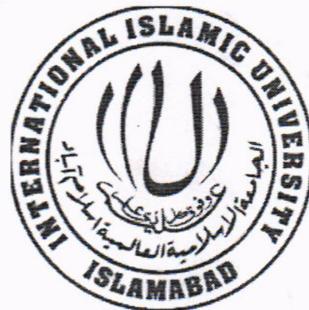


**MILITARY IN POLITICS:
A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH**



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**MILITARY IN POLITICS:
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of award of the degree of
MS Politics and International Relations

Department of Politics & International Relations
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March, 2013



"In the name of God, most Gracious, most Compassionate".

THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS.

FOR THEIR ENDLESS LOVE, SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT

DECLARATION

I, Muhammad Dawood, hereby declare that this study entitled "**Military in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan and Bangladesh**", is my own initiative. I have carried it independently with the guidance and support of the research supervisor. I further pronounce that this study has not been submitted to any degree in this or any other institution. It is done in partial fulfillment for the degree requirement of MS in Politics and International Relations of the International Islamic University Islamabad.

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Certification

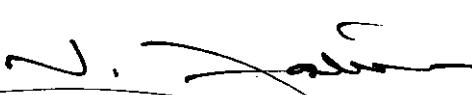
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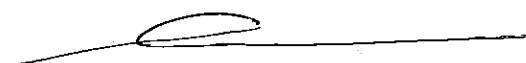
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ABSTRACT

Military in Pakistan and Bangladesh has deeply been involved in politics throughout the history. Strong democracy has not yet been established in both the countries due to the continuous involvement of the military. The current study efforts to review the main political developments in Pakistan and Bangladesh, establishment the civil-military relationship, causes of military interventions and their roles by utilizing information from books, journals, articles, online material and other secondary sources. The findings with regards to the political developments of these countries since their independence are notable that political immaturity exhibited by politicians that cost their political careers; the civil-military relations were mixed up helping the army to weaken civilian leadership. Unstable reasons were identified for military interventions centering on legitimacy of crisis model. In their interventions, military has a great role with both positive and negative impacts such as ranging from safeguarding the sovereignty and integrity of the country, assisting in maintaining internal peace and law and helping in emergencies, extension of public authority and improvement of economic development. The failure of the civilian governments to create an ideal political atmosphere capable of addressing pending national problems have always created a leadership space for the military to fill, directly and indirectly. The military has double roles ranging from nation building to outright political interference. The taking power by the army has gone a long way in discouragement and demolishing the democracy in Pakistan and Bangladesh. In order to change this trend, there is need to restructure the civilian administration and to embark on institution-building designed at creating checks and balances and clearly defining and articulating the roles of both civilian and military.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AL	Awami League
APSU	All Party Student Unity
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BAKSAL	Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League
BSD	Bangladesh Samaj Trantik Dal
BWP	Bangladesh Worker Party
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
CPB	Communist Party of Bangladesh
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
GOJ	Gonotantrik Oikyo Jote
IOJ	Islamic Oikye Jote
JP	Jatia Party
JRB	Jatia Rakkhi Bhini
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JSD	Jatia Smajtantric Dal Party
JF	Jatiyotabadi Front
LFO	Legal Frame work Order
MRD	Movement for Restoration of Democracy
NEC	National Economic Commission
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan People Party
PCO	Provincial Constitutional Order
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PSC	Public Service Commission
RAB	Rabbit Action Battalion
RDF	Revolutionary Democratic Front

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CHAPTER – 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Military interference in politics has dominated the political environments of Pakistan and Bangladesh to such an extent that one recognized the military to be one of the biggest third political party in both countries.¹ Such types of occurrence of the military interventions in politics has always been in occupied mainly in two forms; formal and informal ways. The formal way of involvement has happened in the form of general overthrowing the elected governments and informal method by a section of officers in the military has pressured the political growths of country behind the scene. The political history of two countries is significant in analyzing the interest of military in the politics of two countries. The outcome of Second World War has a momentum of the gradual and steady fall of colonialism, which in fact brought to affection another phase of global politics. The cooperation of self control and ultimately self-government of India and Pakistan were placed the foundation and take action as organizer for the others to follow go with.

Historically, both the countries have shared certain similarities, such as being part of the British Empire, members of the Common Wealth Independent States, predominantly Muslim countries, sharing similar developing nation's features, members of many International Organizations like United National Organization and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Both the countries have motivated onward and back measurement with military and civilian administrations. Being part of the British Empire for about a century that Pakistan has attained her autonomy on August 14, 1947 and similarly Bangladesh has gets his self-government from Pakistan on December 16, 1971.

The extensive changes of military rule in Pakistan (1977-88) and Bangladesh (1975-90) have been almost completely ignored in the studies of democratization.² The numerous similarities between both the countries have lead to successful transforms and democratic

¹ Hasan, Askari, Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, Sange-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2000, pp.85-86.

² Steven. I. Wilkinson, Democratic Consolidation and failure: Lesson from Bangladesh and Pakistan *Journal. Vol. 7 Issue, No. 3, September 2000. pp. 203-226.*

consolidation. The differences between Bangladesh, that successfully merged its democracy in the 1990s, and Pakistan, that did not, show the general consolidation of three issues. First, it leads support to Alfred Stephan's dispute in rethinking Military in Politics of Brazil and the Southern Cone (1988) that cases where the 'military as 'institution' was endangered by continuing in power as in Bangladesh will be more likely to make a engaging shift. Second, the comparison between Bangladesh and Pakistan brings out the significant importance of an autonomous civil society, which exists in Bangladesh and not in Pakistan, during the change from authoritarian rule. Third, ethnic polarization was the major aspect among two countries, strengthening cable of pressuring the military and politicians to democratize. The autonomy of many newly born states like Pakistan and Bangladesh were followed by hope, anticipation and eagerness for development, political uprising and national integration. Historically such high dreams had been damaged by many hurdles.³ Both East and West Pakistan were under the hold of low level of capitalist development and industrialization. There were not assorted with social groups that could play the active role to in establishing the democracy. There are also great numbers of landlord who have the political and economic power. Only the well organized institution in newly created state of Pakistan was the bureaucracy. These were the civilian and military bureaucracies, which felt the necessity of a united nation and also lead it towards economic growth. The country has the tradition of civilian and military rules. Pakistan's democratic form of government will be a praetorian democracy, that will continued to be controlled, ruled, operated and determined by the military and its institutions and their interest. The military has become a part of incorporated and structured society of Pakistan.⁴

The era of civil and military bureaucratic was emerged under the industrialization. Take over by General Zia-ul-Hq has respected the domination of civil and military bureaucracy. The civil and military bureaucracy materialized as a key and well-established organization in the economy. The armed forces have also materialized as a collective economic institution, where the different welfare foundations of the Army, Navy and Air Force became more involved in the economic activities which are still under the direct production. The images of soldiers fighting to defend the mother land that changed to one of serving military generals who were acting as

³ Kukreja, *Military Interventions in Pakistan: A Case Study of Pakistan* (New Delhi: NOB), 1985. p. 50.

⁴ Akbar S.Zaidi, State, *Military and Social Transition. Improbable Future of Democracy in Pakistan. Economic and Political Weekly* December 3, 2005, p.3.

“Corporate Bosses”.⁵ This money was sent to numerous urban, pri-urban and rural development of the country and it gives rise to economic growth. It also gave increase to previously un-skilled workers becoming shopkeepers and movers.

The following leading personalities ruled in the politics of Bangladesh.

- 1- Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman ruled in the country from 1972-75 and became the first Prime Minister of Bangladesh and founder of a parliamentary form of government in 1972. But, unfortunately, he was distorted by the multi-party system, with the help of an authoritarian one party system led by the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL). The party has kept the holds of military overthrow in Bangladesh.
- 2- In 1977, General Zia-ur-Rehman has take over the control of government and ruled in the country from 1977-81 and emerged as a military ruler, but after the passage of time he was decided to return to the democracy. He formed his own political party Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and also opened the door for political participation. As a result of political contribution, Awami League rapidly goes to establish his own party and Shaikh Hasina Wajid daughter of Mujib-ur-Rahman became the head of party. In 1981, General Ziaur-Rahman was killed and his wife Khaleda Zia had become the chairperson of party.
- 3- In 1982, General Hussain Muhammad Ershad has seized the power of government and holds the power upto 1990. As per former practice, he also shaped his own political party Jatiya party and his relative lady namely Raushan Ershad was move toward to politics and play the vital role in the politics of Bangladesh. She was come into power and became the Minister for many times. General H.M Ershad was overthrown from power in 1990.

Finally, family and kinship ties, like father, mother, brother, friend or uncle, ties as a political beneficiary have became the part of political activities that was approved by the public hold up. The combination of the hierarchical and inborn values of Bengali culture was found on

⁵ Akbar S. Zaidi, State, *Military and Social Transition. Improbable Future of Democracy in Pakistan. Economic and Political Weekly* December 3, 2005, p. 4.

the basis of kinship political groups which are marked by a family member in the lack of inner-party elected system. The people control in the increase of leader's kinship ties like Shaikh Hasina; she was a closed ally of her father. When the one-party dictatorship ruled over a multiparty democratic system, then they turn to reject the democratic rights of the confrontation tribunes and consequently the other groups were also created the causes of political conflicts. When Shaikh Hasina Wajid established a one party state, in the name of Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL), by removing the parliamentary form of government and military interfered in the politics of Bangladesh. General Ziaur Rahman prejudiced the democratic system of government and made efforts to establish his own authoritarian rule.

In both coups, the military officer's were worried from human being due to closed family connections. In 1990, kinship's political parties were organized by the people against the H. M. Ershad regime and he was forced to resign. The link between family and state is an important one. This practice has done by two serious proposals for democracy and state institutions. First, ruling party has change the core decision-making arrangement of government into a political connection at the center of state power in the parliament and as well as in the Prime Minister Office. Second, the control of political relatives and their faithfulness have created a harmful suffering on the growth of oriented democratic institutions. In reality, the mixture of conventional hierarchical society and modern forms of democracy has also been developed an agreement in governance.

General Ziaur Rahman usually known as 'Zia' in Bangladesh and he was a hero of the liberation war. He quickly emerged as an important member of the ruling group. In November 1976, he restored the Justice System as martial law administrator and later on he took over the charge of presidency as well. The military era attempts to undo some policies of the Mujib government. The military regime further changed the economic policies, for example the payment of compensation was paid to government for gaining of the property which was made compulsory. Therefore, he takes on the need for well-liked authority in a particularly political society in Bangladesh. He was created his own political party in the name of Jagodal and also endorse own nineteen point agenda. He supported his newly established political party namely the Jatiyawadi Front (JF), and coalition with the group of Muslim League in the presidential elections, held in June 1978. In September 1978, Gen. Zia originated his own political party,

Bangladesh Nationalist Party. It included those elements which were the part of Jagodal and also the part of some other groups. Like the Awami League and other opposition groups, which were highlighted the military character of Zia's regime and started the campaign for the restoration of parliamentary democracy.

After the death of General Zia Vice President Abdul Sattar had become the acting President of Bangladesh. Constitutionally, the elections were necessary to be held within 180 days. In these elections, Abdul Sattar had won the victory with the support of the Muslim League, Jama'at-i-Islami and some other groups. At first time, he formed the government with the help of army, machinery of the state and press. But he did not do well to run the affairs of government. His administration was found guilty and continued to loose the affiliation of army and other agencies. Moreover, the armed forces began to insist a constitutional role of military in the control of country. General H.M Ershad, Chief of Army Staff, claimed for the establishment of National Security Council, which would give a position to the army in the national decision making process. In March 1982, General Ershad had taken a distinguished coupe and dismissed the president Abdul Sattar and his government. After taking over the power, he left back to the political position as had left by General Zia during the liberation. The constitution was suspended, martial law declared, parliament was also dissolved and political parties were ban. He also took over the control of executive and legislative powers. He showed some self-control in the beginning and faced the problems but later on, he initiated a forceful campaign against the corruption. A number of former ministers were arrested and sentenced to widespread conditions of custody. The resistance was took place against the government with the help of a coalition of 15 parties (Communist Party of Bangladesh, the National Awami Party, the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal, the Worker's Party, the Samaywadi Dal etc) led by Husina Wajid, the daughter of late Sheikh Mujib ur Rahman. Another combination of these parties was led by Khaleda Zia; widow of late President Zia ur Rahman and also took the support from some right wing and traditional parties. The system of government was powerfully disturbed by these two major coalitions. Both the groups were adopted a five point agenda, an end to martial law, restoration of fundamental rights, parliamentary elections, released of political prisoners and investigation against those persons which were involved in police violence against the students in February 1983. In the next few years, government of General Ershad transformed from a military dictatorship to a civilian government with the collaboration of the political opposition.

In 1983, H.M Ershad assumed the charge of president and holds the local body's elections which were helpful to strengthening the military regime at the grass root level. The date of parliamentary elections was announced as 6th April 1985. Later on, military regime took place some compromises in view of the forthcoming polls, like release of the political prisoners, ending of military courts, but the main political demand for the removal of martial law was not approved. Finally, both the opposition groups were decided to boycott the polls. General Ershad returned back with the help of martial law and violent acts on 1st March 1985.

In 1985, General Ershad initiated the 'civilianization' program without the involvement of opponent parties. An election was planned by General Ershad to obtain the support from people and he got 49% votes in the said election. The election was obvious by unique violence in which Ershad's Jatiyo Party had won the majority of 151 seats. In March 1986, when General Ershad given some simplicity to martial law limitations, the Awami League and seven other minor parties were agreed to participate in the parliamentary elections. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party has boycotted the 1986 elections. A new segment of cooperation between two adversary coalitions began in 1987. General Ershad's strategy for the introduction of District Council Amendment bill allowed to the families of military personnel to take part in the council as non-voting members and the failure of the government to moderate the unhappiness of those affected groups by the serious flow of conflict which brought the opposition parties united. The result of political tragedy forced by General Ershad to suspend the parliament and suspended the basic rights. The schedule of local bodies elections were held in February 1988. But in 1988, General Ershad passed the Eight Amendment to the Constitution that declared Islam as the state religion. In the meantime, movement for the restoration of democracy has started by All Party Students Unity against the brutal rule of General Ershad. The All-Party Students Unity (APSU) forced the opposition leaders to reply in the form of a joint statement that they would not take part in any elections, held under the supervision of General Ershad. Although, a Vice-President was agreed by the opposition coalitions appointed as the Head of acting caretaker government to hold a free and fair elections for a sovereign parliament within three months under the supervision of a Bangladesh Election Commission. At the end, General Ershad was forced to resign and announced the elections for the National Assembly. He handed over the power to the Vice-President and the Chief Justice confirmed him to hold the forthcoming elections. According to the agreement of 19th November 1990, Vice President was bound to hand over power to a

sovereign assembly. Two military dictators General Ziaur Rahman and General H.M Ershad have made some minor changes in the constitution for the justification of democratic system but the changes were only the makeup and did not help to the democratic system.

A sole feature of the political culture in Bangladesh has been the high levels of political activism. Bangladesh was a young country and these changes to democracy have been limited by strong force among the main political parties and consequent, moved towards parliamentary boycotts, street expressions, and strikes. The lack of ethnic separation, regional conflict and religious politics harmed the self-governing journey of both countries that could be measured as one of the major dilemma for the delay and among the hurdles that had challenged the smooth political conditions in two countries. Since after the independence of two countries the most of periods were remained under the influence of military and rest were under the control of civilian governments. It is quite clear that military interventions in Pakistan and Bangladesh have emerged with some other issues that had broken up the progress towards country having constitution on civilian laws. After the birth of two countries that have been stressed to settle down the democratic rule with a particular government system. The interference of army in politics had suffered the political process in both countries to last long due to many powerful reason as it was the case in many developing nations that had been hide and back between civilian and military organizations.⁶ The politics around the world have shifted towards democracy, an idea that accepted as the international norms and global style of government for all countries, particularly during the post Second World War era. Pakistan and Bangladesh have not yet been free from the pressure of the military to follow the democratic process. It is true that military is considered as a protecting force of the country and also responsible for the defense of territorial integrity of the country, but they think it fit to add more blame on their shoulders by taking parts in politics. Military interventions in politics are the result of its institutional consistency, organizational supremacy, or political desire or even whether only the failure and weakness of politicians that persuaded the military to intervene in the politics of both countries.⁷ The new model of military participation in the politics of both countries such as

⁶ Yusuf, Hamid, "Pakistan: A study of Political Development 1947-1997" Academy; Lahore; 1998-X, p.274

⁷ Moris Janowitz, *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), p.81.

Pakistan and Bangladesh that we will call 'power without responsibility'; this style is harmless for the democratic growth in both the countries.⁸

The existing political situation of Bangladesh is very awkward due to the constant of military interference in politics. It is no doubt that too acceptable the confusion that has to use army language, not directly but ultimately by supporting up their allies in the form of a caretaker government, where the rule of instructions and actions of the new government is determined basically by the armed forces. Bangladesh military is a true copy of the Pakistani model, although in a different form, to put itself as a judge in each and every feature of social, political and economic life of the country. Similar to Pakistan, the Bangladesh military does not automatically have to come openly into power. It can exercise successful power and pressure even as outstanding in the conditions and yet, continually weaken the politics and ban to democratic forces in the shape of required political freedom. The caretaker government has continued his power by reflection of the military and ruled at its demand. Even though at all the present research of social and political business of the Bangladesh military who always succeeded and it can take the recognition for attack the confusion in the politics of country and filling in the gape of democracy which is faced by the country in present era. The blame for the failure of democracy is always put on the shoulder of caretaker government whose civilian position has been kept intentionally to surprise and mislead the family electorate and the global society. A new model of military interventions in politics is rule without responsibility has emerged in Pakistan and Bangladesh which clearly have both long and short-term suggestions for the political developments of developing countries.

1.2 Thesis Statement

The study seeks to make a comparison between the military interventions in Pakistan and Bangladesh politics. Both countries share a widespread colonial history, low economy, religion conflicts and as well as significant role of the militaries in politics. Lack of democratic culture, corruption, low literacy, low economic growth and vested interest of the military are the basic reasons of the military interventions in two countries. The focus under my research is making an analysis by discussing the causes of military interventions in the politics of both countries and they will seek to some improvement in recommendations.

⁸ India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs, January/March 2009; Vol. 65, 1: pp. 67-82.

1.3 Motivation of the Study

Some interested studies which have been carried out on military in politics by prominent scholars including but not limited to Hassan Askari Rizvi: *The Military and Politics in Pakistan* Progressive Publisher, Lahore, 1987, Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military & Politics in Pakistan, 1947-1997*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2000, S.E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics* (Boulder, Colo. Westview Press, 1988), Veena Kukreja, *Military Interventions in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan* (New Delhi: NBO), 1985. Morris. Janowitz, *Military Institution and Coercion in the Developing Nations* (Chicago: the University of Chicago press 1977), Ayesha Siddiqa: *Military State and Society in Pakistan*, (London: Military Inc. 2007). In Bangladesh Lawrence Ziring, *Mujib to Hussain Muhammad Ershad* (1992), Ahmad Maodud; Bangladesh: Era of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, *South Asian Institute of Heidelberg University and University Press Limited*, Dhaka, 1983, Dr. Nazrul Islam: *comparative study in national integrity of Pakistan & Malaysia (Chap: I & II)*, Ahmed, Emajuddin, *Military Rule and the Myth of Democracy*, Dhaka University Press (1988), and Ray, J.K, *An Interpretive Study (1992) crisis Group Asia Report No. 151*. Published on 28th April 2008 & BTI (2010), and *Bangladesh Democracy Report* by Dr. Dalem Barman, Dr. M. Golam Rahman & Dr. Tasneem Siddiqui. However, no one of these studies has challenged to make a comparative study of Pakistan and Bangladesh military in politics.

Pakistan and Bangladesh are weak to military rule and also shows that there are some abnormal issues which was inborn in two countries and provoke the military to make a further change in their legitimate responsibility of protecting the autonomy of the country into politics. Such a situation has had created a bad impact on the progress of development, wealth and enhanced the circle of military intervention in the politics in two countries.⁹

⁹ Ahmed, Emajuddin, *Military Rule and the Myth of Democracy*, Dhaka University Press, 1988, p.56.

1.4 Significance of the Research

Democracy has become a distributive political institution in a country and it is supposed to be sound and valuable for good governance. It has become a part of the international community. Therefore, the satisfaction of authoritarian rule in country is becoming obsolete and a share for any country that still contribute to control to containment of people's political and socio economic rights. Pakistan and Bangladesh clearly shared that democratic feeling at the very beginning of their independence but their dream wasted away and paving for the military intervention. This research, therefore, will be significant in the academic field, politicians and military community of both countries were move in the following ways.

- i. The study will present a better understanding of the politics of two countries.
- ii. The study will supply an upcoming to recognize the reasons of military interventions in politics of both countries.
- iii. The result of this research will give a possibility to know the environment of military interference in politics.
- iv. The research has a both academic and as well as practical value.
- v. The focus of this research is to fill the spaces with the existing research.

1.5 Research Hypothesis

Hypothesis: 1 Military intervention in politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh lead to the failure of democracy.

Hypothesis: 2 Low political culture and weak institutions gives an opportunity to the military to intervene in politics of both countries.

1.6 Objectives of the Research

The aim of this research is to explore the issues of military interventions in politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The following outcomes are the main objectives of this research:

1. To provide an insightful of the political developments in both countries.
2. To identify the causes of military interventions in the politics of two countries.

3. To know the patterns of civil-military relationship in both countries.

1.7 Literature Review

To explain and analyze the dilemma, the study used of books, journals, news papers and online materials. The military in both developed and developing countries are considered one of the most powerful institutions, vis-à-vis their internal polity and also when it comes to defining, formulating and executing external or security policies. Though in developed states the military's role and meaning is clearly identified, explained and settled in relation to other institutions, it is measured to be more confident and be likely to create a certain degree of disputes to civilian establishment. In case of developing countries the role is varied, stable, weak and therefore awkward vis-à-vis other state institutions, and has a better way not only on the area of security policy formulation but also has an important role in the internal body politic. Therefore it is vital to evaluate the role of militaries in the developing and developed countries from a different structure rather than on the basis of a single criterion. The research makes efforts to explain the causes of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The study of historical events provides a source of material has provide the chance of military opportunity for one who hold to submit the true picture of a society from a historical viewpoint, the military's power is considered as structural problem that were defined by Hamza Alavi (1988, 1990), Hasan Askari Rizvi, (2000:51-240), Mohammad Waseem (1994:42-59, 85-101), Ayesha Siddiqa, Veena Kukreja, Yusuf Hamid, Moris Janowitz, Ahmed, Emajuddin, Military Rule and the Myth of Democracy, provide an troubled of the roles of the military in Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively, their study presents an in-depth insight of the style of military in politics of both the countries, particularly with respect to their establishment, creation and contact. Similarly, Rizvi's work was mainly focus about the corporate interest of the military officer cadre. Their personal well being gives the name as national interest. The internal economy of the military was explained by Ayesha Siddiqa at the first time. The military economy has appeared as a "class" in Pakistan due to its economic undertaking.

