

# MILITARY IN BANGLADESH POLITICS: A CASE STUDY OF ERSHAD REGIME.

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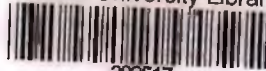
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B.A. ( Hons.) M.A.M.Phil. (Dhaka)

GIFT

Thesis Submitted to the University of Dhaka for the Degree of  
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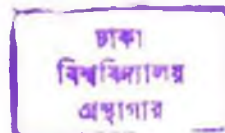
Ph.D Thesis  
Department of Political Science  
University of Dhaka  
Dhaka, Bangladesh.  
December, 1997.

## DECLARATION

This study is based on my own research work and to the best of my knowledge , it has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any University of the world. I confirm that this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except by way of quotation and duly acknowledged .

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**CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISOR**

*With regard to the thesis entitled "Military in Bangladesh Politics: A Case Study of Ershad Regime" submitted by Md. Mizanur Rahman Sikder for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh.*

*I certify that*

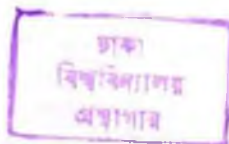
- i) he has carried out the research work under my direct supervision and guidance from June, 1991 to December, 1997 and that the manuscript of the thesis has been scrutinised by me;*
- ii) the entire thesis comprises the candidate's own work and it is his own personal achievement. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title of recognition;*
- iii) the thesis is not a joint research work with me or with any one else;*
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- v) and the final type copy of the thesis which is being submitted to the University office has been carefully read by me for its material and language and is to my entire satisfaction;*
- vi) the thesis is worthy of consideration for the award of Ph.D degree and*
- vii) I hope that this thesis will make a valuable contribution to the existing knowledge of Military and Politics in the third world countries.*

Dated: Dhaka,

The 24<sup>th</sup> December, 1997.

382517

  
Dr. M. Nazrul Islam



## Abstract

In Bangladesh the military plays a most crucial role in politics and administration of the country. Certainly they are the ruling elite of the country. Since her inception as an independent nation on December 16, 1971 Bangladesh passed a long period of 25 years. But during the period several times the military intervened in politics and placed the country under Martial law and more than a decade the military directly or indirectly ruled the country and still they are the dominant force. But what is more important is that since the assumption of state power on March 24, 1982 by the then Army Chief of Staff Lt. General Hossain Mohammad Ershad the military continued to play its dominating role in all affairs of life until he was forced to resign on December 6, 1990. During this time the power and influence of the military expanded tremendously and their control over politics and administration of the country took a permanent shape.

This study entitled "Military in Bangladesh Politics: A case study of Ershad Regime" is an attempt to analyse how did military emerge as the ruling elite in Bangladesh and continue to play its dominating role in politics and administration of the country. This study analyses the military regime of General Ershad in Bangladesh and underlines why did the military under the leadership of General Ershad intervene in the politics of Bangladesh. This study also analyses how did General Ershad consolidate his political power and how did he civilianize his Martial Law Regime in Bangladesh. This study also traces the role of the opposition political parties during the period of Ershad's Regime in Bangladesh. This study focuses how did the regime of General Ershad militarize the politics and administration of Bangladesh. It also underlines how the power and influence of military during this regime expanded greatly. This study further reveals how the military occupied the most prestigious and privileged position in the society and were playing the most dominating role in every affairs of state and administration. This study further reveals how corruption and misrule had become an integral part of Ershad Regime and analyse the impact of Martial Law in the democratic institution building in Bangladesh. This study finally analyses how the



military regime of General Ershad acted as the protector of the interest of the bourgeois class and how this regime helped to grow a small capitalists class to whom wealth of the country being concentrated.

Finally this study analyse that the military can not bring about any far reaching change in the socio-economic and political affairs of life rather it acts as a great hindrance to progress,prosperity and development.

## Preface

The study entitled "Military in Bangladesh politics :A case study of Ershad Regime" is submitted to the University of Dhaka for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in political science. It is a case study of General Ershad 's Military Regime in Bangladesh which captured state power on March 24,1982 and ruled the country for a period of about nine years. This study aims at to examine how the power and influence of Military in the politics and administration of Bangladesh increased tremendously and took a permanent footing during the regime of General Ershad.

In conducting this work, I received full co-operation from my supervisor Dr.M.Nazrul Islam,Professor,Department of Political Science,University of Dhaka who read through this thesis at all stages with great patience and made valuable criticism. I am greatly indebted to him.

I acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Emajuddin Ahmed, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, University of Dhaka and Dr.Talukder Maniruzzaman Professor, Political Science Department, University of Dhaka for their kind help and encouragement. I am also indebted to Dr.Najma Chowdhury, Professor ,Political Science Department, University of Dhaka and Ex-Advisor of Care-Taker Government, People's Republic of Bangladesh who was also my supervisor at M.Phil level and Dr.Ataur Rahman, Dr.Shamsul Huda Harun, Professor, Political Science Department,University of Dhaka for their inspiration.

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✓ In spite of my best efforts there are some mistakes in typing in the study. I regret for these mistakes. Needless to say, for all errors and shortcomings, views and statements of facts found in this study I am responsible.

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## Abbreviation

AL	= Awami League.
BNP	= Bangladesh Nationalist Party.
CPB	= Communist party of Bangladesh.
BAKSAL	= Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League.
JP	= Jatiya party.
NAP (B)	= National Awami Party (Bashani).
NAP (M)	= National Awami party (Muzaffor)
UPP	= United people 's party.
JSD	= Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal.
UZ	= Upazila.
ML	= Martial Law.
CMLA	= Chief Martial Law Administrator.
OMS	= Open market Sale.
MR	= Modified Rationing.
VR	= Village Rationing.
VGD	= Vulnerable Group Development.
DCMLA	= Deputy Chief Martial Law Administration.
C in C	= Commander-in Chief
GOC	= General Officers Commanding.
CGS	= Chief of General staff.
DGFI	= Director General of Force Intelligence.
FIU	= Field intelligence unit.
JCD	= Jatiyatabadi Chattra Dal.
BDR	= Bangladesh Rifle.
BCL	= Bangladesh chattra league
BSD	= Bangladesh Samajtantrik Dal.

- NSE = National security Council.
- BCIC = Bangladesh Chemical Industrial corporation.
- DMC = Dhaka Medical College.
- RTDC = Road Transport Development Corporation.
- REB = Rural Electrification Board.
- PDB = Power Development Board.
- PSC = Public Service Commission

## Glossary

Purba Bangla	= East Bengal.
Mukti Bahini	= Liberation Army.
Andolon	= Movement.
Jatiya Samajtrantick Dal	= National Socialist Party.
Jatiya Sangshad	= National Assembly.
Gono Bahine	= People's Army.
Biplobi Sainik Sangstha	= Revolutionary Soldiers Associations
Jawn	= Soldiers.
Bangabhavan	= Official Residence of President
Bangabondhu	= Friends of Bangal
BDR	= Broader Security Forces.
Gram Sarker	= Village Government
Jatiya	= National
Krishak Sramik Raj	= Rule of the Peasants and workers.
Parishad	= Council
Shaheed	= Martyr.
Pir	= Religious Divines with a Large body of disciples
Rakhi Bahini	= Security Force
Murid	= Disciples.
Shadin	= Independent

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Introduction**

In the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America the Military have been playing a vital role in the politics and administration. After the second-world war particularly during the period of 1950's and 1960's a large number of new states achieved independence through nationalist movement from colonial power. The independence movements were led by nationalist charismatic leaders. After liberation in most cases, government fails to function properly. But what the reality is that the pre-independence dream of a glorious future does not come true. What people see around is unlimited poverty, hunger, disease and misery. Being unable to materialise their hopes and aspirations they become agitated, which leads to political and social instability.

Democratic institutions which gradually developed in Europe were alien to the developing nation. Moreover, democracy, in most cases, is not allowed to function. The new nations with few exception suffer from a dearth of well-organized political parties and competent political leadership. The Military on the other hand occupies a distinctive position in the new nation. The armed forces are more organized than the civilian institution. As they stay at a distance from civil society, their public image is high. They are considered honest, patriotic and a symbol of national sovereignty. The Military due to its strategic position in the society, displaces the civil government and runs the state in collaboration with bureaucracy.

In the backdrop of the failure of the civilian administration the Military intervene in politics and claim that they have to intervene because of their public responsibility to constitutions and the nation and express intention to hand over power to democratically elected government. But in practices they convert their military rule into a civilianised one and try to retain power.

## 1.1 Scope of the study

Bangladesh, a state of the third-world is no exception to military intervention in politics. After its emergence as an independent nation on December 16, 1971 a civilian government of the Awami League headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman started. But very soon the regime became the victim of internal and external conspiracy and in this process the regime of Sheikh Mujib was toppled in a bloody military coup on August 15, 1975 which killed Mujib. The coup of August 15, 1975 which brought an end to the Mujib regime and cost the life of Mujib and most of his family members marked the beginning of the era of military intervention in Bangladesh politics. After Mujib, the pro-western faction of the Awami League headed by Khondaker Mustaque Ahmed assumed Presidentship of the country. But very soon he was also overthrown by another military coup on November 03, 1975 led by Brigadier Khalid Musharraf who promoted himself as Major General and became the Chief of staff of the army. He arrested Major General Ziaur Rahman, the former chief of staff and kept him under house arrest. Khalid Mousharraf appointed Justice A.S.M. Sayem, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as President of the country. But a few days later, on the night of November 07, 1975, the sepyo of Dhaka Cantonment revolted against Khalid Musharraf and killed him under the leadership of Colonel Abu Taher and his Biplobi Sainik Sangstha, a secret armed organ of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal- which was formed earlier within the Bangladesh armed forces. The sepyo revolution of November 07, 1975 brought Ziaur Rahman to power who ruled the country first through Martial Law and then through civilianizing his Martial Law regime. General Zia ruled the country for about five and a half years and on May 30, 1981 he was also overthrown by another military coup led by Major General Manzoor which killed Zia and later General Manzoor was also killed after a coup. Following Zia's death his Vice-President Justice Abdus Sattar became an acting President of the country and later was formally elected as President on November 15, 1981. As President he continued only 4 months and on March 24, 1982, he was also toppled by a bloodless coup led by army Chief of Staff Lt. General Hossain Mohammad Ershad.

In this study entitled "Military in Bangladesh Politics : A case study of Ershad Regime" an attempt will be made to analyse the military regime of General Ershad in Bangladesh and its impact on Bangladesh politics. In this connection a thorough attempt will



be made to examine the following questions. Why does the military intervene in the politics of developing countries ? How did Military emerge as the ruling elite in Bangladesh politics ? How did General Ershad begin his martial law regime in Bangladesh? How far did the political parties of the country react against the military regime of General Ershad ? How was the military regime of General Ershad civilianised and how was the administration of Bangladesh militarized ? What impact of Martial law was there in the democratic institution building in Bangladesh ? What was the effect of Martial Law in the socio-economic development of the country ? Why did the regime of General Ershad survive maximum period in power? How did the regime of General Ershad help to increase the military dominance in politics and administration of the country? and finally, Is military really a permanent force to control the politics of Bangladesh?

## **1.2 Methodology.**

The Methodological approach in the present study is primarily historical and analytical. It is essential first to clarify the method of procedures as used for data collection in the present study. Both historical and empirical survey methods are adopted in the study. In order to understand the dominance of military in politics and administration and military intervention in politics it was considered essential to trace briefly the historical development. A brief account of the recent past have been studied. It is by no means a complete historical development of the regime but some important events of political development in the recent past have simply been highlighted which was considered to be relevant for the study. Secondary sources are used for tracing political development of the country.

One of the significant features of the study is the use of both primary and secondary data and information. Published materials on military in the third world countries including Bangladesh have been used in the study. The important secondary sources were Government documents and reports, publications on civil military and bureaucracy, News paper and journals, xeroxed copies of old documents, periodicals, statistical Year Book of Bangladesh. In order to find out materials and documents the library of Dhaka University, Public Library at Shahbag, National archives at Shere-Bangla Nagar, Community Development Library at Dhanmondi and the British Council library have been used.

Interview techniques have also been used in the study for collecting primary data and information. High ranking Military officers and Political party leaders have been interviewed. Some Government and Semi Government Officials who are aware of the Military involvement in politics were also interviewed. A significant numbers of politically conscious citizens of the country were also interviewed. The collected data and information have been analysed and examined critically in order to make the study more analytical.

### **1.3 Thesis structure :**

The study has been divided into the following chapters :

1. Chapter one introduces this study and analyses its objective, scope and methodology.
2. Chapter two analyses the theoretical framework of the study and the causes of military intervention in the politics of developing countries.
3. Chapter three discusses briefly the Pre-Ershad Civil and Military regimes in Bangladesh.
4. Chapter four deals with General Ershad's imposition of Martial Law in Bangladesh.
5. Chapter five examines the process of consolidation of political power and civilianization of Ershad's Martial Law Regime in Bangladesh. In this connection the anti-Ershad movement of the political parties during the period in Bangladesh is also analysed.
6. Chapter six analyses various reforms and changes of General Ershad's Regime in Bangladesh.
7. Chapter seven discusses the economic policies of General Ershad's Martial Law Regime in Bangladesh.

8. Chapter eight analyses General Ershad's efforts towards militarization of politics and administration in Bangladesh.
9. Chapter nine focuses on the consequences of General Ershad's Martial Law Regime in Bangladesh.
10. Chapter ten discusses about the survival of General Ershad's Regime in Bangladesh Politics. In this connection an attempt is made to analyse the mass upsurge of 1990 which led to the collapse of General Ershad's Regime in Bangladesh.
11. Chapter eleven contains the summary and conclusion of this study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **MILITARY IN POLITICS : A Theoretical frame-work**

#### **2.1. Introduction :**

Military intervention in the politics of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a common phenomenon. More than two-thirds of the new states of the developing nations already experienced military intervention which was increasing day by day all over the developing countries of the world. With the end of the second world war in 1945 and in the process of decolonization, a large number of new states had emerged throughout the pre-colonial states. The political authorities of these new states most often failed to run their states effectively and achieve modernization and development. As a result military takeover took place frequently. So the armed forces have emerged as the pre-eminent political force in many of the third world countries. The intervening regime in these countries, in most cases, in order to attain public approval for their intervention often transfer them to civilian rule. So the military has been marked as the most important political contender for power<sup>1</sup>. They influence political decision making, dominate and control Government and as such become the direct rulers of the country.

Military intervention constitutes as one of the major characteristics of non-western politics. Throughout the whole region of Africa, Asia and Latin America the intervention of military increased at an alarming rate. Out of 28 nation states established between 1917 to 1955, 15 suffered from coup. It has been observed that during the 1960's and 1970's there was the highest rate of military intervention in state politics<sup>2</sup>. A study shows that during the period of 1958-73 in Latin America 13 of it's 20 states (62%), in Africa 21 of it's 42 (50%) and in South and South-East Asia 9 of it's 22(41%) were under military rule. Even Europe has not been free from military intervention. During the same period 3 of its's 28(11%) states of Europe have experienced military rule. A recent study also shows that there has been as many as 615 coups or counter coups, of which 316 were successful. Of these, 203 have taken place in Africa, 208 in Latin America, 113 in Asia, 73 in the Middle-East and the rest in Europe. BY June 1987,



## 2.2. Military coup, its Definition and types.

Chairman Mao stated that "power grows out of the barrel of gun"<sup>3</sup>. The ultimate power of the state lies with the men who possess guns and who have actual coercive power. Eric S. Nordlinger, argues that military intervention occurs when the army officers themselves take control of the Government. In his opinion, military regimes are those in which soldiers have seized power through the coup d'etat, officers or former officers hold the highest Governmental positions and governors are primarily dependent upon the officers corps for the retention of power.

Military intervention should not be synonymous with military coup. Military intervention can take place without a coup and without overthrowing a Government, while a coup is designed to dethrone of Government and install another either civil, military or civil military mixed. A coupe d'etat is a sudden forceful overthrow of a Government by a small group within the army. A successful coup consists of a few individuals who conspire together, remove the head of the state and assume leadership of the country. A successful coup must meet the following requirements (i) quick attempt, (ii) involve the use of an extra-legal force (iii) the incumbent Government must be replaced by coup leaders and (iv) the number of participants must be small. A coup is judged successful by the installation in power of a Government of the conspirator's own choosing<sup>4</sup>. A coup can be bloodless and need not include mass involvement. A coup can even be carried out by civilians using some army units. It is a distinct, planned operation involving the capture of crucial political organs and institutions. A coup is therefore different from the putsch which is carried out by a faction within the armed forces that leads to a takeover by the army as a whole. It is an attempt by a formal body within the armed forces under its appointed leadership.

A coup is different from a revolution. A revolution involves popular masses with an aim and objective and an ideology and programme of changing the socio-political structure of the society. A revolution is a mass-based movement for radical change. A coup is also different from civil war. In a civil war large elements of the armed forces compete for power.

*Coup is Com*

The types of military coup may be classified in the following manner.

S.E. Finer made a four fold classification of levels of military intervention. These are : 1) influence (2) blackmail (3) displacement and (4) supplement. He maintains that at both the first and second levels, the military works upon and through the civil authorities and remain behind the scenes. The third level i.e. the level of displacement, refers to the removal of one particular set of civilians by another without overthrowing the civilian regime. The fourth and most complete level of intervention is the level of supplement which sweeps away the civilian regime and establishes the military in its place<sup>5</sup>. S.P. Huntington puts forward three fold categorization of coups in terms of (1) Place, (2) Reforms and (3) Revolutionary<sup>6</sup>. These are based on the political objectives of the military coup but the military Government may undergo changes after it has replaced the civilian Government.

Morries Janowitz also put forward two separate models for civil military relations - one for the Western Nations and the other for the developing countries. According to him, three types of civil - military relations may be identified in the Western Nations. (1) Aristocratic (2) Democratic and (3) Totalitarian. For the developing nations he identifies five such types i) authoritarian-personal ii) authoritarian mass (3) democratic - competitive (4) civil - military coalition and (5) military oligarchy<sup>7</sup>.

A.R.Luckham has tried to take some of these factors into consideration in constructing his typology. His typology also deals with the role of the military in the developed as well as the developing nations. A major feature of Luckham's typology is that he uses the concept of the praetorianism for his typology but applies it to a particular kind of situation in developing countries. He divides the under-developed countries into the integral (Non-praetorian) and the fragmented (praetorian) categories and considers that the roles of the military in the two types of societies are different; the former typifying the guardian state and the later the praetorian state<sup>8</sup>.

Sank Seek Park's typology is four fold; (1) The military- dominant (2) The civil-military fused (3) The civilian dominant and (4) The civil-military balanced system depending



on the mutual strength and weakness of the civilian and military sectors and the degree of mutual penetration following the military takeover of the Government.

Park's military dominant system is further sub-divided into two types : permanent and temporary (care-taker). If the military elite decides to stay in power indefinitely, usually transforms itself into a pseudo-civilian elite<sup>9</sup>.

Furthermore, park tries to distinguish between the permanent military-dominant system and a civilian military fused system by examining whether the military elite or the disguised military elite separates itself from the civilian elite and controls the later or whether it fuses itself with the civilian elite.

The civil-military co-alition is further divided into two types, the civil-military coalition of a guardian type and the civil military coalition of a watch dog type. They are in turn divided into two sub-types : a guardian role, as a participant and as a non-participant; and a watching role as a participant and as a non-participant.

The civil-military coalition of the guardian type is a Government in which the military elite replaces the ruling elite with a new one and protects it, whereas on the other hand, the civil-military coalition of the watch dog type is a government in which the military replaces the ruling civilian leadership with a new one and supervises it.

Amos perlmutter categories military interventions into two types. arbitrator type and ruler-Type. According to perlmutter the arbitrator type army tends to be more professionally oriented, imposes the time limit on army rule and arrange to hand over power to an acceptable civilian regime. The ruler type army on the other hand, develops an independent political organization and fairly coherent and elaborate ideology not even considering a return to barracks<sup>10</sup>.

2.3. Background of military intervention in politics.

1) Military's strength for capture of political power.

The military in newly independent states occupy a distinct position in the society. It maintains a national outlook, more oriented to Western practices and ideas and control the instruments of violence. In these countries the military is more organized than any other civilian association. Therefore, it has, as suggested by S.E. Finer three massive political advantages over civilian institutions; a marked superiority in organization, a highly emotional symbolic status and monopoly of arms<sup>11</sup>. He argues that the army is a purposive instrument and is characterized by a centralized command, hierarchy, discipline, inter-communication and a corresponding isolation and self sufficiency. Because of these special characteristics, modern armies are much more highly organized compared to other civilian association within the state. Edward Feit commented that the military constitutes "The only well organized and coherent arms of the government, the only arm that can made its writ run through the country"<sup>12</sup>. Focussing on the organizational superiority of the military, Perlmutter argued that the military is the most cohesive and politically the best organized group at a given time in a political system<sup>13</sup>. Morris Janowitz also stated that the organizational format designed to carry out military functions as well as experience in the management of violence is at the root of the ability of these armies to intervene in politics<sup>14</sup>.

In the new states the military have been recognized as the most modernized institution. As a modernized institution, the army comes to play a key role in the process by which traditional ways give away to more Westernized ideas and practices. They tend to emphasize a national outlook and to champion responsible change and national development. They are very much sensitive to the needs of modernization and technical advancement in the developing societies.

The armies of the new countries are instinct with the spirit of rapid technological development. The revolution in military technology has caused the army leaders of the developing countries to be extremely sensitive to the extent to which their countries are economically and technologically underdeveloped. Armies by nature are rival institutions in

the sense that their ultimate function is the test of one against the other. The soldier is constantly called upon to look abroad and to compare his organization with foreign ones. He has greater awareness of international standards and a greater sensitivity to weakness in his own society. The army is one of the most modernized of the authoritative agencies of government in transitional societies. It is a modernizing force for the whole of the society. In the underdeveloped societies a good soldier is also to some degree a modernized man. The army can provide a sense of citizenship training and can make a major contribution to strengthening essentially administrative function. If the new countries are to become modern nation states they will have to have a class of competent administrators. Military in the third world countries is a highly modern force capable of transferring its organizational and technical skill to the field of government and administration.

Morris Janowitz states that the military in the third world countries have some economic and social function which influence political changes. In reality the military accumulates a considerable amount of material and technological resources. They serve as a training ground for technological and administrative skill. They manage economic enterprises to meet its own requirement or for the needs of the civilian society. In a number of countries like Burma the armed forces maintain their own economic enterprises which range from manufacturing plants to departmental stores. The army controls commercial concern involved in steel production, Pharmaceuticals, Cement and shipping, such economic enterprises are designed to assist the army in performing its military functions. As a result the military develops a pool of trained manager who are available for public and private industries. These are either retired officers or officers who have been assigned to governmentalized industries. In Indonesia, Israel and Egypt for example, former army officers are to be found in key managerial posts of government. The economic function of the military includes its contribution to developing public works, roads and engineering projects. Such projects can be found throughout most of the new nations. The military involve in the management of agricultural production and land reforms for a combination of economic and political reasons. The military continues reclamation of new land, mass irrigation project and the community development schemes that are designed to improve agricultural technology and social welfare services in rural areas.



So it is stated that the ability of the military to act as a political coalition partner often depends upon the extent of its economic base. The more economic resources it has at its command the greater is its scope for domestic politics.

In a new society, before taking over power, since the military stay at a distance from the civil society their public image stands high. In the civil society, the army is also considered honest, patriotic, firm and symbols of national independence and sovereignty.

In today's modern states the military have been considered as an universal institution. Being an integral part of the nation's political system, the armed forces in no nation remain completely aloof from politics. Politics is concerned with the authoritative allocation of values and power within a society. And the military as a vital institution in the polity can make legitimate influence as an institutional pressure group within a state in political decision making.

ii) Organizational Superiority, Internal Cohesion and Military Intervention.

In the writings of Guy Pauker, Lucian Pye and Morris Janowitz<sup>15</sup> the importance of military establishment as a variable in explaining military intervention in politics has been found. For Janowitz, certain characteristics of the military organization explain both its capacity to intervene in politics and its ability to govern after such intervention. The organizational format of the military, its skill, structure, social origins, professional ideology and cohesion are all vital to an understanding of the political behaviour of any military organization.

It is already mentioned that the armed forces enjoy three massive political advantages over civilian organization; a marked superiority in organization, a highly emotionalized symbolic status and a monopoly of arms. Moreover, they form a prestigious and highly organized corporation than any civilian body because of its highly peculiar structural features. These are; (1) Central Command; (2) Hierarchy (3) discipline; (4) Inter-communication and (5) Esprit de-corps and a corresponding isolation and self-sufficiency<sup>16</sup>.

The organizational format offers the military centralized control and co-ordinate action, its central purpose gives them an all-embracing national character which no other institution in the society can claim. The armed forces symbolize national independence and sovereignty. They are always ready to work for the national interest. On the other hand civilian organization and institutions, excepting the civil bureaucracy, suffer from numerous constraints. The party organizations in the third world are less well-knit, most often fragmented. In the post-colonial state the party organization is even worse. Moreover the party organizations became affected more easily by factional strife, regional clique and ideological cleavages and thus lose much of their effectiveness. Thus, the organizational features of the military provide them with discipline and cohesion, hierarchy and centralized command and unity both at the decisionmaking and executive levels. These enable the military elite to takeover political power promptly if they decide to act with all these predominant advantages in their bag, the military elite if they decide to move and displace the civilian authority can do so easily. Most scholars consider that the degree of internal cohesiveness of the military plays a very significant role in the military's propensity to intervene, Janowitz, for example, suggests that armies with high internal cohesion have a greater capacity to intervene in domestic politics. Huntington maintained that the most important causes of military intervention in politics are not military but political, and reflect not the social and organizational characteristics of the military establishment but the political and institutional structure of the society<sup>17</sup>.

Some scholars emphasize on military power resources as a determinant factor for military intervention. According to A.R. Luckham the resources from which the military may draw their power are of three kinds; Coercive, and strategic, organizational and political. Among the crucial determinants of the military's capacity for domestic coercive are its size, absolute and relative to the population, its share to the national budget and in the national product; and its organizational effectiveness. Secondly, organizational resources refer to the size of the military establishment, the quality of their education and training, the character and length of their career experience, level of cohesion, Technological proficiency, the nature and extent of military professionalism and the values exposed by the military reinforcing or under cutting political sub-ordination. Thirdly, the military's political resources

according to Luckham depends on (1) The level of its coercive and organizational power (2) The extent to which this can be converted into political resources (3) The degree of integration of the military with civilian power structures as measured by the extent to which soldiers participated in civilian decision-making bodies such as cabinets, committees, the extent to which it has socio-economic links of friendship, with political power group and fourth, the amount of different political support it can generate for its social legitimacy, including its capacity to manipulate political symbols and create political organizations in order to win mass support for itself<sup>18</sup>.

The second determinant factor which counts for military intervention depends on the strength or weakness of the civilian political institutions which includes all factors pertaining to civilian political institutions such as the level of political institutionalization, legitimacy, the level of mass political mobilization and participation, roles of political leadership and political parties and the functioning of democratic institutions. The degree of political mobilization, the extent of political communications and public awareness of the Government and the political issues surrounding it is another determinant<sup>19</sup>. There is another important reference of the strength of political structures. Political structures are more effective if they are legitimate, if they can command widespread and stable allegiance to their symbols and procedures. But strong and stable structures are required to institutionalize that legitimacy, to maintain channels of political participation, to satisfy demands and to apply effective and unified coercion where needed. The institutions and organizations of the centre must be capable of legitimating their own internal patterns of action, regulating their own internal conflicts and problems of succession, as well as of authoritatively adjusting conflicts of social interest external to them.

In the developed countries both the military and civilian institution enjoy greater institutional autonomy from each other. In the developing countries the weakness of civilian political structures means that the military can take a wider role in political allocations and is exposed to greater political pressures to do so from outside political groups wishing to co-opt the means of violence to support their interests. So the boundaries of the military are more fuzzy and at the same time its ability to brush past the boundaries of other societal institutions is greater.



The feeling of group solidarity and the capacity for collective action is an essential aspects of the military profession that conditions its political behavior. Armies with high internal cohesion will have greater capacity to intervene in domestic politics. The armed forces tend to be the most highly organized association in the state and they are more lethally armed than any other organization so they possess capacity to intervene. In many new nations civilian politics increase the armed forces contributed directly to the emergence of the Military as the dominant group in politics. The development of military establishments with modern skill, equipment and weapons is a characteristics of the transitional societies of Asia. Such skills, equipment and weapons comprises political resources, Military establishment, disciplined cohesive organization, their political resources have given the military a capacity for forceful intervention in the politics of virtually every nation state in Asia.

iii) Social Mobilization, Economic Development and Military Intervention.

Military intervention is very much related with social and economic underdevelopment. Finer argues that the possibilities for military intervention is likely to decrease with increased social mobilization. The term social mobilization is first defined by Karl W. Deutsch as: the process of which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour<sup>20</sup>. Social mobilization increase the number of potential political actors and diffuses increased political resources to these political actors who will be able to sustain civilian political activities and institutions. Finer again argues that Economic Development, especially industrialization diminishes the propensity for military intervention. The effect of economic development stems partly from the increased socio-technical complexity and puts public administration beyond the skills of the armed forces partly because of the civilian opportunity for social mobility which economic development opens up and partly on account of greater wealth, which allows and encourages stable civilian government.

In an analysis of Latin America during 1956-1965 Robert D. Putnam has linked the extent of military influence in politics with five indicators of social mobilization-urbanization, literacy, newspaper circulation, higher education and the distribution of Radio Sets.

Huntington argues that the significant factor affecting the military's propensity to intervene is not social mobilizations rather it is the political institution's competence in meeting the expectation engendered by rapid social mobilization which is the key factor influencing the possibility of intervention<sup>21</sup>. Kalman Silvert has suggested a direct relationship between military intervention and social factor. The greater is the cleavages, lesser is the consensus in a society and The greater is the likelihood of military intervention<sup>22</sup>. According to this argument, the likelihood of military intervention increases as the intensification of domestic conflicts arising from ethnic or class cleavages threatens the status and power of the dominant group or class. Silvert again suggests that military intervention is instigated by the rise of middle strata in the social structure. Since these middle stratas have both the motivation and ability to create and sustain stable civilian political institutions, the rise of the middle strata is associated with a decline in military intervention<sup>23</sup>.

Huntington again puts forward that as the political system becomes more complex, coups become more difficult<sup>24</sup>. This has been supported by J. Stephen Hoadley who found an association between low social complexity and high frequency of military coup. Keith Hopkins and Gavin Kennedy maintain that military intervention is more likely in developing countries but even more likely in the lower income developing countries. Johnson, Fossum, Needler and Hoadley suggest that the likelihood of military intervention rises with a perceived deterioration of economic conditions, especially marked by a belief that the Government cannot resolve this deterioration. According to Fossum, the frequency of coups in Latin America in economically deterioration years on the average was twice the frequency for the years of improvement<sup>25</sup>.

S.F. Finer identifies some characteristics of the countries where military takes political power<sup>26</sup>. According to him most of these states fall in the category of the poor and the developing nations. There are linguistic, ethnic and regional diversities in such states which

create problems for the political system. There is a wide gap between the westernized elites and the illiterate mass, between the rich and the poor. The people lives at the margin or below the level of subsistence. So they are either indifferent or have negative disposition toward the political system. The pre-independence dream of glorious future does not come true. What they see around is widespread poverty, disease and misery<sup>27</sup>. These nations have weak democratic tradition and a limited opportunity to actually run democratic government. The experience which the political leaders acquired before the pre-independence period was very negligible as compared with the responsibility which they had to shoulder after independence. In the pre-independence period opposition to the colonial government and agitational politics was considered as an act of patriotism. Some of the political leaders tend to carry the traditions of the pre-independence politics to the post independence politics. political armies created during the struggle for independence have remain a constant source of trouble which creates the problems of national integration and law and order. The new nations, with a few exceptions suffer from a dearth of well organized political parties and competent political leadership. So a large number of scholars interpreted the assumption of political power by the military as a positive development and would create necessary conditions for facilitation of economic development, social change and national integration. G.J. pauger termed the assumption of political power by the military as a break through from stagnation into a genuine developmental take off<sup>28</sup>. Dealder also termed the take over of political power by the military as an important developmental role of the military<sup>29</sup>.

