commented, "A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman, of the next generation."⁴

IV. Vicious cycle of the government's change

The developing countries in general seem to embrace two types of political development: one may be called *preliminary stage* of vicious cycle of the government and the other may be called *decisive stage* or virtuous level of the development of government. This may be briefly explained here.

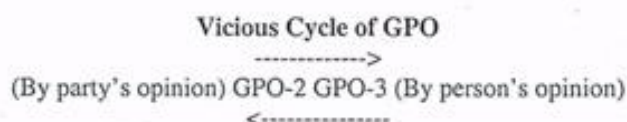
The system may be called vicious cycle of transformation of the governments when the country sometimes is run by one-person government (GPO-3) and sometimes by government of party opinion (GPO-2). Back and forth changes in that transformation between these two types of governments take place but each time they come with some characteristics different from their previous form, for example, if a government is run by a person's opinion still all the times it would not have the same features. But it would be pertinent to depict here that characteristically dominant features would remain the same, based on which each form can be differentiated from the other forms⁵.

If we generalize the system of transformation of the governments we may call it as "vicious cycle of GPOs" which means once a form of vicious type of government

4 Quoted in Dr. Khurshed Alam- Bangladesh Politics: Past, Present and Future: An Analytical Framework (in Bengali), Dhaka, Minerva Publication, 2000.

5 There may not be another distinction between pure and mixed category. Indeed, naturally and essentially all forms differ from each other although broadly those may be classified in any one of the two forms as mentioned here.

assumes power, then it could be overthrown by another malevolent form of government. Once people are suppressed by force, next time they may be suppressed by the astute⁶. So, all the time some form of malevolent government may be there in power, which may prevail for centuries together without giving birth to any virtuous form of government. The vicious cycle may be as follows:



Now the question comes: How does one malevolent government replace another evil government? Investigation into the issue makes it clear that when somebody inside the government fails to pursue his/her self-seeking interest, then the person tends to establish a connection with powerful element(s) outside the government or may abstain from playing his/her own role. Often in an intelligent way they try to weaken the government by not playing the expected role or performing one's entrusted jobs. Usually, it does not take much time but in case of the astute one, it takes more time as the person may have ability to counter all types of ousting attempt or serious plot. Indeed, the ruler in power adopts new ideas and tricks to linger in power through deceiving people or defeating the opponent. While maneuvering that someone becomes successful while others expedite their own fall by destabilizing them faster than what otherwise would have not taken place. Thus strength of the government for sustenance becomes fragile and as soon as the government becomes delicate, the outside element takes over the power from that destabilized government.

Likewise, when the new malevolent government also loses control over the state machinery, the opposition follows the extreme ways or strategies taking advantage of that to overthrow the government. When the opposition can be defeated using the innovative strategies of the government, then they claim that there is no alternative of that political party or person. Thus, the new form of malevolent government overthrows the old ones and takes over the power without having any active role from the people.

But how long the malevolent government will stay depends on how much time its opposition takes to takeover the power as the malevolent government usually does not foresee the potential of coming back to power again within a short period of time. Keeping that view in consideration, it tries all sorts of fair and foul means and methods to linger in power defeating all known possible attempts of its opponent. If

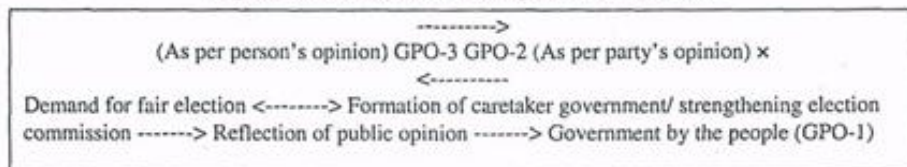
6 Originally this idea emerged in Machiavelli's classical book *The Prince*.

vicious cycle remains functional, people in general cannot discern as who is going to takeover the power and when, while in case of democratic form of government people can foresee and discern it clearly.