S.E Finer tell us in his book titled "The Man on Horse back: The role of the Military in Politics" examined the every military take over in the countries and he has also observed the various levels of military interventions. He has further mentioned the less developed countries

having least political culture, including Pakistan and Bangladesh, where direct military intervention likely to be determined.¹⁰

Shahid Javed Burki and Craig Baxter writes in their book “Pakistan under the Military: Eleven Years of Zia-ul-Haq” seem to be quite acknowledgeable about the period of General Zia and his regime. But there is a lack in their work that they did not highlight the clash and power of General Zi’s regime over the civil society.¹¹

Veena Kukreja writes in her book “Military Intervention in Politics: Case Study of Pakistan and Bangladesh” have investigates the happening of military intervention in Pakistani politics within a theoretical support that use the existing theories of the subject. She protected with the study of the civil-military relations during Zia era on the future of Pakistan. The main dispute of her book is that in case of Pakistani military intervention in politics is normally considered as a praetorian model in which, by meaning the cause of military intervention in politics does not basically lie in the environment of the military organization itself.¹² It is quite clear that due to the larger occurrence in an immature polity and economy, weak institutions and lack of stability, independence, and flexibility of the presented social institutions. In praetorian model, the military is likely to become ruling political powerful in opposition and participation with other social leaders like bureaucrats, feudal lords, capitalists, technocrats and professionals. In praetorian model of Pakistan, the political, social, economic and legal institutions have always been remained weak therefore; the Pakistan military has had to intervene.

Since 1975, military interventions in Bangladesh has been appeared in the shape of a usual bloody overthrows, coups, and uprisings, involving the brutal murder among the two heads of the state and effecting of a large number of political leaders and army officers. The *author*, used the terms for Bangladesh as militarism has emerged in the country after the war of 1971, when Mujibur Rahman and his party Awami League has failed to expand a strong political association. After the fall of Mujib government, the control of civilian government was established mainly consisted by the right wing political members of the previous Awami League

¹⁰ S.E Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1962), pp.268-69.

¹¹ Shahid Javed Burki, and Craig Baxter, *Pakistan under the Military Eleven Years of Zia-ul-Haq*, (Boulder, West view Press, 1991), pp.65-66.

¹² Veena Kukreja, *Civil-Military Relations in South Asia: Pakistan, Bangladesh and India*, by Ziaul Haque (New Delhi: Sage Publication1991), p.257.

government. The real power was held in the hands of the young Majors who were responsible for the takeover and who had refused to go back to the barracks. After the coup of 1975, the breakup was continued within the army. This overthrow was mostly the result of power fight within the military. The military as a specialist in their own respective fields and disciplinary force had appeared in the country as an important social power. This state of affairs is very complicated in the environment of Bangladesh to confirm empirically, Lindquist disputed that the military take over of 1975 was the outcome of conflict between petty-bourgeoisie and the emerging elements in the country with inheritance in manufacture rather than job or the embezzlement of state wealth.¹³ The main issue of my argument is that a military intervention in the political process has pointed out in a hegemonic crisis of the petty-bourgeoisie which has dominated the post colonial state of Bangladesh. The military take over in 1975, was persuaded the various regimes polices like the policy of separated, process of selling off units through public sector and denationalization, stable of units to former Bangladeshi owners. General H.M Ershad continued the process of Islamization, Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed introduced a bill into parliament on May 11, 1988 to amend the constitution and on June 7, 1988 that Islam was confirmed as a state religion. The constitutional amendment bill was challenged in the parliament by so-called the devoted opposition in the parliament which has overstated a walk out. The military regimes in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan and Bangladesh have been developed for the continued existence and legitimization of military interventions. According to the scholars, the military rulers in South Asia (Pakistan and Bangladesh) have also failed to buildup new institutions, as information that has further motivated the political, social, and economic problems of two countries. The popular figure of Islamist ideology i.e. Husain Haqqani writes in his book *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* paying attention over the Zia policies. He explained the important issue of the military which has gives a deep strength in his book; the title of his book is Islamization factor. It has also clarified the change period from Islamic Republic to Islamic State. In addition, these scholars have frightened with some happiness on the shoulders of civil military bureaucracy. As evidence of the significant feature of Steven I. Wilkinson argument's is that ruling leaders have always been depend on their understanding for the utilization of military and that are expert in their ethnic objectives.¹⁴ A major flaw of his study was that it has required a

¹³ S.M. Shamsul, Alam, *South Asia Bulletin*, Volume 10 number 2, (Fall, 1990), p.32.

¹⁴ Steven, Wilkinson, I, *Democratization*, published by Frank Cass London. Vol.7, No.3, Autumn 2000, pp.203-226.

serious investigation of the fault of civilian governments which are as a part of the reasons for military intervention in politics. The job of the civilian government is very important in understanding with military intervention in politics and they do not want to be ignored in this topic by the researchers. Bangladesh like Pakistan had a usual enemy from its beginning within the neighborhood, the military intervention is the cause of Pro-Indian (Mujib), authoritarian rule, skin ties, and fight between two Begums, corruption, economic shortfall, constitutional amendments and victim of political turmoil that were the main source of military intervention in the politics of both countries.¹⁵ As pointed out by Stephen Philip Cohen that after their independence from the British rule, two countries are under the severe problem of socio-political and economical growth and both countries see a lot of disputes like military rule, Islamization of the countries and other cultural, conventional issues. This work will do in addition to these scholarly works, respectfully seek at underlying towards the progress of this topic and discipline. Self-governing system will be able to function so where cooperation among the actors is suitable.

1.8 Historical Review Method

The existing study of historical review method uses the past evaluation method in analyzing the role of the military in politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh as explained by Bruce L. Berg (1989). This technique is very appropriate to assess the historically facts of many reasons of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh in the light of particular work for most prominently.

- ❖ We need past events in examining the role of the military in politics right from the beginning of the two countries.
- ❖ The study will required to determine from past records or accounts what has been happening in both the countries.
- ❖ The piecing together of events or accounts in a sequential perspective will go a long way in telling important and interesting governance actions that have opinionated the military to play a vital role in politics.
- ❖ It will provide us with the intellect of how actions have been relating in the two countries.

¹⁵ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development* (Boulder: Westview, 1980), pp.71-84.

- ❖ Finally, the choice of this process is the best on the very fact that it is very useful in linking old parts of information.

1.9 Methodology

The sources of data on the research are secondary in nature that were collected from various written testimonies in the different text books, articles, journals, newspapers, periodicals and other online materials related to the topic. The research has descriptive and analytical natures. To ensure the authenticity and reliability of the data, this work will make use of publication from internationally accepted sources. In an effort to provide a role of military in politics under the capability of study and the existing work should examine the civil-military relations, reasons for military interventions in politics and to finish the role of the military in politics.

1.10 Theoretical Framework:

The study developed the legitimacy model and tells us that there are some flaws among the institutions which created the conflict. The government has come into being through a fair and free elections on the basis of legal way, if such types of government practices were taken in the constitution and as well as in governance that it will be clear as being reasonable. This will make sure the stability of democracy as it will not be terrified by the Army or by the public and in future strengthen the self-governing rule. On the other hand, the governments had broken the supreme law of the constitution and it will be rotated out into a unlawful situations and descending into continuous resistant for its collapsed and resultant into a authoritarian hold for itself into an powers and in many time they calls for military intervention. There are three important perspectives of military involvements in politics that discuss the reasons of military overthrows, family/common perception, military outlook and foreign demands that were common in two types

According to public perception, militaries do the job in an open space. There are three sub-factors of the people's opinions that explain the political misshapen. The first issue is social element, deals with the pre-conditions of democracy such as poverty, literacy, economy, social turmoil, ethnicity, decorum of the masses. Second question is the institutional factor that deals with the rule of law, constitution, and institutional power. Third problem is the political issue that

deals the quality of political governments and authenticity of the control. S.E. Finer writes in his book, "Man on the Horse Back" examined the causes of military interventions and after military take over in politics, he also observed the different levels of military interference. Samuel P. Huntington also gives the remarks on military involvement that army is the obedient to its master in a civilian dominated self-governing state. The causes of military intercession in the politics of Pakistan are a praetorian type of model that defined by different scholars. They further explain that causes of military intervention in politics which does not continually lie in the environment of military organization itself. There are also some other issues in politics that are responsible for the military involvement in the politics of both countries. It is quite obvious that due to the larger happening in an immature polity and economy, weak institutions, lack of stability, autonomy, and flexibility of the existing social institutions. The existing research is shaped a legitimacy model and author is varied with the model that the legitimacy has some roots according to the socio-economic and political circumstances among the institutions. It is proposed that if all the institutions are work in their respective field then military interventions can be stopped from the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh, otherwise the existing involvement of military in politics will continue.

1.11 Conceptual Analysis

Democracy: The term of democracy is taken from the Greek words, demos and Kratos, that means power of the people. According to Greeks the democratic system is a form of government in which system people rule over themselves. Aristotle measured that it is a changed form of government. The crisis of democracy in Pakistan and Bangladesh are continued in the politics of both countries. A physically powerful independent system is only possible when the institutions are free and fair from the internal and as well as from the external interference. Democratic system is an understood faith in the knowledge of peoples. It is expressed when the people caste their votes in favours of the representatives and elect their leaders. It may be wrong but it is very essential principle of democracy to accept it. Our politicians were lack in this spirit. They recognize public authorization rule when it is in their favor otherwise they announce the ruling party an illegal representative of the people. The systems of government and military have always played a key role in the making of government setup. In this system the function of the state lies in the hand of the prime minister but he is always worried from the un-democratic

forces. Pakistan and Bangladesh follow the parliamentary form of government. In this arrangement, the prime minister enjoys the sole power. The constitutions of two countries have been amended for many times to distinguish the powers between president and parliament offices but nobody of them is ready to reduce his power. The most vital dispute is to remove the excessive power of government and armed forces in the government setup. The government performs well if it is free from the external pressures. The Judiciary may also be given real autonomy. It must be sovereign in decision making process so that it may apply the severe rules to avoid legal violations. The freedom is considered as an important part of the democracy.

Military: Most of the times, the military interference in government of affairs has been dominated the political atmosphere of both the countries. The military is considered to be one of the biggest third political party. The military interventions in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh has been occurred due to the vested interests of the military, lack of democratic culture, corruption, low literacy, low economic growth. All these factors are the basic reason of the military interventions in both countries. There are also some other similarities in the political culture and socio-economic conditions of the two countries. These two countries are undergoing from poverty, lack of compromise on constitutional measures and experience with government by conversation and represent common distrust. Another reason of the military interference in politics is that military leaders have developed their own vested interests. Therefore, they oppose the stress of lower social classes for economic and political rights. According to Veena Kukreja, the military rulers in South Asia (in Pakistan and Bangladesh) have also been failed to built new institutions in the countries. They have provided the complete information to the people which has further motivated by the political, social, and economic problems of these two countries.¹⁶ The military take over on August 15, 1975 in Bangladesh was the outcome of Awami League end.

The term “praetorian” has used in the political system of Pakistan by Hassan Askari Rizvi and he is suggested that due to lack of relationship between the low levels of political institution and highly levels of contribution of elite class was the product of military interventions in the politics. In a praetorian state, political power is lying in the hands of few selected leaders within the military. He is a well-known analyst who writes: “that Pakistan can be shows as a praetorian

¹⁶ Veena Kukreja. *Civil-Military Relations in South Asia: Pakistan, Bangladesh and India*, by Ziaul Haque p.257.

state where the military has obtained the capacity that has the enough experience to control the core political institutions and their developments.¹⁷ This is a result of weak political forces in two countries. The military's character has a strong mishap on the way of political change and as well as the shift of political power from one position of the leaders to another head. Such an extended role of army is at difference with the society and nature of the military at the time of Pakistan came into being in 1947. Dr. Ejaz Husain's work in Pakistan: Politics in a Post-Colonial State and he published his research paper in the press. In this paper he explained the status of Pakistan as a praetorian state which is basically inborn in pre-partition 'praetorian oligarchy'. This praetorian oligarchy has created 'Hindu India' as enemy to follow politico-economic interests. The military is a part of praetorian oligarchy which has emerged as an influential political player in the politics.

Military become visible to set itself with faithfulness both at local and national levels of the government across the country. The local officers have been arrested under the charge of unsure corruption and reinstate by people specially selected by the military. Most of the times we have still a corrupt one, criminal's civilian governments that are at least given an assessment and then go to jail. Due to these charges, first step of military governments is that they overthrow the civilian governments and take over the control of government. The accused persons were handed over to the Regional Accountability Bureau and further sent to jail.

¹⁷ Hassan, Askari, Rizvi, www.dailytimes.com.pk, by Ahmad Ali Khaled June 29, 2011.

1.12 Research Plans

The research is includes the following chapters:

Chapter one: This chapter deals with the introduction and as well as the importance and scheme of study. The background of military involvement in politics and reason behind the military interventions will be enlightened. The chapter is also incorporated the literature review, methodology and as well as the limitation of research. The chapter is further focuses on the aims of this study.

Chapter two: This chapter deals with the background of Pakistan military in politics. It also highlights the reasons and causes of military interventions. It focuses on the Zia's regime and reasons behind his coup.

Chapter three: This chapter deals with the background of Bangladesh military in politics. It also highlights the causes of military interventions. It focuses specially to the era of Zia-ur-Rehman and Hussain Muhammad Ershad administrations and the reasons behind their overthrow.

Chapter four: This chapter deals with the causes of military interventions in Pakistan and reasons behind the Army Intervention in Pakistan politics during Zia Regime. This chapter also recognized the causes that led Army to enter into the political system which ultimately had a harmful result on the Pakistan's democratic system.

Chapter five: This chapter is deals with the causes of military interventions in Bangladesh and reasons behind the Army Interventions in Bangladesh politics during Zia-ur-Rehman and Hussain Muhammad Ershad regimes. This chapter is also classified the causes of military interventions in politics that led Army to enter into the political system that has ultimately had a negative outcome on the Bangladesh democratic system.

Conclusion: The last chapter is relate to conclusion and findings of the study and makes some recommendations to avoid and prevent army interventions in Pakistan and Bangladesh politics. In this part causes and findings behind military interventions in politics were accomplished and the recommendations to prevent military interventions in future politics to meet the democratic challenges.

CHAPTER – 2

THE BACKGROUND OF PAKISTAN MILITARY IN POLITICS

2.1 Political History of Pakistan

The political history of Pakistan military in politics has explains the relationship between civil society and the military institution. It also show the link between the civil authority of a given society and military. The studies of civil-military relations always give the preference to civilian government over the military control in a particular state.¹⁸

The present research study aims at evaluating the background of Pakistan Military in politics. This study mainly focuses on the era of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988). Since the partition of Pakistan in 1947, military has taken over in the politics of Pakistan four times. For the first time, the military coup was led by General Ayub Khan in 1958 and the period of his regime continued (1958-69) for eleven years. The second military coup was led by General Yahya Khan in 1969. He remained as dictator in Pakistan upto 1971 for two years. The third army coup was led by Genral Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 and the era of his regime (1977-88) was eleven years. The Four military coup was led by General Pervez Musharaf in 1999 and period of his regime continued from 1999-2001 for twelve years. The newly born state of Pakistan had to undergo a huge political, social, economic turmoil in the country after the partition of the Sub-Continent in 1947 and the reason for this disturbance remained common i.e common fall downs of the civilian elected governments in the unclear nation.¹⁹ Some of these problems are linked to the loyalty of history that go back to the British policies of misuse, separate, rule and thus now a making of the new system in Pakistan.²⁰ The few troubles were intentionally made by the British to give a reason which was still to remain in his hand and in the dealings of their gathering for example the partial marking of limitations and an irrational separating of societies and families along the borders. The 625 unclear types of states have shaped their grounds at the time of division and misshapen up into the main political disputes that has not yet been determined upto

¹⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil%E2%80%93military_relations

¹⁹ Zarina Salamat, Pakistan 1947-1958: *A Historical Review*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1992-XII, p. 261.

²⁰ Alavi, Hamza, Misreading Partition Road Signs, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.37, No.44, 2002, pp. 515-17.

now. The other kind of disputes of the country like East and West Pakistan crises for the independence of separate homeland according to the desires of the Banagli people. The political parties have faced the various disputes among the groups at the time of newly born state; mainly the All Pakistan Muslim League who had the vested interests of defending their economic holds.²¹ All these disputes were led down to fall the several civilian governments by the civilian themselves between 1947 and 1958. Such types of political instability happened in the country at the time of partition that has actually damaged the structure of Pakistan.

The journey of democracy in Pakistan started just after the partition in 1947, but unfortunately the first martial law was led by General Ayub Khan on 17th October 1958 and he remained a powerful dictator in the country till 1969.²² His regime introduced several land reforms in the agricultural sector, industrialization, military transformation and put the country on the global political radar screen thorough the false relations were made with other countries like China, U.S. During the period of 1947-58 Pakistan had overthrows seven Prime Ministers and eight governments which has the evidence of weak political constitution. The leading policy of the state was the protection of the state. The well-known figure of the politics of Pakistan was a Liaqat Ali Khan who said about the first choice of the state as “The Defense of the state” is our prime consideration. It has controls the other activities of government. The Pakistan army is visible symbol of the British Indian Army that was inborn British military tradition and continued as a secular combat organization; in the Zia era and after that it developed an Islamic approach among its officers group. The Pakistan army has consisted in six infantry regiments, namely the Punjab Regiment, Frontier Regiment, Sindh Regiment, Baloch Regiment, Azad Kashmir Regiment and Northern Light Infantry Regiment. Pakistan army originally tests with the use of Islamic names during wars time with India. For example, it used the Arabic convention names for its military commanders like Major General Akbar Khan who has shows the tribal raiders into India in 1947-48 War, referred to as Tariq. Pakistan was build on the basis of Islam and therefore the ideology of the Muslim state should rationally have been Islamic in content and nature. However Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah only used Islam as a tool for

²¹ Sayeed. B. Khalid. *The Political System of Pakistan*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston USA, 1967, p.62.

²² Hassan, Askari, Rizvi. The State and Politics in Pakistan, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* Vol. 26, 1991, pp.441-42.

political mobilization and unity among Muslim tons of British India in order to get the entity of a Muslim state²³.

The Pakistan army is visible symbol of the British Indian Army that was inborn British military tradition and continued as a secular combat organization; in the Zia era and after that it developed an Islamic approach among its officers group. The prominent officer of army General Ayub Khan was ruled in the country successfully and started a planed to maintain his hold of power through a well do referendum, elections, constitutional changes, annoyances and partially civilized his regime. The election was held in January 2, 1965 and Ayub Khan has got 64% votes in the election. The result did not followed to international standard as they were received support from state through rigging. The defeat of Pakistan in the Indo-Pakistan War 1965, who decline the Ayub regime's and Tashkent agreement has formally finished the war which has wrongly control by Ayub Khan and he also give in too much demands of the winning India. This blow was turned into huge street expressions in the state and also increased the demands for independence in East Pakistan.²⁴

General Muhammad Yahya Khan was endowed the political developments in Pakistan for just about two years from 1969 to 1971, for the first time since 1958 when General Ayub Khan led the military rule in the country that finally ended in 1969. General Yahya Khan was inherited with Ayub Khan being a President of the state at wrong time. The results of 1970, elections showed that Awami League Party (AL) obtained the majority of votes in East Pakistan and Pakistan Peoples Party got less number of votes in the West Pakistan. The newly elected government of Awami League dominated of Pakistan Peoples Party in the Centre which further flamed the political turmoil in the country.

An effort was made by General Yahya Khan to bring the state in normal condition and arranged "Process Searchlight" on March 25, 1971 to return order and initiate the injunction of the government was finished after committing the more gross root human rights violation, capture and sentencing to death of Mujib-ur-Rehman, leader of the Awami League.²⁵

²³ Chengappa, M, Bidanda, *Pakistan Islamization, Army and Foreign Policy* by Kul Bhushan Nangia APH, new Dehli, 2009, p. 24.

²⁴ Schofield Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War*, I. B Tauris, 2003, p.112.

²⁵ Ziring, Lawrence, Militarism in Pakistan: The Yahya Khan Interregnum, Taylor and Francis Ltd, *Asian Affairs*, Vol. I, No. 6, August 1974, pp. 402-419.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto remained in power as a president (1971-73) and as Prime Minister (1973-77). Being the President of Pakistan, he came up with wide range changes in government level. He lifted the emergency law and also imposed the ban on the activities of political parties with the help of his opponent Khan Abdul Wali Khan who was an important political figure. He signed the Simla Agreement on 2nd July 1972 which paved to release of 93,000 Pakistan war prisoners from in Indian prisons. However, this agreement was not proven much fruitful for the huge part of the Pakistan. On August 14, 1973, he became the Prime Minister of the country and launched a broad range of reforms such as those modification mentioned in the constitution of 1973, which recognized that Pakistan is familiar with Bangladesh, Ahmadiyas were declared that non Muslims, which holds the limited rights, the power of courts dealing with political matter reduced the authority of Judiciary powers and also extended the conditions of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court and as well as High Courts and further than the age of retirement. These changes were framed to disturb opposition to his government from a big part of the population mainly the Judges, lawyers and politicians. He has started broad range land reforms which opened the new resistance to his rule from the feudal land lords mostly in Punjab. He established the collective economic reforms in the country that put a brake on the financial aid usually flow in country since the time of General Ayub Khan from the West, primarily USA²⁶. The importance of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's has started when he abolished the feudal system and strengthens his argument with the opposite politicians during his rule being a Prime Minister of Pakistan. This was the result of composite dialogue that was held between Pakistan People Party (PPP) and Awami League (AL). The holds of confrontation led by Ghulam Mustafa Khar, leader of the party has decided to removal from his power. The political conflicts were started in North West Frontier Province (NWFP), now Khyber Pakhtoon Khawa and Baluchistan that deteriorated the rights of civil liberties and also arranged an estimated 100,000 troops for their protection and later on they were blamed of human rights violence's and killing the large numbers of civilians²⁷.

²⁶ Yusuf Hamid, Pakistan: A Study of Political Development 1947-1997, Academy, Lahore 1998, p.274.

²⁷ Sayeed B. Khalid, Op-cit, p.62

2.2 General Elections 1977

The general elections were held on March 7, 1977, Pakistan People Party (PPP) secured 155 seats out of 200 in the National Assembly. Although the expectations' of people were showing that Pakistan People Party's (PPP) will got sufficient victory in the election but the results were unexpected. The Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) could secure only 36 seats in National Assembly. The majority of results from Punjab side, the opposition coalition switch to won only eight seats out of 116 for the National Assembly with almost no seat win from Lahore and Rawalpindi. These cities were the witnessed of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) that involved in quite great attendance in the public gatherings and rallies. The leaders of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) were claimed that a systematic rigging had been carried out by the government to defeat them. The nineteen 19 members were elected to the National Assembly and sixty six 66 members were elected to the provincial assemblies, unhindered strengthened the doubt about the opportunity of rigging²⁸. The Pakistan National Alliance candidates have reported that they were enforced by the local administration not to submit their nomination papers being candidates. In fact, Pakistan People Party (PPP) might simply have win an attractive majority in the election but Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto did not want to avail chance. Moreover, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto wanted to obtain the absolute majority in the election in order to form the constitution according to his desired. On the blame of rigging, Pakistan National Alliance executive council publicized to boycott the Provincial Assemblies elections, and gives almost a walk over to Pakistan People Party (PPP) candidates. They have controlled the better majorities in all provinces of Pakistan. The opposition party has decided to take the matter into the streets and called for national open strike which has successfully taken on 11th March 1977.