But many political scientists have viewed that the military have a very little role in political development which is termed as a main criteria of socio-economic development of a particular country. If political development is defined in term of popular participation and the building of legitimized political institution for most of the new states that came under military rule the period of military rule was sterile in so far as political development is concerned. The key factor in political development is the growth of durable political institution. The primary resources for developing political institutions in any country is the political skill of its politicians. Politicians have to acquire proficiency in political skill as much as military officers have to gain fighting skills through long professional training. The political skill needed for developing a viable and self sustaining political system involves among others ideological



commitment, the capacity to respond to new challenge and the art of administration, Negotiation, representation and bargaining. This skill can be acquired only in the hard school of public life. But the military regimes severely restrict the free flow of the political process. The period of military rule is usually a total waste as far as the development of political skill of the politicians and the political development and institution building are concerned<sup>30</sup>.

iv) Political Development, Institutionalization and Military Intervention.

Finer, Huntington and Kennedy focus that there is a close relationship between political development and military intervention in politics. In General terms, military intervention in this theory is explained by reference to the political legitimacy crisis. In other words, when legitimacy is reduced the Government is likely to be in danger of being toppled by the military. The more fragile is the political legitimacy the greater is the likelihood of coups and attempted coups. Finer stated that where public attachment to civilian institutions is strong, military intervention in politics is rare<sup>31</sup>. Finer stated that only countries with mature political culture are actually immune from military take overs.

According to Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, political culture provides structure and meaning to the political sphere in the same manner as culture in general gives coherence and integration to social life. Political culture consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which defines the situation in which political action takes place. It compasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity<sup>32</sup>. In Finer's view there are countries with a mature political culture, developed political culture, low political culture and minimal political culture. These four orders of political cultures, according to him, forms the parameters of the level of military intervention. Among the four orders of political culture military intervene in those countries where low and minimal political culture prevails. Huntington also said that the causes which produce military intervention in politics basically are not in the nature of the military organization itself; rather it is a specific manifestation of a broader phenomenon in under developed politics i.e. praetorianism." Praetorianism refers to the general politicization of social forces in the absence of "autonomy, complexity, coherence, and adaptability" of political structure, in one word political institutionalization<sup>33</sup>. In short, a prevalent theme in Huntington's observation about

the praetorian society is that its civilian political institutions are always very weak. A vacuum in institution and leadership impels groups to arrogate control for their own ends; and the armed forces count among many potential contenders for power.

Huntington states that the causes which produce military intervention in politics lies in the structure of society. According to him the military intervention in the developing nation after 1945 generally has occurred after the existing political system has weakened or collapsed specially in the wake of a disarray of parliamentary institutions<sup>34</sup>.

John P.lovell and C.I. Engine kim maintained that where civilian political leadership is perceived by the military as corrupt, incompetent or other wise incapable of coping with the basic task of government the motivation among the military for performing these tasks themselves directly increase. They also maintained that such perceptions contributed General ayub Khan to take control of the government of Pakistan in 1958<sup>35</sup>. They further stated that similarly if civilian political leaders take action seems detrimental to the personal or organizational interest of military men, the motivation to intervene in politics is likely to develop. Federick Bunnell cited that in Indonesia Sukamo's support for the communist supported plan of arming a militia force of peasants who would serve as a counter force to the regular army, seems to have contributed to the dissatisfaction which led to the untung coup in 1965<sup>36</sup>.

v) Professionalism, Civilian Supremacy and Military Intervention:

There is a heated scholarly debate regarding the role of professionalism in subordinating the military to civilian authority. One line of analysis is presented by Huntington who maintains that professionalism deters military intervention. In Huntington's view the rise of military professionalism invariably related to military intervention, that is the modern professional sense of mission, military mind and corporate autonomy incline the military against political intervention<sup>37</sup>.

According to S.P. Huntington professionalism and the principle of civil supremacy is the decisive factor in keeping the soldiers out of politics. Professionalism makes the armed forces self centered. They develop a sense of corporate unity. Professionalism lead the Officers corps to leave politics to the politicians. The surest way to insulate the military from politics is to encourage them to be fully professional. A highly professional officers corps stands ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian groups which secures legitimate authority within the state. The military profession may lead the officers to see themselves as the servant of the state rather than of the government in power, to serve the state far from all party politics. Civilian control, according to Huntington, exists in two forms. Subjective and objective. Subjective civilian control is by far the more common and no clear line exists between military and civilian groups or between military and civilian rules. Objective civilian control depends on clear-cut boundaries between civilian and military authority. More important, it requires the recognition of autonomous military professionalism. Huntington's argument has been challenged by Finer who maintains that the very nature of professionalism in fact, often leads to the military's collision with the civil authorities. Therefore, he argues that truly effective check to inhibit the military's desire to intervene is the firm acceptance of civilian supremacy, not just professionalism<sup>38</sup>. Huntington is empirically incorrect, because if the impact of professionalism is left unchecked, it is evident that many highly professional officers corps would have intervened in politics. The Algiers' coup in 1961 was carried out by some of the most professionalized elements in the French Army.

vi) Foreign Influence and Military Intervention :

Foreign influence has been widely acknowledged as an important factor for military intervention in politics. It is often said that military training missions from foreign nations inculcate attitudes favourable or unfavourable in military intervention in politics. Foreign military assistance tends to increase the likelihood of military intervention on recipient countries. Such assistance, it is said encourages the political independence of the military and gives it leverage against civilian leaders. Edelman has noted that the influence of German, Italian and certain other military missions have been among the most important causes of military intervention in Latin America<sup>39</sup>. The President, the state department, the



Defense Department and the central intelligence Agency of U.S.A. are very much concerned with and involved in the domestic politics of non-western countries. The replacement of civilian government by a military one and vice versa are among the most important aspects of domestic politics with which the united states continues to be concerned. Under the Nixon administration the Central Intelligence Agency encouraged and materially supported the over throw of President Allende of Chile in 1973 and President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh in 1975.

vii) The Military as an Agent of Modernization and Social Change:

During mid 1960's in the writing of scholars like Lucian Pye, Marries Janowitz. Guy Pauker, Marion J. Levy and Moshe Lissak the armed forces in the new states were being described as modernizers and nation builders<sup>40</sup>. According to them, the military intervention and the expanding role of the military are attributed to (I) An urgent need for modernization especially in the third world and (II) The inability of the civilian political elites to lead the country along with path of modernization. It is often argued that the military has certain positive qualities which enable it to deal with modernization and social change more effectively than other organizations.

- I) The military produces the cadres which are the best trained in a sort of administration and the operation of modern instrument and can therefore easily become the main agent of modernization.
- II) The military is considered superior because its frame work is one of the characteristic ways in which traditionalism can be conveniently blended to restructure social life.
- III) The military is described as the very mechanism through which developing nations could receive amplifying signals from the external environment-these include ideas, values, skills, techniques and strate gies of political change<sup>41</sup>.



#### 2.4. Causes of Military Intervention in Politics -

The frequent and widespread occurrence of military intervention in the politics of developing areas has created academic interest among the political scientists and the students of politics. In the foregoing analysis the views and ideas on military Intervention in Politics of some renowned writers, political and social scientist are briefly Introduced. Among the most Prominent Political Writers Eric. A. Nordlinger, Egil Fossum, Hasan Askari Rizvi, Emajuddin Ahmed, Gavin Kennedy, A.R. Luckham, Edward Fiet, A Stepan in their writing on military and politics have examined the cause of military takeover of political power. The cause of military intervention in politics are studied as under:

##### i) Corporate and National Interests . ✓

In the writing of Eric. A. Nordlinger and Emajuddin Ahmed Corporate interest is termed as the most important motives for intervention. In the third world countries, according to them the armed forces are deeply concerned with the protection and enhancement of their interest and their interest centre around such issues as adequate budgetary support, autonomy in managing their internal affairs, safeguarding their interests in the face of encroachment from rival institutions, continuity of the institutions, further strengthening it and so on. They identified these as the corporate interest of the military. They also veiwed that the armed forces identify themselves with the nation and since the nation's honour, sovereignty and power resides with and within the armed forces, the military elite think that what is good for them is good for the nation. Both these writers agreed that the personal interest of the military such as desire for promotion, political ambition and fear of dismissal are also important motivating factors in a significant numbers of coups. They also said that the interventionist motives are consistently and sharply activated when civilian government fail to provide adequate budgetary support or try to cut it down, interfere with military autonomy, create to expand military forces and thereby threaten the dissolution of the regular army.

**ii) Budgetary Allocation for Military.**

Adequate budgetary support may be termed as one of the most important aspect of corporate interests of the military. Budgetary allocations affect the military not only in terms of pay and allowance, promotions and patronage, housing and other benefits, these also serve as indicators of the political power and prestige of the armed forces. That is why when the civilian Government decides to decrease defence expenditure or refuse to increase it at the military's insistence, the military elite get emotionally involved and tend to think in terms of taking over. Every civilian Government that reduced budgetary allocation to the armed forces was over thrown, and the new military or civilian government that was installed by the military elite invariably increased military expenditure. The 1948 Peruvian coup for instance, clearly symbolized this attitude of the military elite. The overthrow of President Nkrumah of Ghana on 24 February, 1966 can also be explained by this variables<sup>42</sup>. The second Ghana coup in 1972 was also prompted for the same reason.

**iii) Military Autonomy.**

It is the view of P.J. Vatiokitis that the civilian interference in the internal affairs of the armed forces generates strong interventionist motives. It has a multiple and decided impact upon the officers. As a well-knit and cohesive organization of unique nature, military is very sensitive to its autonomous status and position. Military wants to shape its own educational

and training programme, regulate promotion and placement of officials in its own ways and formulate its own defence strategies. Civilian interference, the military elite feel, lowers the professional competence and self image of the officers. That is why the military elite take any kind of interference very seriously and tend to react violently.

There are many example of military intervention for this reason. The overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952 was largely motivated by the king's interference in military affairs. The same kind of motivation led to the overthrow of President Goularty in 1954. Due to President NKruman's interference in the internal affairs of the armed forces military intervened in politics in Ghana in 1965. King Farouk of Egypt ordered the Egyptian army to attack Israil in 1948 contrary to advice of the Chief of Staff. In Egypt the stage of intervention was reached when King Farouk appointed his brother in law to the post of the ministry of war for Egypt<sup>43</sup>.

**iv) Functional rival and the Survival of the Army.**

Eric. A. Nordlinger also claims that the Functional rival and the survival of the army are the most important dimension of the military's corporate interests. The creation of a functional rival in the form of a people's military or security force or guard regiment is taken as serious by the military elite. President Keita of Mali was overthrown by a group of young officers for the same reasons. In 1974, President Diori in Niger overthrown. The Diori regime in the 1974 coup. The algerian coup of 1965 was motivated by an almost similar reason. In Algeria Boumedienne staged a coup in 1965 and on assuming power the first thing he did was to disband the militia, which was treated as an alternative centre of official power by the Army.

The 1977 coup of Pakistan was motivated by a number of factors but one of the most important ones was the creation of the federal security force with 14000 members in 1974 by Z.A. Bhutto who wanted to reduce the power of the military<sup>44</sup>.

The great majority of coups are, primarily or entirely motivated by the defence or enhancement of the military's corporate interest<sup>45</sup>.

v) Lower-class Politicization - A threat to Military's Corporate Interest.

S.P. Huntington and Eric A. Nordlinger both maintain the view that the Government whose primary support comes from the lower classes of the masses and those that might come to power with the support of politicized workers and peasants are most often seen to jeopardize military interests. Among the non-western countries particularly in Latin America the lower classes are most politically aware, active and organized. Due to high level of urbanization, literacy and mass-media exposure, the lower class has attained a sufficiently high level of politicization which constitutes a serious threat to the military<sup>46</sup>. A strong politicized lower-class is a challenge to middle class interest. The military as protectors of the middle class interest acted against the regimes which draw their support from the politicized workers and peasants. The military almost everywhere viewed, a politically active, organized lower class as a threat to their corporate interests. Since Castro came to power in Cuba in 1959 the Latin American military elite identified lower class movement with communism and communism stands as a definite threat to the corporate interest of the military

#### **IV. The Failure of the Civilian Government. ✓**

While overthrowing, the military always charges the civilian Government with serious performance failure, unconstitutional or illegal behaviour, responsibility for



economic down turn or inflationary spirals and an inability to handle political opposition, disorder and violence. These charges are generally brought against the civilian authority to rationalize and justify their actions on behalf of constitution and nation. Performance failure are also related with societal phenomena which are equally significant for the explanation of military intervention. According to Huntington, Military explanations are not enough to explain military intervention. The most important causes of military intervention in politics in his own word are "not military but political and reflect not the social and organizational characteristics of the military establishment but the political and institutional structure of the society"<sup>47</sup>. In such a society where there are, riots, workers strike, mob demonstrations there is military intervention.

#### **VII. Illegal and Questionable action of the Political elite.**

Illegal and questionable action of the political elite may be a motivating factor for military intervention. The coup makers have always accused the civilian rulers of misusing of public fund for their personal gains and party strength, of granting and distributing benefits to political supporters, of accepting kickbacks from the contractors and of condoning corrupt and criminal activities of their followers. These illegal and fraudulent activities are undertaken by them not only for strengthening their present positions but also for ensuring their continuation in office, in some cases beyond the limits prescribed by law or the constitution. The military, on the other hand, claim that they take over for maintaining



high level of public honesty<sup>48</sup>. Some writers also, claim that by virtue of training the military officers become morally superior and less corrupt than the civilian.

The first Nigerian coup of 1966 has been explained by Luckham in terms of the military's moral values which, according to him, motivated the army majors to carryout the coup and displace the "corrupt civilian regime"<sup>49</sup>. The series of coups in countries like Mali, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey, Niger and Gabon were undertaken because the civilian Government had become 'ineffective and corrupt'<sup>50</sup>. But indeed, the political elite in the new states are not free from charges of corruption and abuse of power.<sup>51</sup>

#### **VIII. Deterioration of Economic condition.**

Economic deterioration acts as one of the major factors which lead to the military takeover of power. Government has to look after the economic conditions of the country and one of the criteria to judge the performance of a Government is the economic condition of the society. Intervention against Government during periods of economic decline, stagnation or inflation is more common than of times of good economic conditions. The Guatemala coup of 1963 and the Dominican Republic coup of 1963 were inspired by these motives<sup>52</sup>. The overthrow of President Goulart of Brazil was undertaken at a time when the economic growth rate was one of the lowest<sup>53</sup>. The military in Chile which overthrew Allenda

at a time when the inflation rate rose to almost 32 percent and growth rate declined considerably.

## **IX. Social unrest, law and order situation Disorder and violence**

The first and foremost duty of each and every Government is the preservation of public order, protection of life and property of its citizen and maintenance of territorial integrity. If the Government fails to achieve this objectives, it loses the moral right to govern. Sometimes the level of violence and disorder goes so high that the law enforcing agencies fail and the Government is forced to deploy armed forces to quell disturbances. The deployment of armed forces for preventing riots makes the civilian regimes more and more dependent on the military more confident and finally it makes the military sensitive to political power. Consequently, disorder and violence if they become serious lead the military interventions. There are many instances of military interventions either during the period of disorder and violence or after the deployment of armed forces to handle such disorder and violence in society. The Syrian coup of 1949 is a case in point. On November 30, 1948 there were anti-Government riots for which the Government had to deploy the army on December 1948. After a few months Colonel Zaim tookover in March 1949. The Turkish coup of 1960 was preceded by large-scale violence and disorder caused by massive students demonstrations, and the armed forces had to be deployed to bring these under control<sup>55</sup>.

The civilian regimes of upper Volta and Dahomey were overthrown by the military in 1955 and 1966 respectively in the wave of a series of violent strikes and demonstrations by the labour and students.

All these indicate that the military are more likely to intervene at a time when the civilian regime fails to perform effectively and preservation of public order becomes dependent on the military for restoring law and order. Analyzing 105 successful coups in Latin America between 1907 and 1966, Fossum has shown that more than 66 percent of the coup took place during the period of public disorder<sup>56</sup>.

#### **X. Legitimacy Deflations.**

According to Welch and Smith 'military intervention rarely occurs in countries marked by a high degree of legitimacy<sup>57</sup>.

Legitimacy deflations, however, occur when civilian regimes fail to check disorder and violence in society. When its policies lead to economic stagnation or decline and when the civil authorities become associated with large-scale corruptions or when they resort to illegal or unconstitutional means with a view to repeating their stay in power or strengthening their power base.

Military intervention in politics is closely associated with the legitimacy deflations of the civilian regimes and popularity of the military. The popularity of the military may of course fluctuate with time and circumstance and the initial popularity which generally accompanies a coup may wear off quickly but the fact remains that while taking over the military generally enjoy widespread popularity among sanctions of people. After the 1958 coup general Ayub Khan justified it by blaming the politicians. The military takeover of 1977 had also got approval since the civilian regime failed miserably to ensure justice and fair play in the society. Kassim justified his 1958 coup in Iraq in terms of corruption of the politicians.

The military gained this popularity due to several reasons :

(1) since the military remain outside administration and political activities, people do not have the opportunity to be distrustful of them. (2) the armed forces as a well-knit organization and disciplined social sector have some appeal to the people in the third world countries. (3) The military perform quite well when they are assigned some civilian duties by the civilian regimes and their performances reflect neutrality at least at the initial stages<sup>58</sup>.

## 2.5. Conclusion.

We may conclude that the failure of parliamentary democracy, the desire to promote modernisation and economic development, corruption in civil administration, deterioration of law and order situation, civilian Government's unwillingness to protect the corporate interest of the army, lack of political development, failure of political institutionalization and social mobilization, lack of modernization and foreign influence are the cause of military intervention in politics. Finer's proposition is that the military is more likely to intervene in politics if political institutions are weak and lacking legitimacy. Huntington, Finer, L.W. Pye Janowitz, Lissak, Perlmutter and Stepan see the nature of the military as an organization and an agent of modernisation but classical Marxists (including the Humburg group) look at the military as a class. Marxists see the military as more or less a neutral instrument of the



ruling class precisely because the force is subordinate to the economic order affecting the instruments of force are subordinate to the mode of production. According to the Marxian point of view the state is a product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class contradiction. It is an organ of class rule, and an organ for the oppression of one class by another, Marx defines state as an instrument for the exploitation of the oppressed class. It is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class by another. According to him, a standing army and police are the chief instruments of force of the state power and the military is the last resort to protect the bourgeois class and bourgeois society<sup>59</sup>.

The root of the state is force and the ultimate foundation of the force is the permanent armed force or military which is used to protect the economically powerful bourgeois class and to continue its exploitation on the oppressed class. The Humburg group of Marxists see the role of the military in the world-wide allocation of resources as a 'Mechanism for extracting surplus product in the periphery in order to support capitalists accumulation in the metropolis'.

Mary Kaldor implies that a fresh approach combining elements of both these thoughts is necessary since the modernisation theorists and marxists both fail to explain the differences in the behaviour of military institutions in third world countries. Amos perlmutter defined the military regimes as a system of managing government by the military.

The military regimes of Indonesia and Bangladesh are not fully military controlled regimes. They are dependent on civil bureaucrat's and politicians. So this types of regime can be described as a civil-military dyarchy. As in Nigeria and Thailand, the army in Indonesia and Bangladesh is an integral part of the society and not divorced from the community. The military is an active, but not the single most authoritative political elite in these countries (Indonesia and Bangladesh). Syria and Thailand are two of the few military regimes whose governments can be described as military civilian coalition, despite the military pre-dominance. The Syrian military that came to power in 1963 has maintained a close-working relationship with the socialist nationalist Ba'ath party. The party has supplied the military with an ideology, organizational skill and linkage to student, workers and peasants<sup>60</sup>. In Thailand leading military officers attained and exercised power through the

formation of cliques (for patron-client relationship) with wealthy businessmen and high ranking civil servants<sup>61</sup>. In some cases, civilian President and Prime-Minister have tried to give share of the governance by asking soldiers to become cabinet ministers as in the case of President Allende of Chile. In communist China military men occupy one-third and in Cuba one half of the seats in the central committees. The civilian Government of Pakistan has been marked as a government by military with a civilian facade. In Egypt the regimes of Nasser and Sadat were identified as a military although the majority of cabinet members were civilian.

In our present study the theoretical model as formulated by S.E. Finer, S.P. Huntington and Morris Janowitz which are narrated in this chapter will mainly apply to explain the military intervention in Bangladesh politics under the leadership of the then Army chief of staff Hussain Mohammad Ershad.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### PRELUDE TO MILITARY TAKE-OVER OF POLITICAL POWER

#### 3.1. Bangladesh : Beginning of a nation and the civilian regime of Sheikh Mujib.

After a prolonged political struggle of 23 years, nine months of armed struggle and bloody war Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation on December 16, 1971. The liberation war of Bangladesh was led by the Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. At the end of the prolonged political struggle aiming at the achievement of an independent sovereign nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the undisputed leader of the then seventy five million people of Pakistani controlled Bangladesh (East Pakistan) was arrested and sent to West Pakistan when the Pakistani Military cracked down on the most tragic night of the Bengali, the night of March 25, 1971. Before his arrest Sheikh Mujib declared the independence of Bangladesh on March 26, 1971. Later on Major Ziaur Rahman announced the independence of Bangladesh over the Radio at Kalurghat, Chittagong on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March, 27, 1971. With the declaration of independence the liberation war was started under the leadership of the Awami League.<sup>1</sup> Besides Awami League many political parties and groups supported the liberation war and participated actively. Within the 14 days of the declaration of the independence a six members provisional government was formed at Mujib Nagar, headed by Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister on April 10, 1971 and began to intensify the liberation war<sup>2</sup>. The other members of the provisional Bangladesh government formed at Mujib Nagar were Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Syed Nazrul Islam as President and Vice President, Captain Monsur Ali, Kamruzzaman and Khondaker Mustaque Ahmed. General M.A.G.Osmani was appointed as the Chief Commander of the liberation armed force named Mukti Bahini. Bangladesh was divided into 11 War Sectors and appointed 11 Sector Commanders. Members of the various political activists, students, workers, labouring classes peasant and common people, Army, EPR, Police and Ansar participated in the liberation war. After nine months of bloody war, India declared war against Pakistan on December 6, 1971 and intervened in the liberation war. On December 16, 1971 Pakistan Army was



surrendered to the allied forces of Mukti Bahini and Mitro-Bahini. With the formal surrender of Pakistani Army led by Lt.General Amir Abdullah Neazi, the Commander of the Eastern Command of Pakistan to General Arora, Commander of the (Mitro and Mukti Bahni) allied force, Bangladesh came into being as a new sovereign independent nation<sup>3</sup>.

Soon after the independence the exile provisional government of Bangladesh under the Prime Ministership of Tajuddin Ahmed shifted to Dhaka and took the charge of the government of independent Bangladesh. Reaching in the soil of free Bangladesh Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, the War time Prime Minister of Bangladesh considered his first and foremost duty to remove Khondaker Mustaque Ahmed from the charge of Foreign Affairs Minister and he did so. Mr. Abdus Samad Azad was given appointment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replacing Khondaker Mustaque Ahmed who was given the charge of the Law and Parliamentary Affairs. On January 3, 1972 Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan declared his intention to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from his confinement in Pakistan. On January 10, 1972 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President and the leader of seventy five million people of the then Bangladesh arrived in Dhaka Via London and India. Sheikh Mujib at last reached to the independent Bangladesh, a country for which he had struggled for the last 23 years and whose dream he had dreamt along with the freedom loving people of his fellow countrymen.

On January 11, 1972 one day after of his arrival, Mujib as President of Bangladesh Promulgated a provisional constitutional order, the introduction of parliamentary form of government in Bangladesh. He then stepped down from the office of President, Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, a former Judge of the Dhaka High Court and Vice Chancellor of Dhaka University became the new President. A twelve members cabinet including the five members of the exile government in Calcutta was sworn in on the same day with Mujib as Prime Minister. Presidential order was promulgated on March 23, providing the establishment of a constituent assembly consisting of the members of formally elected to the national assembly of Pakistan and the Provisional assembly of East Pakistan in the election held in 1970. This constituent assembly enacted a constitution for independent Bangladesh on November 11, which came into effect on December 16, 1972, the country's victory day.<sup>4</sup>



The constitution provides for a unitary parliamentary government for Bangladesh. Its preamble declares that the 'high ideals of nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism-which inspired our heroic people to dedicate themselves and to sacrifice their lives in the national liberation struggle shall be the fundamental principles of the constitution'. The constitution attempts to facilitate the transition to socialism through parliamentary democracy.

Sheikh Mujib announced a new ideology commonly known as Mujibbad<sup>5</sup> (Mujibism) comprising of four principles i.e. nationalism, democracy, socialism, and secularism and these ideals were incorporated in the newly formed constitution of Bangladesh. Mujibbad was interpreted as a progressive ideology and hoped it would lead establishment of socialism in Bangladesh without bloodshed. Nationalism as it was interpreted, had been the main source of the independence movement of Bangladesh. The unity and solidarity of the Bengali nation which uphold its identity from its language and culture attained sovereign and independent Bangladesh through an united and determined struggle in the war of independence, shall be the basis of Bengali Nationalism. Regarding its second principle it was stated that the Awami League had throughout the autonomy and nationalist movement pledged to establish a government based on Democracy. It was stated that the Republic shall be a democratic one, in which fundamental human rights, freedom and respect for the dignity and worth of the citizens shall be guaranteed and in which effective participation by the people through their elected representative in administration at all levels shall be ensured. The third principle of socialism implied an exploitation free society. It was written in the constitution that a socialist economic system shall be introduced with a view to assuring the attainment of a society, free from exploitation of man by man, Finally secularism, which constituted the fourth principle was necessary to provide a legal guarantee to non-Muslim in Bangladesh. This is in short what is called Mujibism, which was claimed to have an innovative creation of Sheikh Mujib as Marxism was that of Marx. It was further announced that implementation of bring peace and prosperity to the ravaged nation and to make Bangladesh, the Switzerland of Asia.

The Awami League Government then called for a fresh General Election to elect members to the Jatiya Sangshad (Parliament).<sup>6</sup> The ruling Awami League in its election manifesto of 1973 declared that it would consider the election as a referendum on the four pillars of Mujibbad. In the election which held on March 7, 1973 the Awami League won a landslide victory. Its victory had been claimed because of Mujib's Charismatic appeal and also because of the Awami League's leadership in the liberation war of Bangladesh. Of the 300 seats in the sangshad the Awami League won 292 seats, while the national Awami Party (Muzaffar), Jatiya League and Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal got one seat each, and the remaining five had gone to the independent candidates. The election did not bring about significant changes in either the executive or the legislature. Sixty six percent of the member of the new parliament were former members of the constituent assembly. After election justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury was re-elected as President unopposed. Only one new cabinet member was designated after the election and one other was moved to another ministry.

During its first two years in office, the Awami League regime eamed a significant achievement. A constitution was framed within nine month of the independence and election was held six months later. Large scale famine which threatened was avoided in 1972 and 1973 and ten million people who had migrated to India during the occupation period were rehabilitated. Communication was restored by repairing about 300 railway bridges and 274 road bridges and six airports which were damaged during the war. Chittagong harbour was cleaned of mine wrecks with the help of eleven Russian Warships.

After two years of most successful leadership the government of Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had faced acute mismanagement and one of the major causes of this mismanagement was the distribution of benefit and patronage. As a ruling party the Awami League was not able to overcome the problems of the new states of Asia and Africa which failed the regime to lead the nation toward proper direction. The administration of Sheikh Mujib in a newly born state Bangladesh should have been free from party patronage and should have maintained administrative neutrality.

After independence the leaders and workers of Awami League had got benefit in return for "their suffering for the cause of the nation".

After independence the Government nationalised all Bank, Insurance Companies, Jute and Textile Mills, a major portion of Inland and Coastal Shipping, Airways and Foreign Trade and put a ceiling of Tk.2.5 million on private investment.<sup>7</sup> The majority of those appointed to high posts in the nationalised industries were Awami League activists who grew rich overnight by smuggling spare parts and raw materials. The distribution of both locally produced and imported goods was carried through only licensed dealers, most of whom were Awami League workers rather than professional traders. They sold their permits to professional businessman at high price. Most of the permits for opening indenting (Import-Export) firm were given to Awami League Workers and Sympathizers. About 60,000 houses abandoned by non-Bengali's were appropriated by Awami League Leaders and workers. Large scale smuggling of Rice, Jute and relief goods to India was carried on mostly by Awami League workers or people having connection with the Awami League Leaders. The result of all these was the mushroom growth of a rich class turning Pakistani 22 families into Bangladeshi 200 families with the property of crore taka. The lack of regime's strict administration created a class of people who had no connection with the production of the country rather they created diverse economic problems which helped to damage the political image of the Mujib Regime. With the independence of Bangladesh the people had wide aspiration for better life but in reality the majority was deprived but a few got the most which alienated many. The state which emerged after bloodbath, took up the responsibility to emancipate the toiling masses - the peasants and workers and backward sections of the people from all forms of exploitation. In spite of the promise of Socialism made by the regime corruption and mismanagement generated a deep feeling of distrust and betrayal of the Mujib Regime. The Awami League regime despite its political and its use of party channels of control and direction, its massive popularity failed to handle the problems of increasing grave economic crisis, social and political instability and law and order in the country. The more the regime's failure manifest the more the regime began to turn to the civil and military bureaucrats and by 1975 they came to the forefront. Bangladesh economy had shown a severe sign of crisis from the early days of 1974. This happened due to the global inflation that hit the world in 1972 and in Bangladesh specially due to the mismanagement, inefficiency and corruption of the



ruling regime. While the economy was virtually in a state of collapse, the situation was aggravated by the worst flood in history, in July and August 1974.<sup>8</sup> During the floods the price of consumers goods rose rapidly and by September 1974 price rose by about 600 percent over 1969-70 price level. As a result there was famine in the country which caused the death of thousands of people. In June 1974 Finance Minister Tajuddin Ahmed stated publicly that the economy of the country had almost broken down. Due to flood and economic crises people began to die of starvation whose numbers rose to one million by the end of the year 1974.

It was observed that the economic crisis of 1974 which threatened to the collapse of the Mujib Regime was man-made. The mismanagement in the productive areas was partially responsible. But what was more important was that for such a situation the external conspiracy to pave the way to dislodge the Mujib Regime was also responsible. Due to the adoption of socialist economy in the state policy of Bangladesh the United States of America restricted her grants and during 1974 in protest of sending Jute to Cuba the United States of America Government refused to grant help to Bangladesh and even to sell essential commodities like wheat in cash. On the other hand the ship which carried the foods staff was delayed so that it failed to reach Bangladesh when the crisis was going on. The Middle Eastern Muslim States like Saudi Arabia did not recognize the independence of Bangladesh and the regime of Mujib. So the second largest Muslim dominated state of Bangladesh did not get any help from Saudi Arabia. If Saudi Arabia came forward and helped Bangladesh such economic crisis or at least the situation of starvation could be avoided. It may be recalled that after the overthrow of Sheikh Mujib when the Pro-American Mustaque Ahmed became the President, Saudi Arabia recognized Bangladesh and when General Ziaur Rahman became the President he declared that 'money is no problem'. This was happened because of extensive foreign assistance to Bangladesh which was not given during the Mujib Government

whose main purpose was to frustrate the Mujib Government and help to dislodge it. Sheikh Mujib while returning from Pakistan in New Delhi met with Indira Gandhi and persuaded her to make a commitment and fixed a specific date to withdraw the Indian Army from the soil of Bangladesh. Mujib wanted a free Bangladesh. But though the Indian troops were withdrawn on March 12, 1972 Bangladesh had to sign a 25 years treaty of friendship, cooperation and peace with India on March 1972. It was claimed that this treaty of 25 years was imposed on Bangladesh had created a widespread fear of Indian domination which caused due to several reasons.