Thereafter, sequentially the essential question comes: How to make the vicious cycle into a virtuous one or how to make a virtuous cycle of GPOs? Plausibly and inevitably the question comes as how to break that vicious cycle and how to transform the vicious cycle into virtuous ones⁷.

One of the innovative ways⁸ as suggested by politicians of Bangladesh is to break that system through ensuring a free and fair election under caretaker government. Thereby they anticipated that a government could be established through the "real" choice⁹ of people without person's or party's influence. Indeed, under caretaker government a fair election may be possible provided all parties participating in the election have equal hand over the process of conducting election under the caretaker government. Their vision can be explained in the following method:

Figure-2: Method of Breaking the Vicious Cycle



Through repetition of this cycle¹⁰ the people without any influence can elect their own government. In Figure-3 it is explained how people can express their own opinion uninterruptedly in this system.

7 Rounaq Jahan in her recent article "Why are We Still Continuing with a 'Viceregal' Political System, The Daily Star, January 31, 2004. (2004) says, "How can we get out of this 'viceregal' system? There is no easy answer. When a system persists for a long time as this 'viceregal' system has, we have to realize that there are enough powerful interest groups inside and outside the country (in a donor dependent country one has to take into account the external actors), who are benefiting from the system and sustaining it. The majority of our citizens may not be benefiting indeed they are suffering but they can do very little to change the system except to throw the incumbents out through the exercise of their votes. But after three such consecutive elections, the citizens are well aware of the limitations of elections to bring about real systematic changes. We need to think more creatively about other ways to hold our leaders accountable."

8 Not necessarily the only way as that was practiced in any other country in the world. They have followed a method of strengthening the power of the election commission and also developed a code of conducts for their politicians. Thus they could bring about a change in their system.

9 People may commit mistake in selecting the virtuous government or they may have choice between bad and worse and even they may go for worse, instead of bad being getting overwhelmed with commitment made during election or for fear or for some other reasons.

10 Experience also suggests that the repetitions of the same may make the process inactive and less virtuous as wicked may succeed to find ways and means to evolve hole in that so called foolproof process. For that reason, continuous modifications and updating of process and procedures needs to be pursued keeping pace with the needs emerging from time to time.

Figure-3: Method of Reflection of Public Opinion in Formation of Government

Arrangement of fair poll -----> Vote as per people's will -----> Formation of elected government -----> Parties attempt to mobilize people's opinion in their favor¹¹ -----> Formation of people's government as per people's will -----> Completion of tenure of a government.

Thus, when a vicious cycle is broken then it may be made a virtuous one and thereby GPO-1 can be established, replacing government by person's (GPO-3) or party opinion (GPO-2). There is no universal or inevitable path of transformation as from which form of government the GPO-1 may emerge but in most of the cases it may emanate from the GPO-3 because that apparently inspires people to change their style of rule from one man's rule to collective representatives' rule.

But one of the major problems of this system is that, if there is no majority of any party in the parliament then coalition government may come in power and instability may surface there due to conflicting interests of the allied parties and people may lose their patience when they see the needs for repeated election¹². Even people can opine for presidential form of government instead of parliamentary form of government as that may appear to them as more stable.

There are at least two different opinions about whether the parliamentary form of government is a government by the people or not. Some think that as the tested parliamentary form of government is there in developed countries so the problem apparently does not prevail there to introduce the same in developing countries as well. But the main problems with the presidential form of government in these countries include: a. the person wants to create/build his/her own image so that s/he can win the next election by hook or by crook; b. very soon s/he may be surrounded by a good number of flatterers; c. bureaucrats may be eager to satisfy the person rather than working for the people; d. ministers/cabinet members may wait for his/her suggestion(s) even for any routine matter and there may be an undeclared competition among the ministers and the bureaucrats to satisfy the head of the state.