2.3 Changing Scenario

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's improved the living style of the general masses in the country, socialism and economic failures were the fundamental question of every one but the rigging in elections had created a new sign of power. Before elections the opposition party's declared the vital crisis for the restoration of democracy²⁹. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto developed the living style, socialism and economic misbehavior that were the essential issues. The opposition parties first

²⁸ Election Commission of Pakistan, Press Release, 20th January and 21st January, 1977.

²⁹ Public Statement of Begum Nasim Wali Khan, *Dawn* 22 January, 1977.

refused the elections and insisted for the new elections but Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto not taken any notice to their demand and stated that it is a usual tone, cry of the parties and approach of the losers of general elections in the developed countries. At that time the opposition's groups were demanding for the new elections that unclear to the demand of Bhutto's resignation. The conflict further changed it to the compulsion of Nizam-e-Mustafa i.e. Islamic system of the Prophet Hazarat Muhammad (PBUH). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was confirmed that it is the involvement of foreign hand specially Americans and blamed the opposition leaders as the foreign agents³⁰. The government has given the preference to the brutal actions by imposing section 144, using of tear gas, lathi charge and even firing on the protest. The main leadership was put behind the bars which offered the religious groups to take control over the movement. When the opposition group used mosques to deal with section 144 and blamed Bhutto for losing of his faith in Islam, the government has misplaced the tolerance and police entered in the mosques to uproar and arrest the supporters. The formed group was great anger and combined the feeling of the government as an ill faith of regime.

The actual problem was started when the army called in and the martial law was imposed only in three major cities, Lahore, Karachi and Hyderabad and later on in other cities. The action prepared by army against the accused almost involved in the decision making process³¹. The strength of the situation was perverse and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto has the more useful position and he decided the solution on the basis of dialogue. The conflict took place as slow plans and wrong way up from the agreement and raised new demands. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was ready to accept these demands but the Army Chief did not agree with them. The Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) leadership was unsure towards Bhutto and required to get rid of him at all costs. Muhammad Asghar Khan was the more speaking person among them and he was in favour of the military takeover to conduct free and fair elections³². The result of the general elections were hopeless by the Pakistan National Alliance, and blame to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto that he was made rigging in the election and religious leader Maulana Maududi put the pressure on Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to resign it. The active political forces and civil chaos encouraged the Bhutto to hold talks

³⁰ Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *If I Assassinated* (Urdu), Lahore, Classic, 1981, p. 162.

³¹ *Op-cit*, pp. 158-59.

³² Asghar Khan, *General in Politics: Pakistan 1958-82*, Siasai Charhao (Urdu), Lahore, Atishfishan Publications, 1985, p.45.

with the opposition coalition to resolve the issue but unfortunately his government was dismissed by the Army coup led by General Zia ul Haq on 5th July 1977

General Muhammad Zia ul Haq took over the control of government through a bloodless coup d'état, co-named operation fair play. At first he ruled in the country as a martial law administrator until 1978 and later on he became the President of Pakistan after the expiry of President Fazal Ellahi Chaudhry's on 1978. General Zia was a powerful dictator in the country who influenced a lot number of groups during his regime. At the first stage, he ruled in the country with the help of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), which was a political group compromised of anti Bhutto politicians. Later on, in 1980, he removed many politicians of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) from their cabinet posts. After that, he was turned to the Majlis al Shoora to obtain his support from the Islamist's groups. When he got the enough support from the Islamists, he suspend the Majlis al Shoora and moved the country to non-party elections that took place by Muhammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister of Pakistan and later on his cabinet was dissolved by Zia-ul-Haq on 29th May, 1988. He further shared his power by holding a referendum in 1984, and regularized his position through the Eight Amendment bill before the schedule of elections in 1985. He also Islamized the country and helped the American in their plan against the Russians in Afghanistan³³. In the referendum, he got 95% vote in favour of his régime and also legalized his rule.³⁴ The Eight Amendment was engaged by Zia in the difficult and looses the democratic understanding when he dismissed the government of Muhammad Khan Junejo on 29th May 1988³⁵. This amendment was continued as a political problem in the country after the death of General Zia. General Zia ul Haq weaken the country by indulging in Afghanistan war which was a harmful charge in the country ranging from illegal possessions of Kalashnikov, rise in heroine contact, birth of Taliban and Al Qaeda in 1990s. General Zia was remained popular due to his job of Islamization in the country. His Islamic development can be traced back in the era of 1979, like Hudood Ordinance that formed Islamic punishments for robbery, adultery and wine offenses, reinforced the law of Z.A Bhutto who has banned the Ahmadiyyā from Islam and Islamic practices in 1984 and unimportant of the Shia.

³³ Ziring Lawrence, Public Policy Dilemmas and Pakistan's Nationality Problem: *The Legacy of Zia-ul-Haq, Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 8, University of California Press (Aug., 1988), pp. 795-810.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

2.4 General Zia-ul-Haq Regime

General Zia-ul-Haq took over the control of government from Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto with a vision to bring the strength into the political system. The conflict between the Pakistan People Party (PPP) and Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) an opponent group has to powerful and has damaged the domestic politics of Pakistan People Party. In such a situation, the Chief of Army Staff, held the political power, due to national interest rather than personal interest and make stronger the picture of Pakistan as praetorian state. A praetorian military can be classified into a reviewer type when an elected government seeks to military intrusion. Another distinction between the arbitrators and the ruler accounts is the statement of time border for a martial law ruler to hand over the government to an acceptable civil government. However, even an arbitrator type of praetorian military after returning to the barracks may likely to keep its political power only to act as guardian of civilian authority and political stability.

General Zia-ul-Haq dismissed the first popularly elected Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government and forced martial law for the third time in Pakistan on 5th July 1977. General Zia ul Haq took over the charge of Chief Martial Law Administrator and also assumed the office of the President of Pakistan in 1978, after the resignation of the President Fazal Ellahi Chaudhry. Initially the political parties were not banned and dissimilar the previous two martial laws Constitution of 1973 were suspended instead of its abrogation. General Zia ul Haq ruled over the country for the longest period in the history of Pakistan. After his take over, he promised to hold fair elections and restoration of the democratic system within 90 days³⁶. The people of Pakistan were looked forward towards the assured free and fair elections but this hope didn't break of day as he postponed the elections again and again and extended his martial law till 1985. He presented many reasons, such as accountability and Islamization in Pakistan as a justification to prolong his rule. The accountability was a good measure to punish the culprits but it required sincerity. Unluckily, he did not go on with the real answerability process. Martial law authorities did not launch any move to recover the public wealth back from the corrupt pockets. No way has adopted to check the political rewards, maladministration, corruption and injustice. All these things further continued during his own rule³⁷. The leaders of political parties like

³⁶ First Press Conference of CMLA on 14th July 1977, at NDC Rawalpindi, *Dawan*, 15th July, 1977.

³⁷ Faiz Ali Chishti, *Betrayals of another kind: Islam, democracy and the army in Pakistan*, London. Asia Publishing House 1989, p142.

Awami National Party and JUI from Khyber Pakhtoon Khawa and Baluchistan has maintained the process of accountability. They were feelings the reactionary against the Pakistan People Party government since their governments were dismissed by Bhutto. Abdul Wali Khan, Khair Bukhsh Marrie, Mir Ghaus and Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal became the major aim of the state aggression after banning their political parties. They have granted the amnesty by the martial law government after overthrows the Bhutto. Now they were sitting with Pakistan National Alliance and wanted to ensure that Bhutto should be tried to peruse all his actions and as well as to follow his political opposition.

The military government issued four white papers about the performance of Bhutto's government. The first one was issued in July 1978. Since it was consisted of 1449 pages, its summary was issued on 118 pages in the form of second white paper. Third White Paper was issued in August 1978. A four volume white paper was issued regarding the performance of Bhutto Regime³⁸. The government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto overthrown by military coup led by Zia-ul-Haq due to the reason that Bhutto government was misused the state institutions for 'personal and political purposes. It was also done that rigging was planned by a number of candidates mainly maybe with the support of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. These dark papers were published by the military government before the trial of Bhutto's, to motivate public opinion against him. After the judicial execution of Bhutto the blame was remained against the government of Pakistan People Party.³⁹ Later on, General Zia has taken his position that the military should interfere in the affairs of civilian government and to check the situation of civil war in which Bhutto pushed the country. Pakistan People Party was planned to provide arms to its workers, as General Chishti and General Arif mentioned in their books.⁴⁰

After investigation, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was trailed in a political murder and he was sentenced to death through the decision of Lahore High Court.⁴¹ The reconstituted Supreme

³⁸ Its first volume was Mr. Z.A Bhutto, His Family and Associate January 1979, 179 pages; Vol. II. Treatment of Fundamental State Institutions January 1979, 228 pages, Vol. IV. *The Economy*, January 1979, 81 pages. White Paper on the Performance of Bhutto Regime Islamabad, Government of Pakistan.

³⁹ Hussain Haqqani, *Opcit*, p.126.

⁴⁰ K.M Arif, *Working with Zia*, Karachi Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 71-72.

⁴¹ Victoria Schofield, *Bhutto: Trial and Execution*, London Chassel, 1979.

Court maintained the decision through a split judgment⁴² and finally Bhutto was hanged on April 4, 1979.⁴³

2.5 Islamization

The 1973 constitution of Pakistan contained the article of 227 and constant that legislation would conform to Islam. Zia-ul-Haq ruled in the country in the name of Islamization by the agreement to this sanction repeatedly. The military regime of Zia successfully started the process of Islamization system in Pakistan from October 1979 to July 1984. General Zia banned the activities of all political parties and their supporters and also delayed the schedule of elections for the second time⁴⁴. He was able to obtain the support from the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) to overthrow the Bhutto regime because of various considerations. The Islamization follows the special routes in various Muslim countries and as well as do the practice in other countries unique political, social and economic natures. Whereas, some Muslim countries have selected a moderate Islamic Model like Pakistan and Turkey, the majority of the countries have adopted the Islamic system⁴⁵. Similarly another significant effort towards Islamization of the Pakistan Army was the bureaucrat stamp that General Zia-ul-Haq gave to a book titled the "The Quranic Concept of War" to soldiers and civilians similarly. The expert soldier in a Muslim army involved in the goals of Muslim State that cannot become 'professional' in all his actions unfit does not take help of Allah. This obviously carry out that the Islamization of the army was the part of a broader strategy to Islamize the nation. General Zia disputed to transform the ethos of the military in order to obtain the support from the army which was the part of his electorate systems. His regime was linked with the mosque military relationship wherein he was used Islam to legitimize his autocratic rule during the 1980s⁴⁶. This shift directly added to strengthen the mosque military relationship and in turn to army in the Islamization of Pakistan.

⁴² Decision of Supreme Court, PLD, Supreme Court, 1979, Vol. 31, pp. 53-710.

⁴³ See also T.V. Rajaratnum. *A Judiciary in Crisis: The Trial of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto*, Madras, Kanthalakan, 1988.

⁴⁴ Chengappa, M. Bidanda, *Pakistan Islamization, Army and Foreign Policy*, Bhushan Nangia APH, New Delhi, p.11.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

General Zia-ul-Haq and Jamati Islami supported each other. This political religious party was considered to be a vital player in Pakistani politics⁴⁷. In case of Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq used the Islamization practice to compensate the predecessor Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto government's ideology of Islamic socialism. The Islamization growth challenged to transform the political culture of people through the inculcation of Islamic values and thus bring in a natural sense of duties and tasks among them. There are three separate phases of Zia regime. The first phase was temporary 1977-79, second was the consolidation 1980-85 and third was Post Martial Law 1986-88. During the first short-term phase 1977-79, only two component groups of the Pakistan National Alliance, Jamat-i-Islami and Pakistan Muslim League preserved their value for the military regime and consequently enjoyed some political positions in the new government. After that, with the hold of General Zia, he was made effort to impose ban an Islamic type of democracy in the country. All the political parties were stated for the free and fair elections except the Jamati Islami. These political parties were insisting for the restoration of parliamentary democracy maintained on the values of the 1973 Constitution in Pakistan. According to 1973 constitution of Pakistan the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was changed into Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) on February 6, 1981. This was the significant speed in the opposition to General Zia regime and provided to balance the rightist parties like the JI, PML (Pagaro), JUI, JUP and Jamaat Ahle Hadhis that continued the demand for Nizam-Mustapha.

Zia Era effort to control the clashes with the opponent parties through the regularization of his regime on the basis of Movement for Restoration of Democracy which included in Provincial Constitutional Order (PCO) on March 24, 1981 which further approved the government to withdraw irregular deceased events and disprove civilian courts the authority to give out justice to individuals in self-protective protection.

General Zia ul Haq legally recognized his rule on the basis of Islamic system. His concerned was waited for the Islamization of Islamic system within five months.⁴⁸ He was appeared on the source of Shariah and to be useful for the interesting strength of the martial law regime. The entire nation had submitted a lot to 'Thrik-i-Nizam-i-Mustafa'.⁴⁹ During his address

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 141.

⁴⁹ http://www.irfi.org/articles/articles_1401_1450/islamic_leadership_principles.htm

to the nation on 2nd December 1978, he stated that Islamic system would be imposed in the country. In his response to apply Islam, he was also supported by the religious parties which helped to speed up Islamisation growth but this process delayed the shift to democracy. He was sure to bring all the political parties, social and economic institutions under the Islamic laws to permit the people of Pakistan to live their lives according to the Shariah i.e. Quran and Sunnah. Zia's regime has initiated the Hadood Ordinance at the first time in Pakistan, which has intended the punishments planned by the Holy Quran or Sunnah on the use of liquor, theft, unfaithfulness and qazf. The Islamic system of Zia has also included laws for the women. General Zia put to promote the term of "Chadar Aur Chaar Devari" for the women. At the first time, a woman could be secured for adultery. Another law, Law of Evidence, under the Shariah laws planned that the evidence of a woman was not equal to a man. In official matters, two women have to stand witness equal to the witness of one man. General Zia ul Haq wanted to make Pakistan power full stranglehold of Islam so that it could play an excellent and well-known role for the Islamic World. The government of Zia-ul-Haq took a number of steps to remove non-Islamic practices in the country.⁵⁰ He also started the Zakat, Ushr, Islamic Hadood and Penal Code in the country. The regime requested the famous scholars to build up laws about Islamic economics. The Zakat and Ushr Ordinance to Islamize the economic system in Pakistan has advertised on June 20, 1980. It enclosed only to Islamic Organization, associations and institutions. The Zakat was to be deducted by banks from accounts holders of Muslims at the rate of 2.5 percent annually above than 3,000/-⁵¹. The government of Pakistan has selected Central, Provincial, District and Tehsil Zakat Committee to distribute the Zakat funds to the poor, orphans and widows.⁵² The Shias community was free from Zakat deduction due to their own beliefs. The Zakat was deducted by banks on the first day of Ramzan. The Federal Shariah Court was established on the request of masses to decide the cases in the light of teachings principle of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. General Zia-ul-Haq has nominated his Majilis-i-Shoora in 1980. It was the Islamic Parliament and take action as the Parliament of Pakistan in place of the National Assembly. Most of the members of Shoora were intellectuals, scholars, ulema, journalists, economists and professionals belonging to the different walk of life. The Shoora was to do as a board of advisors for the

⁵⁰ See Tanzeel-ur-Rehman, *Islamisation in Pakistan*, Islamabad: Council of Islamic Ideology, Govt. of Pakistan, 1984, pp.284-85.

⁵¹ Please See "Zakat and Usher Ordinance". *The Gazette of Pakistan, Extra Ordinary No.5-17(1)80* 20 June, 1980.

⁵² Zakat is a Tax Imposed on Muslim at the rate of 2.5 percent.

President. A Shariah Council was consisting of ulema established to look into the constitutional and legal affairs of the State in order to bring them in line with the Islamic consideration. General Zia-ul-Haq has introduced a “Profit and Loss Sharing System” that system was established in January 1, 1980. This system does not permit the interest to an account holder and ensure that all the account holder share loss and profit principle with banks.

2.6 Ban on the Political Parties

General Zia imposed complete ban on the activities of all political parties in Pakistan and delayed the schedule of elections at the second time. He was capable of getting the collaboration from the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) to overthrow the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto government because of various tortures. The religion gives a good motive to Zia-ul-Haq and to legitimize his regime, as well as to combine the rule that was running for more than 11 years⁵³. The Islamization growth of General Zia has completely change the education system in Pakistan. He also relied on a great deal with the religious voters for the political legitimacy of his era. Zia has neither believed in self nor in democratic type of government, who struggle to build an Islamic state that coordinated to his approaching of Pakistan requirements⁵⁴. Under Zia-ul-Haq’s rule, there was a major change in the position of Jamaat’s towards the state. The Jamaat-i-Islami set up to be an important civilian support at grass root level to Zia regime. For her support of the era, the Jamaat-i- Islami was able to give in a straight line in government between August 1978 and June 1979, although as a part of alliance with the Pakistan National Alliance (eleven party’s alliance against Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto) government. Moreover, the Islamization process was led by Zia to maintained the structured of bodies such as the Majlis-e- Shoura, the Islamic Ideology Council, the Islamic University, Local Salalat and Zakat Committees and Shariah Courts, all of which were filled either by Jamaat members⁵⁵.

⁵³ www.mei.edu: By Dr. Nasim Ashraf, Executive of Centre for Pakistan Study at the Middle East Institute: *Islamization of Pakistan 1979-1989*.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 25.

⁵⁵ By Farhat Haq, Chairperson of Political Science at Monmouth College in Monmouth and as well as the Members of American Institute for Pakistan Studies (AIPS): *Islamization of Pakistan 1979-1989*, p. 29.

2.7 Referendum

In December 1984, the referendum was held, and the option was given to take five year presidency tenure on the basis of Islam. On March 12, 1984, Zia was announced an eleven point Islamic charter. In this referendum, he proposed the condition on the voters, to cast their votes in the name of Islam or against the Islam. The majority of the voters have cast their vote in favour of Islam. According to the announcement of official result, he obtained 95% votes in favour of his regime. He was elected as President of Pakistan for the next five years⁵⁶. Eventually in the post-martial phase, he challenged to use Islam as a weapon against the democracy. He accomplished the non-party election at the first time in Pakistan's electoral history of the country on February 25, 1985. To that level, the election result was challenged by Zia-ul-Haq stated about the status of Islam, because it was not repeated in the group performance of the Jama'at-i-Islami. Finally President Zia nominated Muhammad Khan Junejo as the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

The Soviet military continuation in neighboring country of Afghanistan was also linked to the start of the Islamization expansion on account of the U.S involvement. The Islamic system established to be a suitable answer to motivate the Afghan confrontation forces in their guerrilla action against the Soviet Military power. General Zia-ul-Haq was occurred a trouble that armed forces was not only the protectors for the physical frontiers but also for the protection of ideologies. This was a result of his socio political situation and, therefore, the spirit of Islam has played the important role in the affairs of state.

2.8 Movement for the Restoration of Democracy

The movement for restoration of democracy started with the collaboration of (11) eleven political parties against the Zia regime from 14th August 1983. The eleven political parties gathered in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD)⁵⁷. As it is the manifesto of the first joint statement of MRD leaders, they demanded for the withdrawal of Martial Law and to hold free, fair and neutral elections, to the "National and Provincial Assemblies" that should be held under the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan with the reason to shift of power to the elected

⁵⁶ Opcit, p. 11.

⁵⁷ Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan, South Asia Partnership Pakistan*, Lahore Pakistan 2008, p.113.

governments⁵⁸. The movement for restoration of democracy struggle against the military regime and build up as a serious threat to Zia in early 1981. However, movement for restoration of democracy (MRD) again started in limited areas like in Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and NWFP (now called the Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa). The military regime even though removed from the plan of entire control of clash but it was not very powerful. Through the burden of heavy financial and legal punishments that banned the private laser printer to print their views in the form of brochures or pamphlets⁵⁹. The politicians were not allowed to go to other cities and finals to other provinces. Therefore, they could not keep themselves in contact with the common masses. At the early stage, General Zia-ul-Haq found himself in a difficult situation like armed secessionist uprising in Baluchistan. The tribal turmoil and feudal clashes were the routine matter of the day. General Zia took a quick decision and approved the general pardon to those who has laid down their arms. Therefore some order has been returned through achievement in the unstable Baluchistan. He also withdrew the troops from province, conclusion much of the civil noncompliance as a result. The movement for restoration of democracy could not make the sizeable shock at grass root level in other provinces of Pakistan except Sindh. The political protesters were not permitted to hold closed access gatherings. Many political leaders were restricted to their homes through the house arrests who have established the very damaging situation to the movement. The other two problems have played the significant role in the dispirited spread of movement for the restoration of democracy. The first issue was that to the growth of economic situation and second issue was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the arrival of Afghan refugees in Pakistan have provided yet another reason for the military regime to outcome its hold on power. General Zia regime was managed to organize the Deobandi Ulema and religious parties as a balance to the Leftist groups and party struggling for the shifting of the regime.⁶⁰ All 284 members of the Shoora were to be chosen by the president. The Shoora was to be act as a panel of advisors to the president, with no legislative powers. Khawaja Muhammad Safdar was the Chairman of Shoora. The president General Zia ul Haq suspended the National Assembly on May 1988 and removed the Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo under article 58 (2) b of the constitution. In August 1988, Zia-ul-Haq was killed in air crash alongwith top

⁵⁸ Rizvi, Hassan, Askari. *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*, p. 253.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 254.

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 254-55.

military brasses. After a decade, generally elected democratic government was become corrupt and General Pervez Musharaf has dismissed the civilian government by the led of another military coup in 12th October 1999.

2.9 The Afghan War

In 1979, the USSR (**Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**) attacked in Afghanistan and took over the control of capital in Kabul⁶¹. The plan was not pre-planned, that created a cause of its failure, thousand of lives were lost and huge losses were happened. To know the reason for Soviet Invasion and its failure, the first reason was the geography and a second cause was the culture in Afghanistan. Subsequently the most of people were Muslims, very religious and traditional. Third reason was the majority of ethnic group in Pashtun built but there were also over ten minority groups. The Soviet sent the troops into Afghanistan on the basis of several reasons; first they wanted to enlarge their power in the Asia. Second they desired to protect the communist government that was established in the 1970s and was collapsed because of its lack of support other than in the military. Third reason was that the Soviets required defended their interests in Afghanistan from Iran and Western nations. Babrak Karmal established his own government in Kabul having one hundred thousand soldiers. The Mujahidin were employed the guerilla tactics against the Soviets. They took action quickly and disappear into the mountains and make the great damage without willing battles. The fighters were used the weapons that could take from the Soviet. The soviet bombing destroyed the entire villages, crops, irrigation; millions of people were dead and homeless. In addition, many internal refugees run away from their region. The Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence and Special Services Group have been involved in the conflict and also made cooperation with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the United States Army Special Forces that was supporting the armed struggle against the Soviets⁶².