(1) Before they were withdrawn from Bangladesh Indian Army took to India the vast amount of arms and ammunition left by the surrendering Pakistan Army and kept Bangladesh Army virtually disarmed. (2) The Indian Government imposed a trade agreement on Bangladesh providing for free trade area within ten miles of borders. (3) The government of Sheikh Mujib raised a special para-military force called the Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini with the members of Mujib Bahini and Kader Bahini and those members of Mukti Bahini specially those who were loyal to Mujib. Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini's strength was estimated at about 2500 in January 1975, it was trained by Indian Military Officer and Dressed Olive Green Dress of the Indian Army. The creation of Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini was termed as parallel to Bangladesh regular Army and was claimed to create with a view to protect the Regime. The creation of Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini was also termed as a great threat to the corporate interest of Bangladesh Army who became very anxious at the creation of Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini by passing the importance of Bangladesh Armed Forces. With the annexation of Sikkim by Indian in April 1975, the fear of Indian expansionism in Bangladesh became a serious issue. It was observed that the treaty of 25-years between India and Bangladesh was not imposed but it was essential. India recognized Bangladesh on December 6, 1971 and intervened in the war of liberation of Bangladesh against Pakistan and Pakistan Army who fought against the joint forces of Mukti Bahini and Mitro Bahini surrendered unconditionally on December 16, 1971 and Bangladesh became independent. The Indian government and her leader Indira Ghandi took a risk of World War. Both China and United States of America were against the liberation of Bangladesh. Only with the assurance of moral and military support of Russia India intervened in the liberation war. When the joint force of Mukti and Mitro Bahini was moving toward Dhaka, United States government directed 7th Naval Fleet toward the Bay of Bengal from Vietnam and the philippine



coast on 9th December 1971. Pakistan demanded direct United States intervention in the war as per SEATO pact of March 1959. When the Indo-Pak war started on December 3, a meeting of special action group of Washington held at the White House where Mr. Kissinger remembered the responsibility of the United States in the war as per bilateral pact between the United States of America and Pakistan. America created pressure on Russia through the United Nations to stop war, otherwise threatened to take military action against India by America alone. But Russia on the other hand sent her 6th Naval Fleet with sixteen warships along with five submarines to Indian Ocean and to follow the 7th Naval Fleet of America through Cosmos 464. Kissinger again threatened Russian representative to United Nations to prevent India to stop war otherwise United States would be bound to take military action. China also gathered Army on the Northern boundary of Bhutan and Sikkim which created much tension. But Indira Gandhi with great courage and strong determination faced all these situations and Soviet Russia ignored all the American threat and warning. It was the hope of Kissinger and Nixon that China would come to help Pakistan by attacking India. In that case if Soviet Russia attacked China, United States would attack Soviet with nuclear weapons. United States Government tried her utmost to influence China to attack India. But China did not do that. On the other hand the move of United States Government in the UNO to pass a resolution to stop war was also rejected by Soviet Russia through using Veto Power. Ultimately Pakistan Army was surrendered unconditionally on December 16, 1971 which gave birth to the independence of Bangladesh in spite of strong protest and opposition of United States and China. India and Soviet Union played a most crucial role in giving birth to Bangladesh. So after the liberation of Bangladesh, the treaty of friendship co-operation and peace with India and Bangladesh not only essential but it was quite important to ensure the protection and security of this newly born State, Bangladesh.

There emerged a great crisis in the Awami League Leadership<sup>9</sup>. The increasing trends of factionalism within the party the Awami League gradually began to lose its organizational effectiveness. The leadership of ruling Awami League was divided on the question of the introduction of socialism or a mixed economy. The socialist group was headed by Finance Minister Tajuddin Ahmed who opposed to accept any foreign aid from any imperialist nations and

wanted to introduce socialism to build the newly born Bangladesh. On the other hand the group led by Vice President and Industry Ministers Sayed Nazrul Islam and Commerce and Trade Minister Khandaker Mustaque Ahmed wanted to introduce capitalist economy or atleast mixed economy for Bangladesh. The crisis on the question of the adoption of the economic policy among the top party leadership reached its culmination in the middle of 1974 when the economic situation of the country deteriorated. At this stage the government decided to modify its socialist programme in face of the massive requirement of the foreign aid. As a result of this deep crisis six Cabinet Ministers and three State Ministers most of whom belonged to the Tajuddin group resigned. After some days Sheikh Mujib asked Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister of liberation war period, to resign from the Cabinet for the sake of the national interest and he had to resign from the government. This was the defeat of the socialist block in the Awami League leadership and the victory of the pro-western pro-American. The departure of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed from the government opened an opportunity for the rightist specially for Khandaker Mustaque Ahmed to come very close of Mujib. It may be recalled that when the liberation war was going on Khandaker Mustaque as Foreign Minister of the Mujib Nagar government opposed the independence of Bangladesh and tried to negotiate with the Pakistan authority through the good offices of the United States Embassy at New-Delhi to keep one Pakistan and to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in exchange of the autonomy of East Pakistan. The conflict among the two leaders originated due to Khandaker Mustaque's anti-liberation conspiracy and Mr. Tajuddin removed Khandaker Mustaque from the charge of Foreign Minister soon after the liberation. But now Khandaker Mustaque had succeeded to remove Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed and his followers from the government of Bangladesh a country which got independence through armed struggle under his leadership in absence of Sheikh Mujib.

The deep crisis among the top leadership also followed by the younger Awami League Cadres. A group of the young cadres was led by Abdur Razzaque, organizing secretary and Mr. Tofail Ahmed political secretary to the Prime Minister and another rival group was led by Sheikh Fazlul Hoque Moni, Chairman of the Awami Jubo League and a nephew of the Sheikh Mujib. The conflict among the two group reached to its culmination in killing of seven students on Dhaka University Campus on April 5, 1974. There was dissidence within the Awami League affiliated

student league.<sup>10</sup> Since the early days of 1960's one group of Awami League student wing under the leadership of Sirajul Alam Khan, A.S.M. Abdur Rab and Shahjahan Siraj had been arguing for an independent and socialist Bangladesh and for armed revolution against Pakistan. After the election of 1970 this group took the lead in declaring Bangladesh to be independent. After Yahya Khan postponed the National Assembly on March, 1, 1971 Rab first raised the Flag of independent Bangladesh under the famous Banyan Tree in the Dhaka University Campus on March-2 and on the following day, Siraj read a proclamation of independence in presence of a gathering that attended Sheikh Mujib. During the liberation war Rab, Siraj and Sirajul Alam Khan were the high ranking member of the Mujib Bahini. After independence this group advocated for the establishment of scientific socialism in Bangladesh. The other group led by Nur-e-Alam Siddique the President of the Student League advocated transition to socialism through parliamentary means under Mujibism. Sheikh Mujib favoured the Siddique group and finally on October 31, 1972 the other group lead to form a new party named by Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal (JSD) with Major M.A. Jalil as President and A.S.M. Abdur Rab as General Secretary. Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal which was claimed to believe that the liberation war of Bangladesh was stopped just as it was about to become a real people's war and it opposed the leadership of Awami League and threatened to overthrow the Awami League Regime. The Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal called for a General Strike on January 20, 1974 and Gheraoed the residence of Home Minister on March 17, 1974. Due to the incidents of Gherao at least 3 persons were killed and another eighteen were injured and 40 other demonstrators were arrested. After a few days another several hundred Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal workers including its top leaders Major M.A. Jalil, A.S.M. Abdur Rab and Shahjahan Siraj were arrested. The Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal launched an armed struggle against the government of Sheikh Mujib by forming an armed force named as Gonobahini. The Gonobahini was formed mainly (1) to capture state power and (2) to protect the party workers from the attack of Rakkhi Bahini. The Gonobahini had its secret wing within the armed force of Bangladesh namely Biplobi Sainik Sangstha whose leader was Colonel Abu Taher. The Gonobahini started violent activities against the government throughout the country. In various places they killed many Awami League leaders and workers. The Prime Minister agreed that 300 Awami League leaders and workers were killed by the 'miscreants'. Thus the Awami League faced a serious challenge from the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal and during the period Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal was only the party to openly



challenge and resist the Awami League government. Besides Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal, the other radical parties were quite active, launched violent activities all over Bangladesh and began to train their political cadre in the spirit of a counter revolution in Bangladesh.

Due to the strong pressure of the radical parties, the Awami League government declared General amnesty to the war-collaborators hoping that if set free, these workers and leaders of the Islamic Parties would counteract the activities of the radical left. The political observers believed that the releasing of the collaborators who helped to kill thousands of people of Bangladesh during the liberation war was a great mistake and set back for Awami League. Earlier Awami League coopted with the less radical left and formed Gano Oikka Jote to fight against the radical revolutionary forces.

Meanwhile the political and economic situation seriously deteriorated and intra -party conflict intensified. In this situation the President proclaimed a state of emergency on December 28, 1974 and suspended all fundamental rights for an indefinite period. The Armies of the revolutionary parties were still active in many parts of Bangladesh. The regime found a great challenge which led Sheikh Mujib to put an end to the parliamentary system and to introduce a presidential form of government. Sheikh Mujib announced in the Jatiya Sangshad that he was planning to take his economically and politically ravaged nation towards a democracy of the exploited and socialism of the toiling masses through a second revolution.

On January 25, 1975 the constitution was amended to provide a Presidential form of government and on February 24, 1975 Sheikh Mujib announced the formation of the Bangladesh Krishak Sramick Awami League (BAKSAL) and dissolved all other political parties. All news paper were brought under government control. Through a Presidential Ordinance on June 21, 1975, 61 districts were created and on July 16, 1975 Sheikh Mujib announced the name of 61 Governors who were to take over district administration on September, 1, 1975.



### 3.2. The first military coup of August 15, 1975 and the down fall of Sheikh Mujib regime.

The day of August 15, 1975 has been marked as a most painful and black day in the history of Bangladesh. On that day the military killed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alongwith his 21 family members in his residence, at road No.32 Dhanmondi Residence.<sup>11</sup> The military killed Sheikh Mujib who was instrumental to the independent nation of Bangladesh. But the irony was that a group of young Junior Army Officer of Bangladesh Armed Forces killed Sheikh Mujib at the dead of night. The brutality of the army exceeded all limit. The woman alongwith the youngest son of Sheikh Mujib named by Rashed were not spared. The military killed all of them. The military officers under the leadership Colonel Faruque and Major Dalim, made simultaneous attacks the residence of Sheikh Mujib, Sheikh Moni and Abdur Rab Semiat all they were the relation of Sheikh Mujib and killed all of them. After killing all the family members of Sheikh Mujib one section of the killers occupied the Radio Station and Major Dalim announced the news of the killing of Sheikh Mujibur over the Radio, at 11 a.m. Khondaker Mustaque Ahmed, Commerce Minister of Mujib Cabinet told over the Radio that the armed forces had taken over and that in response to the historic necessity he assumed the Presidentship of the country. The coup was pre-planned and was carried with the knowledge of Washington.<sup>12</sup> Pakistan recognized the Mustaque government and Saudi Arabia recognized Bangladesh on the day after the coup. Mustaque imposed martial law in the country. He arrested some most trusted political associates of Sheikh Mujib, among them were Gazi Golam Mustafa, Abdus Samad Azad, Tajuddin Ahmed, Monsur Ali, Syed Nazrul Islam and Kamruzzaman.<sup>13</sup> But the irony was that most of the members of the Mujib cabinet were retained in the new cabinet headed by Khondakar Mustaque Ahmed. Khondakar Mustaque promoted Major General Ziaur Rahman to the rank of Chief of the army staff replacing Major General Safiullah. Khondaker Mustaque called the Army Officer who killed Sheikh Mujib and his family members as the 'great sons of the armed forces'.

The Mustaque government repealed a part of Bangladesh constitution which was related to the formation and functioning of the National Party named Bangladesh Krishak Sramick Awami League. It scrapped the Scheme of 61 Districts and District Governors. The Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini merged with the regular army and annulled the President order No.9 of 1972 which provided for the

dismissal of officials without assigning any reasons. The ban on the dailies and weeklies lifted. The Mustaque government tried to maintain the pre-coup status and retained most of the members of the Mujib Cabinet, the Jatiya Sangshad was also represented overwhelmingly by the Mujib's Awami League. The four fundamental principles of the state that is, Nationalism, Secularism, Democracy and Socialism were not changed even the political leaders and workers who were thrown into Jail were not released. So the August 15, coup did not bring any major change immediately after the coup. But it brought a fundamental change Pointing a far reaching effect. The killer killed Sheikh Mujib. That coup was termed as a prelude to the future coup where major change to the national life of Bangladesh revealed. That coup had torn every page of the country's constitution which grew out of the liberation war. That coup destroyed the values and spirit of the liberation war. That coup rehabilitated the anti-liberation forces in the politics. That coup brought the well known 'Rajakar' Shah Azizur Rahman, Moulana Mannan in the Cabinet. That coup vanished almost all the fundamental principles of the state policy.

The coup of August 15, 1975 contained seeds of number of coups and counter coups that rocked the politics violently for more than half a decade since 1975 and it paved the way for the military in Bangladesh to emerge as the ruling elite. Through the August coup the country was turned into a military-bureaucratic dictatorship.

But in the meantime a second coup was staged on November 3, 1975 under the leadership of Brigadier Khalid Mosharraf who was promoted to the rank of Major General and appointed Chief of the Army Staff in place of Major General Ziaur Rahman. Khalid Mosharraf forced Zia to resign and kept him under house arrest. In a negotiated settlement 15 Majors who were actively involved in Mujib's killing were allowed safe passage to Bangkok. But the killers of Sheikh Mujib before their leaving for Bangkok on November 4, killed four national leaders namely, Tajuddin Ahmed, Monsur Ali, Syed Nazrul Islam, and Kamruzzaman in the Central Jail. It was claimed that the four leaders were killed in the jail under the direct initiative of Khondaker Mustaque who wanted to bring an end to the course of liberation and to stop the re-assumption of power by the followers of Sheikh Mujib and the Awami League for ever. Khondaker Mustaque was forced to resign and handed over charge of the Presidency to Justice A.S.M. Sayem. The Cabinet and Jatiya Sangshad was

dissolved and martial law was proclaimed, when August 15, coup was initiated with the knowledge of Washington the November 3, coup was also termed as pro-Indian, engineered by RAW:

### 3.3. The Sepoy revolution of November 7, 1975 and beginning of the General Zia's military regime in Bangladesh.

On the day of 7th November, 1975 a bloody military coup was held in Bangladesh Army.<sup>14</sup> The leader of the November 3, coup Khalid Mosharraf was defeated. From the 6th of November Khalid and his colleagues to be branded as paid Indian agents in the service of Delhi - Moscow axis to reestablish its control over Bangladesh. At the personal request of Major Zia, Colonel Abu Taher, the commander in Chief of Biplobi Sainik Sangstha (Revolutionary Soldier Association) an armed wing of the Gono Bahini of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal took the lead in the November 7 uprising which collapsed the Khalid Mosharraf's Command over the country. At the direction of Colonel Abu Taher the soldiers in a body revolted against Khalid Mosharraf. Khalid Mosharraf and his other associates were killed by the uprising soldiers just outside the cantonment while they were trying to flee At 3.00 a.m. The soldiers freed Ziaur Rahman who kept under house arrest by Khalid Mosharraf. The soldiers came out from the cantonment in the city on Truck, Jeeps firing blanks shot at the air and shouting slogan 'Bangladesh Zindabad', 'Sepoy revolution Zinbabad', 'General Zia Zindabad'. Declaration was made over the Radio that the Sons of the toiling masses, the Sepoy revolted.

The Sepoy uprising of November 7, under the leadership of Colonel Abu Taher and its Biplobi Sainik Sangstha brought Ziaur Rahman in power and General Zia emerged as the strong man in Bangladesh politics. General Zia was reappointed as the Chief of Army Staff. Justice Sayem as President of the country proclaimed martial law and became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. General Zia alongwith other service Chief, Commodore M.H. Khan and Air Vice Marshal M.G. Towab became the Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators. A Council of Advisor was formed.

The main leader of the sepoy mutiny of November 7, 1975 was Colonel Abu Taher.<sup>15</sup> It was claimed when General Zia was taken into house arrest by Khalid Mosharraf after the November 3



coup Zia made an urgent appeal to Abu Taher over telephone for his help. Taher duped Khalid Mosharraf as an agent of the Indo-Soviet axis and asked the member of his Biplobi Sainik Sangstha<sup>16</sup> to mobilize support for Zia. On November 5, 1975 thousands of leaflets under the authority of Biplobi Sainik Sangstha were distributed among the soldiers in the cantonments calling upon the soldiers to make themselves ready for a general uprising to achieve their "goal of liberating themselves".<sup>17</sup> In the night of November 6, 1975 Colonel Taher held a meeting with the members of his Biplobi Sainik Sangstha and finalized the course of action which were (1) to overthrow Khalid Mosharraf and his group, (2) to release Ziaur Rahman from captivity; (3) to establish a revolutionary military command council for managing the affairs of the armed forces, (4) to release all political prisoners; (5) to withdraw all warrant of arrest; (6) to form an all party democratic national government excluding the Bangladesh Krishak Sramick Awami League and (7) to accept and implement the twelve point demands of the Biplobi Sainik Sangstha.

According to the plan, Zia was set free and Khalid Mosharraf and his group were defeated. Radio, Television, Airport, Telecommunication Centres and other strategic positions were captured.

In the early hour of November 7, 1975 Colonel Taher went to the Second Field Artillery Head Quarters to meet Zia who had been brought there after his release from captivity. Zia warmly embraced Taher and thanked him for saving his life. Again when the soldiers garlanded Zia, he put the garland around Taher's shoulder saying that it was Taher who deserved it. Both Taher and Zia went to the Bangladesh Radio at about 4.00 a.m. where announcement was made about the soldiers uprising. In the same announcement Major Ziaur Rahman was proclaimed as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. At 1.00 a.m. in the army head Quarter at Dhaka, a new administrative set up was formed for running an interim government with justice Sayem as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) and three service Chiefs Major General Zia. Air Vice Marshal M.G. Towab and Rear Admiral M.H. Khan as Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators. The new administration took the decision to release Major M.A. Jalil, A.S.M. Abdur Rab and other JSD leaders; and accordingly they were released on November 8, 1975. The soldiers handed over their twelve point demands to Zia while he was in the Radio Station and Zia assured them that he would implement those demands. The soldiers put pressure on Zia to accept their twelve point demands, most



important of them was call for the establishment of new organ of military authority and decision making. An appeal was made to every military unit to form revolutionary army organization which linkup with a central revolutionary army organization to be formed for the whole of Dhaka Cantonment. The declaration stated, This central organization would decide all policies where General Zia would not take any decision without consulting the committee. Only after consultation with the central body General Zia would be able to take any final decision. This Central body would keep contact with cantonments, the bodies of revolutionary students, peasants, workers and the common masses of the country. The declaration maintained that with this revolutionary army all the progressive revolutionary students, peasants, and workers were to be linked up. According to the demand the central revolutionary organization would be the supreme decision making organization in the country.

Ziaur Rahman refused to go alongwith the Biplobi Sainik Sangstha and its twelve points demand<sup>18</sup>. On November 11, 1975 Zia made a nation wide speech condemning those who had tried to use his name for certainends. His disassociation with the JSD was now complete and as such within 72 hours the sepyo revolutionary leader Colonel Abu Taher and his Biplobi Sainik Sangstha went under ground believing that they would be arrested by the authorities. By November 15, 1975 the JSD publicly began to disassociate itself from Zia, who refused to release the prisoners and continued a ban on open political meeting, leaflets issued by the JSD. The JSD charged Zia that he was being led in a counter revolutionary direction by the rightist reactionaries and pro-USA elements. On November 15, 1975 the JSD leaders, M.A. Jalil and A.S.M. Abdur Rub, urged the immediate formation of revolutionary council among the army jawans, industrial workers, to usher in a proletariat revolution. On November 15, 1975 a new set of Martial Law regulations were promulgated. The JSD leaders called for an uninterrupted revolution under the banner of the Gono Bahini. This radical leadership argued the formation of Biplobi Sainik Sangstha under a four points plan of action. This new Jatiya Samaitantrick Dal's programme called for (i) removal of deference's between soldiers and officers; (ii) Discontinuation of the use of soldiers as batman for officers (iii) branding of Junior Commissioned officers who had been co-operating with officers as anti-revolutionary elements and (iv) retention of arms and ammunition by soldiers until the realization of these demand\$.

The JSD'S appeal created a serious problem of military discipline. In the effort to aggravate the situation Jalil and Rab called for a class war through the establishment of a revolutionary soldiers council in different branches of the army. Due to the call for the class war, a number of incidents took place where officers and their families were killed by soldiers of different military bases. The situation was an overall break-down of military discipline and authority. There was a strong rumor that the JSD had planned a counter coup on November 24 by the radicals led by Colonel Abu Taher. Zia was convinced that the situation was being prepared for Indian intervention. On November 23, 1975 depending mainly on police forces outside the army, Zia ordered to re-arrest the JSD leaders. As such Major M.A. Jalil, A.S.M. Abdur Rab and Hesanul Huque Inu, together with sixteen others were re-arrested on charge of anti-state activities. On November 24, 1975 Para-military Police arrested Taher. In a strong worded speech over the Radio in the early hours of November 24, 1975 Major General Ziaur Rahman warned the Foreign agents engaged in conspiracy against the country's independent and sovereignty.<sup>19</sup>

Soon after the arrest of the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal leaders, a general crack down on the JSD began throughout the country.<sup>20</sup> In Dhaka strict curfew was imposed and police made house to house search for 'party members'. The government started extensive programme of arresting the sub-leaders and rank and file members of the party. Check points were established in all of the major cities to stop and search suspected vehicles and individuals for arms and ammunition. Government started a country wide raid to recover unauthorized arms from the miscreants. The Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal leaflets reported that 10,000 JSD leaders and workers were arrested by the Zia regime. With a view to cracking down Zia increased the police force from 40 thousand to 70 thousands. He revised the budget as framed by the Mujib Government and raised the allocation for defence and internal security forces from Taka 750 million (13% of the total revenue budget) to Tk. 2,062 million (32% of the total revenue budget). By the end of November 1975 Zia consolidated his position among the Jawans by accepting the nonpolitical demands of the 12-point charter of demands of the Jawans. He increased their salary and other benefits. With the restoration of discipline in the armed forces General Zia tried against the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal leaders and their associates. In the last week of June 1976 a special tribunal headed by Colonel Yousuf Haider

held a secret trial of Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal leaders for the charges of 'propagation of political ideology and dissatisfaction among the officers and other members of the Defence Service'. Taher was sentenced to death on July 17, 1976. His mercy petition to the president was rejected on the 20th. Next morning on July 21, 1976, Taher was hanged at dawn in Dhaka Central Jail.<sup>21</sup> Other JSD leaders including Major M.A. Jalil and A.S.M. Abdur Rab were sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment. Hanging of Colonel Abu Taher was the first of such incident in South Asia after the British left India and killing of Taher is termed as the killing of a revolution. By this killing the last hopes of any possibility to socialist revolution was stopped for ever in Bangladesh.

The Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal leaders asserted that General Zia betrayed them which could bring a qualitative change in the society and its economic and political system. Colonel Taher in his testimony observed that Zia not only betrayed him, he also betrayed the revolutionaries and went back from the commitments he made on November 7. Indeed he betrayed the entire nation. Knowing fully well that Zia was an ambitious man and lacked a progressive personality Colonel Taher selected Zia to lead the movement. It was claimed that they wanted to use Zia with a view to providing opportunities to the revolutionaries for organizing the urban work force, Rural poor and sepoy of the cantonment for the ultimate take over. It could not be denied that the act of Abu Taher to use Biplobi Sainik Sangstha to capture state power was premature. Though they had a plan to capture state power through this secret cell within the regular army of Bangladesh. It is also could not be denied that Major Zia had a good command upon a section of the armed forces. So Colonel Taher selected Zia to use him for ultimate victory but after being put in to a powerful position Zia realized that his personal and class interest would not be materialized if he remained under the influence of leftist forces. So by November 10-11 1975 he assumed a reactionary role. Most scholars characterized Zia as an opportunist. According to them during pre-August period he maintained close relation with Mustaque which brought the August 15, coup resulting the killing of Sheikh Mujib and overthrow his regime and after August 15 he renewed his contact with Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal leadership specially with Taher. Zia vigorously cultured his contact with the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal leaders and assured the JSD leaders that he would help the cause of democracy. So having contact with Jatio Samajtantrick Dal General Zia got their sympathy and gained support to reach at the helm of the state craft. When he was to reach at the highest position



of state power he destroyed the ladder. So selecting Zia as their leader was a great mistake for Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal which expressed their immaturity. This only mistake destroyed themselves and destroyed the revolution. So the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal leader and Taher failed to provide creative leadership at the situation demanded at that time.

**3.4. IV) Politicization and left orientation of Bangladesh army and the coup-counter coup and the death of general zia.**

The November 7, 1975 sepoy mutiny left a very significant political effect in Bangladesh politics. Colonel Abu Taher was a great hero of the liberation war. For the liberation of Bangladesh Colonel Taher had given his blood, he lost one of his leg at the liberation war of the country. But in the independent Bangladesh, he was hanged inside the Dhaka Central Jail. His crime was that he wanted to change the existing system. He wanted to bring good for the men. So he was a threat to the bourgeois dominated state of Bangladesh'. So he was vanished from the earth. In the testimony which Taher offered before the tribunal he accused none but Zia of perfidy, treachery, and betray.

While submitting his deposition Taher asserted the tribunal members who had no role in the liberation war had no right to try a war hero.<sup>23</sup> Yet he was hanged. But the wave of discontentment generated among his fellow soldiers within the Bangladesh Army, began to spread violently in the various cantonments in Bangladesh. After the execution Taher re-emerged as the symbol of their hero and that was how dead Taher turned out to be more dreadful to Zia than Taher himself.

In the Bangladesh Army (inherited from Pakistan) there were some brilliant army officers who were left in orientation. They were Colonel Abu Taher, Major Ziauddin, Major M.A. Jalil and General Manjur. Their association with left political organization and Their left orientation contributed greatly to be politicization and left orientation of a section of armed personnel of Bangladesh Army.

Among the army officers and liberation hero, Colonel Abu Taher was left in orientation. Colonel Abu Taher advocated for the transformation of the regular army into a productive army



after independence. With a view to implement<sup>ing</sup> the ideology he got himself retired from the Army in 1972 and joined the Biplobi Gano Bahini an armed wing of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal. Colonel Taher was the Commander in Chief and he was entrusted with the task to organise Biplobi Sainik Sangstha (Revolutionary Soldiers Association) on the model of Soviet Soldiers which developed in Jarist Army before the communist takeover. Colonel Taher with his close Comrades took a vigorous effort to involve the armed personnel to bring about revolutionary changes in the society.

Colonel Taher was an army officer of Pakistan Army. He was commissioned in the Baluch Regiment in 1961 and later on joined the special services group. In elite para commando force in Pakistan Army he was the first Bengali Officer to be awarded a Maroon Parachute wing. During the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, he fought gallantly in the Kashmir and Sialkot Sector. During his training in the United States of America he made his mark as an excellent Officer. He obtained his Bachelor Degree with Honours from the Special Forces Officers Training Institute, Fort Bragg North Carolina.

When the liberation war was going on, Colonel Taher was in Queta attending a Senior Technical Course in the School of Infantry and tactics. Leaving his training course he came from West Pakistan to Bangladesh and joined the liberation war and took the charge of Sector-11. In a forceful battle at Kamalpur with the Pakistan Army he showed extra-ordinary bravery and skill and in that battle he lost one of his legs. He was offered the gallantry award of Bir Uttam (Excellent Hero) for his contribution in the liberation war<sup>24</sup>.

The liberation war which Colonel Taher watched very closely led him to get the idea that the conventional forces could be dangerous to the people of the developing world since these forces had the inherent tendency to be used to preserve the vested interest of the dominant classes.

The liberation war and the tactics of its guerilla warfare gave birth an idea to Colonel Taher that the political leadership had a great significance and such a war was won mainly through the involvement and political mobilization of the masses. He came to the conclusion that the liberation war of 1971 was won only when the poor villagers were involved in the guerilla warfare. In his own words, the main source of strength of the liberation forces was "the poor and the villagers who gave

us food, who gave us shelter who supplied information on enemy positions and who were constantly an inspiration to us". The liberation war had given an impression in his mind and he became determined to reorganize the Bangladesh Army into a production oriented people's Army. In his testimony he stated, "during my career as a soldier I realized that a standing army is a burden on the national economy of the developing and underdeveloped countries. This kind of army is an obstacle to any social progress. It makes no contribution whatsoever to national production', Colonel Taher comments, 'the sense of loyalty, dedication and sacrifice that I saw among the freedom fighters during the liberation war convinced me that it was not an impossible task to build such a production oriented revolutionary people's army in Bangladesh.<sup>25</sup> Colonel Taher described his own experience as the Commander of 44 Brigade in Comilla "our organizing principle was that of a productive army where Officers and soldiers worked as peasants and workers. We ploughed our field, grew our own food and went to the village to join in production. This was the path of self reliance. It is with happiness that I recall that within a short time my officers in the Commilla Brigade understood these principles and turned our unit into a productive force".<sup>26</sup> In Comilla all officers and soldiers were required to be physical labour everyday. Irrigation and flood control measures were inspected by military engineers.

Colonel Abu Taher distinguished himself not only for his heroism in the liberation war and their revolutionary ideas in respect of the armed forces in a developing country but he was renowned for his personal honesty and integrity. Every one in the liberation forces knew that he was most uncompromising in his attitudes towards corruption and any kind of irregularity. Colonel Taher was used to simple living and he advocated for austerity at all levels of public life. He disliked luxurious living of the General. So he was branded as a communist commander. As an Adjutant General of the Bangladesh Army he began proceeding against a number of Junior Military Officers for their illegal acquisition of wealth during the liberation war, While at Comilla as the commander of 44 Brigade Taher ordered all officers under his command to surrender any property they had acquired illegally during and after the war.

Colonel Taher was released from active services in 1972. He then joined the Biplobi Ganobahini, an underground armed wing of the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal and devoted himself to the

task of organizing revolutionary forces in Bangladesh. To achieve this end he followed the Marxist doctrine, intended to smash the old army, dissolve it, and then build it a new. Marxist doctrine was that in order to establish a people Raj it was necessary to destroy the conventional military bureaucratic machine which was the major instrument of domination by the bourgeois. To that end Colonel Taher attempted to recast and reorient the Bangladesh Army by establishing hundreds of Biplobi Sainik Sangstha in various military units and the response he got from Dhaka, Comilla, Bogra and Rangpur unit were very well. Taher's joining the Biplobi Ganobahini strengthened the military wing of the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal while the political leadership of the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal strengthened the military plan of Colonel Taher. Having this preparation, the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal and Taher, as the commander of the Biplobi Gonobahini were planning for a people's revolution when both the soldiers and commonmen, action in union, would overthrow the Government and form a revolutionary council to introduce "Scientific Socialism" in Bangladesh.

Colonel Ziauddin another war hero and a close friend of Colonel Taher, joined the Sarbahara Party and tried to organize an armed wing for the same purpose on the same model, Colonel Ziauddin was a Bengali Officer of Pakistan Armed Force, got involvement in the liberation war and was a sector commander. After liberation he took the charge of the Dhaka Brigade, like Colonel Taher he wanted to re-organize the armed forces in Bangladesh. Colonel Ziauddin urged that in a poor and backward country like Bangladesh only two courses were open in regard to the organization of armed forces. If the armed forces remained simply for the defence and security cause of the state, then in a poor state the armed forces would become as a great economic liability. It would ultimately compromise national independence and becomes dependent on foreign power for military assistance and in that process it would turn into an oppressive machinery to exploit and oppress people. He cited the example of the then Pakistan where more than 60% of her national revenue would be consumed by the military and established its over powering dominance at all level of national life and ultimately formed into a handy instrument for the oppression of the people.

While in service Colonel Ziauddin wrote an article which was published in the Holiday<sup>27</sup>. For writing this article Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman asked Colonel Ziauddin to offer an official



apology describing it as a soldierly disobedience. Colonel Ziauddin refused to do that and for such refusal he was dismissed from the Armed Services of the state in 1972. Like Colonel Abu Taher Colonel Ziauddin was a hero of the liberation war. He shared the same revolutionary idea as that of Colonel Taher in respect of the armed forces in a developing country. He also was renowned for his personal honesty and integrity and was most uncompromising in attitude toward corruption and any kind of irregularity of the government.

Retiring from the Armed Service Colonel Ziauddin joined in the Purbe Bangla Sarbohara Party whose Chairman was Siraj Sikder, an Engineer who was pro-Chinese in orientation. The Sarbohara Party under the leadership of Siraj Sikder declared that Bangladesh was not actually liberated, since the bourgeois was there in power. During the liberation war Siraj Sikder and his Sarbohara Party fought against both the Pakistan Army and the Mukti Bahini. Sarbohara Party declared the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a puppet government of India and urged to overthrow the Awami League government through armed struggle.

Major M.A. Jalil was another freedom fighter and war hero who possessed the same idea to change the socio-economic structure of the existing bourgeois state. He was on leave from the Pakistan Army when crackdown took place on March 25, 1971. He organized resistance against the Pakistan Army in several districts and was commander at one of the guerilla sector during the liberation war. After liberation he was arrested by the Awami League government for his attempt to resist the transfer of arms left behind by the Pakistani Army to Indian Forces. He was the first person in independent Bangladesh who was arrested. Later on when Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal was formed on October 31, 1972, Major M.A. Jalil was made the convenor and subsequently he became the President of the party. This party was committed to establish scientific socialism and Krishak Sramick Raj in Bangladesh.