11 Some authors do not subscribe to the idea of mobilization as the means of the government change, for example, S. Aminul Islam- Political Parties and the Future of Democracy, in A. M. Chowdhury and Fakrul Alam (eds.) – (ibid, 2002).

12 Sometimes even a power from within the government can defeat the cause of the government and thus can create a ground for fall of the government.

However, in a country where the rule of law¹³ is not established after a long period of time, rule of people cannot emerge there. Thus, to establish the government of the people, at first, the scope of election of the "right" people to form a government should be created there, accompanied by freedom of press. However, there is hardly any consensus on the characteristics of "right" person as politicians often debate over that definition¹⁴.

Nevertheless, only an arrangement for pursuing a free and fair election is associative but not causative to establish government of the people itself. Free and fair election maybe conducted through two well-known means – either by allowing operation of a strong adequately empowered neutral election commission or by setting up a caretaker government¹⁵. In most parts of the world - wherever such governments are in place or very close to their embodiment, they could be achieved through active performance of the strong neutral election commission. Indeed, the caretaker government itself essentially contributes to ensure a powerful neutral election commission where the commission is exclusively responsible for conducting a free and fair election, while the caretaker government has to prevent all types of interference in the election process.

Nevertheless, the cause for giving priority to the caretaker government over the election commission is that it can be proved visibly and easily whether or not the government has directly or indirectly influenced the poll during the election. It is almost a universal phenomenon that in almost all the developing countries there is a universal claim of poll rigging immediately after the election, which in the long-run generates political instability.

But at the same time, it also needs to be borne in mind that the elected government under the caretaker one may not be a government for the people themselves. The main task of the caretaker government is to conduct an election neutrally, not to guide or control the activities of the elected government after it assumes power. The elected government may turn into an autocratic government too if the same operates without adhering to the rule of

13 It is widely claimed that law alone does not ensure rule of law.

14 Political philosophers are also not in agreement on the characteristics of the "right" man as Plato suggested one type where John Stuart Mill did differently.

15 The problem of caretaker government with the selection or with the function is debated in these days in the newspapers. Most of the criticisms came about the selection of the people rather than the function, which are not always mutually exclusive. Caretaker government is associative but not causative to bring about virtuous circle of government. There are some other conditions without which government by people's opinion cannot be achieved. There are some others who question the neutrality and sustainability of the caretaker government. Some others also question the legitimacy of caretaker government as that shows a trust on non-elected government instead of elected one. But of course Rounaq Jahan and Aminul Islam have not opined against that. Both of them identified some of the positive as well as negative developments in Bangladesh politics.

law and maintaining much respect for the views of opposition¹⁶. So is the case with the powerful election commission where at best the same can ensure the best possible election but not the best possible government. Best possible election does not ensure the best possible government. What may safely be claimed here is that the free and fair election is associative but not causative to good government.

However, the question may come: Is there any possibility of failure of the system of conducting the free and fair election by the caretaker government?¹⁷ The answer is that, if the principal political parties extend their cooperation to the caretaker government for holding a free and fair election unanimously, then there would be little possibility of failure of the same but if any of the political parties does not assist the caretaker government or raises questions regarding the systems or process of conducting the elections then again the caretaker government may fail to hold a free and fair election. It is almost impossible for the caretaker government to hold an impartial election¹⁸ if all the parties or organizations fail to come to a consensus. Likewise, if people do not get the right person for expected performance (or right selection) among the members of caretaker government, then it may come up with some unacceptable result to some parties. The question also may crop up as to what form of difference is there between caretaker government and the powerful election commission. The question has already been addressed in the above section.

In the countries where there are governments by person or party opinion the caretaker government may be a (but not only the process) strong system to conduct a free and fair election for setting up the government of the people. Because when a government is elected under a caretaker government, most likely people's true representatives are to come out successful for several reasons. By rigging the election no single party can win power repeatedly. It may be mentioned here that caretaker government does not only bring about change in the nature of government itself¹⁹, it has a potential to bring about a change in quality of politics itself. Of course, that ability has certain considerable limitations for several obvious reasons as the whole process has limited impact on the

16 The point has been well articulated in a recent article by Rounaq Jahan (ibid, 2004), where she claims that among the two notions, one is the sense of equality in the leader of the house.