In fact, Pakistan U.S relations took a positive turn, but U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, cut off US aid to Pakistan on the basis of that Pakistan could not improve the sufficient progress of nuclear issue. The result was that Soviet attacked in Afghanistan and then President Jimmy Carter offered more aid to Pakistan \$ 350 million in over

⁶¹ http://us/cur/Baker_00/2002-p4/baker.

⁶² Ibid. p.113.

three years. General Zia-ul-Haq has useless this aid and on the other hand Carter has also signed the funding agreement in 1980 and Pakistan allowed less aid than \$ 50 million a year to go to Mujahidin⁶³. After the fall of Carter for U.S Presidency in 1980, all the previous agreements were changed and the new policies of President Reagan were adopted. Therefore, aid to the Afghan fight increased the demand of Pakistan in billion dollars instead of in million⁶⁴. Finally, in 1981, Ronald Reagan do well Jimmy Carter as President of United States of America.

The Soviet Invasion in Afghanistan obtained a strong criticism from all over the world. The United States condemned the occupation immediately. The United Nation chosen to denounced the action and often pushed the USSR to pull out. From all over the Arab World, people have given money and aided to the Mujahidin. Although the basic reason for the Soviet withdrawal was their military failure, diplomatic pressure from all around the world may have gone faster it⁶⁵.

In 1989, the Soviet forces were pulled out from Afghanistan after fifteen thousand Soviet Soldiers had been killed in this long decade war. The Billion of dollars have been spent for each year to support the troops in Afghanistan but finally the Soviet leader Gorbachev decided that USSR to get out. The USSR was greatly influenced by its failure. The long term effect of the Soviet invasion and pulled out were the result of religious bond as well as the hatred of richer nation. Another factor was the US interests in Afghan war.

2.10 Eighth Amendment

The Eighth Amendment bill was modified to the constitution of Pakistan in 1985. It has changed the government from parliamentary form to a semi-presidential form by giving the extra powers to the president of Pakistan. These powers have given the authorization to the president which can dissolve the National Assembly under article 58-2(b)⁶⁶. Through the Eighth Amendment made a number of changes introduced to the constitution. The well-known the following clause into Article 58 of the constitution is as follows-

⁶³ Ibid. p. 113.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 114.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Please see the *Notification of Eighth Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan 1985*.

- (a) a vote of non-confidence have been passed against the Prime Minister, no other the member's of the National Assembly, in accordance with the provision of the constitution, as sure in a part of the National Assembly called for the purpose; or
- (b) a situation was happened in which the government of the federation cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and an appeal to electorate is necessary.

Article 58-2(b) decided the likely power to dissolve the National Assembly which is stated in the previous section, was applied for three times in the 1990s, by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan against the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on August 6, 1990, by the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif Khan in 1993 and by President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari against Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in November 1996.

The next example, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was re-instated as a Prime Minister by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, but the result draft was ended with the resignations of both Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The use of article 58-2(b) completely justified the power of president to removed the corrupt governments. The elections were held in time but the ruling party has to lose its majority in the National Assembly.

In general discussion, the Eighth Amendment has become the equal part with Article 58-2(b), which U-turn was considered to be the provision that begins the presidential power to dissolve the National Assembly. However, the Eighth Amendment was in fact in a negotiation between the parliament was elected on the non-party basis elections in 1985 and president Zia-ul-Haq has to do his job. The previous elections of 1985, over a period of six (6) years, Gen Zia had already took place the various changes to the constitution of 1973 through the many constitution amendment orders, the most vital thing is the strengthening of 1973 constitution Order (President's order No .14 of 1985). The said order decided the more power to the president that "may also dissolve the National Assembly in his concern where, in his opinion, an appeal to the voters is essential"⁶⁷.

It must be stated that the Eighth Amendment was also the basis of elected parliament to got the approval of all orders made by General Zia-ul-Haq by uneven the Article 270 (A) set up

⁶⁷ Ibid.

by President Order's No. 14 of 1985 by a small customized edition, unsure the text announcing the strength of all actions taken by General Zia, as well as his take over of July 5, 1977 and following constitutional changes⁶⁸.

2.11 The Period of Benazir Bhutto 1988-90

The politics of Pakistan after the death of General Zia-ul-Haq in a plane crash on 17 August 1988⁶⁹, has been dominated by Benazir Bhutto in 1988. She was the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1988 and her government was dissolved by the President of Ghulam Ishaq Khan on the base of corruption charges. This was the her first term in office (1988-90); there was wide range sectarian violence in the country which has created a big social problem in the country in the form of chaos that stressed the government in delivering social services such as security to all⁷⁰. To power her leadership during 1988-90, she joined with the other party SSP that was a party with sectarian foundations, whose actions were not much better hence she separated with him. She was also faced the ideological differences with two others political party like M.Q.M and Awami National Party which isolated her government and started trouble to her leadership. She started the effort to repeal the Eighth Amendment in order to make stronger her position as Prime Minister of Pakistan but she could not do so. In her first speech to nation, she promised to work for a progressive and democratic Pakistan that directed by Islamic values of brotherhood, equality and tolerance. At the same time her appeals for the Quaid-i-Azam's dream for a Pakistan that grows as a modern state. Although she achieved her job toward the process of democratization in Pakistani Politics and also made the good relations with United States. Within months she had lost much of her political hold in the politics. To continued and implement her programs, she wanted to plan successful relations between the president and the military elite and to reach a political space with Nawaz Sharif. There was also important level of corruption in her government that became the reason for ended up government and her government was removed by the president Ghulam Ishaq Khan on August 6, 1990 and dissolved the National Assembly and as well as the four provincial assemblies. The president Ghulam Ishaq Khan has chosen the care taker government that was started by the Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, leader of

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ali Babar, Pakistan without Zia: A Critical Period, *Economic and Politically Weekly*, Vol. 23, No. 35 August 27, 1988, pp. 1782-83.

⁷⁰ Chishti, Faiz, Ali, *Betray of another kind: Democracy and the Army in Pakistan*, PCL Publishing, Rawalpindi, p. 260.

the joint opposition parties in the National Assembly. After the suspension of both the assemblies, the president was authorized to announce the date of election as per provisions of constitution within ninety days.

The President scheduled general elections in the month of October 1990⁷¹. A countrywide state of emergency was declared by the Zia, quoted both external violence and internal problem. The Benazir Bhutto called her dismissal, illegal, un-constitutional, haphazard and indirect that the military was answerable. She also mentioned in her statement that Pakistan People Party would not take to the streets to avoid the Ghulam Ishaq Khan's regime's any reason for not holding the schedule of elections and the military confirmed that it was only meaning to continued the order.

⁷¹ <http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/74.htm>. The first government of Benazir Bhutto, 1990.

CHAPTER – 3

THE BACKGROUND OF BANGLADESH MILITARY IN POLITICS

3.1 A Brief Political History of Bangladesh

In this chapter we discuss the background of Bangladesh military in politics during the era of General Zia-ur-Rehman and General H.M Ershad from (1975-81 & 1982-90) respectively. In 1947, politically the former India was divided into two and physically into three, about 1500 km of India aloofness the two wings of Pakistan, West and East Pakistan.⁷² This separation was completed on the basis of sectarian superiority, and on the basis of Muslims majority areas that composition to the multilingual and multicultural Pakistan. The East Pakistan was seem a number of favoritism near a quarter century, so that the people of East Pakistan were demanded for the independence of separate state in the name of East Pakistan. After a poor situation, the Bangladesh has gets its independence from the West Pakistan on 16th December 1971. The political picture of Bangladesh has been puzzled since its independence. The periods of selected government have been familiar with by overthrow, martial law and state crisis.⁷³ The situations of crisis was deeply watched by the prominent academic scholar Talukder Muniruzzaman and he stated that how the arms transfers were led to military take over.⁷⁴ He also further explained that in Bangladesh there was a small number of army that was divided between the freedom fighters and repatriates, basically they were enthralled in Pakistan and later on, they became the part of Bangladesh army. In this response Sheikh Mujib organized a special security force, in the name of Jatio Rakkhi Bahini (JRB) to control the influence of armed forces and both of them were ready with the normal arms. The Egyptian president Anwar Sadat presented 30-T-54 Russian tanks to the Bangladesh army. Sheikh Mujib has discharged some army officers of Bangladesh and launched a plan in connection with the participation of their friends from two groups, (tank and artillery), both groups were carried out a brutal achievement and killed the Sheikh Mujib and almost all of his family members. Generals, Zia-ur-Rehman and Hussain Muhammad Ershad, who had ruled the country continuously during the eras of 1977-81 and 1982-90 in that order, only with a gap of nine (9) months of civilian governments. The efforts

⁷² Ahamed, Emjuddin, *Military and Democracy in Bangladesh*, in Selochan (eds.), 1988, pp. 101-118

⁷³ www.thejogajog.cm, Virtual Bangladesh: Bangladesh Politics.

⁷⁴ Talukder Maniruzzaman, Arms Transfers, Military Coups and Military Rule in Developing States, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, No. 4 December 1992, pp.733-35.

were started to engage the armed forces and enhanced the military funds. The army removed the freedom fighters and emerged as a united force and returned back the officers under the control of General Ershad. As a result, the control of the army became the production of international weapons transfer that turns into important years to come and its inheritance is still obvious. The following periods in Bangladesh history are famous with overthrows and counter coups, military dictatorships, political and civil murders as well as fight actions. The proof of civil-military relations can be traced out from the writings of Sun Tzu and Carl Von Clausewitz. Both of them were clash that military business was the servants of the state. The end of the Cold War was led to new problem about the proper role of military in the United States and as well as in the former Soviet Union. The discussion was mainly focused on two levels of issue, i. e civilian government and military regimes. The two types of government were highlighted by Samuel. Huntington and Moris Janowitz.

Huntington believed that both forms of governments are different from each other and on the other hand he developed a theory to manage the distinction.⁷⁵ But S.E. Finer explained in his book, The Man on Horseback, that book added up a number of arguments of the Huntington's who suggested that many governments do not have the executive ability to control the capable government this weakness provide the opportunities to military to interfere in the politics. It is also evident that water, gas, mines, oil prices, drug religious uprising and conflicts, globalization, have become the great issues in everywhere in the state. These things also given the chances to military interfere in the politics of country. In Bangladesh the political system of governance was growing by the constructing of new ruling leaders in the country whose depend for the independence of government.⁷⁶ This was the result of a Bengali supporter of independence group. The political leadership was produced from the urban middle class with the ties of strong family relationship. These middle class ties were chosen for the country on the origin of non Bengali Pakistanis hesitant block and their interest show that ruling elite will become in Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib was the leader of the nationalist movement and became the founder of nation in post-colonial Bangladesh.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ M.Mannan, 'The State and the Formation of a Dependent Bourgeoisie in Bangladesh', *South Asia Journal* 3(4), 1990, pp.391-410.

In 1972 Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman established the first post colonial government with the help of his political party, the Awami League. The Awami League was the supporter of Mujib and selected from the middle class that directly link with kinship. The Mujib government was quickly moved to nationalize the manufacturing process of Pakistanis and Bengali leaders. In the politics of Bangladesh, three precedents were immediate shaped the democratic rules, in the sequence of power by Mujib in 1972.

In 1972, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman became the first Prime Minister of Bangladesh to form a parliamentary form of government. But he replaced the multi-party system in 1975, with the help of an authoritarian one party system rule led by the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL) and his approach encouraged the military coup that he was claimed in his life.

In 1977, General Zia-ur-Rehman has emerged as a military dictator, but after a long term ruled he feels to revive the democracy in the country. He made effort to recognize his military rule through the political control. He could not continually depend on the military involvement because he was the great supporter of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). His aim was only to organize the people against the Awami League and when he opened space for the participation of political party, leaders of the Awami League were rapidly to nominate Sheikh Hasina Wajid, daughter of Sheikh Mujib as a co-party leader of the party. General Zia was killed in 1981, by a military putsch and his wife Khalida Zia became the head of the party.

In 1982, General Hussain Muhammad Ershad was temporary assumed the control of government in a bloodless and peaceful military takeover. He quickly formed his own political party, Jatiya Party and his relative's lady namely Raushan Ershad has come to power and played an important role in the politics of Bangladesh. It was also explained that the husband of one of her sister was the chief in the office of Overseas Employment of Bangladesh and her brother Mohiuddin was a senior civil servant, who is married to the daughter of left leader Mohiur Rahman (late). He has worked in the cabinet of Zia as a powerful minister and his son Shafiqul Haque Ghani Swapan has worked in the cabinet of Hussain Muhammad Ershad regime as a Minister. General Ershad was overthrown from power in 1990.

The ruling elites were the part of kinship ties that relationships have been made with political parties to develop their personal interest and influence the behaviors of these political

parties in order to depend on more relationship structures instead of required beliefs. As a result, of this link the disputed actors played the significant role to propose suitable candidate that can be selected to incorporate the body and ignored it from the party independently. The ruling elite's of families build the environment that added the family members in the politics and they start their efforts within family members, these actors enter in politics in the shape of either a father, mother, brother, friend or uncle in politics, irrespective of their ideological interests. They united with the hierarchical and inborn principles of Bengali culture; these relationships were based on kin ship and political parties have visible relation by a lack of internal party democracy.

The relationships balancing of power between the family and non kin were based on the basis of devotion to control the parties within groups. The internal party group was commonly happy about the clean up their kin as heirs, but they feel pictures by the presence of others. This society holds the rises of leaders without kinship join and there was a limitation in mountaineering the steps of leadership within the party. In many cases, the non-kin players and depressing growing leaders, play an active role in conquers the tribunes and their regimes in a suitable time.⁷⁷ In the past it takes origin in political parties, on the basis of their family's politics. The self-governing public position is organized in both very old and modern patterns. The public formations of the society are connected with democracy, civil bureaucracy, judiciary, election commission, and so on in distinction, were not planned about the standards of family and kinship.

The family's members maintained their political relation with the self-assurance system of the ancient politics and also weakened the public institutions. The powerful elections, in challenging do not always have usual to the hierarchical values that force the dynastic politics. In the aggressive elections, these contestations can work as a countervailing force on the makeup of relations. The countervailing forces always shape and develop many groups and the dynastic system has to carefully do strength. The party fractions faces a problem as they have to choose his party leaders within the family, often at the blame of capable leaders who may have better popular support to skill. The relations system of political governance is therefore unable to make the desired gap for non-kin leaders. Once dynastic groups were attempted to force their hierarchical rules and one party dictatorship over a multiparty democratic system, they are likely

⁷⁷ M .Mannan, An Anthropology of Power Structure: The Making of Tribunes and Dictators in Bangladesh, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 16 (2), 1993, pp. 41-54

to prohibit the self-governing rights of the fight tribunes and parties and therefore make political oppositions. In response the confrontations tribunes organize their political gatherings, commonly call for strikes and time and again do not reserved away from allow running free fighting. Due to this cause, the self-ruled system and the financial system fall downs into turmoil. Usually this has created chance for the military to return the ruling tribune, example, Sheikh Mujib when established a one party state system, BAKSAL, (Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League), by abolishing the parliamentary system, army delayed the process and when Ziaur Rahman controled the self ruled system to establish his dictatorial rule. In two coups, the involvements of army officers were the base of close kin.⁷⁸ In 1990s relatives political parties arranged the people against the Ershad regime and he was enforced to resign.

The connection between the people and state is necessary one and when a tribune gets for decided the blame of government and his system look for to set up the political dominance over state institutions and public servants, so that the leaders are forced to work with the family members according to their will. They stated that public servants match their faithfulness to kin and people of tribunes quite than to the public. This process has two serious suggestions for democracy and state institutions. The first ruling parties have change the core decision making formation of government into a political relationship at the center of state power in assembly and the prime minister's office. These disobedient group questions the integrity of the dynasty, sometime leaving the party, only to guarantee that the resistance dynasty comes to power in the future elections. The second, supremacy of political relatives and their loyalists have a harmful collision on the growth of attainment oriented elected institutions.

The method of contribution in the elections and irregular control of state power by self-governing dynastic brings a sure kind of balance in the political system. Over the years, the accomplished of democracy has shaped the following familiar governance pattern like tribune, kinship, party, government, state, politicization. It may emerge that the effort by political relations to depend on the old institutions and arrangement to categorize their new class truths and build up capital creates a huge challenge. In authenticity, the creation of conventional

⁷⁸ M. Manan. Kinship Nexus and Class Politics: *The Case of the State in the Post Colonial Bangladesh Society*, Cand. Polit (M.Phil) Thesis, Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway, February 1990, pp. 228-32.

hierarchical culture and the modern shapes of democracy depend on elections that were held every five years to choose a national leader from amongst the relatives⁷⁹.

The new fashion of civil-military relations was existed in India and shaped by the staff of Lord Mountbatten as a three-tier system. At the top level of this pattern was the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet and second level was the Defense Minister's Committee of the Cabinet, and third level was the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The example of civil-military relations in India was up to date by the idea that civilians should stop their involvement in operational affairs. This type of model can be sketch back to overcome against China in 1962. The first formation of Bangladesh military leadership has been grown in the prejudice and hatred environment under follow by the Punjabi military leadership until 1970. The unlike mind-set of Bangladesh military at first was the inheritance fixed in Pakistani military settings⁸⁰.

3.2 Bangladesh under Zia (1975-81)

General Ziaur Rahman was usually known as Zia, he was the hero of freedom war. He was born in 1936 in Bogra District North West East Bangladesh. He emerged as an army dictator in the martial law government and he has confirmed by the soldiers as their leader in the succession and allowed the uprisings in November 7, 1975.⁸¹ However, he led a coup in August 15, 1975 on the basis of instability and un-rest in Bangladesh, under the control of Colonel Shafat Jamil who proposed overthrow on November 3, 1975. General Zia was enforced to resign and put under the house hold. Third achievement was made under the supervision of Colonel Abu Taher and a group of socialist military officers and factions of the left wing Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal on November 7, 1975 who called the National Revolution and unity day.

Brigadier Khaled Mosharaf was killed and Colonel Jamil put under arrest. General Ziaur Rahman was again appointed as Chief of Army Staff and afterward he became the Chief Administrator. Later on, he began towards by significance the power of president in Bangladesh in 1977. He was elected the 7th president of Bangladesh in June 1978 for five year terms and his justice system has passed away due to on his serious illness. General Zia has also promised to hold the election within the specified time but he failed to hold the elections within time frame.

⁷⁹ Daily Star, 8 April 2011.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Baxter, Malik, Kennedy and Oberst, *Government and Politics in South Asia*, Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd. The Mall Lahore, Pakistan, 1988, p.257.

Actually he banned the activities of political parties. A drastic change was occurred in 1975 that also influence the political situation in Bangladesh.⁸² An injured military overthrows was took place in August 1975, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman president of Bangladesh and many members of his family were killed in this coup, except two daughters influence by a group of young army officers most of them were in the capacity of major's rank. In 1975, another Indian revolution has taken place in Decca's under the leadership of General Zia and he strengthens his control in Bangladesh.

The government of Sheikh Mujib collapsed by General Ziaur Rahman in August 1975 and he has emerged the de facto military ruler in Bangladesh.⁸³ The system of military government formed a coalition with the civil government in order to unite his power at national and local levels. The groups were joint to one society which is to maintain a business directorial section self. The management elite have identifies the system of government and express to build a powerful state. In 1977, Zia was emerged as a powerful dictator in the politics of Bangladesh and he has developed a structure of politics. His nineteen points (19) plan called for the rebirth of Bangladesh in economically and socially. He has adopted the dimension who promote the family planning and especially for the expansion of agricultural production. He further give the idea of sub-continent to work being part of the body and search out the result of problems that affect the entire region in the shape of economic, social and technological crisis. General Zia launched a political party who offer his mission and obedience.⁸⁴ He changed the name of his party into the name of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) after the election of party. The party has obtained the majority of seats in the parliament elections held in February 1979.⁸⁵ Bangladesh Nationalist Party won the majority of 207 seats out of 300 seats in the election and Awami League was remained in second number with 39 seats. Aziz-ur-Rahman Shah was appointed as a first Prime Minister of the newly elected parliament. Due to the murder of Sheikh Mujib, leader of the Awami League was against the military government. Army was separated into two factions; one group called the name of freedom fighter and second called returnees. During the Zia rule, the economic situation was remained very well. After the death of Ziaur Rahman, Vice President Justice Abdus Sattar has become the acting president of Bangladesh. He imposed the emergency

⁸² JSTOR: Asian Survey, Vol. 24, No. 5 May, 1984, p.56.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Ibid.

in the country and called for elections within six months. The president Abdus Sattar was in helpful, however, Lt. General H.M. Ershad Chief of Army Staff, assumed the control of government on March 1982.⁸⁶ He also stopped the function of assembly and confirmed the Martial Law, and further banned the activities of political parties till the regularization of his power.

3.2.1 Restoration of Democracy

General Zia was continuing his job under the force of opposition parties to restore the democracy. In this response, he has authorized the activity of political parties to do their functions and also removed the limitations of media. He formed a wide range coalition of the supporters of Nationalist Democratic Party in 1978 with the help of Abdus Sattar Vice President of Bangladesh. In 1979, he called the presidential elections, and became the president of Bangladesh by obtaining 76.67% of votes against an expression led by General Osmani.⁸⁷ The aim of Zia regime was to re-establish the democracy in the country through free and fair elections. He stressed the implication of peace and order to ensure the dominant feeling for the return of democracy in the country. In November 8, 1975, the first presidential announcement was issued and he suspended the parliament. He promised to nation that General elections will be held in the country before the end of February 1977. But he was not in favour of the political parties to return the power and he used the delaying tactics in the name of elections. Basically he has regularized his position. He accepted certain measures to strengthen the newly emerged state and that was depending under Zia era, generally focused on the authenticity of military.

In order to returned the power and establish the civil military government in the country, the army fund was also sanctioned over and above from the government of Sheikh Mujib in 1975-76.⁸⁸ During the first two years of Zia regime, severe military rule was followed and also enhanced the defense and civil expenditure more than Tk. 2 billion. Whereas all other budget categories were kept joint and increased by less than Tk. 1 billion.

Although the increases in defense expenditures are also enhanced the strength of army personnel. The power of armed forces, and as well as the power of Rakhat Bahini extended

⁸⁶ Syed Sirajul Islam, *The State in Bangladesh Under Zia (1975-81)*, Asian Survey, No. 4, 1984, p.560.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.558

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 559.

from about 60,000 men in 1974-75 to about 90,000 men in 1976-77; he also shaped a new army division. Defense Forces Intelligence and National security Intelligence were opposed to under the relevant directorships of Air Vice-Marshal K.M. A. Islam and other men with long training and experience in the Pakistan Intelligence Services. The strength of the police force was also enlarged from about 40,000 men to about 70,000 men. Inspite of the above forces, a special Reserved Armed Police Battalion and city police force for Dacca were also shaped.⁸⁹

3.2.2 Dominance of the Civil-Military Bureaucrats in the State Mechanism

After the end of the Mujib government, the civil-military officials have come to engage the important position in the state machinery; the main structures of the decision making were in the hand of the President and his Cabinet. All the composition of decision making of the state was continued direct under the control of President. The number of advisors has thus increased to 24, of whom ten (10) were from the civil service of Pakistan (CSP), three (3) were military officers and other are the technocrats. Following the parliament elections that were held in 1979, President Zia has formed a council of ministers and these members were appointed by the President. The parliament had been elected under the terms and conditions that made by the President. During the period of Zia, the civil-military bureaucrats were always dominant in the council of ministers and its body. Independently from the national level, the state made an effort to strengthen the position of the civil bureaucrats at the national level, so that these officials provide the support to Zia's regime as these were appointment to different districts and divisions. The civil-military officials become the main figure at all levels.