Like Colonel Taher, Ziauddin, and Major M.A. Jalil General Monjur was nationalist, politicised and left oriented in ideology. He also possessed socialist idea and wanted corruption free society, less reliance on international aid. Like Colonel Taher he was anti-Indian, anti-Russian and anti-American but was pro-Chinese. With Colonel Taher he escaped from West Pakistan and



fought as sector commander during the liberation war. After liberation like Colonel Taher and Ziauddin he did not resign but was in the Army and was promoted to the rank of Major General. He was very critic of General Zia for his policy of widespread corruption, rehabilitation of anti-liberation force, appointment of Shah Azizur Rahman as Prime Minister and he was very shocked at the hanging of Colonel Abu Taher by Zia, a best friend, Comrade and war hero. It was reported that when Zia executed Taher's death sentence Monjur met the Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal leaders against the wishes of other military officers including Zia and last of all in an army coup, led by Monjur Zia was killed.

The role of these liberation war hero and their orientation and ideas to transform a production oriented army from a conventional army and to build a exploitation free Bangladesh had a major effect. They had a large number of followers in the army to whom their ideas were well ventilated. As a result a large number of Army personnel was not only left oriented but politicized.

After liberation the performance of the ruling party was also a major cause for the politicization of the armed forces<sup>28</sup>. The strategy of Mujib Government to raise a special military security force named Rakhi Bahini which was designed as a countervailing forces against the Bangladesh regular army aggravated differences and generated conflicts between two parallel armies. The deterioration of the economic condition and operations to aid the civil authorities made the armed forces of Bangladesh to be politicized.

After the hanging of Abu Taher, the members of the Biplobi Sainik Sangstha within the armed forces were scattered and the wave of discontinued generated among them and led to various coup attempts in various cantonments in Bangladesh. To them Taher emerged as a symbol of their hero and during the whole period of Zia regime they were generating coup attempt one after another which ultimately led to the death of Zia. The first coup attempt in may 1977 was made by the Bengal Lancers Tank Regiment. But prior to their final attempt Zia disbanded them and sent to Bogra. The Bengal Lancers Tank Regiment had a good connection with the Biplobi Sainik Sangstha and at least 1500 Jawan and officers were dismissed from the army. A left wing plot was made to assassinate Zia at an Air Force Day celebration in Dhaka on September 28, 1977 where

Zia was scheduled to be the Chief guest. But the plan was foiled. The Sepoys of the 22 East Bengal Regiment mutinied at Bogra on September 30, 1977. The Jawans urged the rest to join them in a revolt against the government. Hundreds of soldiers were killed during the Bogra incidents. The mutiny was suppressed. On October 2, 1977 at mid night a group of non commissioned army officers struck at the Zia regime by attempting to stage a coup at Dhaka cantonment. It was a coup attempted to topple the Zia government. The rebel force occupied the Radio Station and proclaimed the Sepoy Biplob and announced the formation of a revolutionary government. Ten army officers and an estimated 200 others soldiers were killed. The rebels attacked Zia's Office at the martial law Head Quarter. Zia escaped death only because the mutineers were unable to find him. The mutiny did not progress and saved Zia. The coup was short lived which almost about to topple the Zia government. More than 800 service men had been convicted by the military tribunal and about 600 of them mostly from the Air Force had been executed in firing squads or by hanging.

#### ATTEMPT OF MAY 30, 1981

The first Army President Zia in his five and a half years of tenure of office had to face 18 coup attempts<sup>29</sup> prior to the Chittagong coup attempt of May 30, 1981 which was led by Major General Abul Monjur and Killed Zia. In the early hours of May 30, 1981 about 20 officers made a surprise attacked on the Chittagong Circuit House where President Ziaur Rahman was staying. The rebel group overwhelmed the Presidential Guards and policemen and brutally killed President Zia.<sup>30</sup>

The rebels took over the local Radio Station and announced the formation of a 7 member Biplobi Parishad headed by Major General Abul Monjur. The parishad announced the appointment of Major General Mir Shawkat Ali, Principal Staff Officer (PSO) to the President as the acting Chief of Army Staff by dismissing of the Army Chief of Staff Major General H.M. Ershad. 13 directives were announced over the Radio in the name of the Parishad which related to the abrogation of the Bangladesh constitution, dissolved the Jatiya Sangshad, dismissed the council of ministers, suspended party activities and proclaimed martial law throughout Bangladesh. In their announcement the rebel forces took strong anti-Indian stand and announced the abrogation of the

25 years treaty of friendship, cooperation and peace with India and capture of Talpatty from the Indian occupation, abolition of Gram Sarker, Youth Complex and prohibition of drinking and gambling. Monjur also addressed a cross section of people in the morning of October 31, 1981, But within a few hours of the coup the situation began to drift fast against General Monjur and with in 48 hours of coup which killed Zia, Monjur had to flee with his wife and children along with his some followers. But his group was arrested in the Fatickchari forest, 30 miles north of Chittagong at around 9.00 a.m. on June 1, 1981. Monjur and two of his officers were sent back to the cantonment in mid-afternoon where General Monjur was killed.

The coup attempts had remained as significant events in the political arena of Bangladesh. The freedom fighters at the beginning exercised great influence. But the August 15 coup 1975 marked the beginning of an end of their influence and the May 30, 1981 incidents turned to be an end of the freedom fighters domination of Bangladesh Army. The August 15, coup resulted in the lose of command of Major General Shafiullah, Sector Commander 3 of the liberation war. The November 7, uprising led to the death of Khaled Mosharraf, Sector Commander 2, life imprisonment of major Jalil Sector Commander 9 and death of Colonel Abu Taher Sector Commander 11,. The May 30, 1981 coup of Chittagong resulted in the brutal killing of President Zia, Commander of the Sector 1 and subsequently in the death of Monjur, Sector Commander 8, after the incident Mr. Shawkat Ali, Commander of the Sector 5 was retired. Thus of the 11 brave soldiers who had served as sector Commanders during the liberation war none remained in the armed forces. This incident paved the way for an integrated and well kint armed forces in Bangladesh. After the Chittagong incidents none from the freedom fighters group remained in command and all the crucial positions were occupied by the repatriate officers who began to undertake measures for building a disciplined integrated conventional armed forces in Bangladesh just like Pakistan.

It was claimed that Zia and Monjur were quite friendly at the beginning and it was Monjur who saved Zia on October 2, 1977. Monjur's role during the October 2, 1977 coup attempt, especially his popularity with the soldiers and officers at Dhaka frightened Zia who sent him to Chittagong as the GOC of that division with <sup>3</sup>view to making Dhaka safe for Zia. Again when Zia felt



that Monjur's popularity was growing at Chittagong he started distrusting Monjur and he decided to strip him of his Command. For this purpose he issued order for Monjur's transfer to Dhaka as Commander of the Military Staff College. Monjur did not like it and he expressed his indignation over his new assignment. But Zia remained adamant and Monjur had to join his post on June 1, 1981. Finding the President within his firm grip, Monjur launched the raid which killed Zia, hoping that the coup would be accepted by all.

### 3.5. President Sattar and his short lived regime

After the assassination of President Zia in Chittagong coup on May 30, 1981 the 75 years old Vice President Justice M.A. Sattar who at that time was under treatment at combined military hospital, Dhaka was sworn in as the Acting President of Bangladesh.<sup>31</sup> General H.M. Ershad the Chief of the Army Staff attended the swearing ceremony of the Acting President alongwith other Chief of Naval and Air Force, Cabinet members and took oaths of locality to the new President. The cabinet held its meeting at 9' 0 clock in the morning of May 30, 1981 and decided to take action against the coup leaders.

The new government headed by Justice Abdus Sattar promised to hold Presidential election within 180 days prescribed by the constitution. The government named three tribunals which were investigating the assassination, one was a civil Supreme Court Commission headed by Justice Ruhul Amin. The second was a military Inquiry Tribunal, under Major General Muzammal Hussain. The third was a seven man field General court martial directed by Major General Abdur Rahman. On the basis of investigation the government published a white paper where the name of Colonel Mahfuzur Rahman, Zia's personal military secretary, Colonel Motiur Rahman was named as most brutal of assassination. The announcement of the death of President Zia on Chittagong Radio was made in the name of Mahfuz. More than a dozen military officers were hanged on September 23, 1981. Major General Shawkat Ali who was named as acting Chief of Staff by the Revolutionary Council was not arrested but promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General and retired from the Army and sent abroad as Ambassador. The next but most formidable task of Sattar Government was to hold a Presidential election which was declared to be scheduled on November 15, 1981. The major candidate who contested in the Presidential election was ruling Bangladesh



Nationalist Party nominee Acting President Justice Abdus Sattar. The Army specially the Army Chief of Staff General H.M. Ershad lent support to Justice Sattar. Dr. Kamal Hossain was the Presidential candidate of Awami League while Major General M.A.G. Osmani, Moulana Hafizze Hujur were also candidates. The army supported Bangladesh Nationalist Party candidate Justice Sattar who won landslide victory. His nearest rival was Dr. Kamal Hossain, Dr. Kamal was not acceptable to the military because of the Awami League's policy to army, while in power, its policy of rising Jatiya Rakhi Bahini, its Pro-Indian Foreign Policy, Socialist Programme and secular stand. Dr. Kamal Hossain a close associate of Mujib was not the person to be in good grace of the military elite. General Osmani the commander of the liberation armed forces of 1971 because of his close association with the freedom fighters had never had the ideal image of a leader to the repatriate military officer which then dominated the Bangladesh Army.

The major power behind Abdus Sattar in the new Government was Prime Minister Shah Azizur Rahman. But there was great rivalry between Shah Aziz and Professor Badruddoza Chowdhury. There was various groups within the Bangladesh Nationalist Party competing with other. Among those one group was led by Barrister Moudud Ahmed who was then known as rival group and was dropped from the cabinet. Nurul Islam Shishu and Colonel Akbar Hossain was another group who was disliked both by the Shah Aziz and Army General H.M. Ershad. Shortly after Zia's death Shishu and Akbar were dropped from the Sattar's cabinet. They were the third dissidents group within the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. As such the Sattar government faced a great problem of cohesion and honest leadership crisis. At an over elderly age Justice Sattar had neither skill nor the charisma to lead the country under such situation. The army Chief General Ershad had become a most powerful politico-military leaders in Bangladesh.<sup>32</sup> Very soon General Ershad demanded that the army should be directly associated with the government of the country so that the military might have their commitment in administration and to do their best to arrest the tendency of uprising with a view to fulfilling their ambition or the lust for power. He observed, 'Inshallah (God willing) there will be no coups, but what you must do is to find constitutional solutions so that coups and killing do not take place a year later, a 10 years later or ever again.'

The Bangladesh Nationalist Party was faction ridden and making it difficult for the government to implement its policies. On the economic front the country was facing a serious crisis. The law and order situation was further deteriorated. There were 1754 murders, 1809 decoities, 1173 robberies and 7815 cases of rioting took places during the 1st 11 month of the years. The old President Justice Sattar very soon able to realize that he was sitting on a Volcano.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### GENERAL ERSHAD'S MARTIAL LAW REGIME IN BANGLADESH

#### 4.1. General Ershad and his emergence as a military Leader.

The August 15, 1975 Military Coup which killed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alongwith his all family members except of his two daughters who were away from Bangladesh at that time has been marked as a starting point of military dominance in the politics of Bangladesh. Though the coup maker who killed Sheikh Mujib did not form any revolutionary council or took power directly it was alleged that it was a pre-planned coup and had a result of longtime back conspiracy.<sup>1</sup> It was believed that Major General Zia who was a Deputy Chief of Staff had a connection with the coup-maker<sup>2</sup> and after the over throw of Sheikh Mujib he was promoted to the Chief of Army Staff replacing Major General Shafiullah. It was also claimed that Khandaker Mushtaque Ahmed who was against the liberation of Bangladesh and made conspiracy of foiling the liberation believing autonomy of Bangladesh in one undivided Pakistan.<sup>3</sup> This two personalities who were to be claimed as an agent of America and Pakistan had a close understanding with the killer and made this coup with cool brain. Khandaker Mushtaque an arch enemy of Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, the war time Prime Minister of Bangladesh, fulfilled his desire by taking revenge by killing Sheikh Mujib through military coup. Tajuddin Ahmed alongwith three other Awami League Leaders were also killed in Dhaka Central Jail. After the overthrow of Sheikh Mujib, though Khandaker Mushtaque Ahmed assumed the Presidentship of Bangladesh, he had to quit power very soon and the real personalities who played behind the coup took political power. So with the taking of political power by Ziaur Rahman, the Armed Forces of Bangladesh emerged as a ruling elite in Bangladesh politics. The August coup of 1975 closely followed by a series of coups and counter coups until May 30, 1981 when General Ziaur Rahman after his five years of Military Rule, was brutally killed in an abortive coup at Chittagong Circuit House. Like August 15, 1975 coup there was also a coup planner behind May 30, 1981 coup who did not immediately take the political power. After August 15 coup, Khandaker Mushtaque took the Presidentship but General Zia did not come into the scene directly. In case of May 30, 1981 coup Vice President Sattar took the Presidentship. Very soon General Ershad came in the forefront and declared Martial Law for the

second time and emerged as the most powerful Military Leader in Bangladesh replacing President Sattar through a bloodless coup on March 24, 1982.

General Ershad arrived in Bangladesh during December, 1973 as a repatriated Army Officer. After liberation, due to International pressure Sheikh Mujib had to release 98000 Pakistani Army, who were supposed to undergo trial for war crime, in exchange of the repatriation of 20 thousand Bengali Soldiers and one thousand officers who were in Pakistan during the liberation period of Bangladesh. Among the repatriated Army Officer, General Ershad was the Senior most. He was then a Lt. Colonel and was posted in Karachi, West Pakistan as a commanding officer of 7th Bengal Regiment. General Ershad was very loyal to Pakistan. During March 25-26 when the liberation war was started General Ershad was in his home at Rangpur but he did not join in the liberation war rather by April he went to Pakistan. Later on during September of the year he again came back home from Pakistan and instead of joining the liberation war he returned to Pakistan after some days. He was made the Chairman of the Tribunal which was formed to trial the Bengali Soldiers and Officers Who were sympathizer to the liberation of Bangladesh. His services in the Bangladesh army was not supposed to be continued since his involvement of the protection of Pakistan's interest. But he was not dismissed rather promoted to the rank of Adjutant General of Bangladesh Army in 1973.

After liberation, Bangladesh Army was divided into freedom fighter dominated Army and the repatriated Army who came back from Pakistan. General Ershad virtually became the leader of the repatriated Army. The Government of Sheikh Mujib had given two years anti-dated seniority to the Freedom Fighters Army than that of the repatriated Army. General Ershad had decided to move slowly and to re-organize the repatriated Army. General Ershad went to New Delhi in 1975 to join the National Defence College for higher training. The position of Bangladesh Army at that time was explosive. The share of Annual Budget for the Army was so small that was quite insufficient to meet the necessary daily needs of the Military at the Cantonment. The creation of a Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini<sup>4</sup> had made a severe impact upon the regular Army of Bangladesh. The corporate interest of the Army was considered hampered seriously. Moreover the formation of one party system, the Bangladesh Krishak Sramick Awami League, had created a serious discontentment among the

army. Formation of Bangladesh Krishak Sramick Awami League placed the Army under the control of the District Governor and engaged them in development activities of the state had given birth to a major reaction among the Armed Services. Under such a socio-political circumstances and at the fear of the danger of Army's corporate interest Sheikh Mujib alongwith his most family members were killed through a Military coup which was an outcome of a year long conspiracy hatched by a number of right wing Awami League Leaders and some military officers with the knowledge of the CIA<sup>5</sup>.

Residing in India General Ershad watched carefully the then on going changes in Bangladesh. India also became very dissatisfied with the activities of the freedom-fighters-army officers who killed Sheikh Mujib. While in India in Training General Ershad got promotion to the rank of Brigadier. The political unrest of the country and discontentment of the senior military officers made it inevitable to collapse the Mushtaque Regime. The killer of Sheikh Mujib, Khondaker Mushtaque was also ousted from power by an another military coup staged on November 03, led by Brigadier Khalid Mosharraf. Khondaker Mushtaque was forced to hand over power to justice Sayem. Army Chief of Staff Major General Ziaur Rahman was also kept under house arrest and his power was seized by Khalid Mosharraf. Khalid Mosharraf's power was also upset by another coup led by Biplobi Sainik sangstha of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal under the leadership of Colonel (Rtd.) Abu Taher which rescued Ziaur Rahman and killed Khalid Mosharraf. Very soon General Zia killed Abu Taher by hanging. By this time Brigadier Ershad also got promotion as Major General and appointed as Deputy Chief of Army Staff.

After consolidation of power General Zia wanted to get retirement from the Army and to civilianize his military rule in Bangladesh. He wished to take full control over the politics. So, he decided to appoint a person as Army Chief of Staff. For the highest posts of the Army, there were two competitors. They were Major General Shawkat Ali and Major General Monjur. These two Army Officers were veteran freedom fighters who were Sector Commanders during the liberation war. But Zia did not like any of them as Army Chief of Staff rather he had chosen General Ershad and appointed him as Army Chief of Staff. As Deputy Chief of Army Staff General Ershad abled to convince Zia that both General Shawkat and General Monjur were power hanger and fear for Zia.



Zia also drew a conclusion that except Army Chief none could kill him and oust his government. So Zia decided to appoint such a person in the post of Army Chief of Staff who possessed the following qualities :-

1. A person who was corrupt in nature and had no interest for political power but greedy for money and women.
2. Who would not be dangerous to him.
3. Who was very weak in domestic politics and International Affairs.
4. Who was acceptable to India, Pakistan and to the West particularly to America.
5. Who could maintain well contact with both the Pakistan repatriated and freedom fighter Army Officers.

General Zia got lesson from the activities of the army Majors who were involved in August coup, Khalid Mosharraf who led the November 03, coup and Colonel Abu Taher who led the November 07, coup and came to the decision that no freedom fighters Army Officers should be appointed in the post of Army Chief of Staff. General Ershad had fulfilled all these qualities and he decided to give appointment General Ershad in the post of Chief of Army Staff. Prior to the decision apparently on General Ershad's advice General Zia transferred General Shawkat and General Monjur to Jessore and Chittagong Cantonment respectively and General Ershad was made Army Chief of Staff in November, 1978 and thus General Ershad emerged as a Military leader of Bangladesh Army.

Being appointed in the highest position of Bangladesh Army as Chief of Army Staff General Ershad moved very carefully to achieve his end. He decided to make a freedom fighter free armed forces and then to capture political power. With this end in view, most wisely he exercised his brain. Handing over the responsibility of Bangladesh Army to General Ershad, General Zia engaged full time in politics, election, civilianisation of military rule, formation of political party and last of all to international politics. General Ershad maintained close relation with General Zia and informed him



uptodate information regarding the internal affairs of Bangladesh Army. He particularly carefully observed the activities of General Shawkat and General Monjur and informed to President Zia.

General Ershad began to play a dual role among the two most ambitious Generals of Bangladesh Army, General Shawkat and General Monzur<sup>6</sup>. Ershad by these time used to go to Atrashi and became the Murid of Pir of Atrashi at Faridpur and most occasionally he accompanied General Shawkat with him to the Pir of Atrashi which made General Ershad and General Shawkat very close. On the other hand to get the sympathy of General Monjur particularly the freedom fighters Army Officers General Ershad formed the Bangladesh Muktijoddoha Kallyan Trust. Above all he very carefully began to re-organize the Pakistan repatriated Army.

The conflict between General Shawkat and General Monjur began in 1978 with the question of getting appointment in the post of Deputy Chief of Staff which was lying vacant due to Ershad's appointment as Army Chief of Staff. When the two Generals were contesting each other for the post of Deputy Chief of Staff General Ershad made to understand President Zia that if he gave appointment any one of them to the post of Deputy Chief of Army Staff it might bring danger to President Zia which also might bring a coup beyond the knowledge of Army Chief, so the post of Deputy Chief of Staff should better be abolished. General Ershad's advice to Zia let him to recollect his role as Deputy Army Chief which staged a coup beyond the knowledge of the then Army Chief of Staff General Shafiullah - which killed Sheikh Mujib. So General Zia abolished the post of Deputy Chief of Staff in the Army on Ershad's advice. By doing this General Ershad earned Zia's confidence and became most trusted and faithful fellow. On the other hand, the two Generals (Shawkat and Monjur) engaged each other as contender but none of them considered Ershad as enemy. Both of them also thought that General Ershad had no such merit for national leadership. Ershad, on the other hand, keeping himself from the safe distance both from Shawkat and Monjur began to re-organize the Pakistan repatriated Army Officers and got their supports.

By and large General Monjur became a very serious critic of General Zia, particularly for his appointment of Shah Azisur Rahman a well known 'Rajakar' (a Pakistani collaborator during the liberation war of Bangladesh) as Prime Minister. He began to criticize Zia's policies, corruptions and

misrules of his regime. It was alleged that to consolidate his position or to attain political ends General Zia gave opportunity of corruption to others but he himself remained corruption free. The personal relationship of Monjur with Zia reached to a point of no-return that he (Monjur) even stopped talking with President Zia. At this situation, it was argued that General Ershad as Army Chief advised Zia to release both General Shawkat and General Monjur from the army command so that they could not do anything against Zia's government. Particularly on Ershad's advice Zia ordered General Shawkat to join in the Army Chief Secretariat at Dhaka which was executed peacefully and General Monjur to the Defence Service Command and Staff College at Mirpur, Dhaka as commandant. This order made Monjur very annoyed and his hatred towards Zia reached in a critical stage. It was stated that during this time General Ershad was the only media between Zia and Monjur and taking this opportunity Ershad used Zia and Monjur against each other. The transfer of Monjur to Staff College was aimed at to make him commandless and he had to serve there under Major General Nuruddin, Chief of General Staff who was his (Monjur) Junior. Naturally Monjur became very much demoralized with this transfer order. Ershad was waiting for such a situation<sup>7</sup>. At last President Zia was killed in Chittagong Circuit House on May 30, 1981, where he had gone to mitigate some regional party conflict, by a military coup allegedly led by General Monjur. After one or two days of President Zia's assassination General Monjur was also mysteriously killed in the Chittagong Cantonment. The death of President Zia and General Monjur, the two veteran freedom fighters, greatly reduced the freedom fighters influence on military and politics in Bangladesh.

#### **4.2) General Ershad and the Military Coup of May 30, 1981.**

The military coup of May 30, 1981 at Chittagong, which killed President General Zia who ruled Bangladesh for nearly about 5 and a half years, was termed as a result of a long and pre-planned conspiracy<sup>8</sup>. It was alleged that the Army Chief of Staff General Ershad had a connection behind the conspiracy of Chittagong coup. \*

#### **4.3) Justice Sattar and Army's support to his Presidential Election.**

After the sudden killing of President Zia through Chittagong coup, on May 30, 1981 Vice-President Abdus Sattar became the President of the country. The Army Chief General Ershad extended open support to Justice Abdus Sattar as acting President of the country<sup>11</sup>. He not only

supported Justice Sattar as acting President but also created pressure on BNP to nominate Justice Sattar as BNP candidate. Besides Justice Sattar there were more probable candidates even more qualified than that of Justice Sattar in BNP such as Major General Nurul Islam Shishu and Mr. Badruddoza Chowdhury. But General Ershad restricted to his point and supported Justice Sattar as Presidential candidate. The BNP finding no other alternative had given nomination to Justice Sattar. The nomination of Vice-President Sattar created constitutional problem. The post of Vice-President was not elected but nominated. And a nominated person could not be a candidate with office of profit<sup>12</sup>. So constitution had to be amended bringing fifth amendment of the constitution. Vice President Justice Abdus Sattar was given Presidential nomination. General Ershad gave full support to Justice Sattar and he declared that the Army had full support to Justice Sattar and instructed the Armed personnel to work for Justice Sattar. In an interview with a foreign media General Ershad expressed that 'Justice Sattar is my candidate'. In the Presidential Election which held on November 15, 1981 Justice Sattar as candidate of BNP and General Ershad won a landslide victory<sup>13</sup>. Justice Sattar had no power base like Zia and he lacked the Charisma. In spite of this and due to the support of the Army Justice Sattar obtained victory in the Presidential polls

\* For detailed informations please see Major (Rtd) Rafiqul Islam, *Autocratic Rule of Nine Years, 1982-90* (Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1991) PP-26,

Page 76, to 78  
intentionally withdrawn.



defeating candidate like Dr. Kamal Hossain, a renowned lawyer and an Awami League candidate. In the history of Bangladesh the Army backed political parties since 1975 had won the election of both the parliamentary and Presidential election. General Zia initiated BNP General Ershad initiated Jatiya Party and later on again BNP have been dominating the political scene of Bangladesh. It happened because the Army had supported those parties which could protect the corporate interest of the Armed Forces. But General Ershad and his army supported Justice Sattar in the Presidential election on the ground that if Justice Sattar won the election, he, due to his old age would not be able to run the country and in course of time General Ershad would have an opportunity to take over the political power.

#### **4.4). Conspiracy of General Ershad to take Political Power.**

Ershad, a Junior Military Officer who started his career in Bangladesh armed forces as a repatriated army had abled to reach at the highest position of the Armed Forces. He reached upto the position of state craft removing all his probable enemies and contenders<sup>14</sup>. He led the armed forces which was once dominated by the freedom fighter army. But during his time there was almost none in the Bangladesh Army who stood against General Ershad and claimed himself as a freedom fighter Army who sacrificed for the cause of the liberation of the country. Ershad did not join or even think to join the liberation of the country. But it was his great fortune that within a decade of the liberation of this country, General Ershad reached to the top and within a short period of time, he had taken the control of the country for whose creation he had no contribution.

After his assumption of power as a newly elected President of Bangladesh, Justice Sattar formed a 42 member cabinet and began to start his new journey. But from the very beginning General Ershad was creating obstruction to his smooth passage. He forced Justice Sattar to give his approval for the increase of salary, allowance and other facilities to the officers and soldiers of the armed forces. He did those with a view to prove that which Zia failed to do, he, General Ershad had done it. So increasing Salary and allowance he got the support of the military. With a view to frustrate the image of the new President, as Chief of the Army Staff General Ershad brought charges of corruption against the BNP government under President Sattar and tried to bring down the Law and Order situation in a planned way. He accused Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, Saifur

Rahman, Obaidur Rahman, Tanvir Ahmed Siddiqui, Habibullah Khan and Jamaluddin, all were members of the President Sattar's Cabinet in draining crores of Foreign Currency out of the country. In this way bringing the allegation of corruption against Sattar's Government the popularity of the government began to fall rapidly. General Ershad finally abled to draw a section of BNP leadership like Dr. Abdul Matin, Shamsul Huda Chowdhury to his side and Ershad began to use them to attain his ends.

On December 12, 1981 Ershad demanded to abolish the cabinet due to corruption. He brought specific charges of corruption against Major General Nurul Islam Shishu, Lt.Col. Akbar Hossain, Jamaluddin, Habibullah Khan and strongly demanded to terminate them. In order to satisfy General Ershad President Sattar dismissed Major General Nurul Islam Shishu and Col. Akbar Hossain from the cabinet. President Sattar at that time also acknowledged the allegation of corruption against his cabinet member and finally President Sattar was bound to dismiss his cabinet and formed a new one.

General Ershad prepared a plan to spend huge amount of money in various organizations to create chaos and confusion in the country<sup>15</sup>. Ershad's business partner captain Nowab Hussain, Badal Ghosh, Sajjad Ali, A.M.Musa were important who extended their co-operation in those matters. Apart from his attempt to create chaos and disorder in the various levels of the society, General Ershad tried to manage a section of leaders of various nationalized sector and financial institutions. Through those leaders, it was alleged that General Ershad distributed money and let the leaders to go on strike. General Ershad created pressure on President Sattar to terminate those striking employees of Banking sectors. By doing these he created disturbances in the banking sector. The employees losing jobs became very agitated against the Sattar government. During these times Law and order situation was deteriorated rapidly. A well known criminal named Imdu was arrested from his hiding place at the official residence of the then youth minister of Sattar government, Mr. Abul Quasem. This issue had created a storm all over the country and Ershad used it as a final plea to intervene in politics.

It may be mentioned here that Imdu was the creation of General Zia. With a view to vanishing the JSD's support base at Kaligonj area of greater Dhaka District President Zia managed Imdu in his side and abled to break the JSD's base in Kaligonj. Through Imdu President Zia abled to kill almost all the supporters of Jatiya Samajtantrick Dal at Kaligonj including Mr. Ali Hossain a veteran freedom fighter and Thana Commander of liberation war. President Zia once made Imdu, a criminal who killed people, member of his delegate when he visited a country of middle east. This Imdu under government patronage did all types of criminal deeds in Kaligonj Area and at last police held him in the residence of a minister. When Ershad came to power Imdu was hanged. From the very beginning of the new year of 1982 President Sattar came to realise that he was acting as a doll in the hand of General Ershad. He also understood that General Ershad was making conspiracy against the BNP government with a view to topple it.

#### 4.5) Ershad - Sattar Conflict.

The tragic military coup of May 30, 1981 at Chittagong which assassinated General Ziaur Rahman brought to an end of his 5 and a half years of civil-military rule in Bangladesh.

When General Zia was assassinated in May 30, 1981 at that time General Hossain Mohammad Ershad was the Army Chief. Soon after the assassination and the assumption of Vice President Justice Abdus Sattar as acting President was supported by General Ershad. Ershad extended open support in favour of Justice Abdus Sattar which helped the ruling BNP to continue in power. Ershad gave strong support to Sattar in the hope that the army would be given a share of power in the government. It was seemed that President Sattar had an understanding with the Generals for which Sattar and the BNP would rule in close co-operation with the armed forces. President Sattar had also lauded the role of the armed forces in defending democratic institutions and constitutional politics in the country. But very soon, the gap between President Sattar and General Ershad began to widen. The military and its leader General Ershad so long supported President Sattar and its BNP government in the hope that he would allow the army to play a more prominent role in the government than Zia had permitted. General Ershad at that time issued several statements demanding a share in the government for the army in recognition of the services



rendered by it since independence. But his hope and aspiration failed when Sattar was elected President by an overwhelming majority. While the military continued pressure on Sattar to consider their demand for active participation in the national policy making process, Sattar was less willing to yield to that pressure. On November 20, 1981 General Ershad as the Chief of Staff of the Army, publicly suggested a constitutionally active role for the military in national decision making and demanded an honest and effective government. Ershad expressed his strong feeling that the "Army should be directly associated with the Governance of the country, which might fulfill the ambitions of the army and might not lead to further coups." General Ershad continued his pressure on President Sattar by arguing that Army's direct association to the governance of the country was necessary in order to arrest the tendency of uprising at least to fulfill the ambition or the lust for power. But President Sattar immediately responded that the Army has a role to protect the sovereignty of the country and I do not think any other role is possible'. In this process conflict between the President and Ershad continued. General Ershad suggested that the issue of determining the political role of the military should be examined by a Presidential Committee. By this time President Sattar had to agree to reconcile his policies with the demands of General Ershad probably thinking that it would be difficult for him to continue in power without the support of the army. President Sattar also could not ignore the demands of the army remembering their strong support to him during the period of Presidential Election. Due to his several obligations he was bound to start a dialogue with the Generals to involve an acceptable formula. So after a prolonged struggle the President was compelled by Ershad to take the decision of forming NSC (National Security Council) which would give the Army and its Chief General Ershad to share in the government of the country. In this stage when General Ershad was asked what the army had in mind as their next step if their demand were not accepted? The General replied 'you will come to know of it in proper time'. In fact the NSC was formed to assist and advice the Government in all matters relating to National Security as a whole. Defending the formation of the NSC (National Security Council) Prime Minister Shah Azizur Rahman congratulated the patriotic armed forces and said that they had demonstrated utmost patience and remain unified under the leadership of General Ershad. But the formation of the National Security Council did not improve the situation. By this time the internal conflicts in the BNP intensified. Justice Sattar at the age of 75 who succeeded President Zia as a Chief of BNP, was weak in leadership, inefficient and lack of charisma which failed to resolve the long deepen intra-



party conflict of BNP. Lobbying, Counter-lobbying, gathering around certain leaders, and the conflict of front line leader became regular features of the party activities. The unresolved intra-party conflict was surfaced strongly after the death of Zia. The political atmosphere was indeed running out of control. The continuous infighting in the BNP created a crisis in political circle which opened an opportunity for General Ershad to 'fish in troubled water'. On the other hand the army who once tested power did not sit idle in the gallery and watch what was called a procession of 'discredited politicians playing dirty games'. So the Generals increased their pressure on the President to get rid of the corrupt politicians and demanded an honest and efficient corruption-free government. In such situation President Sattar reconstituted his cabinet dropping some of the old members and inducting some new faces. All these measures was taken to fulfill Ershad's expectations for a share of power.