17 The issue has been raised in Dr. Khurshed Alam (ibid, 2000), where an apprehension was alluded keeping in mind some odd possibilities, p-14.

18 Some people express their doubt that all the elections (1991, 1996, 2001) held under caretaker government in Bangladesh were not free and therefore not fair as the immediate past government was not given fair chance of competition. So, the election under the caretaker also takes a form of "might is right" where caretakers cannot oversee everything and media also to some extent favours the dominant group.

19 Where provision of caretaker government is created, the ruling party has to care for people's opinion if not totally at least marginally as their continuity in power will have a break after a certain period.

quality of politics as such. Likewise, attitude of the people about caretaker government is also consequential as that primarily shapes the existence and success of that type of government. One fundamental difference of caretaker government with other forms of government is that the other forms can take place without people's sanction while caretaker cannot. People may have relatively more confidence (but not absolutely) on caretaker government as they can rely on the people who are not party to election, albeit who may deviate from that by not performing their assigned tasks appropriately which may bring the whole process under question. In this sense there is no form of government which can be claimed as foolproof government, rather only some governments have more advantages over others and therefore may get priority over others.

V. Means and methods of setting up GPO-1

Now the question comes: How long does a developing country take to set up a government of the people?²⁰ Can people on their own achieve such government? The issues have been delineated here with more interpretation.

People, frequently enough, wish to have and expect better type of government for serving their cause but may not be keen to pursue the right striving for achieving the same. In other words, people do not check whether they have taken adequate and apposite attempt to form that type of government. Likewise, if the government elected or selected does not serve the purpose of the people the latter often do not blame the system rather blame their fate²¹.

In any underdeveloped country where there is a government of vicious cycle, it is not so easy to establish a government of the people without arduous effort or bloody struggle. Why people consider it as a difficult task and how to overcome that are the principal points of investigation here, which have been noted below:

First, it is often very difficult even to organize any movement against an evil form of government where the first step is to gain right to assemble together. For that, different strategies are to be adopted and national and international forces and interests are to be associated. Under such condition it takes a longer period of time just to get the right of assembly and movement.

Secondly, the unity among the parties and factions in opposition is very much needed there. Indeed, the ruling authority tries to adopt mainly the divide and rule method rather than going for mobilization method as divide and rule rather than mobilization enables

20 On this issue scholars expressed their ignorance about the time needed.

21 They say that 'it is unfortunate to have this type of government' which leads them to some fatalistic notion.

them to rule easily. Under that condition, the unity is quintessential among the main political parties to overcome all that impediments and that process needs to continue until the target is achieved. Sometimes, it may need a violent or non-violent movement to impel the government to meet the demand of free and fair election. If there is any charismatic leader the country may take very little time and vice versa.

Thirdly, to make the people aware about the type of non-virtuous government, which is not going to serve their interest or help them in setting up the Government by Public Opinion (GPO-1), they have to be mobilized for achieving the GPO-1.

In case of Bangladesh the right to movement to some extent has already been achieved if not been debarred by any other military rule in future but the second and third level yet to achieve because mere scope of election does not give guarantee of good form of government²². However, to achieve the first one in some countries armed revolution or nonviolence and non-cooperation movement, strikes, professionals', workers' and or students' movements etc. are required. But if there are some armed struggles in the long run they may have some negative implications, as they are likely to entail loss of lives and properties. People mostly considered that as the worse option for their political freedom.

From the above discussion it is now clear that in any country of the world people can establish a government by people's opinion with active support of the leaders who have to play an important role to achieve that. Indeed, without a positive and favorable role of the leader the people by themselves alone cannot achieve it, as they may be the reactor but not the actor for mobilization of people against any form of tyrant government.