The National Economic Commission (NEC) was transformed and made responsible for the growth of planning in Bangladesh, headed by the President, it was the highest policy making authority in the field of planning development. Their main bodies were the five (5) members of (NEC) National Executive Committee, consisted on the civil-military bureaucrats and eight members from the planning commission that was assigned the responsibility to execute the programs of the (NEC). Both the positions i.e. Chairman and Deputy Chairman were taken from the civilian bureaucrats.⁹⁰ It is obvious that during Zia era the state machinery in Bangladesh has dominated by the civil military officials. Mainly Zia regime was the center thing of the

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Bureau of Statics, 1979, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh*, Dacca 1980, p.8.

administrative state, under General Ayub Khan in Pakistan. A similar marriage of convenience existed between the military and the civil service. The general executive composition work in which their effort did not undergo any basic change in Bangladesh. Like Bhutto's regime in Pakistan and Mujib Era in Bangladesh was a small period in the continued form of the administrative state.

3.2.3 Political Legitimacy

Each and every military government always maintained for the restoration of democracy and handed over power to the civilian leaders; under the exacting period, but army dictator has never properly go back the control of the government to the civilian through the free and fair elections uptill now. General Zia could not properly hand over the power to the civilian leaders and he was not put into practice the constitution in Bangladesh. He also declared himself again and again as a soldier and not a politician. But he further made the violation and takes over the charge of presidency in April, 1977, and he has obtained the serious steps to legitimize his regime. These steps were included a presidential referendum, presidential election, the shape of a political party, parliamentary elections and creation of new village institutions.

3.2.4 Referendum

In 1977, Zia announced that general elections in Bangladesh will be held on the basis of Universal Adult Franchise system these would be held in December, 1978 to elect the members of the parliament and he made an address to the nation over Radio and Television. He said that my government believes in complete democracy and we will bold to restore the government in the form of elected representative of the people in future. For time being, he stated that he would remain a president through a referendum. In this time he issued a wide range election program, the nineteen (19) point manifesto that had guaranteed for the betterment of private sector, self sufficiency in food production, population control and agricultural expansion.

In 1977, the national referendum was held in the country and he had got the vast victory of the votes from among the 85% voter turnout. The referendum gives significance to the Zia regime in Bangladesh.

3.2.5 Presidential Election

General Zia presidency election was held after the laps of eleven month of undecided his power and he was made several attempts to regularize his job. In May 1978, the bans on political parties were lifted; new rules and policies were circulated for the presidential election. The groups were divided into two parts, Jatiyotabadi front (JF, National Front) and Gonotantrik Oikyo Jote (GOJ, Democratic United Front). The National Front group was formed by General Ziaur Rahman and Democratic United Front group was launched by General M.A. Osmani for his support in the presidential elections. He has confirmed the presidential election result which was held on June 3, 1978. General Zia had got the majority of vote in election and General Osmani was defeated in the presidential election. During the period of his five years presidency, he had changed himself from soldier to politician.

3.2.6 Formation of a Political Party

General Zia has no political party in Bangladesh for his defense before the holding of parliamentary election, so that he decided to form his own political party in the name of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) for his support in the presidential election. The purpose of Bangladesh Nationalist Party was to establish a presidential form of government. In this structure he set up the seventeen goals and objective, including the demand of people democracy and election was held on the basis of adult franchise system. The elections were held in February 1979 and thirty one political parties were participated in the election. In this election the Bangladesh Nationalist Party has given the significant result for the declaration of continued regime of General Zia. Basically the aim of election was to support the Zia regime.⁹¹

The victory of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party has actually tells the vital role of executive committee and also shows the significant symbol from the election of 1973. The aim of 1973 election was that to offered the military interference in the politics of Bangladesh. The state was not sovereign, although its members were elected from the parliament. All the members were under the direct control of president, because they are the military persons. The

⁹¹ Op-cit.

president was from above the parliament and he suspends the parliament at any time, whenever he felt the dangers for the integrity of state.⁹²

3.2.7 The Process of Islamization

General Zia took over the charge of president in the country in 1977 and also made some important amendments in the constitution in order to regularize his regime. The words “Bismillah-Ar-Rahman-Ar-Rahim” was added in the beginnings of the constitution that give the importance to the Islamic word. The various changes were made in the preface of the constitution by return the words and he has started the well-known efforts for nationalism and highlights the important national independence war of 1971. During the Mujib government, the activities of Islamist political parties were banned and given the opportunity to other political parties to continue their functions under the act of 1976.⁹³ He was made the twenty one (21) coups during his five years term. The number of coups were led by the pro-liberation, freedom fighter’s army officers. He also finished the services of disobedient officers from their services.

In the 2nd coup, General Zia was killed by some of army officers on May 30, 1981. After the death of Zia, the former Chief of Army Staff General Ershad was seized the power of state. He also used the same practices done by Zia to regularize his rule. In 1988, Ershad changed the constitution and stated that Islam is a state religion. However, the leaders of the Islamic parties were wanted an Islamic state and not needed as statement state of the religion. The opposition groups were joined an anti-government movement. Due to the causes of opposition parties, the government of General Ershad was passed away in 1990. In 1991, the general election was held under the supervision of Election Commission of Bangladesh and Jamat-i-Islami was emerged as an important political player in election. The government was formed by Khalida Zia, in coalition with Jamat-i-Islami.

⁹² Please See Talukder Maniruzzaman, *The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath*, Dhaka Bangladesh 1980, ch.4.

⁹³ Ali Riaz, God Willing: The politics and Ideology of Islamization in Bangladesh, *Comparative Study of South Asia, Africa and Middle East*, 23 (1-2), 2003, p.310.

3.3 Ershad Regime (1982-90)

General Hussain Muhammad Ershad was born on February 1, 1930 in the district of Rangpur and he had completed his early education from native village and later on he was graduated from Dhaka University in 1950. He joined the Pakistan army as commissioned officer in 1952. He took keen interest in the politics of Bangladesh after the death of president Zia in 1981. He ruled in the country being Chief Martial Law Administrator till December 1983. He further took keen interest in the power of state. He captured the political power through an injured coup as well as dismissed the government and imposed the martial law in the country.

General Ershad has led the military takeover on the basis of un-precedent corruption, serious economic crisis and failing of law. So that various causes, whose became the basis of military takeover in the country.⁹⁴ He protected the Pro-Chinese and Pro-Islamist ideology and his regime was famous in the name of huge level of corruption in the country. His regime was not only engaged the un-limited corruption but also concerned in series of too actions. During his rule, he gave the status of state of religion in Bangladesh. He took the personal approach to increase the relations with Iran and made the closed links with Yasir Arafat (Leader of PLO). He made the closer attachment with the rulers of Kuwait and United Arab Emirates. General Ershad was also sending the regular female performer to the palaces of these Arab Sheikhs.⁹⁵ This was the longest tenure of military dictator in Bangladesh. After the end of General Ershad regime, the General election was held on basis of non-party election, in the shape of Caretaker Government. The responsibility was put on the shoulders of Caretaker government by all political parties to hold a free and fair election in the country. Mr. Shohab-ud-Din Ahmed Chief Justice (Rtd.) Supreme Court of Bangladesh was selected as head of state. After the holding of general election, Bangladesh Nationalist Party has got the majority of seats in the election and Begum Khaleda Zia became the first female Prime Minister in Bangladesh.

General Ershad established the Upazila system in the country. The Military takeovers, since 1975 to uptill now, have followed the rule of absent and denationalization. In 1982 after the military takeover, the regime has appointed a committee to examined the corruption in bank and as well as in financial institutions. The committee given the report that total dues for these

⁹⁴ The New York Times, April 18, 1982.

⁹⁵ The Weekly Blitz, www.weeklyblitz.net, by Salah, Uddin Shoaib Choudhary, Ruling Party Turning Bangladesh into a Police State.

private business enterprise comes to 68.8%. These entire proposals suggested that military regime's plan has to privatize the capital and formation of an industrial bourgeois class as an element of its hegemonic plan that was not properly working. The era has just only to control the wealth in personal hands. The process of Islamization was carried out by the government of General Ershad. In 1988, Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed has put a bill in front the parliament for his clarification that to change the constitution, as to mention that Islam is the state religion. The Islamic state was established in Bangladesh and state has stand on the basis of Islamic code that could defend the authoritarian rule and set aside the constitutional changes. The bill was submitted before in front of the parliament who called the faithful opposition who was made an objection. Ershad has called for all the Islamic forces to support their change. The opposition groups were recognized the Islamic hold and as they damaged the power of libration war. All other Islamic parties were made the source of this change which has taken by the military regime.⁹⁶

However, the entire confrontation to the military regimes were takes by the ideological declaration that should be seen as oppose hegemonic plan to the competition and other groups. The anti-Ershad movement was led in 1990 by the coalition of three political parties; the eight parties alliance, with Awami League, being a main political party headed by Sheikh Hassina Wajid, daughter of the Sheikh Mujib, second seven parties alliance led by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party headed by Khalida Zia, and third, five parties coalition led by Ehsanul Haq Innu and Rashid Khan Memon. In early 1990, there was a huge revolt in Bangladesh that situation move towards the left wing five parties' alliances that formed a "Revolutionary Democratic Front Group" the coalition collapsed by General Ershad regime. Although the Revolutionary Democratic Front party played a significant role in overthrow the Ershad regime. This party was not only the single one who was responsible for the fall of Ershad regime, but takes the support of other political parties. It was sure, that Bangladesh Nationalist Party will be capable to handle the political conflicts in Bangladesh politics.

⁹⁶ S.M, Shamsul Alam, The military and the Crisis of Political Hegemony in Bangladesh, published in *South Asia Bulletin*, Volume 10 number 2, fall, 1990. p. 39.

3.3.1 Presidency of General Ershad

In 1981, after the death of Zia, General Hussain Muhammad Ershad took over the control of government and also overthrows the President Abdus Sattar in 1982 and stated himself as Chief Martial Law Administrator. He further assumed the power of President on 11th September 1983, by the replacement of A.F.M. Ahsanuddin Chaudhary. He played an important rule during the meeting of SAARC summit together all other members of South Asian States. The main purpose of members was that to bring the leaders of arch rival India and Pakistan, Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto respectively.⁹⁷ Being a president he incorporated the changes into the constitution that permitted the military coup led by him. He amended the constitution to state that Islam is the state religion. He formed the Upazila and Zila Parishad system in Bangladesh and was hold the first democratic elections in these village councils in 1985 to improve the rural administration. He established the Jatiya Party for his support in the incoming general parliamentary elections which were took place in 1986 and in 1987. He also started the Land Reform system in Bangladesh to allocate the un-occupied state owned land to the landless families. His regime was experimental as the best oppressive rule in Bangladesh and further he made the violence of human rights and corruption. On 6th December, 1990, he presented his resignation to the government.

3.3.2 Religion of State

Islam was declared as a state religion in Bangladesh under (Article-2, Clause-A) with the conditions that other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony in the republic. The eight amendments was gave the opinion in favour of the establishment of Islamic State in Bangladesh in 1988.⁹⁸ Islam was accepted as a basic feature of Bengali's nationalism. He was used that Islam has to merge his position and included the word "Bismillah-Ir-Rahman-Ir-Rahim" in the introduction to the constitution.⁹⁹ In 1983, he further stated that alongwith Islamic Studies, Arabic would also be taught as a compulsory subject. This suggestion could not be applied due to confrontation of the students and political parties. However, he promoted the madrassa education and put it on comparison with the communication level of general education. The

⁹⁷ Source U.S Library of Congress, <http://countrystudies.us/bangladesh/85.htm>

⁹⁸ Government of Bangladesh, *The Constitution*, 5.

⁹⁹ Please see the daily sun: http://www.daily-sun.com/details_yes_26-04-2011_Ershad-favours-Islam-as-state-religion_201_1_2_1_1.html

government has started Training Imam Program in 1979, whose objective was positive to engage the Imams in the efforts of national expansion. Friday was declared as a full holiday. General Hussain Muhammad Ershad has made many changes in the constitution to regularize his military rule in the politics of Bangladesh. He has overthrows from the power of president in December 1990 through a movement started by all political parties in Bangladesh. The opposition was not supported to any ideological difference. The issue has become complicated on the basis of usurpation of power from a civilian government and wide range corruption at all levels.

3.3.3 Formation of Political Party

In 1986, General H.M Ershad formed his own political party, Jatiya Smajtantric Dal Party (JSD) under his supervision. The parliamentary election was held in May 1986 and as well as held in March 1988. Jatiya Smajtantric Dal Part (JSD) had got the victory in both the elections. The movement for the restoration of democracy has started by the opposition parties and also by the students to force Ershad to resign from the presidency. He put a resigned on December 6, 1990 and he was locked up. After the appearance of Bangladesh, the party was appeared as a major leftist party in the politics. The leftist group has led by Sirajul Alam Khan and ASM Abdur Rab that submits the structure of the new party on 31 October 1972 with the help of Abdur Rab and Major Abdul Jalil as joint conveners. The purpose of party has scientific socialism and wanted to establish a democratic society, free of misuse, under the management of peasants and workers.¹⁰⁰ The party has strongly opposed the Awami League in power from 1972 to 1975. It has controlled a people's militia to fall down the AL government and it also prohibited strong anti-government agitation during 1974 and 1975. Following the coup of 15 August 1975 and a counter coup, JSD was said to have designed an uprising on 7 November 1975 under the leadership of Lt. Colonel (Retd) Abu Taher. The government has taken strong actions against the party and many of its leaders and workers were under arrest. A group of the JSD led by Khaliquzzaman Bhuiyan left it and established the Bangladesh Samajtrantik Dal (BSD) that claimed to be the true Marxist-Leninist party. In 1982, Bangladesh Smajtrantik Dal divided into two parties, one group has led by Khaliquzzaman Bhuiyan and other group was led by AFM Mahbubul Haq. This party also divided into three groups in 1984, JSD (Rab), JSD (Siraj) and JSD (Jalil) over the matter of whether to contribute or not in the Upazila election that was held

¹⁰⁰ www.banglapedia.org, by Manu Islam.

in 1984. There was a further break-up in which JSD turned into a separate party, which has joined Awami League in 1991.

3.3.4 Upazila System

One of the most important steps of Ershad government was the establishment of the Upazila system in Bangladesh and look upon as a sole example for devolution plan of the administration takes into the door of the people. All the police stations were only responsible for the maintaining of law and order in the area. General Ershad government has transformed 460 Thanas in rural Bangladesh into Upazila system. The Upazila system has became the courageous centre for democratic development at grass root level. In the Upazila system the elected representative of the people have became the head of administration. The executive officers of the government have also become the boss of management in all the departments that located in the jurisdiction of Upazila government. In each Upazila system has established the civil and criminal court that was set up, officers of the various departments of government like education, agriculture, health and family planning, animal husbandry and livestock, forest and fishery were engaged. The system has brought many useful effects* in various cases of the rural poor people that were not required to come to the district headquarters.¹⁰¹

This sole system was divided by the government of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) of Khalida Zia, as soon as they were came to power, and this required system was introduced by Ershad. This system was the successor of all the previous systems in the country. Bangladesh has the experienced of various types of government since the end of British Colonial rule and also during the period of Pakistan 1947-71. The second weakened type of rural local government in Bangladesh was the Upazila Parishad.

Each Upazila parishad system will have the enough fund, grants, income from local sources and as well as in other sources like money collection from taxes, fees, incomes and benefits from schools, hospital, dispensaries, buildings and organizations run by the parishad will be deposited in the local government fund. Each parishad system will have prepared its budget within two months before the start of new financial year. After the completing of their formal

¹⁰¹ www.banglanews.com

suggestion the authority will approve the budget within 30 days before the start of a financial year and send a copy to the Deputy Commissioner.

3.3.5 Movement against the Ban of Political Parties

The military regime imposed a complete ban on the activities of all political parties in Bangladesh in 1985 and announced the date of referendum on 21st March, 1985. General Ershad was declared that martial law would have the satisfactory control with him. The Begum Khalida Zia head of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Sheikh Hasina Wajid leader of the Awami League were placed under the house arrest on March 2, 1985. The majority of opposition leaders were arrested at that time, the scheduled date of Upazila system elections was not announced. The elections of 406 Upazila Chairmen were held in two phases. The first phase of Upazila elections was held on May 6, 1985 and second phase of Upazila elections was held on May 20, 1985 respectively.¹⁰²

However, the usual scheduled program of opposition strike was held within a week against the extended period of protest action from March 23, 1985 and they have built the effort to force the termination of Upazila elections. After the agenda of Upazila elections, the army dictator was claimed that he would relax the Martial law and also give the offer to the leaders of political parties to join with us and put a list of political program for the future development of the country. In May 1985, the first step of public demand was that to release of two key opposition leader's i. e Sheikh Hassina and Begum Khalida Zia from the house arrest. In the following weeks, the wide range spread student expressions strike was started against the martial law and as well as the fights between the opponent groups of student organization in Bangladesh was also started. The imposition of ban against the actions of all political party's were partially lifted with the result of 1st October 1985 strike, the opposition parties were also allowed to reopen the activities of groups in their offices without any expression and gathering in the street. Begum Zia condemned the indoor politics and the politics of conspiracy by the government. Begum Zia and Sheikh Hassina Wajid have joined their meetings at their own offices on October 14, 1985. They called for the termination of martial law and holding the free and fair elections under the neutral government; because they have completely conscious about the elections which

¹⁰² Syed Kamal Uddin, "Back to Squire one" *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, 14 May, 1985, p.14

were held under the control of martial law and would cruelly be legitimized his illegal rule under the face of democracy.¹⁰³

3.3.6 Parliamentary Election of 1986

In January 1986, General Ershad formed the pro-dictator political party in the name of Jatiya Party (JP).¹⁰⁴ He has announced a number of dimensions that would brought into force on 22nd March 1986. On 3rd March 1986, both the opposition grouping have issued the separate disallow proposal against the military regime. On 9th March the leaders of the opposition groups spoken about the dispute and boycotted for the parliamentary election, held on 18th March 1986. The Bangladesh Nationalist party has led seven (7) parties' alliances with the newly created five (5) party's association and the alliance could not be capable to take any fruitful resistance against the elections.

However, the mission of the military dictator was understood, for holding the elections when he made effort to won the elections at any cost. The elections were held in due time. But the elections resulted a number of deaths and injured on the day of elections. Sheikh Hasina stated that twenty five (25) workers of her party have been killed and other fifty (50) workers were injured in these elections. The opposition leader of Sheikh Hasina called for the immediate re-elections on the evening of polling day. She was put the responsibility on the shoulders of military regime which made rigging in the said elections in favour of the Jatiya party candidates. On 9th May 1986, she was planned a public meeting called for a six hours strike on 14th May 1986, all over the country against the fake elections of the military regime. Five (5) workers, wounded during this strike. when a bomb was thrown on a bus in the capital of Bangladesh at Kabul.

The election commission announced the result of parliamentary elections on 20th May 1986. In this election the Nationalist Party won the sufficient majority of seats in the election to obtain the absolute majority in the parliament. In this election the Nationalist Party has obtained the thirty (30) women reserved seats, being a victor party in the parliament. The final result of the Jatiya Party elections was announced on 29th May, 1986. Sheikh Hasina leader of the Awami

¹⁰³ Please See the *Press Conference*, of Bangladesh Observer, 24 October 1989.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. M. Matin, Minister of Works, announced the formation of Jatiya Party (Nationalist) Party on 1st January 1986.

League has boycotted the presidential elections and call for country wide strike on the polling day that gave the self assurance to the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, which has boycotting the elections held under the control of military regime from the very beginning and Begum Khalida Zia, announced her decision on 7th September 1986. However, the army dictator was formed a campaign on 18th September 1986; the establishment of a youth public meeting in Dhaka against the forthcoming election in Bangladesh that would be free, fair, and peaceful and on one would be able to oppose it. Sheikh Hasina leader of the Awami League and Khalida Zia leader of Bangladesh Nationalist Party were put under the house arrest on October 13, 1986 and both the leaders were not free until after the held of elections. Sheikh Hasina Wajid has told that the said election was based on huge fraud and rigging on the polling day. In the next phase of elections, the military dictator was again come in power as a civilian dictator with the complete support of military institution. Three main opposition coalitions, of the eight (8) party's alliances, 7-party's alliances and 5-party's alliances, have observed "Black Day" on 24th March 1987.

The military institution was faced a number of civil conflict from the very beginning of year. Several opportunities were generated to strengthen the groups against the dictatorship inside and outside the parliament in connection with the passing of anti-people budget, devolution of judiciary and administration, policy for formation of holding group, denationalization and militarization of the civil administration. On the first time, the opposition group has arranged to organize their faction against the autocratic regime of General Ershad through a fairly peaceful position. They demanded for the resignation of dictator being a President.¹⁰⁵

3.3.7 Movement for Restoration of Democracy in Bangladesh

The movement for restoration of democracy in Bangladesh was made likely by the people's goal most important to a mass revolution with continuous actions which mainly organized by the political parties and their followers and different social-cultural forces of Bangladeshi Society. The friendship of armed forces has made a hard effort to change the military regime of General Ershad who followed the different types of actions and proposals, individual's argument, actions of political forces, efforts for the completion of demand of interest

¹⁰⁵ For detail of the Dhaka Siege action Organized by the all alliances and parties of the opposition democratic forces, please *See the Bangladesh Observer, Daily Ittefaq, Daily Sangbad and Daily Bangla Bani* of 11-19 November 1987.

and pressure groups, example of joint actions and above all, unity of the opposition forces in the execution of all events. The natural history and characteristic of the opposition forces have been vital in the analysis of the movement. Opposition to the military dictator was divided into three groups, political parties and alliances, pressure groups and non participatory groups and also the supporters of the movement. The main group of the opposition parties were included the Bangladesh Awami League, Bangladesh Nationalist party, Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB), Bangladeshi Worker Party (BWP), Muslim League and Jamaat-i-Islami Bangladesh (JIB).

All the political parties joined together under the control of two major alliances to use their combined efforts against the movement for the restoration of democracy. The fifteen 15-parties alliances were held under the guidance of Awami league and the 7-parties alliances were made under the control of Bangladesh Nationalist party (BNP). There was a small level coalition of the Islamic parties other than Jamaat-i-Islami of Bangladesh (JIB). The political forces incorporated their demands in the central charter demands of the movement turning them into secondary force of the movement as well as they changed them, in suitable break of time and location, into pressure groups against the military management for the implementation of their own agenda. The student's force was worked as united bodies of the political parties against the military regimes of General Ershad. The violation of constitutional orders, the destruction of the political process, the establishment of one man rule and killing of hundreds of political workers for the interest of his creation of rule has made him strange cruel and fascist military dictator in the history of country. Therefore, the removal of the dictatorial military rule of General Ershad by the income of dynamic group was anticipated and produced the support of all changes in the direction of Bangladesh society.