General Ershad publicly stated that an active role for the military in Bangladesh politics was very essential for stability. He, therefore, demanded a constitutionally guaranteed role for the military in national decision making. He argued, "Our military is an efficient, well disciplined and most honest body of truly dedicated and organized National Force. Potentials of such an excellent force in a poor country like ours can be effectively utilised for productive and nation building purpose in addition to its role of National Defence"<sup>16</sup>.

In the meantime the law and order situation worsened, food supplies became scarce and prices of essential goods started increasing. The rot had deep rooted into the BNP and it began to crumble under the weight of its internal cleavages and fratricidal feuds. President Sattar could not cope with the situation. The army which had been closely watching the course of event, found it an excellent opportunity to take over power. General Ershad moved quickly and forced President Sattar to resign.

#### 4.6) General Ershad's Military Coup of March 24, 1982

On March 24, 1982 Martial Law was proclaimed throughout Bangladesh and the Chief of Army Staff Lieutenant General Hossain Muhammed Ershad took over as the Chief Martial Law Administrator<sup>17</sup>. In a Martial Law Proclamation it was said that in the greater national interest and also in the interest of national security it had become necessary to place the country under Martial Law. It further said that the responsibility had fallen upon the Armed Forces of the country as a part of this obligation towards the people and the country. The proclamation further said that the Chief of Army Staff, Lieutenant General Hossain Mohammad Ershad, took over and assumed all power of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh with immediate effect from 24 March, 1982. The proclamation said, that Chief Martial Law Administrator assumed the full command and control of all the Armed Forces of the country. The constitution of the country was suspended and the Jatiya Sangsad dissolved, the proclamation said.

The Martial Law declaration cited that 'whereas a situation has originated in the country in which the economic life has come to a position of collapse, the Civil Administration has become ineffective to function and corruption at all levels has become rampant. Suffering of the people, law and order situation deteriorated to an alarming rate. The people of the country have plunged into a state of extreme frustration and uncertainty.'

Meanwhile President Justice Abdus Sattar addressed the nation over Radio and Television welcoming the army take over, observed that the country's law and order, economical and political situation had reached to such a stage where proclamation of country wide Martial Law had become inevitable for the national interest.

General Ershad in his address to the nation declared that the government would launch an allout Zehad to eliminate corruption which he called a national enemy. He said like cancer the corruption spread all sphere of our national life. This devastating menace must be eradicated from the society. Ershad described Sattar as an honest and honourable man who could neither control his party BNP nor his government. He assured that Sattar would not face any court cases.

The intervention of military led by General Ershad in Bangladesh politics on March 24, 1982 can be explained as a consequence of the BNP's factional infighting, poor performance of political management and the army's strong desire for political power. The ten months of Sattar's regime was a pale imitation of the five and a half years of Ziaur Rahman. The 75 years old President Abdus Sattar tried to follow Zia's policies. President Sattar's weaknesses resulted partly from the contradiction of his regime inherited from Zia's government and partly from his unwillingness to share power with the military. The late President Zia had tried to build a number of new political institution, including a political party, BNP, new village government, (Gram Sarker) and youth complex (Zubo Complex). During the first two years of his regime, President Zia relied heavily on military officers in major policy making decisions and infused the soldiers with new dignity by providing uniforms, weapons, training and other facilities.

He also took a number of military and ex-military officers into public corporations and important bureaucratic positions. But once Zia started civilianization and the military became concerned that preference was increasingly given to the civilian politicians, bureaucrats and a new class of rich businessmen. The series of coup attempts against Zia were indicating of a struggle for power within the military who was worried that Zia was going to deprive them of their just share of power.

Since the liberation of Bangladesh two elements have plagued the country's political life, the internal rifts within political parties making the growth of a healthy party system difficult and the role of the army in politics. Many factors have resulted in ever increasing politicisation of the military or more appropriately, the militarisation of politics. Ziaur Rahman owing to his military back ground and Political ambitions tried to strike a balance between the two incompatible forces. The desire of the military to have a share in the affairs of the country and the general longing of Bangladesh for democratic values and institutions like election, parliament etc. He tried to restructure the army administration with the object to increase the power of the military. He also sought to reduce the disaffection of the Junior Officers by increasing promotion. All these strategies were directed to curb factionalism and grouping which had a tendency to army officers to hatch adventurist plots to grab



political power. As it is a fact that the power and influence of the army in Bangladesh politics is as real as Bangladesh itself, President Sattar found it difficult to reconcile this to his position as an elected representative of the masses. Ever since his election as President, there had been an under current of tussle between him and the Army Chief General Ershad. President Sattar was ultimately forced to form NSC (National Security Council) with the three Chief of Armed Forces including Army Chief of Staff General Ershad to get a share in the government of the country. The long thrust of political power of military was at last fulfilled by General Ershad when he took power by removing an elected President. And thus, the failure of the transition to democracy and the re-entry of the army in Bangladesh politics had become most usual matter and in this way politics in Bangladesh like many other new states has become a circle from military to military through civilian facade.

It was argued that the army could take over state power soon after Zia's assassination but in order to avoid the responsibility of Zia's killing they supported President Sattar knowing the fact that he was very old to carry out the heavy responsibility of running the country. Very soon the army captured power. General Ershad was a cool and calculating person. It may be recalled that although Ziaur Rahman was Junior to him, Ershad did not mind to work under him. Probably because he had a course vision the shape of things to come. During Zia's time he (Ershad) was one of the few in the army whom Zia could really trusted. Again, following Zia's assassination Ershad did not rush to seize power (Which could have been easy). Possibly because he needed in the first place, a civilian cover for sometimes to organise his strategies and secondly he was taking time to discredit civilian rule.

The army chief of Staff General Ershad assumed full power under Martial Law and suspended the constitution, dissolved parliament, suspended fundamental rights and banned all political activities. As Chief Martial Law Administrator, Ershad declared, at this critical juncture of the country the patriotic Armed Forces had to respond to the call of the people by taking this extreme measure for the nation which had no other alternative. General Ershad as head of the new Military regime told the nation that it had become inevitable in view of the fast deteriorating political, economic and social conditions in the country. He stated that the economy was on the verge of



collapse, the nation was threatened by a conspiracy of internal enemies and all pervasive corruption was running in the society. In the same speeches General Ershad made a commitment to the nation that the military would eventually return to the barrak after implementing a series of long-term changes in the country's economic and social order<sup>18</sup>. His long term goals were identified as, elimination of corruption, decentralization of the administrative system, disinvestment of industries to private sectors, land reform and educational changes. Ershad declared allout war (Jihad) against corruption. In pursuance of such goal the new military regime of General Ershad suspended all political activities.

General Ershad abolished Zia's Gram Sarker and Jubo Complex. In order to justify his coup General Ershad moved publicly against corruption through a series of trials and arrests of Ex-Ministers, bureaucrats and big businessmen. Through Martial Law Court the leading ministars of Sattar and Zia's cabinet were tried for corruption and misuse of powers and imprisoned for various terms from five to ten years. They were Deputy Prime MInister, Jamaluddin Ahmed, Major General Mazeedul Haque, Mayor Abul Hasanat, (Work Minister) Saifur Rahman (Finance), Obaidur Rahman (Civil Aviation), Abul Kashem (Youth) and Tanvir Ahmed Siddiqui (Commerce), Moyeedul Islam (Telephone) and Deputy Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed. A number of bureaucrats were also removed from services on charges of corruption and about 550 civil servants including secretaries, Senior Police Officers, corporation chairman and Bank executives were charged in various cases of corruption. Some businessmen were also arrested and tried for making money by illegal means, during the period of Ziaur Rahman. These action were taken by the regime as a part of its allout war against corruption and to restore norms and values in public life that had severly deteriorated in the previous years.

Soon after the assumption of political power General Ershad appointed a Council of Ministers consisting of 17 members headed by himself whose title was Chief Martial Law Administrator. Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud and Naval Chief Vice Admiral M.A. Khan were appointed the Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators and they were also included in the Council of Ministers. Among the 17 members of the Council most were drawn from the military and retired military officers who were Air Vice Marshal (Rtd.) A.G. Mahmud in charge of Food and

Rehabilitation, Air Vice Marshal Aminul Islam for Social Welfare and Women, Major General Mannan Siddiqui for Public works, Major S.R. Doha for Foreign Affairs and Major General Shamsul Huq for Health and Population Control.

Some of the key cabinet positions were given to leading bureaucrats like A.M. Muhith for Finance and Planning, Mr. Obaidullah Khan for Agriculture and Mr. Shafiul Azam for Industries. They were retired senior civil servants in the rank of secretary. M.A. Baker a retired judge of Supreme Court was given the post of Minister of Law. Mahbubur Rahman Khan, Advocate was given the charge of Local Government and Rural Development. General Ershad remained in charge of some key Ministries including Defence, Cabinet, Establishment, Science and Technology.

On the 29th March 1982 General Ershad appointed Justice Abul Fazal Mohammad Ahsanuddin Chowdhury, a retired judge of the Supreme Court as figurehead President of the country to assume the charge of the Head of the state while General Ershad remained as the Chief Martial Law Administrator as well as the Chief of the army and the Executive of the country.

For establishing effective military rule, General Ershad divided the country into five administrative Zone and put each under a senior army officer as Zonal Martial Law Administrator. Major General Mohammad Abdur Rahman GCC-9, Infantry Division, was appointed for the Zonal Martial Law Administrator for Zone 'A' comprising Dhaka, Dhaka Metropolitan City, Mymensingh, Tangail and Jamalpur.

Major General R.A.M. Golam Muktadir GOC-II Infantry was appointed for Zone 'B' consisting of Bogra, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Pabna District. Major General Abdul Monnaf GOC-24 Infantry Division was given the charge for Zone - 'C' consisting of Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Bandarban District, Major General Abdus Samad GOC-23 Infantry Division was given the charge of Zone 'D' consisting of Comilla, Noakhali, Sylhet. Brigadier K.M. Abdul Wahid officiating Commander 55, Infantry was given Zone 'E' consisting of Jessore, Khulna, Barisal, Pabna and Faridpur District. In order to strengthen the Martial Law Administration General Ershad further appointed 18 sub-zonal Martial Law Administrators.

General Ershad at a press conference for Foreign correspondents at his military Head Quarters said that "Our ultimate aim is to re-establish democracy and to hold General Elections as soon as possible. But he mentioned that for a General Election and return to democratic rule two years time was needed. He further added that the ban on political activities could be lifted within the next six months provided the situation allow to do so. Justifying his action as Chief of Army Staff he said that the armed forces had to take over "as serious economic crisis facing the country, unprecedented corruption and deterioration of law and order that had threatened the sovereignty of the country. Ershad further indicated that he would go into politics after his retirement if people want him to play any role. But he said that he had "no intention of becoming a politician in uniform."

Saudi Arabian Ambassador Abdullah Al Khatib was the first Foreign envoy to formally call on the Chief Martial Law Administrator followed by the Chinese for the recognition of the new Military Government. Diplomatic sources said that many industrially advanced countries like Japan, Australia and Canada were not much against the new military regime. The U.S. state Department's announcement made shortly after the coup said that Washington regretted such a development in Bangladesh. But Ershad suggested that the fact was slightly different. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India expressed her concern at the situation in Bangladesh<sup>19</sup>.

The Military Government of General Ershad was determined to carryout major social and administrative reforms<sup>20</sup>. The most important move of General Ershad was the restructuring of the Administrative system with a three-tier-set up - the Central Government of Dhaka, the District and Thana administration. According to the idea of General Ershad, the Thana would be the basic administrative unit with adequate authority to take decisions on local affairs. General Ershad took the decision to decentralize the administration with a view to bringing the Government to the people, create job opportunities at the local level so that they do not have to migrate to the cities in search of jobs. Ershad suggested that his government was going to authorize the thana administration to collect taxes and tolls so as to generate their own funds to carryout development programme. Ershad's popular slogan was "if the 68000 villages survive Bangladesh will survive". He expressed his strong determination to improve the living conditions of the 90 percent people



who live in 68000 villages of Bangladesh. The government expressed its concern at the continuing brain-drain as a large number of doctors and other professionals leave the country for better job abroad. The government decided not to allow any doctor to go abroad unless he served in the rural areas for five years. The authorities also took the idea of not giving proper certificate after their graduation to the new doctors until they served a five years tenure in a village clinic.

General Ershad also talked about implementing land reform and emphasised cooperative farming in the country. He also hinted at fixing ceiling on ownership of urban property. Among the socio-administrative reform the idea of establishment of permanent benches of High Court Division of the Supreme Court in the six Divisional Head Quarters and lower courts at each UpaZila (Thana the lowest tier of administrative) Head Quarter for speedy disposal of court cases was important and would contributed a far reaching impact in the countries judicial system. This would speed up the judicial process. General Ershad also hinted that a referendum might be held to decided on the type of Government-Presidential or Parliamentary at the appropriate time. Ershad also said that no party should be allowed to function if it failed to poll a certain minimum percentage of votes in national election. General Ershad announced five-fold economic objectives viz.

(1) Achievement of a 7% annual economic growth rate (2) Decrease in public sector overhead costs. (3) Encouragement of private investment (4) Attainment of self-sufficiency in food production and (5) Development of effective population control measures. General Ershad told to the countrymen "I have been telling from the beginning that our Martial Law is different and exceptional in nature. This Martial Law is in the interest of the people of Bangladesh<sup>21</sup>.



The army intervention in Bangladesh Politics under the leadership of Lt General Hossain Mohammad Ershad can be explained with reference to the theoretical Model as formulated by S.F. Finer, H.P. Huntington and Morris Janowitz. According to Finer and Huntington's theory organizational superiority and internal cohesion of the army is a vital cause to intervene in politics. In Bangladesh the army under the leadership of Hossain Mohammad Ershad when took over power was organized, centralized command and disciplined. On the other hand the then party in power BNP under the leadership of President Justice Abdus Sattar was faction ridden. There were several groups within the BNP who were fighting within themselves for power and post. Social mobilization and economic development is another significant theory of Military intervention in politics formulated by Finer and Huntington. Bangladesh is not a socially mobilized and economically developed country. Rather it is labeled as a economically handicapped nation.

According to Finer, Military intervene in the poor and developing countries. In these countries, according to him, there is a wide gap between the westernized elite and the illiterate mass, between the rich and the poor. The people lives at the margin or below the level of subsistence. When General Ershad intervened in politics all these characteristics were prevail in Bangladesh. Finer and Huntington's another most important theory of military intervention is the Political Development and institutionalization. Military intervention in this theory is explained by reference to the political legitimacy. According to Finer the more fragile is the political legitimacy the greater is the likelihood of coups and attempted coups. Where public attachment to civilian institution is strong, military intervention in politics is rare. The crisis of political development such as, integration crisis, identity crisis, participation crisis, distribution crisis, legitimacy crisis and elite mass gap are there in Bangladesh. So, military intervened in the politics of Bangladesh, a country which is far behind in the political development and political institutionalization. ^

Huntington's another theory is the Professionalism of the army and the principle of civil supremacy. It leads the army officers to see themselves as the servant of the state rather than of the government in power, to serve the state far from all party politics, to stand ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian government which secures legitimate authority within the state. The military under the leadership of General Ershad was not professional. So, they were not intended to carryout the wishes of the civilian government of justice Abdus Sattar. Rather they had a strong desire to capture state power. General Ershad as chief of the army was demanding the army's share of power. By his strong pressure President Sattar had to form NSC ( National Security Council) with General Ershad and other service chiefs. But General Ershad was not still satisfied. And finally, the army under his leadership chose to takeover the steering wheel itself instead of remaining a back - seat driver.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

**CONSOLIDATION OF POLITICAL POWER AND CIVILIANISATION OF  
ERSHAD'S MARTIAL LAW REGIME IN BANGLADESH**

After capturing state power the prime objective of the Military leader has become the consolidation of political power and civilianisation of Military regime. In most cases the Military leaders assure the countrymen that they are soldiers and they have no political ambitions. They also give assurance that they will go to the barrack after fulfilling some objectives. But in reality what the Military leaders do, is that they continue their best efforts to consolidate their position and once when they realized that their political power has strengthened then they start to transform themselves into a civilian and try to give their Military regime a civilian cover which is widely known as the civilianisation of Military regime in the political arena. But what is true is that inspite of a civilian facade the real strength of the Military regimes lies with the Military personnel.

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In the world political history of the twentieth century Mustafa Kemal Ataturk of Turkey had made a glorious tradition to civilianise his Military regime and ensured civilian supremacy over the Military. Kemal formed a political party in December 1922 called Republican People's Party and became its Chairman. After Mustafa Kemal Ismet luonu was elected as President of the Republic and upheld the tradition of civilian supremacy. In Mexico General Calls (1928 - 1934) and General Cardennas (1934 - 1940) made a significant contribution to civilianise the Military regime. Calls founded the National Revolutionary party (PNR) in 1929 which gradually emerged as the dominant political party of Mexico. In Africa, General Mobutu of Zaire had made a notable contribution in the field of civilianisation of Military regime. In May 1967 Mobutu Launched his Popular Revolutionary Movement. Legislative election was held which proved that NPR was the only legal party in Zaire. Lieutenant Colonel Lamezona of upper volta provided an example of personal transition of a Military ruler into an elected head of the Government. General Ayub Khan in Pakistan formed the Convention



Muslim League and in Burma General Ne Win formed the Burma Socialist party, General Suharto in Indonesia formed Golkar Party. All these Military leaders tried to civilianise their respective Military regime.

In Bangladesh General Ziaur Rahman was the first Military leader who captured state power and ruled the country first through Martial Law and then through civilianisation of his Martial law Regime. As a Martial Law Administrator General Zia occupied the two most powerful position of the Government. In one hand General Zia was the Chief Martial Law Administrator and Chief of the Army Staff on the other hand he became the President of the country. General Zia then civilianized his Military regime by forming a political party named Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). General Zia became the Chairman of the party and being elected as the President of the country as a nominee of the BNP he transformed his military regime as civilianised. His Party participated in the parliamentary election of 1979 and got majority seats in the Jatiya Sangshad. General Zia ruled Bangladesh until his death on May 30, 1981. As like as most of the other Military leaders in the third world countries General Ershad, Particularly followed the footsteps of his predecessor General Zia in regard to the transformation of his Military regime as civilianised. Capturing state power on March 24, 1982 General Ershad also first ruled the country through Martial Law and then civilianizing his Martial Law. He held Union Council election, Municipal and Upazila election and referendum, formed a political party named the Jatiya Party. His party participated in the parliamentary election of 1986 and 1988 and got majority of seats in the Jatiya Sangshad. In this chapter an attempt is made to analyse how General Ershad consolidated his political power and civilianised his Military regime. In this connection an attempt is also made to analyse the pro-long anti-Ershad Movement which was spearheaded by the major political parties and alliances in the country.

#### **Challenges to General Ershad and the Starting of anti- Regime Political Movement- The anti-Government Movement for five point Demands**

The declaration of Martial Law on March, 24, 1982 by General Ershad was seriously challenged by the student community of the country. Declaring Martial Law

General Ershad banned all political activities. The office of the political parties became closed. Punishment of the criticism of Martial Law was fixed at 7 years imprisonment. On April 4, 1982 the elected student council of University and Colleges declared void. On April 10, 1982 the Bar Council was also declared void. But very soon the students of Dhaka University came forward to protest against the Martial Law regime of General Ershad. With a view to observe the Education day a procession was brought out at Dhaka University on September 16, 1982. They brought out a procession violating the Martial Law regulation. Police broke-up the rally and at one stage entered in the Building of Arts Faculty at Dhaka University, where the police injured several persons including a teacher and a student of political science department<sup>2</sup>. In protest against these incidents a general strike was observed in all the educational institutions on November 9, 1982. Dhaka University was remained closed upto November 14, 1982 and on the opening day various student organization formed the Students Action Committee (SAC) at Modhur Canteen and demanded the realization of three point charter of demand which included :-

- a. Establishment of the fundamental rights and full democracy.
- b. The annulment of the proposed education policy.
- c. Release of the student detains and to stop repression.

The students held demonstrations and meetings against the government policy and in support of their demand intensified the anti-regime movement from the 1st week of February 1983. The all party students committee consisting of students wings of 14 political parties declared on the February 11 that, they would organize a sit in strike on February 14, 1983 at the secretariat to force the Government to accept their demand.

The Martial Law regime faced its first active and violent political confrontation with the students of Dhaka University on February 14, 1983<sup>3</sup>. It was the first direct challenge against the Martial Law regulation. The regime tried to persuade students against such violation and issued warning that Government would not tolerate any attempt to violate the Martial Law regulation. On the eve of the February 14, 1982 addressing a students rally at Arts Faculty premise of the Dhaka University Mr. Akhtaruzzaman<sup>4</sup>, Vice-president of DUCSU said that the movement was not confined the education policy, but also aimed at the restoration of democracy and basic rights. Thus the five months old students movement reached at a crucial stage on February 14, when they decided to sit in strike programme at the secretariat. Home Minister Major General Mahabbatjan Chowdhury warned that the government would not hesitate to take drastic action to maintain an atmosphere conducive to education in the campus<sup>5</sup>. He further said that it became absolutely necessary in the greater interest of the country to take extreme action. But the students had taken up the challenge. At 11-00 a.m. on the February 14, the students gathered in the campus and took out a procession and decided to go to the secretariat. This was a violation of the Martial Law. Police had been instructed to take firm measures to block the procession near the junction of Curzon-Hall-High Court crossing.

Confrontation took place resulting in a violent clash. The unruly crowd started heavy brick batting at the police on duty and tried to break through the police cordon. The police resorted to tear gas and dispersed the crowd which they split into various groups. After 15 minutes they regrouped and resumed their violent attack at the police. It was claimed that students had taken out the eyes of one police constable and had injured 50 others policemen during the clash. As a result of police firing one student was killed and hundreds others were injured<sup>6</sup>.

Dhaka university was closed. Curfew was imposed. All Halls of Dhaka University were vacated. Army in armored cars continued patrolling the city. On February 15, there was violent anti-regime movement in Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi where two



persons were killed by police. Jahangir Nagar University at Savar and Agricultural University at Mymensingh and Rajshahi University had to be closed. The government took strong measures to arrest further deterioration of the situation.

Meanwhile General Ershad renewed his commitment to handover power to an elected government and said that he had no political ambitions. He said that he would handover power after he had achieved certain specific objectives. General Ershad declared that his government had a firm determination to restore democracy and fundamental rights and he said that dialogue on politics - would begin on March 1984. Addressing the Nation over Radio and Television he called for a National discussion for involving a proper dependable political system in the country. He noted that revival of the political process along with the continuation of the administrative and economic programme in an uninterrupted manner would require the initiative of the national dialogue. The General underlined the need for reaching a solution to all basic issues of the constitution. He stated that the Armed Forces as the organized section of the society had a claim to a well-defined role to play in the country's administration. Meanwhile the government released some political leaders which included Sheikh Hasina, Begum Matia Chowdhury, Dr. Kamal Hossain, Rashed Khan Menon and Syed Altaf Hossain to help to accelerate the process of bringing about a peaceful atmosphere in the country which would be conducive to democratization of the political system. General Ershad also allowed indoor political activities from April, 1983. The ban on open political activities was withdrawn from November and the date for presidential election was announced to be held on May 24, 1984 which would be followed by parliamentary election on November 25, But this did not satisfy the opposition political parties who were demanding the withdrawal of martial law and holding of parliamentary election before presidential election. In the meantime during the mid January 1983 a 15 Party alliance was formed under the leadership of Awami League President Sheikh Hasina and in mid February 1983 the 7-party alliance came into being under the leadership of Begum Khaleda Zia. In late August 1983 the two alliances and Jammāt-I-Islam agreed to formulate a five Point Charter of Demands which



included 1) Withdrawal of Martial Law, 2) holding of parliamentary election before election at any other level, (3) transfer of power to the elected representative, (4) release of all political leaders and workers, (5) trial of the killing of students in the incidents of mid-February, 1983. The essence of the 5-point demand was withdrawal of Martial Law and establishment of Civilian Supremacy in national politics. To press for the realization of their demands, the two alliances observed september 30 as demand day threatened the government with a general strike (Hartal) through out the country on november 1 if their demands were not meet by that date. The government however was in no mood to concede to these demands and general Ershad continued to reiterate his Government's commitment to hold elections in phases starting from local bodies and ending with the parliament. On November 1 at the call of almost all opposition political parties a general strike was observed. As a mark of protest against the Government the country's cities and towns came to a virtual stand still. The strike was observed spontaneously and peacefully all over the country.

The strike of November 1 was the first strike against the Martial Law regime<sup>8</sup>. the impact of November 1 strike was tremendous. Because of the hartal, the opposition was emboldened to go for more action against the Government. They declared a sit-in-strike in front of the Bangladesh Secretariat on November 28, 1983. The 15-party alliance following the success of november 1 hartel announced their next programme of holding mass rally on November 16, which included meeting and processions to be organized in districts, sub-divisions and upazila and a big rally in Dhaka City. Meanwhile General Ershad on other hand announced that on the basis of the suspended constitution, Presidential election would be held on May 24, 1985 followed by parliamentary election on November 25. He also announced withdraw of the ban on political activities.

At the Dhaka rally of the 15-party alliance on November 16, Sheikh Hasina expressed in her speech that Ershad's declaration of the election date was not acceptable. She said that while the country was infavour of parliamentary election,

Ershad had announced the date of Presidential election. "We shall not allow him to hold Presidential election, parliament will decide how the country will be run. We want to end Army rule for ever". The previously declared sit-in-strike programme of the major opposition parties and alliances held successfully. The sit-in strike programme was held a week before the beginning of the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference at Dhaka. The opposition parties saw his as an opportunity to extract as many political concessions as possible from the Government. The massive sit-in strike programme was a direct challenge to the Government which took a hardline. The procession marched toward the secretariat, section 144 banning assemblies were promulgated earlier. Police took strong action to disperse the crowd. They resorted to Lathes charge and tear gas. A portion of the secretariat wall was broken by the agitated processionist. Violent clashes occurred between the striking mob and the law enforcing agencies, causing an undisclosed number of deaths and hundreds of people and police were wounded<sup>9</sup>. After the demonstration Ershad banned political activities. Imposed curfew to curb the opposition movement. Rounded up a large number of political activists and leaders. The office of the political parties were locked up. Charges both under civil law and Martial Law were brought more than one hundred political leaders and workers. Awami League President Sheikh Hasina and BNP Chairman Begum Khaleda Zia were taken into custody. Martial Law regulations that had been relaxed for open political activities were tightened again.<sup>10</sup>

The post November 28 political development in Bangladesh identified as very significant. The successful holding of the Islamic Foreign Minister's Conference and the dissipation of the opposition movement made General Ershad more confident and he assumed the office of President through an amendment to the Martial Law proclamation of 1982 while retaining his position as Chief Martial Law Administrator. President General Ershad then felt the necessity for the participation of political parties in the civilianization process and proposed a "dialogues" to resolve the constitutional and political issue.

### **5.1 The quest for civilianization of Ershad's Martial Law regime:**

Declaration of Martial Law and assumption of statepower by General Ershad was termed as the "revival of a sick nation of Bangladesh with a dose of coramine"<sup>11</sup>. On March 24, 1982 the military seized power under the leadership of Army Chief Hossain Mohammad Ershad to ensure their participation in the national policy making process. Ershad repeatedly described the Armed Forces as a social force and its participation in the national policy making process must constitutionally be guaranteed. After his coming to power he took various socio-economic policies. General Ershad needed to give constitutional coverage to these activities and legitimate his regime. He chalked out political and electoral plan and formed some non-military supporting institution like 18 point implementation committee. Janodal, National Front and finally Jatiya party and its peasant, labour and student wings as instrument of legitimization of his military rule. The election plan included the holding of the local bodies election which would be followed by the Presidential and Parliamentary election.

#### **i. Upgradation of Thana: Creation of Upazila System of Administration.**

After assumption of political power General Ershad pledged to the nation to build a new Bangladesh<sup>12</sup> and with its view he first took some administrative, socio political reforms. Among these his Administrative reforms was mentionable which included the upgradation of thana into upazila. General Ershad on November 7, 1982 upgraded 45 thana as upazila. Under the reorganized administrative system he expected to mark the turning point in the process of building a new Bangladesh taking administration to the door step of the masses. The step initiated by General Ershad in fulfilment of the aspiration of the masses was designed to lay a strong foundation for a rural based democratic system for their welfare putting an end to the country's age-old colonial legacy. Under the new set-up the Chairman of the upazila parishad would be elected directly by the people and he would maintain administrative control over the upazila Nirbahi Officer. The upazila Nirbahi Officer would be an executive officer to the Chairman. He would assist the Chairman as an executive officer in performing his duties and in co-ordinating the duties of other departmental offices at upazila. This new



administrative system with thana was hoped to work as the nerve centre of all development activities. This idea of a new administrative system was mooted under the leadership of General Ershad deemed it imperative to push the administrative unity down to thana level for the overall national growth<sup>13</sup>. After the upgradation of 45 thana in November 7, 1982 the new system started its functioning. 55 more thana was also upgraded in the second phase.

One of the main aspect of the upazila system of administration was to reduce the Division and Sub-Division. In the lower tier there was the village and in the upper tier there was the central Government. The administration was to be controlled by the democratic way. This must be ensured at the village level. Because only at the administration of the village participation of the mass people could be ensured. In the year of 1982' the Government formed the administrative reforms committee and after a deep study of various model of administration this new administrative system was suggested and came into being through a government ordinance named as 'Restructuring of thana administration ordinance 1982 which began its functioning from November 7, 1982. In this new scheme a government official was to be appointed at the top position of administration who was the Chief Executive. He had to be given the responsibility of the Chief Co-ordinator under whom all governmental - Divisions were to be worked. He was known as the T.N.O. and above him there would be Chairman directly elected by the people who would be the chief of the administration. Government gave an outline of the constitution of the thana parishad. The parishad would be consisted of (1) A Chairman, (2) Representative members (3) Three women members (4) Official members (5) Chairman of the thana central co-operative associations.

General Ershad reiterated his commitment to introduce democracy and to reach the fruits of the liberation to every door-step. He declared that the foundation of his promised 'Genuine democracy' would be laid with the launching of the administrative decentralization programme with thana as the basic unit. He said that thana parishad



would be reposed with all responsibility of developmental activities and he stressed the need for election of honest and dedicated people to these basic unit of administration.. He said that he would restore democracy for the people and for rural Bangladesh. It was the beginning of a new era when the legacy of the countries old colonial administrative system was changed and the new phase of taking the government closer to the people started. The CMLA said, with the inauguration of the 45 upgraded thana 'my pledge to the nation for decentralization of administration with thana as the basic unit for development has been redeemed'. He said that a new history had sit in with our administration reaching closer to the people. The move for administrative decentralization with thana becoming the focal point of development and other governmental activities had been initiated by General Ershad with the aim at ensuring people's participation in the administration. The step <sup>was</sup> considered to lay a strong base for the rural based democratic system for promoting the welfare of rural people. Thus putting an end to the century old colonial legacy, General Ershad said 'we must put in all our effort for the success of the administrative measures which would help to solve all problem faced by rural people and accelerate our national progress for a better and prosperous future'. By 1985 General Ershad completed the upgradation of 465 thana of Bangladesh as upazila. During the course of the inauguration of the upgradation of Thana as Upazila General Ershad held meeting in almost all Thana Head quarter§ and had an excellent opportunity to express his views to the country men who lived in the villages to whom he promised to build a new Bangladesh<sup>14</sup>.

ii. **18 point programme:**

In the meantime General Ershed announced the salient features of his economic programmes which he said aimed at bringing economic emancipation of the people. Explaining the programme he said that the objective of his government was to reach the fruits of political independence to the people through their economic emancipation. "We stand for equitable distribution of national wealth", he said adding. "We must ensure that the gap between the rich and the poor does not increase further"<sup>15</sup>.

The 18 point programmes of General Ershad are as follows.

1. To achieve rural development.
2. To increase agricultural production in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food.
3. Land reforms ensuring due share of peasants and security of their livelihood.
4. To expand the activities of grameen bank in rural areas.
5. To increase industrial production.
6. ✓ To encourage industries in the private sector and to create atmosphere for investment.
7. To develop co-operative system and cottage industries.
8. To reduce the gap between the rich and the poor through equitable and proper distribution of nation wealth.
9. To introduce development and production oriented educational system.
10. To create opportunities for maximum employment.
11. To take steps for the establishment of Islamic Ideology and values in national life.
12. To eliminate corruption.
13. To decentralize the system of administration and handover power to the elected representative.
14. To check population explosion.
15. To transform 'politics' into 'politics of development' and to secure political freedom through economic emancipation.
16. To reconstruct the Judiciary in order to ensure justice at all levels.
17. To ensure the socio-economic rights and status to women.
18. To ensure minimum medical care for every body.