So far we have discussed the stages of achieving the form of government by people's opinion, but there is no specific timeframe for each stage as in some country it may take one decade where in another country it may take one century. And it may not be achieved by the people themselves as without leaders' help people can neither be made aware nor be mobilized from within.

It may be mentioned here that to set up a government by people's opinion or to enrich the democracy a well-organized political party is needed²³. In underdeveloped countries there

22 Election is necessary but not sufficient for describing it as absolutely democratic government. Indeed, whatever we have here in present day Bangladesh at best we can describe or claim it as 'relatively democratic government' (RDG) but not 'absolutely democratic government' (ADG). Absolute democracy includes the classical notion of democracy, which Abram Lincoln once described in these words, "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

23 Rounaq Jahan, (Ibid, 2004) claims, "I wish our political parties would use the two basic principles of parliamentary democracy, which many of us memorized in our civics classes, as materials for their slogans and wall writings. The two principles are: first, in a parliamentary democracy, the majority rules with the consent of the minority, and second, a Prime Minister is only "first among equals."

are often dearth of that type of political parties or leaders. Different causes are there which entail non-existence of well organized political parties, which include: (a) long colonial rule of those countries; (b) ideological conflict among the political parties; (c) overdeveloped state machinery as noted by some social scientists²⁴; (d) feudal values among the people²⁵; (e) lack of democratic tradition for decades together; (f) personalized political party; (g) lack of specific program of political parties for realizing the demand of the people; (h) failure of the political parties to educate people politically; (i) lack of specific economic program of the political parties; (j) shortage of constructive political practice for the parties, etc.. From the above-mentioned causes there may be existence of all or some in one country but not necessarily the presence of all causes, which may cause the country to be under the GPO-2 or 3. However, the causes may be broadly classified into two broad categories where one group lies with political parties and the rest with the state.

VI. Conclusions

Finally, it maybe mentioned here that in the above pages only an outline of political development or types of government that most undeveloped countries have had are being presented. Hopefully it has given an overview or some sort of idea about the nature and form of governments that exist or are likely to emerge in the developing countries with certain variation or deviation.

Likewise, the study also suggests that people very rarely get opportunity to select a government by public opinion as in most periods of history they had to select from bad or worse form of people or parties.

However, one must not forget even the challenge of the so-called democratic government (relatively democratic government) where such form alone cannot serve the purpose of development and progress of a nation. As Fidel Ramos of the Philippines once put it²⁶:

24 The states are very much overdeveloped in the underdeveloped countries since colonial rule or before than that. For details see Hamza Alavi- "The State in Post Colonial Society : Pakistan and Bangladesh" in Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma (eds.) - *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1973. Anupam Sen - *The State, Industrialization and Class Formations in India: A New Marxist Perspective on Colonialism, Underdevelopment and Development*, London, RKP, 1982. For this reason the people could not influence civil and military bureaucracy and head of the state or government. Thus, the state policies in regard to economic, political and social activities were highly influenced by the opinions of ruling classes.

25 In the developing countries leadership within political parties frequently emerge on the basis of ascriptive qualities i.e. on family prestige or hereditary or official status as in these countries there exist mainly a kind of feudal value. Leaderships normally do not grow based on wisdom, political experience or other virtues of the leader with rare exception.

26 Quoted in Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2000. p. 155

"Under dictatorial rule, people need not think- need not choose- need not make up their minds or give their consent. All they need to do is to follow. This has been a bitter lesson learned from Philippine political experience of not so long ago. By contrast, a democracy cannot survive without civic virtue... The political challenge for people around the world today is not just to replace authoritarian regimes by democratic ones. Beyond this, it is to make democracy work for ordinary people".

Perhaps no one experienced the essence of Ramos' messages better than the people of Bangladesh or Pakistan in the last half century. Let us dream for a better future by learning from bitter past as government is for the society and society itself possesses enough contents to change that government.