3.3.8 Seventh Amendment Act

On 11th November 1986, the seventh amendment bill was approved by the military regime. General Ershad was amended the article- 96, of the constitution and it is also modified the Fourth Schedule to the constitution by motivating a new section 19 hereto, providing among others and all the statements, speech orders, chief martial administrators orders, martial law regulations, martial law orders, martial law instructions, ordinance and other law prepared during

the period between 24 March 1982 and 11 November 1986 has exactly been approved and would not be called in question in or before any court or panel on any ground at all.¹⁰⁶

3.3.9 Mass Uprising and Removal of the Dictator

The movement for restoration of democracy could not make any further change until the mid of 1990. It was only the month of June and July of 1990 that some kind of agreement and understanding were restored by the three main opposition parties. The various cultural and professional groups have jointed and supported the opposition political combinations to prepare a practical program for the removing of dictator from power in the shortest possible time.¹⁰⁷ The dictator declared his entry for the next Presidential election alongwith his friend Moudud Ahmed as Vice President Administration. In this situation the major political leaders of the opposition parties like Sheikh Hassina and Begum Khalida Zia have occasionally managed to put aside their past differences to form a united group. The Bangladesh National Party chief leader Begum Khalida Zia repeated her demand that the election should be held under the neutral government and on the other hand the leader of Awami League Sheikh Hassina has the request of Ershad as dishonesty and demanded for prior holding of JS elections that currently were schedule for early 1993. In June 1990, the dictator in a new party has addressed and criticized the previous regime of the opposition Awami League (AL). However three main opposition associations have made the agreement after a long discussion and organized a Secretariat Siege on 10th October 1990 that causes losses of some lives by police shooting on the members. The strikes were present a separate roads, rails, and air links in the country and the normal business of the country be came to an inactive in the capital and port city of the Chittagong. The security forces were fired on the expression in the previous week stood by and watched everything is quiet when the crowds of thousand masses have repeated the anti-Ershad slogans in the capital on 4th September 1990. In this connection, 19 Members of Provincial Assembly of the ruling party JP as well as the Deputy Prime Minister of MA Matin have resigned from their seats.

The opposition parties have refused again and again to recognize the legitimacy of Ershad regime and criticize it as autocratic and corrupt person. However the opposition's parties have started their efforts against the Ershad regime on October 10, 1991. In spite closing of the

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.pmo.gov.bd/pmolib/constitution>

¹⁰⁷ Please see the details criticism against the dictator, by Syed Kamal Uddin, *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, 9 November 1989, p.27.

Universities and Schools on October 18, 1990, the student groups were emerged as a driving force of the protest group and all the opposition parties to maintain a united front against the Ershad regime. Due to these coalitions, president has declared a state of emergency and fighting's were started among the groups. The opposition groups have reported 50 to 100 dead and 3,000 injured.¹⁰⁸ On December 3, President Ershad has stated that he was agreed to make compromises with the opposition parties but his proposal was rejected by the opposition. On December 4, 1990, 100,000 people were marched in the streets of Dhaka demanding for the immediate resignation of President. The anti Ershad movement has achieved such importance in the country's educated persons like many teachers; journalist, doctors and public servants are resigned from their services and went to home. However, the president has got less significance within his own party and he has offered the resigned from his presidency.

¹⁰⁸ The New York Time, December 4, 1990.

CHAPTER – 4

CAUSES OF MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN PAKISTAN

4.1 Introduction

The causes of military interventions in Pakistan has been analyzed by a number of scholars against the military takeover in a country that has emerged on the basis of poverty, economic decrease, weak institutions, corruption and as well as in the light of low political culture. The Military interventions in the politics of developing countries like Pakistan have been happened on the source of vested interest of the army persons.¹⁰⁹ According to theory of Samuel Huntington the reasons of military involvements in the politics of growing countries were not only the keen interest of army self but also on the basis of weak political institutions and low political culture in the countries. These types of weakness have provided the opportunities to military for captured the state. He has further explained the reason of military interference in the politics which always loyal to the message of citizens that military is come to power for a very short period but history tells us that military fall in Pakistan relay in love with power and never properly returned back military government to the civilians. The military government was considered to be unable of dealing with more complicated issues of the country. Military regime is unqualified to transform the governmental and technical expertise of his country systems. Military government is always linked with his own class benefits and their fame. In the post military state, the military and civil service have becomes the less significance to control the political powers. The political parties were efforts to build their links with the military government for the achievement of upcoming purposes. The political leaders were attempted to collect these principles for the development of individual control over the party. The Pakistan state has always waited for the expansion of civilianization; therefore the successor governments were not competent to develop safe political system.¹¹⁰

4.2 Theoretical Model

This portion evaluates the literature on the basis of general perception of the military intervention in politics, in order to found a structure of analysis on the grounds of military

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010092>

¹¹⁰ <http://www.cssforum.com.pk/general/news-articles/61487-pakistan-politics-important-articles-4.html>

intercession in the politics of Pakistan. The military involvement always relates to weak institutions, low political culture and economic reduction in the country; these entire things are the major foundation of the military interferences in the politics that give chance to military overthrow in the country.

4.2.1 Concepts of Intervention

The theory of military interference in politics is focused on the basis of two types of hypothesis which required to explaining the participation of military in the politics of modern states. These forms were the centre of military professionalism and the socio political basis of military coups.

4.2.2 Military Professionalism

The model of military professionalism in the developing countries has laid down by Samuel Huntington during his work on civil military-relations. He also recognized the three main systems like expertise, social responsibility and corporate loyalty to man who follow it. The plan of military professionalism has links with military intervention and these changed has become the vital issue among the academician. The number of scholars had ambiguous about the idea of Huntington's that professionalism makes sure the enjoyable of military from governments. According to Abrahamson the professionalism makes a powerful military joint composition. In this pattern, if there are difference between civilian and military principles and objective, then civilian control over the military will be broken. S. E. Finer has argued that in the past many well specialized officers in the corps had been involved in the politics.¹¹¹ Another well-known scholar of Martin Edmonds has unclear with the powers of armed forces that took place on the basis of their professionalism and generally their clarification of threat to the state was calculated to the government who is in power. The first theory of Samuel Huntington has explained the significant help to support the military intervention in politics.¹¹² Samuel Huntington's has to do effort to explain the nature of modern military job in term of its attachment to his master and behavior's of the civilian who dominated the democratic state. Huntington's thought that the civil military

¹¹¹ Bengt Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power*, Sage Publication, Beverly Hills, California 1972, p.17.

¹¹² Samuel Huntington, *The Solider and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957) p. 7.

relations were explained his argument for the increase of military professionalism in the politics which has not related to military intervention in politics.

According to the theories of Huntington, the modern professional, logic of expertise, social responsibility and corporate interest has arranged the military participation against the political institution.¹¹³ He disagreed that the military officers in the western society has holds the significant levels of expertise in the decision-making of opposition and use these ability to protect the society from the aggressor. The skilled soldier observed as neutral politically and his attachment gives the guarantee to both types of government's i.e. constitutionally elected and non-elected government in the country. These approaches were responsible for the military involvement in the politics as a result of fall down in military professionalism. Their jobs were organized and equipping a force, training it, in combat against the enemy in every time. These things were relates to special expertise and demands for the long exercise. These movements toward regards for the military interventions in politics have the result of military professionalism.

4.2.3 Socio Political Cause

The second theory of military interventions in politics has explains the reasons of military interference in politics is possible to force the society against the weak point such as institutional weakness, systematic faults, and low level of political culture, that do like an sketch which drag the armed forces into involvement for the takeover of power in the country. In this view, S. E. Finer's has explains the various levels of shortcomings in the democratic politics have remained one of the most comprehensive actions of a government that led to military interference.¹¹⁴ According to S.E. Finer's that where the links of public in the civilian governments have remained strong with the civil institutions, there are less chances appeared in the politics of military interventions. And on the other hand, where public holds to civilian establishment are remained weak, there happen a number of military overthrows in the politics of any country.¹¹⁵ The alternate study of the same theme has analyzed by Huntington and he explains the level of political development in the country and as well as the link of military interventions with

¹¹³ Ibid, pp. 8-11.

¹¹⁴ Please details, see S.E. Finer. *The Man on the Horseback: The Role of Military in Politics*, London Pall Mall Press Ltd., 1962, pp. 25-30.

¹¹⁵ S.E. Finer, op.cit. , pp. 20-21.

general level of political institutions in any society which has determined the causes of military interventions in any country.

According to the views of the Huntington the general practices of military involvement in the developing countries shows that it is not the single vested interest of military itself but also the result of other institutions that are responsible for the military interventions in politics. The gaps between the institutions and organizations have stressed the groups to take part in the politics of country for their own purposes. In this regard, the military analyze themselves among the several institutions which are likely challenger for power. Huntington proposed the suitable practical feeling of the academic mistrust but some of them are still confused about this phenomenon.

4.2.4 Military as an Institution and Cause of Intervention

The clashes of Alfred and Stephan have focused on an institutional change theory of military involvement in politics which has a big change in the military's employment and his position. Both of them were further pointed out that in the earlier, military was doing the job of power transforming on several times in the politics of Brazil, but they have never doing a work as an influence ruler. History tells us that in the past various military overthrow were done by the military in Brazil against the civilian government. But after these accidents the military has never established his government. However, the position of government change has not mentioned by the authors due to the reason that in the general principle, the comparison of military officer and civilian interest in politics have comparatively shows the less importance to the military rule.¹¹⁶ This new professionalism was the result of communist revolution and fear from the military. The military has started the effort to enlarge the definition of its counter uprising and to comprise the common issue such as economic growth and political power. In this technique, the military job turns into well-established political conditions that become more and more popular. This type of development of expertise's influence the military's attitude and become the reasonable ruler, although the exercise of military has now similar to the position of politicians and bureaucrats.

Although the sources of military officers have not always been links with middle class, but their status as a officer took place in the said class and usually they have got married into

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 172.

middle class families and got the benefits from the middle class. Being members of the middle class, they were distributed their common interests among the class.

The other evaluators such as Juan Linz, Guillermo O, Donnell and Felipe Agilero have taken the weak point to the relation of military participation and its fall down of the self governing political formations.¹¹⁷

4.2.5 Crises of Legitimacy

The crisis of Legitimacy has the important feature of the military interventions in politics which has created the terrible situation on the basis of continuous existence of the military government. As per views of Johan J. Linz posits that the strength and higher number of armies have approved the regime and in favour of the great achievement of military ability to continue a number of hold and its value. The democratic structures of government have constructed the legitimacy on the basis of his authenticity to the state. Army officers were believe on a physically powerful recognition of the state and as well as on the particular regime.¹¹⁸ The author has disagreed with the crises of legitimacy, which has happened on the origin of growth, and the conflicts has shaped among the society and later on, these clashes were taken place into legitimacy crises. It is therefore, vital to establish the ability of system and connection with the appearance of government and the legitimacy crisis is approved by the political system. It is further pointed out that the political power and income are cut off among the numerous factions of the praetorian politics and the political groups are usually accepted the challenging of social forces rather than as joint significance of the larger groups. In general principle the governments are most likely to be established by a main group with the alliances of other groups.

4.2.6 Approaches to Analysis

The following variable are to be used for the study of different level of institutions in Pakistan and these institutions are divided into three phase, (1) Civil political institution (2) Military institution (3) Socio economic factors.

¹¹⁷ Juan Linz, Crises, Breakdown and Re-equilibration, in Linz: *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore: The Johan Hopkins University Press, 1978, p.215.

¹¹⁸ Juan Linz, Breakdown of Democratic Regime, p.45.

1. Civil Political Institution

The civil political institution in Pakistan explains the vested interest of military and as well as illustrate the military interferences in politics, in the light of weak political growth, lack of civilian government and political institutions, democratic values, and these factors are the symbol of weak political growth in the country. The changes were took place in the illumination of increasing the social mobilization, but in some countries the political growth has found the faces of following involvement crisis in the politics of Pakistan, which supports the military interventions in politics. Huntington's theory of political growth tells us that deteriorating demands of political organizations measures the value of institutions. In case of weak political institutions they could not maintain the requirements of peoples and gives the opportunity to military person's to interfere in the politics.

The issues were relates to low levels of political growth in the civilian political institutions, which have engaged the role of political parties, small level of political institutions, legitimacy crises ,small levels of people participation, input, and the position of governments. Following technique were approved by the large level of family's member, people participation and the role of legitimacy and these elements are the symbol of strong civil institutions. The dispute of power and mistake of political institutions are designed into two key parts.¹¹⁹ First part of the institution deals with the choices of public relationship, their holds in the society and further they can unite the people. The second part of the institution deals with the level of institutions, quantity of political message and the community awareness of the governments which are the real determinants of the political harms.¹²⁰ In addition to the above, if the political institutions are free and fair than the military involvement can be stopped.

2. Military Institutions.

The purposes and profession of the military institution to defend the country from the aggressors, but principally the vested interest of military officers, professionalism, business significance, cohesiveness, self-rule, and income, all these things shape the power of family member in the military institution vis-à-vis intends to dominate the civilian institutions.

¹¹⁹ Please see, Huntington Political Order, p.12.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

3. Socio Economic Factors

The economic instability is not only due to military interventions but it is also may be added the disapproval of armed forces. Other socio-economic issues were incorporate the social mobilization, common and class makeup, religion, economic expansion, colonially inheritance, dimension of independence, people's opinion and history.

In this part my focus will be on two important section which were related to civilian political institutions namely; (1) Political systems and roles of political leadership and political parties, and (2) Legitimacy. The weak types of political institutions are the main reasons of military interventions in Pakistan.

4.2.7 Role of Pakistan Armed Forces in Internal Security

The role of Pakistan armed forces in the internal security is very important and they can also build the powerful state. Army is the only institution in Pakistan who defends the country from the internal conflicts that were created by the society within country. The military elite's class in Pakistan has mainly the Army, which are mostly the responsible institution in Pakistan for the security of state and also watching for the country from different angles. Pakistan's constitution states that basic duties of armed forces are to defend the country from the enemies and will be responsible to take the control of civilian government if they were broken and danger for the safety of state.¹²¹ Articles (245) of the constitutions has defined that the task of armed forces has to protect the nation from the external threat of war and matter of law, provide the help to the civil power when the explained for winning. The constitution does not permit the military to play a significant role in the politics. If terrible condition are took place in the country like natural disaster such as flood, food crisis and other calamity than army is responsible to immediately take over the control of country and also take part in the activities of such calamities.¹²² Military was accountable to restore law and order in the country at different times when the affairs of state has gone outside the control of police.

¹²¹ Babar Sattar, A. Journey Back to Barrack? Civilian Military Relations in Pakistan. Paper prepared for the State and Solider in Asia Conference, East West Centre, Honolulu, 1999, p.9.

¹²² Najam Rafique, Pakistan Army: *Towards New Professionalism in Strategic Studies*, Vol. XVI Autumn, Winter 1993, p. 108.

The Pakistani army has often been busy in the affairs of internal security and also needed the help from the civil authorities and as well as to gathering of supporters for the independence of the country since its autonomy.¹²³

4.2.8 Role of Military in National Security

The job of national security done by the military to defend the country from the aggressor and ongoing usual role of military has provided the help to the civil power. The Pakistan armed forces have an unclear task of internal security, growth and global security. The military elite's class has appeared to assume the job of domestic security, expansion and to maintain the international security in their respective areas. After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the military took over the control of civilian governments at different times i. e. 1958, 1969, 1977 and 1999 respectively. It is sure that military interference in politics and skill of army in the affairs of internal security has led to think about the domestic safety and growth, that were related to armed forces. The engagement of military in a broad range of responsibilities in the public service and as well as in the economic sectors and usual disaster operations, and these type of situations of armed forces have played the essential role. On the other hand, the civilian government makes sure the job of socio political strength in the country. The apparent of the senior military leaders were led down on the basis of their own behalf to involve in the annual meeting, government activities and economic management. Particularly its declaration with the political enemy, handling of law, order and such kind of issues like corruption, all these things were used for the help of state machinery and their personal support. The military leaders have used their influence in a number of occasions to equilibrium a difference between the politicians and the armed forces. For example in August 1990, April 1993 and November 1996 they have supported the president to remove the civilian governments which could not make any longer assure to the internal peace, stability and order.

In addition to the above facts, military needs to maintain the internal security and as well as do his job for the better development of Pakistan and keep a deep interest in the domestic safety and foreign policy issues. It is also supposed that Pakistan's foreign policy is mainly guided by its military leaders in the regions and army is related with Pakistan's security policy,

¹²³ Stephen P. Cohen, *Civilian Control of the Military in India*, Claude E. Jr. Welch (ed.), *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries*, Albany, State University of New York Press 1979, p. 53.

the military's forces, efforts are taken very sincerely. The major issue of Pakistan armed forces has to maintain the deep goal in the affairs of international security and foreign policy issues. It has mostly think that Pakistan's foreign policy is generally going to the hands of military persons and these areas were related to Pakistan's security policy, military's forces, takes the effort very seriously. The Pakistan's foreign policy towards India as well as towards Kashmir, which is a box in the particular area.

Military visualization about the India having a desires objective and they believe on a strong building and usual authentic of the forces with nuclear weapons, the means is very essential to its security and will allow the Pakistani behavior in self-governing, foreign and domestic polices. On the other hands, the nuclear issues, military control and turn policy are making in the nuclear field. During the Zia era, the military has directly controlled the nuclear policy and also control the behavior of Afghan War. The demise of Zia regime in 1988, military is waiting for the present day and also remains de facto decision-making body in Pakistan nuclear institution for the comprising of Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan Research Laboratories, both of them are the autonomous bodies. The responsibility and job of the military continues to be defined the country usually for the political and military purposes. In addition to its independence for the defense of institutional and organizational matters, the Pakistan armed forced is sovereign on basis of academic.

The above situation has show the various events of army interference into civilian powers of concern, as well as the reinstatement order in Lahore to General Ayub's Khan has prepared a legal plan. The legal plan has provided to show how the political state of affairs became more conducive to military control rather than civilian control. In the same way, one of the most significant enthusiasms after the first coup in Pakistan was the military ruled and civilian leaders were so disappointing that they would sometimes push all or part of Pakistan into domestic turmoil.

4.2.9 Socio Economic Conditions

1 Social Structure

The main purpose of military in the politics of Pakistan has given details in the light of weak social structure. Hamza Alvi has stated, in his study on the post colonial societies, which has observed that the comparative autonomy, of the bureaucratic military equipment which have enjoyed the benefit mainly due to the flaw of Pakistan's social formation that interconnect between the three separate classes, the city bourgeois, the native bourgeois and the local semi feudal owners. According to Hamza Alvi, the conservative over developed system of the state and its do produce a weak native bourgeois that could not force completely on high urbanized state tools. The routine method of military state was capable to maintain and even increase its main power in the society. They provides it a positive autonomy that end in an evident attack of power by the military, as occupied by the military in the four coups which have taken place as well as the overthrows of army on 12th October,1999.

2. Economic Development

The well-known controls of army explains that the situation move towards for the interference of military due to worst conditions of socio economic growth. S.E Finer has described that power of the military interventions in politics has more possible to decrease the socio-economic expansion position. The countries have a high level of socio economic position and these countries were advanced in their urbanization, industrialization and literacy level and also increased the participation of masses into the social events. The socio economic growth of the country has produced the awareness of political connections and improves the skills of political measurement. On the other hand it has developed the number of potential political players and expands the political resources to these performers that would be eager and able to maintain the civilian institutions. The well-known scholar Gorman has stated that military interventions usually have takes place in low category income countries. As per requirements of the economic growth, he needed advices; reasonably out needy countries have individuals are not self enough to have more uprisings and in sometimes the violent level of internal competition was done in the limited area.

Pakistan is one of the most low income countries in the world with low level of economic growth. At the time of her birth, she has no industry and the level of urbanization was low. The resources were very poor in the important areas, such as natural income and an industrial transportation. In the first few years, she was fighting with immediate problems somewhat the development policy and long term programs of economic growth.¹²⁴ Still now, after more than 65 years of self-government, she has continuous to look severs economic problems. The poor economic conditions of the country have a result of long term and short term reasons.¹²⁵ The long term issue has very complex like the issue of tax collection. The income resources are mainly shaped by the imposition of customs duties, sales taxes, and income tax on salaried person. Before the proceedings of October 12, 1999 takeover, more add to the broken condition of the previously poor economic form. The government of Nawaz Sharif has suspended the operations of many foreign depositors who had set up in Independent Power Plant (IPP) to produce the electric power supply that was the much needed demand of the country. Secondly, the freezing of all foreign exchange accounts were more damaged the domestic and foreign investor's self-assurance. In present era, Pakistan is considered as the richest country in the area of foreign benefit.

4.3 Role of Political Parties and Leadership in Pakistan

After the existence of Pakistan in 1947, she was remained under the continuing political conflicts. After attaining the independence from the British rule in 1947, she has started to grow of its political system of parliamentary democracy on the basis of Westminster Model which has similar to Malaysia. However, under these circumstances the Pakistan has started its political expansion, the performances of parliamentary form of government has created the difficult dilemma. The domestic political situation in Pakistan was not satisfactory. The most severed problem in front of the leaders of the nation is that how has been to grow a possible political system. After the death of Jinnah, the Muslim League has no profound leader related to that position; Liaquat Ali Khan was the Prime Minister of Pakistan at the time of Jinnah deaths. He started the efforts to fill the space of leadership, but he did not found the suitable leader to fill the position of organization and he was killed in 1951. This situation of leadership has made the

¹²⁴ Veena Kukreja: *Civil Military Relations in South Asia*, New Delhi, California London, Sage Publications, 1991, p.50.

¹²⁵ Ameen Jan, Pakistan on a Precipe, *Asian Survey*, Vol. xxxix No. 5, September/October 1999, p.708.

terrible position and when political parties have changed the alliances among the political leaders. Their authenticity to a particular party was not based on the standard, but rather on the political and executive gain, for example in 1953, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad removed the Ministry of Nizamuddin's, who had in just a few days approved the budget in the National Assembly. The aim of Muslim League was not in favour of the discharge of its leader and some members of the previous cabinet have again joined the new government.¹²⁶ Since 1956, the continuing effort for the shifting of powers to the National Assembly to the Head of State and weak point of the political leadership was move towards for the establishment of parliamentary form of government in the country. The politicians have separated into several groups and they could not adopt a joint position for the hold of better center power, which has left in the head of the state.¹²⁷ In October 1958, Pakistan was under the burden of financial crises. The political instability and economic tragedy were created by the politicians in these situations General Muhammad Ayub Khan overthrew the civilian government on 27th October 1958 and he ruled in the country for 11 years. The Regime of Ayub Khan remained unsuccessful to accomplish its pre-coups undertakes and put back by another military government on 25th March 1969. He was forced to resign him by a number of public disapproval.