The 18 point programme had been described as a national charter for economic development of the country. Grass-root committees were formed under the name and style of '18 point implementation council' to help and to materialize the economic objective of the people and the 18 point implementation council were formed in various thanas and districts levels all over the country. An 18 point implementation central Co-

ordination council with Mr. Mahbubur Rahman, Minister for Local Government and Rural Development, Co-ordination and Religious Affairs was also formed<sup>16</sup>. The council of 18 point implementation cell had formed in almost all the district, sub-division, thana and municipalities with great enthusiasm by the people drawn from different walks of life which included a large number of reputed political leaders and workers, former parliamentarian, diplomats, social workers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, engineers, journalists, businessmen and industrialists. Meanwhile on November 27, 1983 a Nutun Bangla Chattra Samaj, a student organization was formed at a representatives meeting of the student leaders of various educational institutions of Dhaka City with Mr. Rafiqul Hafiz as convener. In the meeting it was said that the newly formed organization would not be affiliated to any political organization and it would utilize the students force to pave the way for political and economic emancipation of the country. The Chattra Samaj had declared its total support to the 18 point programme of General Ershad and a Committee of 41 member belonging to various groups were announced whose covenor was Mr. Rafiqul Hafiz. A Nutun Bangla Juba Shanghati was also formed with Mr. Rafiqul Islam as convener who called upon the youth community of the country to extend the whole hearted support for implementation of 18 point programme of General Ershad which aimed at bringing about a change in the national life. General Ershad was able to take Ziauddin Bablu, General Secretary of the DUCSU in his side and rewarded him by taking in the cabinet and by giving the portfolio of the Deputy Minister for Education. First he was made the Co-ordinator of the Chattra Brigade. The creation of Chattra Brigade was an attempt to make division in the student organization who stood against the military rule of General Ershad.

Throughout the year of 1983 General Ershad toured all over the country and made campaign in favour of its 18 point programme. General Ershad had described 18 point as Meghna Carta for up-liftment. Through all over the country the 18 point implementation cell were formed and 18 point programme had generated spontaneous enthusiasm among the people to participate in the national development. Spontaneous support to the 18 point programme was being received every day and it was claimed



that the nation would reach its cherished goal of achieving economic emancipation as chalked out by General Ershad. General Ershad said that the 18 point provided the nation with a sense of direction to achieve self-reliance in every sphere of national life. Ershad declared his total association with 18 point programme for establishing a happy and prosperous Bangladesh. Meanwhile the Government had formed two high powered national organizations for smooth and effective functioning of 18 point programmes all over the country. Namely, Central Executive Council and Central working committees with General Ershad as Chairman and Mahbubur Rahman Khan as the General Secretary.

iii. FORMATION OF JANODAL (People's Party):

Under the blessing of the military regime a political party named "Janodal" was formed<sup>17</sup>, with Mr. Ahsanuddin Chowdhury as President and Dr. M.A. Matin as General Secretary. Mr. Ahsanuddin Chowdhury was a retired judge of Bangladesh Supreme Court. Dr. M.A. Matin who got appointment as the General Secretary of Janodal was the powerful member of the BNP (Huda) who made a split and came out from BNP to form their own BNP under the leadership of Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, and Dr. M.A. Matin (Speaker and Home Minister of the previous BNP Govt.) Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury had been made vice President of the newly floated political party. On December 20, 1983 the final list of the members of the executive council of the Janodal was published<sup>18</sup>. It was a committee of 159 members which included 12 Vice Chairman, Secretary General, 10 Joint Secretaries General, Treasurer, 2 Joint Treasurer, Co-ordination Secretary, Organizing Secretaries, Joint Organizing Secretaries and other members.

Apart of his attempt to consolidate government support at the grass root level General Ershad held the election of local bodies (Union Parishad) which started from mid December, 1983 and continued until January 10, 1984. During the time General Ershad had traveled throughout the country and told people to vote for the honest men. He wanted that the elected chairman of the local bodies would play a positive influence



on the national election both Presidential and Parliamentary. Thereafter General Ershad expressed his determination to complete another phase of transition to democracy by holding upazila election. Addressing in two mammoth public meetings gathering one at Jaipurhat and another at Chuadanga in the same day the President said that the first phase of transition to democracy was completed with the holding of Union Council and Municipal election. He said that the people were taking the upazila election as an opportunity to elect their own representative, who would work with devotion for their welfare. 'Nobody will be able to mislead the people this time' 'since they are now politically conscious to judge what is good and what is bad for them' he added. President further said that the days of negative politics had gone. The people had rejected the politics of destruction and violence and they now want to build a new Bangladesh through a peaceful atmosphere".

In the year 1984 a vigorous anti- government movement was started when the government of General Ershad announced the date of the upa-zila election on March 24, 1984<sup>19</sup>. It was the outcome of General Ershad's strategy to increase his power and popularity in the rural areas. Upa-zilla was the brain child of General Ershad. General Ershad wanted to have his own men elected as upazila chairman, who would exercise their power and influence over their area and through them government would gain support of the people from the grass root level of Bangladesh. The opposition also saw the upazila as a centre of power base for the regime and decided to organize public resistance against the upazila election.

The opposition agreed that the creation of upazila administration being a fundamental policy matter, should have the approval of the parliament and without such approval its creation was unconstitutional. So the demand against the upazila election ultimately became a common demand of all the opposition parties. The 15-party and 7-party alliances unitedly gave a call of hartal on March,1, 1984 to protest against the upazila election. The alliance further said that they had no other alternative but to go to the movement till the acceptance of its 5-point charter of demands for a peaceful solution of the prevailing political situation. General Ershad on the eve of the hartal of

March 1, told over the Radio and Television that the Presidential and parliamentary election would be held on May 27 and open politics would be allowed from March 26. But these also not satisfied the opposition alliance as their two main demand such as postponement of the upazila election and the holding of parliamentary election before the Presidential election were not met. General Ershad was adamant about the holding of the upazila election on March 24 and the main opposition group were determined to foil it. Meanwhile on February 28, a fateful incident took place at Dhaka where two students were killed and several others were injured when a police truck ran over a procession of the Chattra Sangram Parishad. It was alleged that the van which was following the procession from behind suddenly ran over the processionists in which two students namely Salim and Delwar both were the students of Dhaka University were killed. The fifteen party alliance strongly condemned the killing and warned that the people would give a befitting reply if killing and terrorism were not stopped and argued the people to observe March 1, hartal call peacefully. The alliance reiterated its request to the candidate in the upazila election to withdraw their nomination paper before March 1, in the interest of the democratic movement and as a mark of respect to the people's demand.

A massive students procession, the biggest since the liberation of the country paraded the city street on February 28, protesting the killing of the two students by the police truck. The procession brought out by Chattra Sangram Parishad was also joined by the Vice-Chancellor, all teachers and employees of Dhaka University. In the meantime on the eve of the March 1, country wide half day hartal called by the 15-party alliance was observed. President H.M. Ershad announced in his address to the nation over Radio and Television that open political activities would be allowed from March 26, the national independence day of the country and the Presidential and Parliamentary election would be held simultaneously on May 27, 1984. The President's address to the nation was made against the backdrop of mounting opposition pressure for holding parliamentary election first and postponing the upazila polls. The 15-party alliance in the meantime in a Press release termed the address of the President Ershad to the

nation was nothing but another political play to confuse the mass movement on the eve of the hartal on March 1 and said that the struggle would continue till the five point demands were realized. The major opposition and alliances had urged the people to observe country wide hartal on March 1, 1984 from dawn till 2:00 p.m. The central student sangram parishad supported the hartal programme for realization of their own 10-point demands and 5 point demands of the 22-parties. On the eve of the March 1, hartal the police raided the residence of a large number of political leaders and arrested leaders and workers of different political parties. Begum Khaleda Zia, Chairman of BNP and leader of the seven party alliance and Sheikh Hasina, President of Bangladesh AWAMI league and leader of the 15-party alliance were confined to their respective residence from February 28, night till 2:00 p.m. on March 1,. Their telephones were snapped and they were not allowed to come out from their residence during the hartal hours.

On March 1, an eight hours complete hartal observed in Dhaka City and elsewhere in the country. Except the vehicles of the police and para-military forces there was no movement of traffic in Dhaka City. Schools, Collages, Universities, Offices remained close. There were police firing in two places in Dhaka City where one minor boy was killed and over 200 others were injured. Meanwhile the 15-party alliance and the seven party alliance in separate statement announced an identical programme for the observance of country wide mourning day on March 5 to pay homage to students killed by the police van and those killed during hartal on March 1 and observance of black day on March 24, the day the government of Ershad came to power and upazila election day. The alliance also called dawn to dusk hartal on the day throughout the country to press home its five point charter of demands.

The mass movement against the holding of the upazila election had created an alarming confrontational situation between the Government and the people which might have led gradually to a confrontation. Due to the strong anti-regime movement the Government on March 18 declared the postponement of the upazila election which was



scheduled to held on March 24, and rescheduled to be held on April 2. The declaration followed by a press note which said that the decision to postpone the election was taken to avoid the path of confrontation, pave the way for national unity and to reach the ultimate objective of the transition to democracy by maintaining peaceful atmosphere.

Meanwhile, General Ershad invited 48 Leaders of 15-party alliance, 7 party alliance and Jamaat-E-Islami of Bangladesh for a political dialogue on March 28-31. Leaders of 15-party, 13-leaders of 7-party alliance and two leader from Jamaat-I-Islami were invited to talk. The President had specially invited Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia for talk. General Ershad expressed the hope that the political parties would participate in a dialogue with the Government on national issue including overall future democratization process and the Presidential and Parliamentary election. Addressing to the nation over Radio and Television on the eve of the Independence Day the President reiterated that a peaceful atmosphere to be pre-condition for transition to democracy. The President meanwhile withdrew ban on open politics from March 26, 1984.

General Ershad on March 29, 1984 appointed Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan an elderly politician of the country as Prime Minister. He had given the Charge of the new portfolio of political and parliamentary affairs in addition to his duties of Prime-Ministership. Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan told that he would help the process of transferring power to an elected Government. "In my old age I am here to deliver my last to the nation by ensuring peaceful transfer of power"<sup>20</sup>. The appointment of Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, as prime Minister was severely criticized by the alliances and described it was a part of the game of the Martial Law Administrator to control the opposition political leaders with the aim of discrediting the politicians and thus prolonging the Martial Law. Sheikh Hasina, the Chief of the Awami League declared in Dhaka on April 3, that the 15 party alliance would not take part in the parliamentary election under Martial Law. Announcing the decision of the alliance at a mammoth public meeting at Baitul



Mukarram She said that lifting of Martial Law was necessary to ensure free and fair election. The 15 party alliance in a resolution adopted at the meeting said that only election for a sovereign parliament would be acceptable to the people and asserted that the government was trying to maneuver its ways for delaying the parliamentary election in the name of a dialogue with the political parties. Begum Khaleda Zia on the other hand called upon the countrymen to remove the autocratic government of President Ershad through ballot and said that they would participate in the election on the basis of five point demands. By this time the government released 439 persons including eight former ministers since February 1, 84 to create a congenial atmosphere for the proposed dialogue with the political parties. Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury acting Chairman of Janodal while addressing a public meeting at Dhaka expressed that his party was in favour of holding Presidential election before parliamentary election. He urged the opposition to shun the path of confrontation and to overcome the political crisis through dialogue in order to help peaceful transition to democracy.

At last the long awaited dialogue between the Government and the political parties started on April 10, 1984. The dialogue between the Government and the seven party alliance was held at Banghabavan which was short lived. Actually the meeting ended even before it began. The alliance leader informed the Government earlier that they would not accept the presence of Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan as Mr. Khan was a signatory to the five point demands. The alliance could not have any talk with him as a component of the 7 party alliance as he had betrayed them by joining hands with Ershad. In spite of the objection of the 7 party alliance Ershad kept Ataur Rahman Khan with him, when Begum Zia saw Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan inside before entering the conference room she refused to enter the room and left the place at once. Before leaving She handed over a 33 point demands which she said would make the stage for return to democracy through free and fair election. The 33 point demands was an amplification of the 5 point demands and included demands for General Ershad's resignation as the Army Chief of staff in case he participated in the election and ban on his Ministers from participating in the parliamentary polls. Sheikh Hasina, President of

Bangladesh Awami League and leader of the 15 party alliance said that they would join the dialogue initiated by the Government but would never compromise five point demand. She said that they were joining to the dialogue because they believed in constitutional politics and hoped that if the political crisis could be resolved through dialogue it would be good for the nation and after all on April, 10, the 15 party alliance held first round of political dialogue with President Ershad at Banghabavan, placed the 15 point demand, pressuring for a decision on withdrawal of Martial Law and holding of election to the sovereign parliament. The second round of dialogue between President Ershad and 15 party alliance ended without any agreement as the alliance demanded for the lifting of martial law, holding of parliamentary election first and handing over power to the sovereign parliament was not agree. Begum Zia had a meeting with President Ershad on April 12, which was termed by the Government spokesman as satisfactory. There was basic difference between the two groups of 15 party alliance and the 7 party alliance. 15 party alliance wanted restoration of 1972 constitution prior to 4th amendment opting for a parliamentary form of government while the 7 party wanted restoration of the suspended constitution retaining the Presidential form of Government.

In the meantime President Ershad and 15-party alliance leader agreed at the third round of dialogue to form a committee with representative from both the sides to workout the modalities for withdrawal of marital law and sovereignty aspect of the parliament. On the other hand Begum Khaleda Zia gave an ultimatum to the Government to realize the 5 point demand within April 27, otherwise she declared that she would announce new programme of movement sensing that Ershad was continuing the dialogue only to gain time and to stifle the wave of the public agitation against the regime. She declared that there would be no more dialogue. "We have already finished our dialogue in the third round and called upon the Government to announce within April 27, the date for parliamentary election accepting five point demand. Sheikh Hasina while addressing a huge public meeting demanded the withdrawal of marital law and holding election to a sovereign parliament first. The dialogue between the

Government and the 15-party alliance ended in disagreement over the modalities of withdrawal of martial law and transfer of power while the Government side expressed their willingness to continue dialogue. The 15-party alliance announced that they would not to go further talk and would launch the movement for realization of 5-point demand<sup>1</sup> since the Government did not accept their modalities. In the meantime the Workers Party of Bangladesh called upon the 15 and 7 party alliance to launch simultaneous movement for the realization of the five point demand<sup>2</sup>. It observed that it was very vital for the greater interest of the nation and democracy in the country and the unity of the alliances must be maintained at any cost with a view to lead<sup>ix</sup> the movement to its final goal. It observed that the Government had ignored the demand of people by not lifting the Martial Law and so there was a need to launch united movement for the restoration of the democracy and the realization of the 5 point charter of demands. Meanwhile the SKOP had given a call for hartal on April 28, that paralysed the life totally in Dhaka and other parts of the country. The strike was the biggest and most successful since the birth of Bangladesh. After their successful hartal on April 28 the SKOP came up with the threat of a 48 hours hartal on May 22 and May 23 in all Sectors if their demands were not meet. Ershad Government had no other alternative but to reach an agreement with the SKOP by accepting most of their demand<sup>3</sup>. The lawyer throughout the country had boycotted the court from May 2, 1984 in protest against the decentralization of the High Court in the Division and realization of their six point demand<sup>4</sup> which included restoration of the constitution with fundamental rights, handing over power to an interim national Government after lifting martial law and holding of the election to the parliament before the Presidential polls, immediate withdrawal of Government measures of decentralizing the High Court Bench of Supreme Court in different District Headquarters which was made by violating the constitutional provision through martial law proclamation, dissolution of Munsif Court and Magistrate Court in the Upazila. The movement of the lawyer were led by the co-ordination of the Bar Association of Bangladesh whose President was Mr. Samsul Huq Chowdhury, Barrister Istiaque Ahmed, Barrister Amirul Islam, Dr. Kamal Hossain, Mr. Julmat Ali Khan and Mr. Gaziul Hoque<sup>22</sup>.



President Hossain Md. Ershad meanwhile announced that parliamentary election would be held sometime during the next winter. Addressing the nation over Radio and Television General Ershad said that the Election Commission would announce the exact date and time schedule of polls to the parliament. The President had conceded to the demand of the major opposition political parties by agreeing to hold the Parliament election first but had struck to his stand on Presidential election which would be held on the basis of the suspended constitution. The major opposition political parties and alliances strongly criticized the Ershad's address to the nation and rejected the election schedule. Begum Khaleda Zia in a statement described the President address to the nation as very disappointing. She said that the five point demand which was the demand of the people was completely by passed. She observed that the demand for the election schedule had been thrown into uncertainty since General Ershad did not announce any specific date for the election. Both the 15 party and 7 party alliances held their separate meeting on May 20, 1984 and demanded immediate announcement of the date for the parliamentary election.

In the meantime, Prime Minister Aaur Rahman Khan, formally joined Janodal as one of the Vice Chairman. His joining the party hailed by the President who wished him all success in leading the Janodal. The Government had taken all steps to strengthen the Janodal and more member were included in the cabinet from Janodal whosh number was then 14-out of 24 member cabinet and had given to cabinet a political character. By this time, Mr. Korban Ali a veteran Awami Leaguer and one of the senior member of the party Presidium joined Janodal and included in the cabinet. Mr. Captain Abdul Halim Chowdhury of BNP joined and became Ministers of the Ershad Government which created a stunned surprise in the political arena.

The 15-party alliance for the first time directly favoured the holding of election under a non-political interim Government. The 15-party and 7 party alliances reached an agreement to launch a joint movement to press home the demand of lifting martial law and after the political call for some time the opposition political groups again geared



up for the next stage of agitation against the Government. The most significant political development was that both the alliances agreed to start a common anti-Government programme including holding of meeting in the district and upazila Head Quarters, mass demonstration and hartals. The 15-party alliance, 7 party alliance and Jamati-Islami had given a half day hartal call on August 27. This was the first time since the assumption of Ershad in power the major opposition political parties and alliance gave a joint programme against the Ershad regime. A complete six hour time hartal was observed throughout the country. Identical action programme and demands were declared from the separate political platform at the post hartal public meeting held under the auspicious of 15-party alliance, 7 party alliance and Jamat-E-Islami on August 27, 1984 and had fixed September 15 as deadline for acceptance of the demand by the Government. The major opposition political parties and alliance had given a call for the observation of country wide dawn to dusk hartal on September 27, 1984 which was observed successfully throughout the country. During the hartal period a most tragic incident took place when Mr. Moizuddin Ahmed, a veteran Awami Leaguer and close associate of late President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and a former member of parliament was brutally killed allegedly by Janodal workers at Kaligonj when he was leading a procession. The major alliances and political parties in their post hartal rallies said that they would not participate in the election under martial law and Janodal Government and demanded that a neutral non-political Government must have to conduct the polls. The two major alliances and Jamaat-E-Islami announced that they would declare the programme of new phase of movement through holding a mass rally in Dhaka in October 14, 1984 and asked the people from all over the country to converge on the capital on that day.

Sheikh Hasina called upon the people to forge a greater unity to remove the military rule from the country for ever. She alleged that the democratic process was changed to military rule and the military came to power exploiting the armed forces in their favour. Later on political parties were created through misuse of political power. She alleged that Azam Khan a Janodal Leader who was earlier convicted on the

charge of killing labour leader Abdur Rahman and Journalist Ferdous Alam, killed her party leader Mr. Moizuddin who was introduced by President Ershad some time back at Kaligonj as his younger brother. The opposition political parties and alliances observed protest day on October 2, 1984 all over the country in protest against the killing of Awami Leaguer leader Md. Moizuddin and other large scale arrest and repression of political leaders and workers on the hartal day of September 27. Meanwhile the Government announced the Parliamentary poll schedule in which date for election was fixed on December 8, which was also rejected by the major alliances and the political parties on the ground that the Government till did not accept their 5 point charter of demand. The major alliances and political parties held a grand rally in Dhaka on December 8, 1984 which was a tremendous success. Thousand and thousands of people came to Dhaka from outside with the slogan "March to Dhaka". They poured in by launch, steamer and train. The regime obstructed people to come to Dhaka. But inspite of all these people came to Dhaka and turned it into a human sea. The 15-party alliance held a meeting at Share-e-Bangla Nagar, 7 party at Gulistan Square and Jamaat-I-Islami at Shapla Chattar near Banglaesh Bank and expressed their determination not to participate in any election under martial law and the supervision of the Janodal Government. They declared that complete acceptance of the five point charter of demands would be the only basis of the election.

President Ershad held meeting with the officers of Dhaka Garrison at Dhaka Cantonment expressed his determination of the armed forces to maintain peace and discipline in the country at any cost and not to allow any attempt by any quarter to disturb the pace of development. The President reaffirmed his Government determination to establish real democracy of the people in the country in a peaceful manner. In the meantime a 24 hour hartal beginning from 06:00 a.m. on December 8, 1984 was observed at the call of the major alliances and political parties through out the country which was a complete success. The major alliances and political parties in their post hartal rallies called upon the people to stop payment of land revenue, tolls on hats and bazar and municipal and Union Parishad tax. This was turned the final phase

of movement of the alliances aimed at realising the five point demands which included the dissolution of the Janodal Government, withdrawal of martial law and installation of a neutral Government for holding free and fair polls for the establishment of a representative Government. The alliances called upon the people to observe a nation wide 48 hours hartal beginning from December 22. In the meantime President Ershad announced on December 15, 1984 that the parliamentary election would be held by the first half of April next year and the election schedule would be announced by the election commission. In an address to the nation over Radio and Television on the eve of the victory day the President split out a number of measures which included:

1. There would be no political appointee in the cabinet from the day when the election commission would announce the schedule for holding the parliamentary election. No person remaining the cabinet would be allowed to contest the election.
2. A partial revival of the suspended constitution would be made by January 15, through the restoration of the fundamental rights and the writ jurisdiction in certain areas of the High Court's Division of the Supreme Court.
3. The post and office of District Martial law administrator and sub-zonal Martial Law administrator would be abolished by December 31 and those of the zonal martial law administrator by January 31 next.
4. The special Martial law tribunal and the special Martial law court would be wound-up by December 31 respectively.
5. The suspended constitution would be revived on and the martial law would be withdrawn after the newly elected parliament would be summoned.



The 15 party alliance reiterated its commitment to continue the movement to end the political crisis through holding parliamentary election on the basis of the five point charter of demand. Meanwhile the country wide 48 hour hartal passed off peacefully. On February 14, the 15-party and the 7-party alliances gave identical action programme and set February 21, as the deadline for acceptance of the demand for holding a free and fair election. On the day of action programme a processioning student of Dhaka University Roufun Basonia was shot to dead.

**iv. Referendum:**

On March 6, President Ershad declared that the verdict of the people would have been sought through country wide referendum on March 21, 1985 to ensure stability and unhindered development in the country. He said that the Government was determined to remove uncertainty in public life as well as in political arena-which was created as a result of unreasonable and negative attitude and activities by a section of politician. He said that March 21, referendum was aimed at establishing peace and discipline and restoration of congenial atmosphere for holding the general election. He said that national election would be held as and when political parties want it after the referendum. In an address to the nation on February 20, 1985 President Ershad declared that he had decided to hold referendum to seek support of the people for his policy and programme and to allow him to continue to act as the President till election according to the suspended constitution could be held<sup>23</sup>.

With the announcement of referendum by General Ershad all political activities in the country were suspended and the office of district and divisional martial law administrator were re-opened and summary and special military courts were re-opened. All the Universities were closed indefinitely and gradually all the educational institutions throughout the country were closed. Curfew was imposed in all the cities at night. Any direct or indirect remark, publicity or distribution of leaflet against the referendum schedule was totally prohibited by the Government.



On the appointed day of March 21, the Presidential referendum was held in which the electorate was asked to answer only one question. "Do you support the policies of President Ershad and do you want him to continue to run this administration until civilian Government is formed" through the referendum. All the eligible voters were called to answer this question through ballot. It was claimed that General Ershad won a massive vote of confidence with an affirmative vote of 94.14% from among the 72% votes turn out<sup>24</sup>. General Ershad expressed his gratitude to the nation for giving him massive mandate and indicated the referendum as a burning point in the political development of Bangladesh. It was claimed that this referendum gave Ershad a sense of confidence about his authority and it worked as a milestone in his quest for legitimacy. The opposition political parties and alliances termed this referendum as meaningless exercise. Commenting over the response of the voters in the referendum General Ershad said that 'In the three years I have been in power. We have achieved more than the politician achieved in the 11 years since our independence in 1971'. He further said that 'what we have done would have taken the politician 100 years'. Though the Government claimed that 72% people cast their votes but the BBC and VOA observed that only 5% to 15% voters voted in the referendum. Many ex-President also did not cast their votes. Following the same path of his predecessor Ziaur Rahman, General Ershad held this referendum to turn martial law toward the civilianised rule.

v. **HOLDING OF UPAZILA ELECTION:**

The regime's next move was to call for election to the Chairmanship of the nations's Upazila parishad. Having taken the first step of mass support for him and seeking to broaden his support base at the rural level 'by co-opting rural elites into its political system'. The election commission announced holding of the election to the upazila parishad on May 20, 1985 on non-party basis. April 23, was fixed as last date for filing of nomination papers while last date for withdrawal of candidature was fixed on April 30<sup>25</sup>. Accordingly, election to the Upazila parishad was held in which some 2300 candidates contested for Chairmanship. In each Upazila an average five candidates

contested for the Chairmanship. Some 500 of those were believed to represent either the Awami League and the BNP who earlier refused to participate in national election. About 40% of the eligible voters cast their votes. But the election resulted in massive violence, ballot box snatching, bombing and the like causing several death and injuries. The election however, made the legitimacy process for the regime easy as it erected a support base of the regime of General Ershad at the grassroots level. The Upazila Chairman would hold office for a five years term and that were given the status of a Deputy Secretary of the Government. They were given wide powers and responsibility. Depending on Government funds for their activities the local level official would on one hand, be inclined toward regime loyalty while, on the others their considerable resources would endow them with significant patronage potential for consolidating their own power base and by extension, that of the ruling regime.

vi. **FORMATION OF NATIONAL FRONT:**

From August 16, 1985 indoor politics was allowed in Bangladesh and during mid August a final shape was given to float a pro-Government political front. The front composed of Janodal, BNP, Shah (a break-a-way faction of BNP headed by Shah Azizur Rahman who was a Prime Minister of President Zia's Cabinet and was well known for conservative Islamic Values). The front also included a faction of the Muslim League (Siddique) as well as two smaller, marxist parties, the united people's party of Kazi Zafar Ahmed and the Ganatantrik (Democratic) Party of Sirajul Hossain Khan. The new conglomeration of the parties and individual was named as Jatiya Front<sup>26</sup>, (National Front) two members of each of the constituent parties would make-up the front's steering committee alongwith two other persons with no formal political attachment. Mr. Shamsul Huda Chowdhury and Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury would represent the Janodal while Shah Aziz and Sultan Ahmed would represent the break away BNP, Sirajul Hossain Khan and Anowar Zahid would represent Ganatantrik Party, Kazi Zafar Ahmed and Mostafa Jamal Haider would be the nominee of the Ex-JPP. Salauddin Kader Chowdhury had been tipped as Muslim League nominee. Anowar Hossain Monju and Moudud Ahmed would be the member of the steering committee. In

supporting the Government's long-standing view that the transition to democracy should be taken with steps aimed at ensuring that the anarchy of the past would not recur. The Front's founding manifesto called for a return to the status quo prior to the March 1. This would include restoration of the suspended constitutions, provisions relating to fundamental rights, the phase withdrawal of martial law administrative apparatus previously offered by Ershad. Meanwhile President Ershad announced that open political activities would begin in the country from January 1, 1986 as a part of a process to create a congenial atmosphere for holding national election. The President made this announcement in his address to the nation on the eve of victory day over Radio and Television. The 15-party alliance greeted the commencement of open politics in the country and declared to hold a mass rally on January 1, 1986.

With the lifting of ten month ban on political activities on the first day of 1986, the two main opposition alliances the 15 party alliance and the 7 party alliances and also the Jamat-e-Islami celebrated the new year with processions and mass rallies. The opposition alliance announced a co-ordinated programme of Direct action to overthrow the military regime unless there was an announcement by the end of February 1986 of a definite polling date for parliamentary election.

vii. Formation of Jatiya Party, its manifesto and Objectives:-

On January 1, 1986 the Government backed Jatiya party<sup>27</sup> had formally been launched merging five political parties which were component of the previous Jatiya Front. Mr. Dr. M.A. Matin had been made the Secretary General of the Jatiya party who announced 18 member Presidium and a 57 member National Executive Committee at a press conference at the Front Office at Dhanmondi. Jatiya Party was formed with a 601 member national committee. Mr. Anwar Zahid was made member Secretary of the National Executive Committee.

The manifesto of the Jatiya Party advocated a Presidential System of Government. It set out 10 goals and objectives including the establishment of



Bangladesh Nationalism, people's democracy. Promotion of the private sectors, productive oriented politics, social and economic justice and implementation of land reforms etc.

The basic objectives of the party were 1) To protect Independence and Sovereignty, 2) To establish Islamic Values and show respect to the followers of other faith, 3) Bangladeshi nationalism, 4) Democracy, 5) Social progress leading to economic emancipation.

The political, economic and state policies formulated by Jatiya Party on the basis of broad outlined which were National consciousness on all issue. Consolidate national independence and sovereignty, upheld the ideal of liberation war, establish state polices and administrative system on social justice, political stability, End of large scale nationalization policy and establish a free market economy for national progress.

The Jatiya Party had district, Upazila and Union Parishad Committee.

By this times the 15-party alliance, 7-party alliance and the Jamat-i-Islami brought out a procession separately to press home their demand for election to the parliament under a neutral Government. Sheikh Hasina called upon the Government to accept five point demand and warned failing a greater movement would be launched. Meanwhile on March 2 in a national broadcast President Ershad proclaimed that the election to the Jatiya Sangshad would be held in the last week of April. He offered three concessions to the opposition to seek their co-operation. Resignation of ministers who might contest in the election, The abolition of office of regional Martial Law Administrators and military courts and prohibition of the use of state facilities for campaigning. Following the President's address to the nation, the election commission announced that election to parliament would be held on April 26. But the major alliances and political parties termed the announcement of election schedule as disappointing as it was inconsistent their five point demand and had observed a six



hours strike on March 7 and 8. Sheikh Hasina called upon the countrymen to resist unitedly any attempt to hold farcical referendum and Upazila style election to parliament. She urged the people to form mass struggle committee at all level with this objectives. General Ershad categorically declared that election would be held as scheduled on April 26 to pave the way for establishing democracy in the country and polls date would not be shifted.

On March 9 a significant development took place. On that night Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia met together exclusively for the first time and discussed about the movement. All opposition political parties congratulated them on their joint meeting. On March 11 in Dhaka and others parts of the country the office of the deputy Commissioner and Upazila Chairman were gheraoed. On March 12 the liaison committee of 15-party and 7-party after long discussion decided to nominate Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda in 150 seats each for the 300 members parliament. Both of them also met again same night and had a long discussion over the next course of movement. On April 13, the 15-party and 7-party alliance announced a joint programme for March 20 to March 22 calling a dawn to dusk hartals on these days and a complete strike programme on March 22, which was the final date of submission of nomination paper of the candidate. The Government in the meantime made an announcement that no candidate in the parliamentary election could file nomination paper in more than 5-seats.

Both the alliances jointly decided to continue the movement for realization of the five point demand, and appealed to the countrymen to make the programme already announced from March 20 to 22 a success. The two alliances in a joint statement said that the Government had ignored the demand for creating a free and congenial atmosphere for holding electing on the basis of 5-point demand. On the other it had created a situation so that the opposition could not participated in the election. The alliances said in a statement that it was the duty of all not to participate in the election to legalize the military Government. Sheikh Hasina called upon the Government to

announce a fresh election date fulfilling the demand of the opposition for holding a free and fair election. She warned the candidate intending to take part in the April 26 election ignoring the appeal of the opposition and said that the forth coming election would be resisted at any cost. In a meeting at Laldighi Maidan in Chittagong on March 19, Sheikh Hasina issued a strong warning that those who would participate, in the election by passing the 5 point demand would be considered as 'betrayers of the nation'. On March 20, a big procession under the banner of the 7 party alliance was brought out to voice the demand for holding free and fair election to an end to martial law.

The year 1986 was the most significant year of General Ershad Regime because in that year the first parliamentary election was held with a view to completing the civilianisation process of General Ershad's Martial Law Regime in Bangladesh.