General Yahya Khan comes to power with the collapse of Ayub Khan Regime, until 1971. After the strike of War with India over East Pakistan, he required to resign it. In the next term, the civilian government was established by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and he has become a Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1971. The existing civilian government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto got the job of variety to restore the national personality and the purpose of variety in the miserable Pakistanis. After the emerging of his party's rule during the five years period from 1972 to 1977, and general elections were held on 7th March 1977. The ruling party got the victory and obtaining a majority of 155 seats out of 200 seats. After the general elections, the Pakistan National Alliance has started a countrywide movement against the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his party, on the blame of his rigged elections. They demanded for the dismissal of Bhutto's government and also oppose that it was against the law and they claimed for the holding of new elections under the supervision of armed forces and judiciary. The new elections were not took place under the control of armed forces.

¹²⁶ Mushtaq Ahmed, *Government and Politics in Pakistan*, Space Publisher 1970, p.129.

¹²⁷ Rizvi, p. 69.

In the meantime, General Zia-ul-Haq Chief of Army Staff overthrows the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and took place the control of government. This was the second period of civilian government in Pakistan. The main reason of coup was that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto did not save the country from the growing political disorder and he has also failed to save the country from the tragedy. The performances of government under the parliamentary system were not smoothly running and these distressed problems were quickly broken the moral thread of nation that was stable after the Zia era in 1988 and he has go to come back upto the present time. The overthrow of October 12, 1999, take over the control of government from Nawaz Sharif by General Pervez Musharaf which has the symbol of weak political institutions and famous over 52 years of Pakistan history.

The weak political groups joined with the poor management and supply a major part in the collapse of civilian government in Pakistan. They have offered the economic confusion which creates the terrible condition by the safe power struggle with politicians and their struggles for the got of power are the main reason for the failure of the civilian government in Pakistan. It can be evaluated that the usual crisis in Pakistan's has been taken as per views of Huntington's model of praetorian society where military interference are an look of the broader approach of the under growth and general politicization in the institutions of state.¹²⁸

4.4 Pakistan Army and the India Pattern

Pakistani army is the only decision making authority in the affairs of state and history tells us that military has always maintained the central holds for the control of power in the country. After the birth of Pakistan, the most of the periods were engaged by the military rule and rests of the periods were remained in the hands of civilian governments. S.E. Finer has stated that due to the weakness of the political institutions, the Pakistan armed forces has got the benefit from the major political competitors over the civilian governments and has kept the manifest of groups. Due to the reason that abnormal features of the military organization like chain of rule, regulation, cohesiveness, and the military virtues such as bravery, obedience, self rule and devotion etc. In the light of above facts, the numerous characteristic of Pakistan army has established a well-known and healthy organized firm other than any civilian government.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Huntington, Political Order ..., op. cit., pp. 194-98.

¹²⁹ Veena, Kukreja, Military intervention in Pakistan: *A Case Study of Pakistan*, (New Delhi: NOB), 1985, P. 51

The political weakness of the country and vested interest of the army's has turned into top bravery and also recognized the military quality into its national politics at an early stage of the life. The civilian governments have depended on the army for the restoration of their authority in the state of law and order and to handle the natural tragedies. The purpose was that to build the image of the military and showing the weakness of the political leaders. The following military take over in 1958, 1969, 1977 and 1999 were headed by law and order situations and serious authority crises were started in the existing governments.

Therefore, military is seemed to be a problem for the transfer of power to the political administration and justifying its statement of power. Similar to other developing countries, like Pakistan has took her start from the weak and unstable political system. The basic reason was that the political leaderships of these countries have not capable in the self government system. In majority of cases, the power of political administration has come from the feudal landlord class. This is the cause of vested interests of such type of leadership and they cannot favour of the existing electoral system of Pakistan.

The control of military in Pakistan has also a result of its strong ethnic and limited unity like Punjab has give the majority of officers, followed by the North West Frontier (Now called the Khyber Pakhtun Khawa) and Tribal areas. These officer's categories are mainly relates to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtoon Khawa Provinces.¹³⁰ These types of groups were mainly related to ethnic groups and also made the traditional links with the civilian bureaucratic elites. In Pakistan's history, only three Army Chief Officers come from the remote areas of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtun Khawa. General Musa (COAS, 1958-66) from Baluchistan, but not a Bulloch, General Mirza Aslam Beg (COAS) 17th August 1988-91, an Urdu speaking refugee from India, settled in Karachi, Sindh and General Pervez Musharaf (COAS) 12th October 1999-2007, an Urdu speaking refugee from Dehli, Initially he was settled in Karachi and these things are the causes of military interventions in Pakistan. The suggestions have strongly recommended by the politicians, thinkers and journalist in Sindh and Baluchistan provinces.

4.5 Lack of independent Election Commission

The lack of independent Election Commission in Pakistan was the source of military interventions and provided the opportunity to military's in the politics. The country has no

¹³⁰ Cohen. *The Idea of Pakistan Army*, pp. 152-57.

independent elections during the eleven years, after the independence of Pakistan and self-governing culture, Pakistan has just only storm tradition. The powerful election commission and self governing systems are the symbol of free, fair and multi party supports election. For example the list of elected representative of the world like America and India are the commands in that direction. In both countries, the election commission is very power institution which stops any kind of rigging notice in the election, whether in pre-poll or during elections by the present management or anybody as well. In Pakistan the election commission has always doing the job in favour of the ruling party. The general elections of 1977, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002, and 2008 are the case references in the politics of Pakistan. Generally, the election commission in Pakistan is frequently remained under the direct influence of ruling party which has never playing the democratic role in the election. The military takeovers of 1958, 1977 and 1998 are the evidence in particular cases.¹³¹

4.6 Military Syndicalism

The military Syndicalism in Pakistan is the physical force of the economic organization and it has appeared in the politics when the military have made their relations with the civilian government that is too useless to govern and military is a single deciding dynamic in the country which is believe that what is good or bad. One of the most popular Scholars of the Russian Studies, Stephen Cohen has carried out the extensive work on Pakistani politics and also gathered the some senior army officers who have presented the some causes of military intervention in politics. He also disagreed with the reason that the ability of skilled person as compare to unqualified and corrupt political government.¹³² He has further quoted the cause of another senior army officer, who is involved in the politics.

We intervene because the politicians and civilian bureaucrats are dishonest and bad. We are incorrupt and elected on the basis of merit and the best of us higher ranks, whereas the civilian want no proper education to reach higher bureaucratic appointments and their selection is supports on political reasons, rather than merit.

¹³¹ Veena Kukreja, Military Intervention in Politics: Contrasting Cases of Pakistan and India in Verinder Grover ed. *Political System in Pakistan* Vol. 7 (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1995, p. 531.

¹³² Stephen Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Brookings Institution Press Washington, 2004, p.126.

Other reason for the overthrows of civilian government was the stoppage of the political leadership to govern and to give the hold of people at grass roots level. The study of Stephen Cohen's has enlightens that Pakistani army officers have maintain the power on the basis of their belief and other attachment to the nation. The events of two takeovers were shows that the officers of army have planned to overthrows the civilian governments. All the army officers were expert and regular officers who had take part in Kashmir War and also released 40% part of Kashmir from the powerful India. The understanding of autonomy was got them and believed that civilian governments were weak, unqualified and not interested to liberate the Kashmir from India.

4.7 Military Corporate Interests

The business interests of military is a powerful source of income in the country which provides the support to military's and maintain an agreement, on the basis of independence and stability. Initially the interest of military has proposed the real objective of military. The interest is produced to group, when they have the common links with the members of other organization. The Pakistan's armed forces have the significance of a vast profitable project with an estimated value of billions of dollars. The value of public money has transferred to the military attachment with the increased of military contribution in the economy and control over the state and society. The military supports the rule and policy making position which has developed the economic income and the growth of wealth.¹³³ The economic interests and financial independence of military elites were played a vital role and influenced them to thrust for a self-governing status, and support the military politically.

General Zia-ul-Haq initiated the constitutional necessities to institutionalize the military power. Article 58 (2) (b) permitted the president to throw out an elected government. The primary goal of military is to expand its power and protect its business organization. The transformation of constitution, political system and electoral process were also the causes of military intervention in politics. Like General Pervez Musharaf has overthrew the government of civilian in 1999 and immediately established the National Accountability Bureau of Pakistan that is usually run by the earlier military personnel and also to banned the entry of opposition political parties leaders and their participation in the coming parliamentary election in the charge

¹³³ Siddiq, Ayesha. *Military Inc. Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (London: Pluto Press, 2007). p.297.

of corruption.¹³⁴ S.E Finer tells us the importance of social class within the military. He disagrees with military holds to civilian power which was taken from the social class and overthrows were laid down by the different social classes. He explains the corporate interests of military which build a physically powerful combined force and emotionally involved the military together. He furthers says that the importance of business has becomes the popular phenomena in Pakistan when military is allocated the common values. Military leadership make sure that military become the members of the same business. For example, Pakistan armed forces have obtained the benefits from various welfare schemes like Army Welfare Trust, Askari Cement Ltd; and Fuji Foundation etc. These welfare schemes were consist of free housing, land and membership in executive associations. The Pakistani leaders were also makes sure that military members have come from the same social classes by changing of their economic condition.

4.8 Lack of Institutions and Economic Causes

Professor Dr. Shahid Javed Burki and as well as other Professors like Dr. Robert E. Looney have submited some other satisfaction on the military participations. Both the scholars are pointed out that failed democracy in Pakistan was the cause of un-skilled politicians that were not capable to establish the future plan of political institutions in Pakistan. The period of 1947-1958 were lingering under the hold of political power among two groups which was the symbol of poor democracy in Pakistan. Majority of the people are against the idea of new country. Clashes between two sections were took place on the basis of delaying practice of strong and secure growth which has the result of military interventions in politics.¹³⁵

4.9 Weak Leadership and Governance

The causes of weak leadership and governance in Pakistan explained by famous political analyst Shuja Nawaz. After the death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, he looks for the official administration crises in Pakistan and also the power clashes in the country since its independence. Ayesha Jalal pointed out that the main variable of military intervention in politics was the mistake of political system in Pakistan. She challenged the job of survival in Pakistan and army is only accountable to maintain the position of control. She also stated that military

¹³⁴ Gregory, Shaun. The Role of the Military in Cohesion and Stability of Pakistan, *Contemporary South Asia* 6.1 (2007), pp. 39-61.

¹³⁵ Robert Looney, *Failed Economic Take offs and Terrorism in Pakistan and Budgetary Consequences of Defense Expenditures in Pakistan*, 2004 and Shahid Kardar, Democracy and Development, July 3, 2001

participation in politics was the causes of links between the top military officers and system of the government in Pakistan and doing the job of politics in alone and stopped the political process. After the victim of General Zia-ul-Haq in 1988, there was a common perception that military will never come back into politics. But unfortunately in 1999, one more overthrow led by General Pervez Musharaf, which attack confirms; military is a still dominant institution in Pakistan.

4.10 Foreign Influence

The existing system of the bureaucrat's is organized the contact of military's with foreign officials which should be continued. In grown of the military organization aid and training should also be strictly make sure so that foreign associations do not have any direct communication with the armed forces.¹³⁶

Even though there is no closed information about the supporter countries that were the attitude to deteriorate the recipient, very usual globe of contacts with the beneficiary, who gives the wrong motivation to military self-possession which they have the unspecified hold of foreign ally. This type of approach supports to military to capture the civilian power. For example the donor countries stopped the power according to foreign policy goals which are improved by the army rulers. The existing system of the bureaucrat's policy of the military's contact with foreign government should maintain.

¹³⁶ Two foreign journalists covering Benazir Bhutto's dismissal in November 1996. The journalist claim

CHAPTER – 5

CAUSES OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IN BANGLADESH

5.1 Introduction

The reasons of military interventions in the politics of developing countries are very common phenomenon. Although the vested interest of military is shaping the structure of government that who gets, what, when and how is clear. The primary role of the military as a bureaucratic alliance is that to protect the country from the external pressures. The military governments were anticipated to carry out the disputed policies of the state that were formulated by the legislative and executive branches. However, in developing countries, the armed forces have the various other purposes like basic mean is to contributing the growth and defending the government from the internal and external threats. The human being characters of the military governments were dissimilar from the civilian governments and more hierarchic, reliable and a reasonable cause of pressure which make it very easy for them to manage the political institutions. A large number of journalists were similar to Mayer & Burnett, which opposed that military government has got a major institutional importance over the manufacturing world by the right of demanding notice, mainly in the developing countries.¹³⁷ Generally, the cause of military participations in the politics of developing countries like Bangladesh were the reasons of poverty, lack of education, economic crises, corruption, poor governance, centralization of power, natural calamities and also other internal and external threats. Three sub issues of the weakness were also connected to military institution, the nature of the military; the corporate interests of military and personal reason of the military coups are highlighted by Ahmed, Khan, Franda and Muniruzzaman.¹³⁸ Ahmed also stated that Bangladesh army is usually the anti-political movement of its predecessor and continued it.¹³⁹ The demanding report of military blame of judgment tells us that army is a political organization.

The new trends of the military takeover have been recognized by Ahmed and Khan as business interests of the army. In 1975 military's profession has satisfied the engagement of

¹³⁷ www.e-akademi.org/makaleler/monder-1.htm

¹³⁸ Riaz, Ali, Two Trends analyzing the Cause of Military Rule in Bangladesh: *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*. Vol. 30. No. 1 (1998): p. p. 56-65 ISSN 0007-4810, 1998 BCAS (Oakland. California)

¹³⁹ Maudad, Ahmed, *Military rule and Myth of Democracy in Bangladesh*, Published Dhaka University, 1988, p. 40.

armed forces in ambition for their better budgetary support and for self-government in organization and as well as in family relationships. The basic reasons of military takeover were analyzed mostly by the following scholars i.e. lieuwen, Finer and Decalo, whose think that people's objectives are the main problem of the government and they want to be taken into account.

5.1.1 Ethnic Conflict in the Society

The competitions of various ethnic groups in the society were the sources of military interventions in the politics of Bangladesh.¹⁴⁰ The clashes of ethnic groups and challenges of other sections among the militaries may also become the cause of military interventions which has commonly connected with the formation of society. The family conflict in the society is always related with linguistic and ethnic composition. According to Morrison and Stevenson, both of them are disputed that larger number of factions are likely to be opposite against the two groups and so that less protected coalitions which make the better possibility of military interventions in politics.

5.1.2 Military Professionalism

Military professionalism is entirely doing the job of individuals that how the individuals, groups and military itself has continue to perform his professions. Huntington theory of civil military relations clarifies the nature of modern military professionalism in terms of its closeness to his master and he explains the civilian dominated democratic state. The result of Huntington general theory of civil military relations are based on two-faced and provided the details of his dispute and increased the military professionalism which is commonly related to military interventions. He also argued that military officers in the western society and kept the significant levels of skill in their respective organizations and further utilized the aptitude to protect the society. The expert in the community considered as a politically neutral and his faithfulness provides the promised to state and as well as to the legally elected government. This approach holds the control of military intervention in politics as a result of his failure in the military professionalism.

¹⁴⁰ Jenkins, J.C. Kposowa, A.S. *The Political origin of African Military Coups*, *International Studies Quarterly*, 36 No. 3 (1992) p.p. 271-92.

According to him, the new military professionalism of his wisdom of ability, social liability and corporate interest of enthusiasm is mainly related to the military interventions in politics.¹⁴¹

5.1.3 Common and Structural Weakness

The common and structural weakness of government system explains the military intervention in politics which is likely to pressure the general and structural sign such as institutional fragility, system flaws and low levels of political culture, and an appeal to pull the armed forces into a power and avail the opportunity. In this regard, Samuel, S.E Finer' work on public control, in spite of various causes, remain one of the most complete actions of a regime's weakness that may lead to military intervention.¹⁴² S.E. Finer stated that a military intervention in the politics of each and every culture is freely connected with political condition of the societies. S.E. Finer further stated that military culture openly connected with political condition of the societies. According to the theory of Huntington, the motives of military interventions in politics are not based on corruption and it is the vested interest of the military in politics. It is a specific symbol of the developing countries in the shape of praetorian's.¹⁴³ The general argument of Huntington's study is about the praetorian society which shows that civilian political institutions are always remained weak. A space between the institutions and leadership stands to force the groups to work for their own will.

In this part my focus is based on the theoretical model of military engagement in politics. The literatures provide many theoretical helpful structures of the military involvement in politics. The models can be classified into many types like personal interest, corporate business and low level of political culture.

5.1.4 Personalist Model

The personalist model got the political importance in the country due to many causes. First, the military rulers emerged in the politics on the basis of their own personal interest, second reason of the military involvement in politics is the socio economics problems and third

¹⁴¹ Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations*, Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press 1957, p.p. 1-15.

¹⁴² For detail, See, S.E. Finer, *The Man on Horse Back: The Role of Military in Politics*, London Pal Mall Press. Ltd. 1962, p.p. 25-30.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p.p.20-21.

issue naturally relates to military leader himself who is the principal administrator for the completing of the overthrow plan, with the help of his like minded sub-ordinates. The personal reasons of military coups are defined by the different scholar i.e. Franda and Muniruzzaman, both of them are paying the attention regarding the personal motives of the military interventions in politics. Franda suggested that in Bangladesh, military takeover put a traditional example of the significant change in government took places by very small groups of the country.¹⁴⁴

Both of them pointed out that reason behind 1975 overthrow had been planed by Major Sharful Islam Dalim for the personal reprisal of the army. The majority of familiar reasons of military interventions in politics are the self interests of individual. Another scholar namely the Decalco has given the remarks about the African countries and his motives of the strong-minded officers, in the unstable political system, great deal of freedom and capacity for action in a confused, unstructured and as well as other significant variable in the country.¹⁴⁵

The statement of personal goal may also has some meaning, particularly in those countries whose have been taken the only single takeover, but the theory is not necessary to explain the causes of military involvement in Bangladesh. They got the experience in a number of coups within a short period of time. The supporters of 7th November 1975 coup were the planner who made the several other attempts to recoup the power, which was took place in 1977. The model has clearly identifies the personal motives of the people that is insufficient to tell the unknown cause of military intervention in the politics of Bangladesh.

5.1.5 Corporatist Model

In the corporate model, military is considered as a corporate body which had got the significant importance of the individuals within the army and provides the information of combined growth and constructs the model for a particular purpose (Welch, 1967).¹⁴⁶ Mainly army is considered as a separate corporate corpse and civilian groups were treated as another common body. Another part of the model tells us that the armed forces share a joint interest, such as safeguard the important military resources, protection of military status, standards and so

¹⁴⁴ Marcus Franda, *Bangladesh, The First Decade* (New Delhi South Asia Publishers, 1982), p.50.

¹⁴⁵ S. Decalco. *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*, Saddle Ridge, N.J. Prentice Hall 1976, p.p. 239-40.

¹⁴⁶ Welch. Claude E. Jr, ed., *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases From Developing Countries*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976, p. 161.

on Military interventions in politics are also anticipated if the civilian regimes are not remained strong, than the collective interest of the army weaken the civilian governments.

Ahmed and Khan have recognized another feature of the mutual interest of military overthrows.¹⁴⁷ The mutual interest of the army has satisfied the engagement of his wish for the superior budgetary hold up in the state. Ahmed observed that business interests of the military have always been remained the chief source of inspiring for intervention.¹⁴⁸ According to him, Mujib Era had ignored the army expenditure during his government and increased the similar, para-military group against the military for their common interests.¹⁴⁹ Ahmed and Khan have also follow the argument of Finer, Nordlinger, Dowse, and Gutteridge. The interest of group is an important characteristic of the military coups. It should be well-known here; however these takeovers cannot be credited to the help of groups. The reduction of ongoing defense expenditures of military which was claimed by the Mujib government and this was a major cause of the coup d'état in Bangladesh in 1975. Ahmed explains two other features of military overthrow and in this response military has to be threats to their business interests in prior to 1975 overthrows. The institution of Jatiyo Rakhi Bahini, (National Security Forces) and regimes favoritism towards the mechanism of military take over and took a dynamic part in the liberation war.¹⁵⁰

5.1.6 Apparent Concentration Model

S.E. Finer has invented the word of manifest density model in 1988.¹⁵¹ This model supports the idea and armed bureaucrats are the superior and think themselves for the better development to civilian and consider that they are the only liberator of the nation. According to this model military has safeguard its participation and civilian governments have suffering from mal administration, chaos and it is the military that can professionally keep and protect the national interest.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p.p. 40-41.

¹⁴⁸ Emajuddin, Ahmed, *Military Rule and Myth of Democracy* (Dhaka University Press, 1988), p.49.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p.41.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 40-41.

¹⁵¹ The Finer, S.E, *The Man on the Horse Back. The Role of the Military in the Politics*, 2nd Edition Westview Press, Boulder, Co. (1988), p. p. 157-162.

5.1.7 Socialist Model

The socialist model is based on the following judgments. First, model links the military involvement in politics with the issue of person in general conflicts of the underdevelopment and greedy effects of the capitalist system. Second, the business system of the army creates the two broad clashes, among the possession and non possession. Third, differences of the resource distribution are generated the causes of disputes among the class conflicts and struggles. All these resistances are responsible to weaken the present civil governments. Fourth, military regimes have gets chances to protect in the political field of nation. Military leaders expand their personal economic order by the repeated attachment in the financial system. Toward these efforts, they seek to make close relations with local and foreign businessmen. The military manages a protected manufacture situation and businessmen supply of assets and capitalist abilities. The promise of military in the area of economic production is a greatest achievement when the forces are involved in the political development. The civilian leaders proposed chances for the senior army bureaucrats to increase their personal wealth made in connection with the payment of their closeness to the strength of political government. The politicians may also approach to the army for their direct intervention in government and to minimise the powers of political opponents. For example, in 1967 the incident of a succession of overthrows in Sierra Leon motivated by Albert Margai and in 1973 Anton Bebler was also took such type of essential control of the government. It has generally disputed the political role of the military in the developing countries which has protected the interest of middle class. Other two main reasons for military participation in the politics are that, the cause of military interventions in politics is the fear of national disintegration and second expansion is the idea of National Security to incorporate the internal securities. In today present, most of the developing countries focus on the internal securities and the military officers are involved in the politics. In future, throughout the world, it will to be more concerned in politics and government. In 2009, the famous scholar of Ghosal evaluated the recent military's involvement in the politics of Bangladesh. The main explanation of this research is that how military shifts their role in politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The model of this study is linked to authority without responsibility and would emerge to declare the poor position of the domestic growth for two countries. He also observed the military interventions in Bangladesh as well as in Pakistan, does not continually come to power without the support of establishment which weakened the politicians. He further

concluded that a new model of military interference in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh have been merged, the rule without responsibility and clearly blamed the extended role of the small levels of charges for the appearance of political developments in growing countries and therefore they are need for the earlier inspection and evaluation.¹⁵² Moudad Ahamed has also criticized the military's interest in politics and vast level of corruption in Bangladesh led to military's involvement in politics.¹⁵³ He further disagreed with the dilemma of military intercession in politics is the result of the option to any control at all level and the nature of their chance and daily life frustrated with the state. He further stated that military ruler makes the decision on the basis of their own will. The people of Bangladesh are very poor in their freedom and military displeasure is the basis of financial social disorder.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, the role of military has been determined by military on the following development era (beginning mid-1998). The information has at least taken from Thailand and Indonesia, recommended that corrupt follower client systems are mostly banned by the political elites in the government, the military and government (Rocks, 2000; Rock and Bennett, 2004). In 2000, Rock has opposed with reference to Thailand's useful polity, and the supporter of middle class arranged the corruption among the political leaders, higher-ranking bureaucrats and top class military officers have developed the existence of army in the politics and in the lack of self-governing system.¹⁵⁵ Dr. Ayesha Siddiqa explained the position of military and his well-established organization run in the business sector of country and Pakistan's manufactures are in the hands of senior military bureaucrats.¹⁵⁶ The human being has encouraged the Pakistan's military worth about £ 10 billion.