On March 20 at 07:45 at night President Ershad made an unscheduled address to the nation and gave an ultimatum that opposition parties must have to declare about their decision before mid night about their participation in the election and cancellation of the hartal called for the next day and stop all anti-election programme from next morning beginning 5 a.m. all direct and indirect anti-election activities would be considered as illegal action. After the issue of the ultimatum 15-party alliance, 7-party alliance and Jaamat-e-Islam had their separate meeting and at about 01:40 at night Sheikh Hasina informed that 15-party alliance had decided to participate in the election. Jaamat-e-Islam was also announced the same decision. But only the 7-party alliance declared not to participate in the election. After the decision of 15-party alliance and Jaamat-e-Islam to participate in the election, the date of election was shifted to May 7, 1986. The BNP in a statement said that some political parties including the Awami League announced their decision to participate in the election at dead of night without receiving any concrete guarantee of a free and fair election and charged that they were going to participate in the election through a secret understanding with the Government. The BNP on the other hand demanded the fulfillment of three Pre-condition for participating in parliamentary election, restoration of fundamental rights, release of all political prisoners, and the annulment of the judgement against politician

convicted under Martial Law. Sheikh Hasina on the other hand denied any agreement or understanding with Government and she also charged BNP that they were trying to capture power through conspiracy and not through constitution means. Thus the episode marked the end of any possibility of a grand coalition and drove the last nails in the coffin of a 22 party unity, and open accusation against each other by the two leaders gave President Ershad for the first time a remarkable strategic advance.

In the meantime, the five of 15-party alliance JSD (Siraj-Inu), BSD, both group of Workers Party and Sramic Krishak Samajbadi Dal in a separate statement said that these parties expressed their difference of opinion in principle with the decision published in the name of 15-party alliance in regard to the participation of election. Thus over the issue of participation in the parliamentary election the 15-party alliance had broken and it was then reduced to eight party alliance and the anti-election fractions of the 15-party alliance was named as five party alliance and had played a most important role in the later anti-Ershad movement.

In the political circle till it was very big question for the reasons of Awami League's decision for participation in the parliamentary election under Martial Law regime of General Ershad against whom they fought for the last 4 years. To the political observers it seems that 1) The Awami League realized that overthrowing the regime would be virtually impossible through processions and rallies 2) The Awami Leaders felt that if they continued their opposition to the polls, martial law would be enforced more stringently, opposition leaders would be arrested and election would not be held at all. More important the Awami League leaders were convinced that if they did not participate in the election the BNP, its archenemy would be in better position since at that moment it was more popular. In the political arena at that time it was spread that if election would not held a Pro-BNP Army would takeover power which would be very beneficial to the BNP and would caused a great blow to the Awami League. The AL's platform was very different from that of the BNP and Ershad sponsored JP. But BNP and JP had quite similarity because both these parties - BNP and JP were originated by



two Generals. The JP under General Ershad's patronage and the BNP under the leadership of General Ziaur Rahman. It was claimed that General Zia had till followers in the Army and so BNP. So the fear of BNP backed military takeover had played an important factor to take decision to participate in the election. It was also claimed that on request of General Ershad a foreign Government influenced Sheikh Hasina to take her decision. So all these factors lead the Awami League leaders to take decision in favour of the parliamentary election schedule for May 7, 1986. By this time President Ershad addressed to the extended meeting of the central executive committee of the Government backed Jatiya Party on March 31. The meeting began at party Head Office and later at the instruction of General Ershad shifted to the CMLA Secretariat. The President asked the workers of the Jatiya Party to work for the victory of the party saying that 'we have to win 150 to 200 seats in the election'. The opposition slates Ershad's presence in JP meeting and alleged that President Ershad had trapped the opposition political parties favouring election in his scheme of things, Sheikh Hasina alleged that President Ershad had violated his commitment made to the nation to maintain neutrality. She also asked the political party to take part in the election to put an end to Martial Law. Meanwhile the Government had issued a Martial Law regulation prohibiting anti-election propaganda and activities and imposed 48 hours ban on public meeting and procession in connection with Jatiya Sangshad election. During this time Begum Khaleda Zia was remained absent from public views for near about three days which caused concern among the people. On May 24 she appeared at the Dhaka Bar Library and told the newsman that she was forceably taken to a house at Savar kept there under confined. Awami League Chief Sheikh Hasina reiterated her call to the nation to cast their vote in favour of her party and eight party alliance to bring an end to Martial Law.

**viii. Parliamentary election of 1986:**

At last the long cherished election to parliament held on May 7, 1986 to elect a 300 member of Jatiya Sangshad<sup>28</sup>. The electoral battle fought mainly between Government back Jatiya Party and the Awami League. President Ershad in an address to the nation



over Radio and TV in the eve of the election told that the Jatiya Sangshad election would be a historical mandate for establishment of democracy in the country. A total of 1527 candidates of which 1074 from 28 political parties and 453 independence candidate contested to the Jatiya Sangshad election. During the six week election campaign the Jatiya party highlighted Ershad development activities and his scheme for decentralization. The party reminded the public about the consequences of the Awami Bakshally returned to power. The AL, the main opposition in the election on the contrary dubbed Ershad's Regime a military dictatorship and pledged the restoration of parliamentary democracy. In particular, the AL used the image of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the election campaign. The anti-election parties specially the BNP urged the people not to participate in the election. They attacked the AL for forming an "Unholy Alliance" with the military regime and for betraying the unity of the opposition.

In general, the election failed to generate much public enthusiasm. In fact there was no election fervor. The polling day was marked by widespread interaction between candidates and musclemen. In and around the polling areas unprecedented violence and the hijacking of ballot boxes from polling stations. It was alleged that there was massive rigging in the election. At least 20 persons were killed and over 500 injured in violence all over the country. Sheikh Hasina accused the Government of vote piracy and put forward a seven-point charter of demand including repolling in some polling stations, recounting of votes, suspending the announcement of result.

In the third parliamentary election no party attained an absolute majority. Of the 300 seats in the Jatiya Sangshad, the Jatiya Party won 153, The Awami League 76, Jamat-e-Islam 10, National Awami Party (U) 5, Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) 5, Muslim League 4, Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JAS-Rab) 4, Krishak Sramic Awami League (BAKSAL) 3, Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (Siraj) 3, Workers Party 3, National Awami Party (NAP-M) 2 and Independence 32.

Table 1

## Parliamentary Election 'Results (May 1986)

Name of the Party	No. of Seats contested	No. of seats won	Percentage of votes secured
Jatiya Party	300	153	42.34
Aami league	256	76	26.16
Jamaat -e Islam	76	10	4.61
National Awami Party	10	5	1.29
Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB)	9	5	1.91
Bangladesh Muslim League	103	4	1.45
Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (Rab)	138	4	2.27
BAKSAL	6	3	0.67
Jatiya Samajtatrik Dal (Siraj)	14	3	1.87
Bangladesh Workers Party	4	3	0.53
National Awami Party (M)	9	2	0.71
Independents and Others	602	32	16.19
Total	1527	300	100.00

After the election the Jatiya Party's strengths in the Sangshad rose to 208 when 23 of the 32 Independents joined the JP and it obtained 30 reserved womenseats and

2 additional seats in the by election. BNP did not participate in the parliamentary election of 1986

The parliamentary election of 1986 was significant for many reasons. From the regime point of view, the election was quite a successful exercise. It marked the beginning of the fulfillment of Ershad's promise to civilianize his regime. The election gave the AL an opportunity to show that even 11 years after Mujib's death it had still an appeal to the people. The AL had gained popularity through its anti-Government agitations during the previous four and a half years. The election gave the anti-election parties like the BNP a chance to prove that participation in this types of election was meaningless. It provided other politicians with an opportunity to test their popularity. And for the common people, the election was essential because its was supposed to end martial law. The parliament held its first session on July 10 but none of the opposition members except four from the JSD(Rab) joined on the ground that 'parliament and martial law cannot go together', while President Ershad was making his inaugural address to the members of parliament the Awami opposition held a two hours 'Mock assembly' on Jatiya Sangshad premises. General Ershad in his Presidential address congratulated the member of parliament expressing the hope that the national assembly would play a bold role in building a happy and prosperous Bangladesh. The first session of parliament ended without any effective decision.

**ix. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1986:**

At the final phase of civilianization process General Ershad held the Presidential election on October 1986<sup>29</sup>. On September 1, the election commission announced the Presidential election on October 1986<sup>29</sup>. On September 1, the election commission announced that the Presidential election would be held on October 15, earlier on August 31 General Ershad got retirement from his post as Chief Army Staff and within two days of his retirement Ershad joined the Jatiya Party and was elected its Chairman.

In the third Presidential election of Bangladesh which held in October 15, 12 candidate participated. Among the 12, President Ershad, The religion leader Moulana Mohammadullah (Popularity known as Hefezzi Huzur) and Col (Ret) Syed Faruk Rahman, a key leader of the August 1975 coup that led to the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were important. But no major political parties including Awami League and Jamaat did not participated in the election as they boycotted the election realizing that no election under Ershad Government would be free and fair. The eight party, 7 party and 5 party alliance and Jamaat-I-Islami attempted to resist the election. The opposition parties called for country wide hartal on October 15, the Presidential election day. The BNP described the election as an attempt to legitimize an illegal regime and demanded Ershad's resignation, the dissolution of parliament, the release of all political prisoners, and the assurance of a free and fair election under a neutral and caretaker Government. General Ershad on the other hand, criticized the opposition saying that the people had lost confidence in both the AL and BNP. Awami League also stood against the holding of Presidential Election and demanded the rejection of Faruk Rahman's candidacy since he had been involved in the killing of Sheikh Mujib. AL accused General Ershad to rehabilitate Mr. Faruk in politics in the name of participating in the Presidential election.

General Ershad won a landslide victory, securing 87.74% of the votes cast (turnout was 54%) while his nearest contestant, Moulana Mohammadullah received 4.37% and Colonel Faruk came in third with 3.47 of the votes. Eight other candidate who contested in the election received an insignificant number of votes.



Table 2

Presidential election ( October) 1986.

Name of the dandidates	No. of Vote Secured	Percentage of Votes Secured
Hossain Md. Ershad	2,97,17,774	87,74
Moulana Mohammad Ullah Hafize - Haur	14,78,930	4.37
Col. (Rtd) Syed Forque Rahman	11,73,723	3.47
Mohammad zahir Khan	4,18,744	1.24
Moulana Jessori	3,50,931	1.04
Moazem Hossain Chowdhury	1,55,328	0.46
Aliul Islam Chakku Miah	1,34,211	0.40
Khalilur Rahman Majumdar	1,23,417	0.36
Ansar ALi	1,16,923	0.35
Major (Rtd.) Afsaruddin	1,11,542	0.33
Manirul Huda Chowdhury	88,502	0.24
Total Vote Casted	33870025	100.00
Total Votes were	4,79,12,443	

The opposition alliances and political parties condemned this election as another farce and claimed that less than 3% of the voters participated in the election. Ershad took the oath as an elected President on October 23, 1986 which the opposition alliances called a 'Black Day'. Being elected to a five years term Ershad turned himself from a soldier into a politician like his Predecessor army General Ziaur Rahman, President Ershad promised to withdraw martial law on the condition that action during the last four and half years as the Chief Martial Law Administrator would be endorsed by the parliament. Ershad disclosed in the Press Conference that his election as the President was the fulfillment of his promise to return power to the elected representatives, withdrawing of martial law after holding parliamentary and

Presidential election, General Ershad achieved formal legitimacy and he claimed that he had fulfilled his pledge to restore democracy. In order to rectify his assumption of power in 1982 as Chief Martial Law Administrator and to indemnify his Government from legal action against martial law during the previous four and half years General Ershad summoned the second session of parliament in November 10, with a view to pass the seventh amendment bill to the constitution. The Jatiya Party of which President Ershad was Chairman, needed the backing of a two third of the members that was 220 of 330 members to pass the amendment bill. The Jatiya Party had reached some understanding with the minor opposition parties regarding the indemnity bill.

A five hour second session of the Jatiya Sangshad was held on November 10, 1986. All 223 members - 208 JP 4 JSD (Rad)3, JSD (Siraj) 2, Baksal 4, Muslim League and 2 Independent who attended the session voted in favour of the seventh amendment bill which validated all martial law proclamations and orders since March 24, 1982 which was hailed by the Government side as a glorious chapter in the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the people. Sheikh Hasina, the Awami League Leader of the opposition in parliament condemned the amendment as a black chapter in the nation's history. After the passing of the 7th amendment bill President Ershad issued his last order as Chief Martial Law Administrator to revive the suspended constitution<sup>30</sup>.

After the parliamentary and Presidential election of 1986 and with the beginning of the year 1987 the regime of President Ershad faced the third phase of anti-regime movement from the major political alliances and political parties. The year had been marked as a year of anxiety for Ershad. Hartals, demonstration, rallies and finally the Dhaka Seige programme made the regime anxious. The politics of street had become a regular phenomenon. The street of Dhaka and other cities of the country again became trouble some with the protest and slogans against the regime. The regime's response was strong, repression, arrest, declaration of state of Emergency and finally dissolution of the parliament. With the ending of a

three day council meeting the Bangladesh Awami League called for an united movement of the progressive democratic and pro-liberation forces for the restoration of the lost rights of the people. The Awami League pledged to carry forward the struggle for establishment of the people's rule bringing an end to dictatorship. The Awami League declared to launch a seven point movement to establish a parliamentary form of Government demanding restoration of the 1972 constitution, keeping the four state principles and ensuring the fundamental rights of the people. The Awami League called for the trial of the killers of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and four other party leaders. The Awami League further said that the armed forces must be kept above politics as to enable them discharge their constitutional responsibility. The Chief of the Awami League said 'we never accept Ershad as the President as there was no Presidential polls in the real sense of the term'. The 7 party alliance and 5 party alliance on the other hand observed protest day on January 24, 1987 the day scheduled to be held the fourth session of the Jatiya Sangshad through out the country to press the demand for dissolution of the parliament, handing over power to neutral caretaker Government and holding of fresh election to parliament. The police cracked down on a public meeting organized by the seven party alliance in Dhaka. On that day January 24, Begum Zia addressed a rally from a riskaw and reiterated her call for continuation of the movement till the removal of the Ershad Government. At the call of the seven party alliance and 5-party alliance an eight hours hartal was observed throughout the country in support of their demand. On March 11, hartal was also observed at and call of the central student action committee to press home the demand for dissolution of parliament, resignation of President Ershad, withdrawal of enhanced bus fair and in protest against the privatization of Bank and Insurance.

Meanwhile the government observed on march 24 as the anniversary of the fifth year of Ershad takeover with much enthusiasm. The Government termed the Upazila system as a revolutionary success of the five years rule of the Ershad Government. The Ershad Government claimed that they made a silent revolution in decentralizing the administration, ensuring direct participation of the people and overall development



of rural Bangladesh. President Ershad expressed his confidence that in the backdrop of socio-economic and political scenario of the country, the five years of his Government would be remembered.

The opposition political parties on the other hand observed the day as black day and announced their decision to continue the movement till the fall of the regime. Meanwhile 31 eminent intellectuals of the country on March 29, 1987 in a statement called for installation of an interim government composed of non-party men of unimpeachable honesty and integrity. The primary task of such Government would be to arrange a free and fair election. They would take measures to keep politics from violence and keep the Armed forces above politics. They said that the army under no circumstances be cast in a civilian role by amending the constitution. They asserted that the armed forces should remain above politics. Among the signatories professor Abdur Razzak, Justice Kamaluddin Ahmed were important.

On June 21, 1987 a six hour hartal was observed throughout the country at the call of 8,7 and 5 party alliance and Jammāt-E-Islami in protest against what they said anti-people budget and militarization of administration. Again on July 21, 1987 a half day hartal was observed peacefully in the city which were called by the main stream opposition. In the post hartal rally the eight party alliance Leader Shaikh Hasina called upon the people for intensifying the movement in the country to force the Government to resign. She also called upon all democratic and progressive forces to resist the Government from passing anti-people bill including the Zila Parishad bill.

The controversial Zila Parishad bill was first placed in the parliament in May. The purpose of the bill was to create an organization headed by a chairman with a number of members empowered to review the law and order situation to arrest criminals, to review preventive measures and to engage into matters relating to corruption. The organization was given a very wide powers superseding all other law enforcing agencies. The most controversial issue was the participation of the Armed



representative in the administration which aimed at militarization of administration in Bangladesh. The controversial local Government (Zila Parishad) amendment bill 1987, providing representation of the Armed Forces in the District Council was passed in the Jatiya Sangshad (Parliament) on July 12, 1987. The bill was passed hurriedly giving Sheikh Hasina and her MPs not much chance to raise any voice. The opposition member under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina staged a walkout when the move was taken to pass the bill. The leader of the opposition Sheikh Hasina strongly protested the passing of the bill and alleged that everything was being done from cantonment through remote control. She said that the bill aimed at militarization of administration and it was the clear manifestation of the ruling party's intention to bring the armed forces into politics<sup>31</sup>.

On July 11, 1987 a 24 hour countrywide hartal at the call of SKOP was observed which caused total disruption of normal life in the urban area. The hartal was called earlier in pursuance of its five point demand which included withdrawal of additional taxes imposed in the national Budget, repeal of disinvestment and holding company act, resignation of the Government and dissolution of parliament. Immediately after the expiry of 24 hour country wide hartal which began from July 11 at the call of SKOP, an eight hour hartal from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. was observed throughout the country on July 13 at the call of the opposition political parties in protest against the passing of District Council Bill in the Jatiya Sangsad.

Meanwhile at a mammoth public meeting on July 14 on the occasion of hartal called by the students, Sheikh Hasina issued an ultimatum demanding resignation of the Government of President Ershad within July. She also demanded annulment of the controversial zila parishad bill. She declared that if her demands were not met before July 19 the eight party alliance would launch a nationwide movement for paralysing the Government. Sheikh Hasina said, "Our immediate objective is to topple the Government, our struggle will continue both inside and outside the House". The seven party alliance was also very critical of the Government for passing bills including the

controversial district council bill. They called for resignation of the Government. Meanwhile 22 student organizations announced a fresh programme to Gherao Bangladesh Secretariat on July 18 Protesting the passing of the controversial district council bill, enhancement of tuition fees and demanding resignation of the Ershad Government. In the meantime the major alliances and opposition political parties agreed to start an one point united movement to remove the Ershad Government. All the parties agreed to observe a 54 hour hartal beginning 6 a.m. on July 22 to 12 noon July 24, Sheikh Hasina called the people to be fully prepared for greater movement to oust the Ershad autocratic Government.

The Government on the other hand accepting the opposition challenge intensified its anti-hartal campaign with minister attacking the opposition for its attempts at destroying democracy and social peace. Prime Ministers Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury declared in a public meeting organized by the Jatiya Party that the oppositions parties programme would be confronted by the Jatiya Party. He totally rejected the call for the resignation of the Government. President Ershad in a conference of the Municipal Commissioners also declared that the people this time would resist the hartal and would prove that they were not with those who declared hartal for their own interest. He further said that the Government had decided to resist the hartal and not to give the opposition party a free field. In the meantime several prominent opposition leaders were arrested in a pre-dawn swoop by the police from different part of the city on the eve of an opposition call for 54 hours hartal which was started from July and totally paralysed the normal life. The opposition had built up a crescendo in favour of its 54 hour hartal call beginning from 6 a.m. It was the longest hartal till then. Thousand's of protesting people came on the street with slogans against the regime. Many offices were set on fire. Clashes after clashes occurred between the people and the security forces. The streets of Dhaka turned into a battle field. After the first days hartal Begum Zia stated that people had expressed their total no confidence against Ershad and he had no right to be in power any longer. She also reiterated her demand of the resignation of Government, cancellation of the parliament and election

under an impartial Government. In the first day post hartal rally Sheikh Hasina urged the nation to continue the movement till the fall of the regime for unleashing a reign of terror to resist the spontaneous hartal, she stated that the people would give a befitting reply by their united movement. She said that spontaneous hartal once again demonstrated the total no-confidence against President Ershad and his regime. She declared that if the President and his Government did not resign even after the movement, Programme would be taken for overthrowing the Government through gheraos by millions of people. In the second day of 54 hour hartal seven people were killed and 300 were injured in violent clashes. Begum Zia walked from her cantonment residence to the press club, thousands and thousands of people joined her as she moved on and followed her all the way. In a press conference at the press club she declared "I was not allowed to come out yesterday but today I have ignored all restrictions and have come out". In the post hartal rally Sheikh Hasina said that the nation had rejected the Ershad regime and asserted that the mass-movement would continue till the fall of the President Ershad and his Government.

After the successful 54 hour hartal the eight party alliances observed the long awaited 'gherao' of the President's secretariat on July 30. The Police and Ansars had blocked the road near the bangla Motors, quite far from the secretariat. Around 12 noon Sheikh Hasina with big procession marched towards the President secretariat. The processionist reached to the police barricade and waited for about 2 hours in front of the barricade. The Gherao movement ended peacefully.

Meanwhile on August 3, 1987, Col (Rtd) Faruk and Col (Rtd) Rashid announced the formation of the people's freedom party and identified Awami league, BAKSAL and their supporters as the main enemies against the sovereignty of the country. Col. Faruk and Rashid were involved in the overthrow of Sheikh Mujib on august 14, 1975, and was responsible for the tragic killing of Sheikh Mujib and his enter family members at home except his two daughters sheikh Hasina and sheikh Rehena who were then



outside the country. It was alleged that Ziaur Rahman was the Deputy Chief of the Army when the coup against Sheikh Mujib was staged and he was promoted to the Chief of the Army after the coup replacing Army Chief Major General Shafiullah. So Ziaur Rahman was the direct beneficiary of the Sheikh Mujib killing which paved his way to become the Chief Martial Law Administrator and later formed a political party named BNP and through 5th amendment of the constitution General Zia had blocked the way of trial of the killers of Sheikh Mujib and his family members including the four national leaders in the jail among whose Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed the liberation war time Prime Minister of Bangladesh was important. It was learnt that prior to the August coup of 1975 which killed Sheikh Mujib, Faruk had a meeting with Zia in his residence at Dhaka Cantonment. When the anti-Ershad movement was going on Col. Faruk was seen talking with Begum Khaleda Zia in an occasion at Hotel Sonargaon. It was alleged that with a view to stand against Awami League and Sheikh Hasina Col. Faruk was brought in the field of politics to propagate anti-Awami League stand and to create anti-Indian sentiment identifying the Awami League as an Indian agent in Bangladesh. On the very day of its emergence as a political party with the blessing of General Ershad, Col. Faruk and his Freedom Party started an extensive drive to prohibit the Awami League and expressed their determination to eliminate and to resist the fifth forces. The Awami League and Baksal declared August 15, as the Day of National Mourning while the freedom party of Col. Faruk and Rashid described it as the Day of Salvation'. Sheikh Hasina laid stress on the necessity of <sup>unification</sup> polarization of the pro-liberation forces against the anti-liberation forces. Earlier in January 1986 Sheikh Hasina had identified BNP as an anti-liberation force. The logic behind Sheikh Hasina's argument was that though Ziaur Rahman was one of the Sector Commander of the war of liberation, while he was in power as President of the country he appointed Shah Azizur Rahman, a top anti-liberation and collaborator of Pakistani Army as Prime-Minister and took many collaborator or Razakar like Moulana Abdul Mannan in his cabinet. It may be recalled that BNP which was founded by General Ziaur Rahman with a view to militarization of politics and administration had rehabilitated the anti-liberation forces. His wife Begum Khaleda Zia formed the Government with the support of Jamaat-e-Islami a leading anti-



liberation political party and made Mr. Abdur Rahman Bishwas an another collaborator of the Pakistani army as President of the country. Begum Zia as a wife and a faithful followers of a military general implemented his ideals by rehabilitating the anti-liberation forces in the politics of Bangladesh.

After the election, President Ershad while addressing the leaders and the workers of his party in an extended meeting on August 19, 1987 announced that there was no political crisis in the country at the moment. He asserted that the opposition parties would not be able to do anything. He described his regime of 6-years as a golden period of success and achievement in Bangladesh.

By this time the Government of Ershad got a breathing space due to the flood all over the country. At least as long as the flood was there, Government had no headache about political movement. The flood had created extensive havoc in the country in August, Ershad Government did its best to face the crisis created by the flood but the opposition parties criticized him for failure to provide adequate relief to the affected people. The President sought united effort by all parties to tackle the flood situation and called a conference in BanghaBhavan on September 7, but the opposition boycotted it saying that there could be no talk with the illegal Government.

Political activities resumed again from the middle of October centering on the programme of Dhaka seige scheduled for November 10, 1987. President Ershad on October, 1, 1987 in a big rally of the Jatiya party in Dhaka dismissed the demand of his resignation by the opposition parties and announced that he would be compelled to take all necessary actions according to the law of the land. Shah Moazzem Hassain, General Secretary of the Jatiya party also publicly cautioned the opposition parties that millions of workers of their party would resist the Dhaka seige programme on November 10, 1987. Begum Zia appealed to the political parties for unity amongst themselves in their struggle against the regime, forgetting their individual political interests. At last in a dramatic move the much awaited meeting between Awami League Chief Sheikh

Hasina and BNP Chief Begum Khaleda Zia finally took place on October 28. The two leaders issued a joint statement committing to unitedly implement the programme on November 1 and November 10 and urged all democratic and progressive forces to unitedly carry forward the mass movement for forcing the Ershad Government to resign. Referring the meeting of the two leaders of opposition alliances Ershad wondered what would be the result of Zero plus Zero. Shah Moazzem, the General Secretary of the Jatiya party said that nothing would be produced at the 'joining of two ladies'. On November 1, the major Political alliances staged demonstration in all the Districts Headquarters of the country in support of their demand. The programme of the alliances in the districts Headquarters included demonstration before the offices of the Deputy Commissioner. Meanwhile the main stream opposition alliances and parties had given a call to the people to make the November 10 programme successful and asked them to persue the Movement till the fall of the Government. The two top opposition leaders Begum Zia and Sheikh Hasina held their second round of talk on November 9 to give of impetus to the anti-Government demonstration in the city. Meanwhile Government had geared up measures to ensure peace in public life and protect people life and property in the capital city during the opposition programme.

The Dhaka seige programme of November 10, 1987 had been marked as a milestone in the prolong anti-Ershad political movement of the major alliances and political parties<sup>32</sup>. This programme had identified as the third but most crucial stage of the opposition movement. On the day before the starting of the Dhaka seige programme hundreds of opposition leaders and activists had been arrested all over the country. On the day of the programme Sheikh Hasina led a procession in the new market area and violated section 144. In the after noon Begum Zia at the end of the rally held at the Shahid Minar, led a procession towards the press club. Police confronted the procession made Lathi Charge and used tear gas shells. In the whole city of Dhaka there prevailed an alarmic condition. Strong security measures were taken by the Government, the city was full of police and other law enforcing forces. Through out the whole day there were frequent chases and counter chases between

the member of the law enforcing agencies and the demonstrators. One Nur Hussain, who inscribed the words "led autocracy end and democracy be restored" on his bare body was killed by the police at Zero point. In spite of Tear-Gas, Lathi Charge and police firing procession and rallies continued throughout the day in the city. Others part of the country also saw the expression of people's wrath and anger. On the day Begum Zia was arrested from her residing in Hotel Purbani and was taken to her Cantonment residence where she was interned. Around 7 p.m. when Sheikh Hasina came out of her Dhanmondi residence to go to the Press-Club, police restrained her. She was also entered into an altercation with the police and wanted to see her warrant of arrest. After that she was interned in the residence.

The Home Ministry confirmed three deaths followings police firing on the demonstrators around Dhaka GPO. The alliance called a hartal programme of November 11 and 12. The dawn to dusk hartal called by the three opposition and Jammāt was marked by violence and clashes in many parts of the country. Over one hundreds persons were enjured in clashes throughout the country and police arrested more then 200 people during the observance of the hartal. Widespread violence marked the second day of hartal in the city and else where in the country on November 12 which left three dead including a policeman. The 'Gayabana Janaja' of three killed persons during the last three days of opposition programme in the city and elsewhere in the city was held jointly by the mainstream opposition alliances at the Baitul Mukarram Mosque premises after Jumma prayer. The main stream opposition alliances and Jammāt-e-Islami had again given a call for observing countrywide hartal from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m. on November 14 and 15 in protest against the killing of people by police firing, arrest of two top opposition leaders, Begum Zia and Sheikh Hasina and to press the demand for resignation of the Ershad Government. The eight hour hartal called by the opposition on November 14 was marked sporadic clashes, bomb blusts and police firing in the city and elsewhere in the country. Over one hundred persons were injured more then two hundreds were arrested by the police. The liaison committee of the opposition alliances condemned the repression measures which had taken against the



democratic movement and demanded release of Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia and others political leaders. They expressed determinations to continue the movement till the fall of the Ershad Government. Meanwhile the combined opposition alliances on November 24 adopted a seven day programme including 72 hours continuous hartal throughout the country from November 29 to December 1. The programme was announced at the end of the meeting of the liaison committee of the eight party, 7 party and 5 party and Jammata-Islami. Barrister Ishtiaque Ahmad President of the Bar Council was arrested by the police. Meanwhile the 10 member of parliament belonging to Jammata-E-Islami, submitted their resignation. In the meantime Mr. Abdul Mannan a member of the Awami League presidium told the BBC that his party in a meeting of the Presidium had taken the decision to resign from the parliament. Mr. Mannan told that the Awami League MPs were awaiting the approval of the party Chief before resignation. but most of the MPs of Awami League expressed their dissatisfaction and anger at this decision and they questioned the authority of the Presidium in taking such a decision in absence of the party Chief Sheikh Hasina who was still under house arrest. Mr. Mannan was severally criticized for his statement over the BBC. The members of the presidium who were in favour of resignation of Awami League MP's from the parliament were strongly criticized by Sheikh Hasina herself. Sheikh Hasina was not in favour of resignation of MP's. She had been maintaining that she would continue her struggle against the Government both inside the parliament and on the streets.

Meanwhile President Ershad on December 6 dissolved the parliament.<sup>33</sup> He said that the parliament had dissolved to clear the way for holding fresh polls to get electoral mandate on various national issues including the constitution and declared that the polls would be held within 90 days as per constitution. Government also released Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia from their confinement.

Meanwhile President Ershad proclaimed a state of emergency through out the country on November 27 in pursuance of the Article 141 A(i) of the constitution of



Bangladesh. All fundamental rights were suspended, local newspapers and mediemen, both national and international, were strictly advised not to report any activities of the opposition. Politics and political parties were not banned but complete restriction were imposed on political activities and press.

Ataus Samad, correspondent of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in Bangladesh was arrested and detained under special power act. all BBC activities were closed in Bangladesh. On the following day of the Emergency i.e. on November 28 in an address to the nation President Ershad explained the reasons for proclaiming emergency. He called the oppositions programme since November 10 a planned anarchy, planned terrorism and emphasized that he would not surrender to any terrorism, illegal and undemocratic pressure and that any change of the Government should be followed in accordance within the procedures prescribed in the constitutions.

x. Parliamentary election of 1988:

On January 1, 1988 the election commission announced that the election to the Jatiya Sangshad would be held on February 28, 1988 with the dissolution of the third Jatiya Songshad on December, 1987. Holding of fresh polls had become a constitutional obligation under the Article 72(i) of the constitution. So the election was required to be held within 90 days under the Article 123(3) of the constitution. January 20, had been fixed as the date for submission of nomination paper with the returning officer. The nomination paper would be scrutinised on January 21 while January 27 had been fixed as the last date for withdrawal of candidature. The election commission said that it was taking all necessary preparation to ensure holding of a free fair and impartial election to constitute a representative Jatiya Sangshad.

The mainstream opposition alliances and parties rejected the election to the Jatiya Sangshad by the election commission and reiterated their demand for resignation of the Ershad Government and holding of polls under a neutral

Government. They said there could not be a free and fair polls under Ershad. The liaison committee of the three alliances at a meeting termed the announcement of poll date by the election commission ignoring the popular demand for resignation of the Government as a new conspiracy to hang on power. Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia also in a joint statement pledged to the nation to unitedly continue the movement. The statement came following a meeting between the two top leaders at the Dhanmondi Residence of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Begum Khalada Zia in rejecting the polls under President Ershad said that it was another conspiracy to confuse the public mind. The whole nation was united on one point demand of resignation of the Government. She said, we want election under a neutral non-partisan and caretaker Government after unseating the Government. Sheikh Hasina said that the Government announced the date for election as its last bait to divert the attention of the people from the current movement and to create disunity in the opposition camp. President Ershad on the other hand said that the election would be held as per the election schedule announced by the election commission. Addressing a conference of the leaders of more than 70 political parties at Dhaka the President said that the poll would not be affected even if a handful of political parties including the Awami League and BNP would not participate in the election. Secretary General to the standing committee of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) A.S.M. Abdur Rab also addressed the conference. President Ershad who put a surprise visit to the conference and said every where in the world the opposition demand polls and it was only in Bangladesh the position was reversal. Meanwhile a combined opposition parties had formed with 72 political parties with a view to participate in the parliamentary election under the leadership of A.S.M. Abdur Rab. The election commission in January 18, rescheduled the election date to the Jatiya Sangshad and fixed March 3 as the election day. Sheikh Hasina on the other hand started to address in a number of public meeting in different parts of the country from January 11, 1988 to build public opinion against the coming farcical election and further intensify the mass movement to remove the Ershad Government. On the 24 January 1988, Sheikh Hasina and other leaders of 8 party alliance had gone to Chittagong to address a public meeting as a part of the movement against the

proposed election in March. The alliance approached the authority for permission to hold a public meeting at the Laldighi Maidan but they were refused to give permission. At 2.00 p.m. when the main procession led by Sheikh Hasina and other opposition leaders reached the place riot police which was on duty charged the gathering to disperse using batons, Lathis and Tear Gas Shells and finally opened fire which caused the loss of the large numbers of lives and injured many people. Sheikh Hasina claimed that the least 24 persons were reportedly killed in the police firing. Addressing the lawyers in the court building Sheikh Hasina said that all those who seized power following the August 15, 1975 had continued to act illegally. She also said that the attack was aimed at Awami League and 8 party alliance.