Similarly in service and retired military officers run the Industrial business in the country, and these types of manufacturing makes each and everything.

¹⁵² Welch, Claude E., Jr. Cote D'Ivoire: *Personal Rule and Civilian Control*, Boulder Colorado West view Press, 1987, p.p. 172.194.

¹⁵³ <http://moududahmed.com/3.html>

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Rock, M.T, *Thailand's old bureaucratic polity and its new semi-democracy*, in: M. Khan and K. S. Jomo (eds) *Rents and Rent-seeking Economic Development: Theory and the Asian Evidence*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.p. 183-206.

¹⁵⁶ Siddiqa, Ayesha, Military Inc. : *Inside Pakistan Military Economy* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, p.4.

5.1.8 Lack of Political Institution

The weakness of political institutions have been highlighted by Ahmed, Khan, Rounaq Jahan, Bertocei and as well as by other scholars. Ahmed pushes the question to establishments and thinks as a systematic flaw of the institutions. According to him, the responsibilities of the organizations needed the requirement of agreement related with politically sections of the population regarding the personality of political authority. He believes that these types of dynamic and along with other equipments led to the sources of military involvements. According to him, the raise of military into power has the reason of weak political institution and as well as the reason of weak political administration. His thought was much more related to Samuel Huntington's explanations and wanted to clarify the causes of military interventions. He was unclear to simplify the approach of military intervention in terms of socio and political culture of the country. He reached to the most important institution of the military involvement in politics not only the reason of military itself but it is also the sources of weak politics.¹⁵⁷ Professor Dr. Ronaque Jahan gives the approval with the some points has raised by Khan. He was also pointed out that after the independence of Bangladesh, Awami League successfully completed the job of constitution making process, but he failed to establish the powerful control of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman. The long term Mujib government had the reasonable power which has continued in the hands of one individual, and promised the traditional structure of the family started by the trend of an authoritarian ruler. The raise of a military practice oligarchy in Bangladesh was happened due to the socio political dynamic in the post independence Bangladesh. The political and economic tragedy of the Mujib government, Islamic legacy of Bangladesh and the criticisms of armed forces, all of them go back to the praetorian's model of the Bangladesh polity.

According to Huntington, the following blames were explained to the political system of low level of links and high rank of membership undertakes the position so that social forces used their techniques in the political field.¹⁵⁸ The well-being has attempt for self-government of Bangladesh formed by the representative of state involvement in the possessions. The available sources satisfied the military interference and overlook these important relationships between the

¹⁵⁷ Huntington, *Political Order*, p. 194.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 80.

state, class, economy and they closed with the interested minor issues such as the need of political groups and financial collapse of the civil government.

5.1.9 Role of military on National Defense

The primary aim of military is to defend the country from the external threats. Mainly during the war time, armed forces are responsible to arrange the nation's income by assuming the direct control over paramilitary, police forces and civil transportation. The military has absolutely occupied in committed gathering and as well as in foreign intelligence services. All three forces have their own intelligence directorates of services and supported to military functions and they meet the requirement of intelligence plan. The chairman of the Directorate of National Security Intelligence and Intelligence Forces are usually remained the closet Advisor of the President. Special police Branch has also work with an intelligence Wing and increase both the Directorates' of intelligence competences. Another organization of the Presidential Security Forces was formed by General Ershad when he was Chief martial law administrator; and the organization job given the guarantee to the physical security of General Ershad and his family. The Bangladeshi safety planners have suggested that India is a regional threat. She has been the entity of three main Indian Security issue since her independence, internal strength, planned position in relation to China and Dhaka's and take place with Indian tribal revolutions.

5.1.10 Political Crises

Since after the independence of Bangladesh on 16th December 1971, the fall of government politically and administratively remained the major problems in the country up till now. The political issue in Bangladesh led to corruption, poverty and brutal problem in the education system. The first political party, Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-Ur-Rehman, for the support of new Republic of Bangladesh in 1973. But unfortunately his self-governing rule rapidly turned into autocratic and on the basis of his cruel rule, military took over the control on 25th March 1982 under the leadership of General H.M Ershad. He changed the constitution and legitimized the rule in the name of Islam and State religion and therefore political Islam come into the majority of votes in the political system of Bangladesh. The Bangladesh has been

governing a parliamentary form of government including a separate judiciary system and it is still under the political clashes.¹⁵⁹

The Awami League is a centre left famous secular democratic political party, and plan is hold up by the minorities group like as Shia Muslims and Bangladeshi Hindus. In September 1978, Bangladesh Nationalist Party was found by the former President Zia-ur-Rehman. The position of Bangladesh Nationalist Party is a right centre, nationalist traditional and business interest party. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party has remained popular in Bangladesh in connection to the Bengali loyalty with Islam; although it was a secular party. Later on both of them made a coalition with Islamist groups. The example of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party with the political followers of the Jamiat-i- Islami was openly supported to the Bangladesh Military. Jamiat-i- Islami was called for the implementation of Shariah as well as for the establishment of Islamic system in Bangladesh. The Bangladesh Islamist parties were mainly focused on the Jamiat-i- Islami and the Islamic Oikye Jote (IOJ), politically they were supported by Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party have well-known on the basis of economic stabilizations in the previous decade through the various financial developments.¹⁶⁰ According to the report of World Bank, corruption is the major problems to economic and social development and the source of weakness in the rule of law and in other institutions. The primary areas of corruption are concerned with education and poverty, all of them were being broken by Islamist groups. All these problems can be different by a successful resolution between the Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party. In Bangladesh the Political problems are mainly related to the disturbance of political system, weak governance and determined corruption. Generally Bangladesh is a force for self-control in international forums, and it is also the long time planner in international peacekeeping processes. Bangladesh is the second major donor to UN peacekeeping missions.¹⁶¹ All these things are becomes the cause of military intervention in the politics of Bangladesh.

¹⁵⁹ Bangladesh Today, International Crises Group. *Asia Report No. 121*, 23rd October 2006, p.3.

¹⁶⁰ South Asia Bangladesh, Key Economic Indicators. *United States House of Representatives, House Committee on Foreign Affairs*.

¹⁶¹ www.studymode.com/essays/political

5.1.11 Political Corruption

The political corruption has become the part of each and every government in Bangladesh since his independence. The period of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had become a primary issue of corruption in Bangladesh, under the discussion of public. In his era, the major part of the permits and licenses were given to Awami League workers who sold their licenses to specialist buyers.¹⁶² Although General Ziaur Rahman was not involved in the corruption but he was only famous with institutionalizing corrupt actions. General Ziaur Rahman regime was famous in the name of corruption and misuse of power affected in the consumption of almost 40% percent of the total income allocated for growth. Under Zia's presidential rule, parliamentary and local level elections to some extent has prejudiced in favour of his party. The corruption was present in each and every part of the country and the nature of corruption was included by various forms of petty corruption, project corruption and programmatic corruption. In 1982, introduction to Upazila system has not only legalized and strengthened his position through decentralizing the directorial and judiciary system upto to the level of Upzila government but at the same time corruption increased to the grassroots phases. In Bangladesh culture where corruption is common in public sector, practically it is believed that it handles the maximum stages of government. The major forms of political corruptions are bribery, misuse and dishonesty.

There are also some other reasons which help to promote the political corruption in Bangladesh, including the problems of money in politics, funding of political parties and electoral campaigns, candidate nomination and combined business, institutional flaw and weak democracy.¹⁶³ Bangladesh's politics has been remained confused since his independence. The age of self-governing ruled have been broken up by coups, martial law and states of emergency. The problem of corruption was existed in Bangladesh before and after 1971, when it became self-ruling from Pakistan. Political instability in Bangladesh has led to murders and overthrows that brought to Khaleda Zia and Hassina Wajid to carry on. The focus of this study is generally related to the causes of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh comparatively.

¹⁶² Muniruzzaman, Talukder, Economic Crisis and political Polarization, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 15 No. 2, Feb (1975) p. 118.

¹⁶³ Euban, J. Peter, *On Political Corruption*, *American Review*, 36:1, Winter (1978), p. 103.

5.1.12 Institutional Weakness

The institutional weaknesses of the country have overtaken to the lack of skill in the institutions to perform the selected job within the agenda to complete the objectives. In Bangladesh, the institutional blame emerged in the way of political corruption which continued since his independence. The study of bureaucratic culture in Bangladesh told us that corruption is considered as a core thing in the politics and as well as in institutions. Like Election Commission, Public Service Commission, Judiciary, bureaucracy, media and civil society are not properly doing their jobs in the concerned institutions. The above mentioned institutions are remained the main causes of the military interventions in Bangladesh since their establishments.

5.1.13 Fragile Democracy

In Bangladesh's politics the party system is dominated by two competitors and also made their linkes with minor groups. The Awami League is considered to be more social democratic party, whereas the Bangladesh Nationalist Party is considered as a general conventional group. Both of them are involved in the list slaughter, killing, threats and corruption by the oppositions as a cause for non co-operation and distrust. The country wide general strike in twenty in one years planned by both sides and they turned the powerful protest into political power and strength.¹⁶⁴

The majority of political parties are responsible for prevailing political system live, self interest, and greediness and power trust. The parliamentary elections were held on 7th May 1986 which supported to the Upazila system in the form of rigging and frustration of voters and hijacking of ballot boxes. The opposition party blamed the winner party through a media campaign and other activities. Therefore, rights of people to cost their vote freely, fairly, bravely and wisely broken by the force and violence that was overstated by the ruling party. A weak democracy in Bangladesh created the verbal communication disputes among the groups, because of the reason that government controls the media, rising of Islamism and position of military. Simplicity and honesty of government communication is a crucial element of the government,

¹⁶⁴ Moore, Mike, Bangladesh a Fragile Democracy, *Towards a World without Walls*, 23rd September, source available at www.mike-moore.info/Archive/2006/09Sept23_06_Bangladesh.html.

however, after the independence both the channels of radio and TV have been used as an administrator of the government in Bangladesh.¹⁶⁵

In Bangladesh, military rulers gives the optioned to decide and future maneuverings of recording electoral choice through the rigging and conduct of elections to achieve a face of authority and to maintain their control over the state power. Since the fall of Sheikh Mujib government in August 1975, the regime of military rulers has became a usual feature in the politics of Bangladesh.

5.1.14 Military as an Institution

Military as an institution gives many justifications to accept a political position. At first step, military want to be an enhanced its share's in the national wealth. And on the second stage military wish to maintain a political power in their hands. There are also some other explanations for military involvement in politics and the position was informed by Alfred Stephen and his focus on an institutional change theory, fights and military interference in politics end from a change in the military move toward and control.

He further disagrees that the military become the dominated ruler in a vast part of the increased of a new professionalism, whereas the military modified its usual particular exercise to include the socio economic and political skill. Other analysis of the military as institution pointed out by the numerous scholars such as Juan Linz, Guillermo, O, Donnel, and Felipe Aguero have drawn their interest for the relation between military cooperation and fall down of the elected representative in political existence shapes. It is unsure that the valid succession of political power from one set to another desires prior agreement to influence the problem of authority.

5.1.15 Democracy and Religion

Democracy and Religion have worked together in the politics of Bangladesh since independence. The periods of elected governments have been broken up by coups, martial law and states emergency. This is also the result of small numbers of political groups that were separated from the major political parties. The majority of these small binding groups were shaped mostly by a group of like minded academics or politicians and often broken by the larger

¹⁶⁵ Baxter, Craig and Rahman, Syedur. Bangladesh Military: Political Institutionalization and Economic Development, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. xxvi, No. 1-2, 1991, (Holland), pp. 50-51.

groups. However there are five major political groups that are working in the country. After, the demise of General Ziaur Rehman and General Ershad rules, the elected governments were incapable to establish the structure of existing government with the help of growing fanaticism and religious favoritism.

The increasing number of Madras's over the break of time has turned into hopeful extremism and religious intolerance towards the minorities groups. Both the political parties are separated on the basis of human being and considered as pro-Indian or pro-Pakistan. Awami League was considered as diplomat pro-Indian, moderate secular party and Bangladesh Nationalist Party was defined as pro-Pakistan and right wing party. Initially, the constitution of Bangladesh was drafted in 1972 which has obviously explained the government of Bangladesh as religious. After the statement of executive report, three amendments were made in the constitution but they are not implemented. The report has deleted the secular appearance and introduced a slogan and cleared that basic state principal is depend on complete faith and confidence in the Almighty Allah. The word of Bissimillah ir Rahman ir Rahim (In the name of Allah the Beneficent and most gracious included) in the beginning, before the introduction of the constitution.¹⁶⁶ The conflicts of religious parties and as well as other two main political group's i. e Awami League & Bangladesh Nationalist Party were accountable for the access of military to enter in the politics of Bangladesh.

5.1.16 Crisis of the State

The crises of state become the major issue in the political existence of Bangladesh which needs to form a powerful set up in the country. The crises of state have been started at once after the birth of Bangladesh in 1972. State was under the fight of military and two main political parties were weakened the democratic culture of Bangladesh. Most of the times governed by the military General's and rests of times are under the hold of two begum's i. e Hasina Wajid and Khalida Zia. The clashes of state emergency have generated on the basis of vested interest of the military and as well as self interest of the political leaders which are responsible for the state disturbance. Bangladesh was always remained under the custody of military rule and civilian governments. The causes of state conflict has a huge level of corruption were done by the

¹⁶⁶ Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim (In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful). This Islamic opening phrase was inserted through the Proclamation (Amendment) Order 1977, (*Proclamation Order No. 1 of 1977*).

military dictators and the political leaders ruled in the respectively periods of governments for their personal interests, so that main issue of state crisis was only for the struggled of power among the army and politicians.

5.1.17 Political legitimacy

There are numerous things of the political legitimacy in the politics of Bangladesh have been studied; constitution, politicians, judges, nations, laws. It has been usually well-known by the citizens in elected countries which make a clear division between their thoughts in the state and visions of politicians, parties and governments. A better term used in the politics for the political legitimacy that would be considered as a state enclosed polity and encircles those cases where leaders, parties or governments are similar to state.¹⁶⁷ There is a general statement about his need of sympathetic suggestion for the way that states lead toward citizen and others. States want the authenticity that offers more income for the maintenance of their rules and less successful to governance which decrease the support of government and make them weak to fall down.

It is proposed that all the citizens are treated equally in their jobs. The purpose of the state could be run smoothly; otherwise military takeover the system of government at any time.

¹⁶⁷ Bruce Gilley, The Meaning and Measure of State Legitimacy, *European Journal of Political Research*, No. 45, Princeton University, New Jersey, USA 2006, p.p. 499-525.

CONCLUSION

The aim of current research is to explore the role of military in Pakistan and Bangladesh with the inclusion of historical events. The study is divided into three main categories; role of military in politics, civil-military relations and causes of military interventions in politics. The research has employed the legitimacy model. The previous methodology of the legitimacy model has provided the great source to the existing research and presents the reliable results. The summary of the findings and recommendations are as follow:

FINDINGS

Role of Military in Politics

In conclusion with respect to the role of military in politics, we found it to be a result of weak political system which has allowed the military interventions in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Military has got the long experience in politics of both the countries even during the period of civilian rules. The continued military interventions in the politics of two countries have produced a way for the failure of democracy. It has further discouraged the growth and expansion of parliamentary democracy and as well as damaged each and every thing. The small confidence of the peoples finished from the political institutions that is bad, it is also eroded the faith of people's from them-selves as citizens of a sovereign, independent, democratic country. It is clear that both the countries cannot be live under the military rule, without a civilian front wall, because of the reason that military rule requires the legitimacy and also hold the anachronism in the world of global markets.

The constitutions of both the countries have kept united, and allowed the democracy to survive it and reserved the armed forces at bark. The British custom of the army has identified the job of military and civil authority in the affairs of state which has carried out. The guidance of history is moving back towards. If we are not watchful, our fledging democracy may, after all, turn out to have been a historical accident and an afterthought that is closing before our eyes. Today Pakistan has no choice: It is proposed that either to be part of the democratic world or not to be at all. Pakistan will never be at all it can be, let alone all it need to be, if the involvement of army is not stop in future from the political conflict and civil administration.

The focus of my research is that, "Only the influential public demands have to control the armed forces to take their defense responsibilities under the ways of political direction which can bring about a change". This job must be done in today. Tomorrow, we will be too late. Today our option is still in our hands, but it soon may pass away from our control.

Civil-Military Relations

Regarding the conclusion to civil-military relations in Pakistan and Bangladesh, we have found that it will be separated from a lot of cleavages and as well as many groups, all of which have responsible for the basic need of institutions and a majority of association. Since the independence of both countries, civil-military relations have been described by the non-institutions and informal rules. This is a major reason that why the leading community cleavages have been able to find the unlimited use of right in politically and socio-cultural has isolated the armed forces from politics and these happening provided the help to create and maintain the military factionalism. Consequently, the high degree of politicization among the soldiers through the entire rank and their combination has made the non-institutionalized civilian control and weak party politics and personal challenges of the country until today. In addition, the Generals maintain a veto power in the formulated process of foreign policy, Internal Security as well as National Defense issues. Finally, with regard to Military Organization, the defense budget remains insulated from civilians. There are, however, signs of some increases in the civilian control. First, the armed forces have begun to control themselves mainly to planning the hardware of military organization such as force structure, equipment, and supplies, as well as the software of shifting its approach to former doctrines including the process of identifying new fighters. Second, there are also some growing suggestions in the traditional alliance between the armed forces and civilian bureaucracy. To undertake the said dispute and military efforts to enhance the internal unity through military organization reforms are undertaken. But these processes of professionalism and institutionalization lead to a situation in which the specific cleavages were provisionally frozen. Therefore, civilian's controls in the particular fields are not in favour of the institutionalizing and their relations with the armed forces. Today it appears that Pakistan has moved towards a higher level of civilian control, after the broken periods of direct and indirect military rule. It has emerged that military, at least officially, is becoming more and more separated from the civilian affairs, and military may change itself in near future into a

“politically clean and neutral” means of its principal, the state. But to what extents it can be one talk about a maintainable process of the democratization or instead a democratic break remains undecided.

In Bangladesh it seems that the need of institutionalized civilian control is increasingly filled by some civil society. The armed forces of both countries will continue to be a major player in the politics and they will gradually be more bound to fight with civilian governments.

Causes of Military Interventions

There are numerous causes of military interventions in the politics, which are identified during the research, by the legitimacy model has to analyze the actions of politicians and their unhappiness performances. The dealings of the politicians and their political party's selection from the politics of comeback, carpet crossing from one political party to another, ethnicity, low political culture, weak political institutions, legacy of British army, invested interest of the military, political corruption, poor ideologies and superiority. Military takeover is always carried out on the cause of bad governance and corruption but it is very strange that military regimes are become too victim of corruption and ultimately collapse. Military interventions are always followed by the statement that it is for a very short period but in the end military falls in love with power. Military junta is not capable of dealing with civilian leaders which were more complex issues of the country. It is powerless; to convert its organizational and technological skills to the establishment of their countries' systems. These events were the evidence in both countries. However, violent benefits, corruption and ethnicity are more than from Pakistan.

The most common issues were seen in both countries like, economic crisis; political dimension of two the major political parties, poverty, and illiteracy, elite's class and role of the religion in politics. The Politicians have failed to come up with concrete demands of the mass to handle the social, economic and political crisis of the countries for the improvement and benefit of the peoples. Inflation, poverty, income in equality, illiteracy, diseases, and population explosions, sectarian's violence, remain a major challenge in the country and not in favour of the elected governments and military rulers enter in the politics that have ruled in both countries. Another constant of the social hurdle has motivated the economics problems in two countries. Political weakness has characterized with ringing, corruption, nepotism and unconstitutional governance which has the general causes of military interventions in both countries.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Role of Military in Politics

Regarding the role of military in politics, it is important to note, that the civilian governments should make the efforts to reduce the remaining influence of the military in politics, redefining their roles in a clear way that will decrease their influence in the policy making process but at the same time they should be vigilant of them in the political process.

Each and every civilian government should give their agenda to the general masses and give out put of the plan at the end of government period. Furthermore, the goal of the existing government should be prepared in order to enhance the quality of living standard of the general masses, the socio-economic facilities and security provided to them. These measurements should strengthen the democratic culture in both countries.

The external pressures started from the geopolitical weakness of country should be distressed. In the absence of middle class, the elite class always gets the benefit from the primary class in the political ground. If they provide the equal opportunities to the middle class to get education and employment, the middle class will grow in the politics. Due to these arrangements, army will not be able to enter in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Each and every political party must be free, politically organized and strictly follow the democratic rule fruitfully.

Civil-Military Relations

Civil-Military relations can be defined in term of equilibrium between the civilian and military organization and institutions and their internal combination. According to the present theory of civil-military relations, there is a complete division between the civil and military relations. It is mandatory for the military and civilian to do their jobs in the respective field, so that military intervention can be stop in the politics.

As regards, the well being of the general mass, the politician should play the proper role in the politics that will be strengthening in their political support and in future for the growth of democracy. They should provide the equal facilities to all the citizens. They should start their journey in the right direction, due to the measurement of these approaches; the army will never enter in the politics of any country. All possible services should be provided to the masses in the

requirements of their daily life and give the equal opportunities to each and every citizen. The entry of corrupt and less educated politician in politics may be stopped. These steps will help them to get out of poverty and address internal security challenges using responsible public institutions rather than the military. If military and politicians are doing their jobs in the respective field, the army involvement in the politics of two countries will never be appeared in near future.

Causes of Military Interventions

Strengthening the political institutions and followed the strict measurement to stop the way of military interventions and not to interfere in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Each and every institution should be fair and free from the internal and external involvement. Politicians should be at least Master degree holder in their respective field. A proper technique for check and balance should strictly be taken. Corruption, nepotism, riggings, political victimization, rights abuses and other political weaknesses should be eliminated from the politics. All these things are the main sources of military interventions in politics. They should build up a smooth and strong civil-military relation in the countries who will act as prevention to the ambitious soldiers not to take part in the politics of two countries.

The significant role of economic stability and the successful growth of democratization will be familiar. The economic role of the democracy should strictly be followed by all the political parties in connection with their participation in the political developments of both countries. Particularly the young generation should take part in political demands to moderate the activities of politicians and to prevent the military from re-entering in the politics. Opportunities should be provided to the middle class category people to take part in the politics. A separate political unit will be established for the training of politicians. The imposition of complete ban on the activities of care taker government, who provided the support to the favorable political parties during the days of elections and also to prohibit the care taker governments not take part in the activities of political parties in elections through print and electronic media.

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