The liaison committee of the three mainstream opposition alliances had arranged observance of the mourning day on January 30, 1988 to protest the police firing and to pay respect to the people killed in Chittagong. The gathering and the procession which it followed was one of the large public gatherings. The Awami League Chief Sheikh Hasina said that in the greater interest of the united movement and to establish democracy and rule of law in the country by removing the present regime she was ready to go for not only in one platform if necessary one leadership. Begum Zia reaffirmed her belief in the unity among all section of opposition parties and said that she would not hesitate to come on the same platform on minimum programme for the restoration of democracy in the country.

President Ershad on the other hand said that the people of the country would make the coming parliamentary polls successful because they were in favour of the politics of progress and development. Addressing a mammoth public meeting at the Shantahar College ground the President categorically made it clear that the election to the Jatiya Sangshad would be held on March 3 as per the schedule announced by the election commission. Referring to the threats meted out by a handful of political parties to disrupt the polls the President said other than the Almighty Allah none had the strength to stop the holding of the election.



The mainstream opposition and alliance and parties announced an eleven days programme including a 36 hour continues programme for two days in the first week of March all over the country to topple the Ershad regime and to hold a fair parliamentary election under a neutral Government. Begum Zia also cautioned the Government against political persuasion and repression and added that it would fasten its downfall and asked Hasina for join rally. Sheikh Hasina said that the blood of martyrs would not go in vain and the mass-movement would continue till the fall of the Ershad regime.

In the meantime, the stage was set for the March 3 election. Though the main opposition political parties and alliances boycotted the parliamentary election was held on March 3 as per the constitutional requirement forced the regime to hold it to keep up the constitutional continuity.

On the appointed day election to the Jatiya Sangshad was held in which a total of 982 candidates among which a 217 independent candidate filed nomination paper<sup>34</sup>. Only the Jatiya Party was able to nominate candidate in all 300 seats from which 16 members were declared unopposed. The combined opposition party (COP) consisting of 76 parties led by the JSD leader A.S.M. Abdul Rab, of 23 party alliances led by S.M.S. Solaiman, Freedom Party of Colonal Faruque and Rashid, Janodal, Bangladesh Khelafat Andolon and Bangladesh Gonatantra Bastabayan Party took part in the election. The mainstream opposition and political alliances did not participated in the election. They attempted to resist the election despite ban on anti-election activities and they observed a hartal on the day of the election. The election day was marked by violence. Only in the capital city of Dhaka Seven persons were killed and 300 were injured.

There was no election fervor in the country. The candidate did not even instant election camps at polling centres. The city streets were almost vacant. But musclemen were found active in most of the polling centres of the capital, as a result there was



serious rioting, reckless bombing, hijacking of ballot papers and boxes. A Government source claimed that more than 50% of the total voters voted in the election. But in fact, in the absence of the major opposition voters turnout was very low, it was nearly a voterless election. According to a foreign correspondent only about 5% voters had turned up. Mr. S.M. Solaiman Chairman of 23 party alliance who contested from Motijheel Area of Dhaka City claimed that this election was a vote docoity by Jatiya Party and its allies. He further claimed that within 10 o'clock in the morning, all the pollings centres were captured by armed gang and the voters had to leave the centres without casting their votes. In the election the Jatiya Party won a landslide victory by securing 251 seats out of 300 and COP got 19, JSD (Seraj) 3, Freedom Party 2 and independent candidate obtained 25 seats. Awami League and BNP did not participate in the election.

Table 3

## Parliamentary Election Results ( March 1988) :

Name of the Party	Name of the Seat contested	No. of Seat won	Percentage of votes secured
Jatiya Party	300	251	68.44
Combined Opposition Party (COP)	270	19	12.63
Freedom Party	110	2	3.29
J.S.D. ( Siraj)	23	3	1.20
Other Parties	62	-	0.94
Independents	217	25	13.50
Total	982	300	100.00

The holding of the fourth parliamentary election did not resolved the crisis as the major opposition political parties had not representation in the Jatiya Sangshad. The mainstream opposition political parties and alliances observed a protest day on March

5, 1988 against the facial election. At the protest meeting of the 8 party alliance, Sheikh Hasina repeated her call to carry forward a united movement till the fall of the regime. She declared that the election could never be fair under the Ershad Government. Begum Zia turned this election farce and called the people to intensify their movement for restoring democracy. President Ershad on the other hand Conveyed his thank of felicitations to the people of the country for Savings the nation from terrorism and in discipline by participating in the March 3, parliamentary polls smoothly and properly. The Government lifted the state of emergency on April 12, 1988 which was proclaimed in the country on November 27, 1987 in the backdrop of a country wide anti-Government movement.

The fourth parliament had gone to session on April 25 which was elected through election of March 3 and boycotted by the main opposition parties including the two past ruling parties the Awami League and BNP. On the day of the first session there was country wide hartal which was observed at the call of the main stream opposition political parties and alliances.

Sheikh Hasina in a meeting in mid April 1988 said that in 1986 a party in Coalition with the Government abstained from the election battle and thus allowed the Ershad Government to continue in power. She alleged that those who demanded dissolution of the last parliament had actually helped Ershad to survive. She also strongly criticized certain party leader mainly Dr. Kamal Hossain and A.Mannan those who had recommended the decision of resignation from parliament and termed this as the agent of the Government. In the central working committee of Awami League meeting which was held between May 22 and 24, 1988 laid down seven conditions for united movement. The party in its resolution called on the people to wage a united movement on the basis of restoration of 1972 constitution and a return to parliamentary form of Government. The decision to take part in the May 7, 1986 polls was accepted as correct decision and those who had boycotted the polls were turned as Government, agent. The demand for resignation from the parliament was regarded as

conspiratorial. The Awami League also identified BNP as anti-liberation as its intention to form unity with Jammāt. It should be pointed out that the prediction of the Awami League toward the BNP was not fully aligning itself to the pro-liberation group and its secret understanding with Jammāt had proved the political development of post Ershad period in Bangladesh.

The fourth parliament passed the 8th amendment bill making Islam as the state religions<sup>35</sup>. President Ershad declared that the parliament would consider a bill in its coming session to provide a religion identity to the nation by incorporating Islam as a state religion. He further said that when the life of 90% of the population of the country was guided by Islam from birth to death there is no jurisdiction why the religion of the vast majority of the people would not be accepted as the state religions. In protest against the passing of the bill in incorporating Islam as a state religions a half day hartal was observed throughout the country. Sheikh Hasina criticized the state religions bill charging that the bill was brought following the 5th amendment bill of BNP regime.

The bill for 8th amendment of the country's constitution was introduced in Jatiya Sangshad on May 11, 1988 to declare Islam as the state religions and set up six permanent bench of the High Court Division outside the capital. The Prime Minister and the leader of the House Mr. Moudud Ahmed moved the constitution (Eighth Amendment) Act, 1988 in the House within little resistance from the opposition. In the opposition side only. Mr. Shahjahan Seraj of JSD (Seraj) protested against the introduction of the bill. He said that the bill was moved ulterior motive to use Islam in politics as Pakistan Style. The Leader of the opposition Mr. A.S.M. Abdul Rab, did not object to the introduction of the bill.

Introducing the bill in the House Mr. Moudud Ahmad said that the amendment to the constitution was moved to declare Islam as the state religion to fulfill the hopes and aspiration of the people of the county.

The Constitution (Eight amendment Act. 1988) will insert a new article (2A) after article 2 to the constitution for declaring Islam as the state religion. The Article 2A will read the state religions of the Republic is Islam but other religion may be practiced in peace and harmony in the Republic.

The bill aimed at amending the Article 100 of the constitution to set up six permanent benches of the High Court Division at Barisal, Chittagong, Comilla, Jessore, Rangpur, Sylhet under the amendment. The Article 100 will read 1) The permanent seat of the supreme court shall be in the capital 2) The High Court division and the judge there of shall sit at the permanent seat of the supreme court and at the seats it its permanent bench 3) The High Court division shall have a permanent bench each at Barisal, Chittagong, Comilla, Jessore, Rangpur and Sylhet and each permanent bench shall have such bench as the Chief Justice may determine from time to time. 4) A permanent Bench shall consist of such number of judge of the High Court division as the Chief Justice deem it necessary to nominate to that bench from time to time and on such nomination the judge shall be deemed to have been transferred to that bench 5) The president shall in consultation with the Chief Justice, assign the area in relation to which each permanent bench shall have a jurisdiction, power, function conferred or that may be conferred on the High Court Division - by the constitution or any law of the land and 6) The Chief Justice shall maintain to provide all incidental supplemental or consequential matters relating to the permanent bench.

The President expressed the confidence that recognition of Islam as the state religion would formally establish the fact that the nation had a distinctive identity with its own language, culture and heritage.

- The President further said that the introduction of a bill in the Jatiya Sangshad to make Islam as the state religion was the manifestation of the aspiration of Muslim of the country who constitute 90% of the population. President while addressing to a



teachers association spoke it where Moulana Mannan, the minister for religion affair was present.

The opposition reacted sharply to the move declaring Islam as state religions. BNP Chief Begum Khaleda said that the parliament, which itself was illegal had no right to bring any constitutional amendment. The declaration of Islam was neither the demand of the people, nor would help to solve the country's prevailing problems.

The five party alliance termed the move as an attack on the spirit of liberation war which established a secular Bangladesh at the cost of huge bloodshed.

After the economic and political upheaval of the last two years Bangladesh was relatively calm in 1989<sup>36</sup>. Following the holding of the parliamentary election of 1988 the opposition was not a threat to the government and Ershad had not much to worry about. During the last two years the regime of General Ershad was more or less remained tension free since the regime did not faced any united movement from the major opposition political parties and the alliances. The regime of General Ershad was enjoying with a profound sense of delight and satisfaction.

**Anti-Government movement for one point Demand- the Demand of the resignation of General Ershad.**

In the political history of Bangladesh the year 1990 had been marked as a most memorable year because in this year the mighty President who ruled Bangladesh fall in face of mass upsurge after his nine years of autocratic rule. With the beginning of the year the sign of the mass upsurge was surfacing. After a long interval the unity of the major two alliances was founding and after a prolong united political struggle and tireless movement the government of General Ershad had to resign at the end of the year 1990<sup>37</sup>.

The opposition political parties and alliances started anti-government movement in 1990 to remove President Ershad form power. On January 1, 1990 the seven party alliance declared programme of movement starting mass demonstration in front of the parliament. The eight party alliance on the same day also declared their separate programme of movement and gave a call to the

pro-liberation forces to unite. On January 24 the major opposition political parties and alliances observed Democracy Day. In the meantime on February 25, 1990 a tragic incident took place at Dhaka University where Shahidul Islam Chunnu, Vice President of Zahurul Haque Hall, a BCL Leader was shoot to death. It was claimed that Chunnu was killed by the BNP backed Chattra Dal and they accused Begum Zia to instruct his party activists to take action against the BCL activists for their alleging involvement in the incidents of February 21, 1988 where a gun shot was fired on the procession of BNP in front of Palassy Barrack near Zahurul Haque Hall. BNP accused Chunnu alongwith a few others of the Hall for the incidents. In protest against the killing of Chunnu Awami League held meeting. One speaker in the meeting declared that, if required hartal would be called against Khaleda Zia.

In the meantime Government held the second upazila election in the country between March 12 to 24. Though the election was termed as party less both BNP and Awami League participated in the election to demonstrate the strength of their parties. BNP central leadership did not impose any ban on their local level leaders or workers to participate in the election. According to the final result, out of 425 seats JP candidate own in 185 seats and Aim League won 113 seats. The Awami League considered it as a success. BNP termed the election as an compromise and conspiracy between the Ershad regime and Awami League.

On May 22, 1990 President Ershad announced in a public meeting that he was going to hold the Presidential election and declared himself as a candidate. He also appealed to the opposition parties to participate in the Presidential election. The declaration of President Ershad for participation in the next Presidential election caught fire in the imagination of the major opposition political patties and alliances and gave them thinking to be united. All the opposition parties rejected the call of the President for participation in the presidential polls, demanded the holding of the parliamentary election before the presidential election. On June 6, 1990 the JCD won a massive victory in the Dhaka University Central Students Union (DUCSU) election. The victory of

the JCD in the DUCSU election was very important which played a vital role in the downfall of Ershad by forming all party student union (APSU) alongwith the other political parties which played a vigilant pressure group on the political leaders from October 10, till the downfall of Ershad.

Subsequently it was urgently felt by the opposition political parties and alliance to continue united movement against General Ershad. In these effort the 5 party alliance under the leadership of Rashad Khan Menon took a crucial role to bring the major two alliances into one platform at least to give united programme. On the eve of the observance of countrywide hartal on June 28, 1990 all the three alliances, the 8 party, 7 party and 5 party declared a simultaneous programme of hartal.

The hartal of June 28 was total success. On July all the opposition parties observed a mass demonstration day holding meeting throughout the country and announced a new programme of mass demonstration on August 26. In the students convention called by DUCSU on the 1st October a month long programme including a gherao of the secretariat on October 10 and a token hunger strike was adopted. Negotiation amongst the parties on the factions and struggle of the united movement was already taken under the initiative of the 5 party alliance. They met 8 party alliance and 7 party alliance leaders separately and emphasized the need for concentrating on the single demand of resignation of the Government. On October 9, 1990 the joint meeting for three alliances agreed to this suggestion.

The movement of the October 10, could really be called the beginning of the end of the Ershad regime. The processions, the rallies the mass demonstration which started on this day continued days after days almost without break till the fall of the Ershad regime. Not only the parties belonging to the three alliances other political parties including Jammah-E-Islami, JAGPA, Communist League, Muslim League, Olkya Prokria and 6 party front led by Oli Ahamed all supported and took part in the October 10 programme. Government had placed strong cordon around the secretariat

to foil the gherao programme of the opposition parties. 5 party front leaders had taken their position near the G.P.O. they came in clash with the police around 11 a.m. Rashid Khan Menon, Moinuddin Khan Badal, Tepu Bishwas of Communist League, Nayum Jahangir of Oikya Prokria and about 50 workers of the 5 party front were injured by the police lathi charge.

From the militant movement on October 10, a significant development took place which ultimately brought the final down fall of the regime. The all party students Unity (ASSU) was born placing in front the dead body of Zahid which was taken away by students. APSU took pledge in the Dhaka University Campus that they would not withdraw from the street till the fall of the autocratic Government. In the face of such unprecedented unity of the students, Major political parties finally had to come together. Some other cultural organization and professional groups had also brought the total onslaught on Ershad regime. But the birth of APSU on October was the prime mover and they took the decision that Ershad Hatoo (Remove Ershad) would be the slogan of the days.



FOOT NOTE AND REFERENCE

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- 2) Md. Ataur Rahman, Bangladesh in 1983.A Turning point for the Military, Asian Survey, Vol.XXIV No.2 February, 1984.
- 3) For details see,The Observer 9,1982.On that day the Police & BDR Raided the Arts Faculty Building of Dhaka University where Mr.Nurul Amin, a Teacher of Political Science Department and Mr.Selim a student of the same Department were wounded.Mr.Selim later was killed by police while leading an anti -Ershad procession.
- 4) Mr. Akhteruzzaman, the then Vice-President of DACSU was a veteran student leader who showed extreme bravery and played most dynamic role to organize the students against the Ershad Regime.
- 5) The warning of Home Minister Major General Mahabbatzan Choudhury was issued against the student, see the Bangladesh Observer February 14,1983.
- 6) The Bangladesh Times, February 15,1983.
- 7) For detail analysis, see the Bichitra, Year Book, 1983
- 8) B. M. Monowar Kabir,Bangladesh Politics 1981-84:Military Rule and the Process of Civilianization:The Chittagong University Studies(Social Science) Vol.VIII, No.1 June 1985. PP, 171-208.
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- 10) For post sit in strike action of the Government,see the Bichitra,the year Book 1983.

- 11) The statement was made by Dr.Kamal Hossain,the then the member of Presidium of the Awami League.By this statement he virtually supported the Ershad Military Action to take over from the total mismanagement and corruption of BNP Government.
- 12) See, Peter J.Bertocci,Bangladesh in 1984:A year of protracted Turmoil,Asian Survey,Vol.XXV No.2 February, 1985, PP, 155-167.
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- 15) For 18 point programme of General Ershad see Syed Sirajul Islam, Bangladesh,State and Economic Strategy,(Dhaka: University Press Limited - 1988). p. 195.16).
- 17) For details of the formation of Janodol see, the Banglaesh Observer,December 21,1983.
- 18) See the list of the member of the Executive Council of Janodal in the Bangladesh Times , December 21,1984.
- 19) For Upazila election see, the Bangladesh Observer, March, 25,1984.
- 20) Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan extended his support to General Ershad's Ministry as Prime Minister.For details see , Ataur Rahman Khan, Nine months of Prime Ministership,(Dhaka :Mohona Publishers- 1991), PP, 5-133.
- 21) The Workers Party of Bangladesh is a small leftiest party led by Rashed Khan Menon and Amal Sen.This party alongwith other leftiest parties and their leaders like Hasanul Hoque Innu,Sharif Nurul Ambia,Tipu Bishwash,Naim

Jahangir, Nirmal Sen played a significant role to unite the others bourgeois Parties like Awami League and BNP which ultimately gave the movement against General Ershad a total shape.

- 22) For details analysis of the lawyer movement see, The Bangladesh Observer, May 3, 1984
- 23) See ,President Ershad's statement in The Bangladesh Times, February, 21, 1985.
- 24) For detailed of the referendum see, the Bangladesh Observer March 22, 1985. Also see, B.M.M. Kabir Movement And Election, legitimisation of the Military Rule in Bangladesh, The Journal of Political Science Association, 1988, PP, 171-186 (Dhaka: Bangladesh Political Science Association-1988)
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- 26) Ibid PP 225-230.
- 27) For detailed analysis of the formation of the Jatiya Party. See, the Bangladesh Observer, January 2, 1986.
- 28) Syed Sirajul Islam, "Bangladesh in 1986 : entering a new phase" Asian Survey Vol. XXVII No. 2 February, 1987, PP, 163-169.
- 29) Bangladesh ,The Civilian President. Far Eastern Economic Review, October 30, 1986.

- 30) For details of the passing of 7th amendment of the constitution see, The Bangladesh Observer, November 11, 1986 and also see, Far Eastern Economic Review, November 27, 1986.
- 31) For the reaction of Sheikh Hasina to pass the Zila Parishad Bill see, the Bangladesh Observer, July 13 1987.
- 32) For details accounts of the Dhaka Seige Programme of November 10, 1987 see the Bichitra, The Year Book 1987.
- 33) See, Far Eastern Economic Reivew , December 17, 1987.
- 34) For March 3, Parliamentary election of 1988 see, the Far Eastern Economic Review March 17, 1988.
- 35) For 8th amendment of the constitution see The Bangladesh Observer, May 12, 1988.
- 36) The Politics in Bangladesh remained calm during the year 1989. For the activities of the year see Saidur Rahman, Bangladesh in 1989: Internationalization of Political and Economic Issue, Asian Survey, Vol. XXX No. 2, February 1990 (37)
37. The year 1990 was the closing year of General Ershad's nine years rule in Bangladesh. For the whole year there was a violent movement against President Ershad culminating Mass supsurge in December 4, 1990.



**CHAPTER SIX**  
**REFORMS AND CHANGES OF GENERAL ERSHAD MARTIAL LAW**  
**REGIMES**

**6.1 Socio-Administrative Reforms and changes:**

While taking political power on March 24, 1982 General Ershad told the nation that he would go to the barrack and return the power to the civilian after implementing a series of long term reforms in the countries economic and social order including elimination of corruption, decentralization of administration, disinvestment of industries to private owners, land reforms and education of the country<sup>1</sup>. General Ershad justified his action of take over in view of the fast deteriorating political, economic and social condition of the nation. The economy, he observed, was on the verge of collapse. The nation was threatened by conspiracy of internal cleavages and an all pervasive corruption that was ruining the society. In this chapter a short analysis will be made on the socio-administrative reforms and constitutional changes which was initiated by General Ershad.

**i. Administrative Decentralization:**

Decentralization is necessary in any form of administration. Administrative decentralization is essential for development at the local level but also for effective administration at the center<sup>2</sup>. It reduces the burden of the over burdened central Government relieving many less important functions and matters of local and regional interests. The problems of national planning and administrative mechanism in the developing countries have boosted the idea of decentralization.

In general term decentralization means the transfer of authority to plan, make decision and manage public functions from the national level to any individual organization or agency at the sub-national level<sup>3</sup>. The success of decentralization as a mechanism for development depends upon the objectives of decentralisation which may be managerial versus political, topdown versus bottom up and explicitly versus implicit objectives. Decentralization may be several level of local institutions such as, a) Regional (Division) b) District, c) Sub-district (thana) and local (Union level). Through this Institutional channel authority can be decentralized and development can take place.

The decentralization of administration in British India was started with the introduction of local self-government at rural level in 1870 with the passing of the Bengal Village Chowkidari Act of 1870 which constituted nominated panchayet for each Union. It was improved with the introduction of Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885 which provided for an elected union committee for each union. The village Self-Government Act of 1819 provided for an elected chairman in which the system of nomination and extensive government control over the Board remained unchanged during the British Period.

The Martial Law Regime of Pakistan introduced a four tier hierarchical system of local government in East Pakistan by the Basic Democracies order of 1959. The order changed the name of Union Board and District Board to Union Council and District Council and added two new tiers the Thana Council and the Divisional Council. The Basic Democratic order introduced an elected Chairman in the Union Council. The Divisional Commissioner, The Collector and the SDO-were the Ex-officio Chairman of the Divisional, District and Thana COUNCIL<sup>5</sup>.

With the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation, The constitution of 1972 was framed which provided for elected Local Governments at all level<sup>6</sup>. The Government issued an order known as Bangladesh Local Councils and Municipal Committee (Dissolution and Administration) Order, 1972 which abolished Basic Democracy system and renamed Union Council as Union Panchayet, town committee as Shahar Committee, Municipality as Pourashava and District Council as District Board. The Government issued Bangladesh Local Government (Union Parishad and Pourashava) order, 1973 which changed the name of Union Parishad. After the formation of Baksal 61 districts were created by breaking up 19 existing districts. In the 4th amendment of the constitution provision was taken to run the District by Government appointed by the President<sup>7</sup>. But the political change of August 14, 1975 upset the whole plan of Sheikh Mujib. After the change of 1975, General Zia emerged as military ruler of Bangladesh and captured state power. With a view to create support base for his regime he promulgated Local Government Ordinance 1976 which provided a three tier system known as union parishad for a union. Thana Parishad for a Thana and Zila Parishad for a Zila<sup>8</sup>. After the Parliamentary Election of 1979, General Zia announced the formation of Gram Sarker (Village Government). Accordingly, Sanirvar

Gram Sarker(Constitution and Administration) Rules 1980 was promulgated<sup>9</sup>. According to the Rules,The Gram Sarker would consist of a Chief Executive called Gram Pradhan and eleven members, of whom two must be women. During President Ziaur Rahman's rule the program of Gram Sarker created much momentum. But after the assumption of Political Power by General Ershad,the Zia initiated Gram Sarker scheme was abandoned.

The Military Government of General Ershad adopted a policy of administrative decentralization with thana as the focal point of all administrative activities<sup>10</sup>. Administrative decentralization had been marked as the most outstanding socio-political reforms of General Ershad. It was termed as the most redeeming features of his regimes various measures which he undertook. The major thrust of the Ershad Military Government was to reorganize and streamlining the administrative structure of the country. The most noteworthy features of the reorganization was the upgradation of thana as the basis of administration, Judicial and economic activities. General Ershad upgraded the Thana into Upazila and this scheme of upgradation of thana into Upazila had been marked as a turning point in the process of building a new Bangladesh taking administration to the door step of the masses. Upazila was a brain child of General Ershad which was claimed to fulfill the aspiration of the common masses to lay a strong foundation for a rural based democratic system. Under the set up the chairman of the Upazila Prishad would be elected directly by the people for the term of 5 years and he would be the Chief Executive of the Upazila. He would have total administrative control over all the Upazila and the Thana Nirbahi Officers(TNO) would be an executive officer to the Chairman. Earlier the Military Government of General Ershad set up a Committee for administrative Reorganization/Reform(CARR) on April 28,1982 with 78 members. After deep study of various model of Administration the committee submitted its report on June 22, 1982 with the suggestion of this new scheme of administrative decentralization. The committee suggested<sup>12</sup>.

1. Thana should be made the basic unit of administration.
2. Sub-division should be upgraded to district.
3. Elected local government at the district,Thana and Union level.
4. Non-intervention by the national government in matter which are within the purview of the elected local government.



The Upazila Chairman along with the elected Chairman of the Union and other representatives of various sections of people would constitute the parishad. The Chairman was to be The Chief Executive and be responsible for (a) all the development work of the area (b) all the relief work (c) The administration and management of primary education (d) The implementation of family planning program (e) The execution of all Government policies and program within the Upazila (f) The supervision of all educational institutions. (g) Writing Annual Confidential Reports of official working in the Upazila and regulating their leave, salaries and so-on. (h) Exercise of power to impose taxes for local purpose to prepare their budget and to maintain fund (i) Maintaining and operating the accounts and tenders of the Upazila. (j) Implementing all decisions and program of the Upazila Parishad<sup>13</sup>.

To make the Upazila an effective of development. Thirty seven official posts were created. In each Upazila eight graduate medical doctors were posted to take care of health and family welfare centers. To assist the Chairman and the Upazila Parishad there was to be among others a Chief Executive Officers, a Magistrate, a Financial Officer, a Project Implementation Officer and others with their lower assistants and staff.

The Upazila Parishad were funded from two sources, a block allocation from the central Government and a fund to be generated by the Parishad from local resources. To start the scheme, The Central Government had to carry the main responsibility for maintaining the Upazila as an institution. Crores of taka were to be spent every year in each Upazila to meet the expenditure and to build infrastructural development. During the period of General Ershad all the Upazilas had their basic infrastructural built and facilities installed to operate as a self contained institution. The communication net work linking each Upazila to the district Head quarter and then the Capital was established. Every Upazila was linked by telephone with the district Head Quarter and the capital. The benefit of electricity was reached to each Upazila. The small village town of Bangladesh had transformed the urban area due to the creation of the Upazila. With the inception of the Upazila system Ershad transformed the Sub-divisions into District to improve quality job, project development work and civil administration for the welfare of the people<sup>14</sup>.

General Ershad reiterated his commitment to introduce people's democracy and reach the fruit of the liberation of Bangladesh to every doorstep. He declared that the



foundation of his promised "Genuine Democracy" would be laid with the launching of the administrative decentralization.

The Upgradation of than into Upazila was a commendable task and upazila would work as a nerve center of administration. The Upazila was not only intended to act as basic unit of administration but to serve as a corner stone of General Ershad effort to build a support base for his government. Gradually the Upazila emerged as a development institution as well as political vehicle.

## ii. Judicial decentralization

One of the most important aspect of General Ershad initiated socio-political reforms was the decentralization of judicial system. General Ershad decentralized the judicial system with a view to bring Justice to the door step of the common masses. Since Ershad initiated Upazila had been considered as an administrative, Economic & Judicial point for development, in each Upo-Zilla a Munsiff Court was set up. The Government appointed 100 Munsiff for the first time for the upgraded Thana. General Ershad wanted to give relief of the Justice seeker people who live in the village of Bangladesh. From the time immemorial they had to take a great trouble, anxiety and uncertainty. So due to the creation of upazila and setting up of Munsiff Court the village people got their court within their reach. Not only the creation of Munsiff Court General Ershad set up the office of High Court Division Bench in six major cities of the country-viz-Comilla, Chittagong, Jessore, Rangpur, Barisal and Sylhet. So the decentralization of Judicial system was another attempt under taken by General Ershad, which aimed at the speedy disposal of cases and insure Justice. As reported upto May 21, 82 as many as 64930 case was lying pending for trial. Against the Government move to set up six High Court Bench outside the capital and its policy of decentralization of judiciary, there was a great protest from the lawyers.

The Supreme Court Bar Association strongly resisted the move of decentralization. The association termed this bifurcation plan of the High Court Division as totally unjustified and a design to destroy the institution of the judiciary. Terming this move as unconstitutional they boycotted the court for months, passed resolutions and staged demonstrations. The decentralization of the high Court Division was however declared unconstitutional by a decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court

on the ground that it had changed the character and nature of the function and jurisdiction of the High Court Division as envisaged in the constitution.

**iii. Nationalization of educational institution**

Nationalization of Educational Institution was considered as another most important attempts of General Ershad's Socio-political reforms in Bangladesh. With a view to educate all the people of the country by 2000 years General Ershad undertaken the scheme to bring at least one Collage and one High School under government control in each Upazilla. So this scheme of nationalization of the educational institution had spread up. In 1982 and 1983 thousands of teachers were recruited in Govrment. Collages which were being set up in each Upazila.

The government of General Ershad announced an educational policy which prescribed a four tier of educational system. The four tier was identified as, from class one to class five 1st tier, from class six to class VIII 2nd tier, from class IX to class XII 3rd tier and the fourth tire was identified as higher studies. One of the main feature of General Ershad Govt. initiated education policy was that it made Arabic and English compulsory from class 1 and from class 11 respectively. It should be noted here that there was violent protest against the education policy of General Ershad specially from the student community.

**iv. Land reforms**

Among the various reforms programme initiated by General Ershad Government. land reforms was marked as a major Socio-Ecomomic one. Land reform committee was set up with Z.M.Obaidullah Khan, the Agriculture Ministers as its Chairman. The other members of the land reforms committee was :-

1. Mr. Jamsheduddin Ahmed
2. Brig. Mahmudul Hasan
3. S.A. Mahmud
4. Dr. Monower Hossain
5. Dr. Mohiuddin Khan Alamgir
6. Dr. Kamal Siddique
7. Dr. Mohammad Yunus
8. Professor Moazzam Hossain

9. Khandaker Asaduzzaman
10. Mr. Anower Hossain Monju

The committee was entrusted with the task of identifying problems and constraints of the existing land system in realizing optimum productive potential of land suggesting reformative measures in relation to ownership, management and utilization of land for increasing productivity and facilitating equitable distribution of wealth and income, administrative organization and method of implementation of reforms measures. The report of land reform was presented to Ershad. Its major recommendations were restricted on absentee land lordism, provision for seizure of lands not used by the absentee lords, further reduction in the present level of land ceiling, limit on urban land ownership and most important five years tenancy rights for share-croppers and distribution of production on the basis of the Tebagha, Three share model (one-third for each for land, labor and input). The committee specially mentioned 75 bigha ceiling on agriculture holding in area under flood control. For absentee land owner the committee recommended the ceiling of the holding of agricultural land upto 30 bighas under flood control area and upto 50 bighas in other areas. The committee also recommended a five Katha ceiling on land holding in the urban areas including Dhaka Chittagong, Rajshahi and Khulna. There was recommendation for the share croppers to get the legal right for five years relating to their share in the produce of all those land which were cultivated by them as on March 26, 1982. The owner of the agricultural land would have 67% share in total produce of all those land where they would bear all production cost except those of labor and its share croppers in those land will get 33% share in total produce. Inland where the owner share the production costs except those for labor will get on a 50% basis with the farm the owner and the share croppers will have equal share in the total produce.

The announcement of land reforms scared many land owners in rural areas who interpreted these in terms of Govt. taking away lands and the fixing of further ceiling on present ownership, General Ershad clarified later that the purpose of the reform was not to take away the right of entitlement of landowners but to increase the productivity of land and to protect the right of share croppers.

On December 16, 1983 land reform ordinance 2nd amendment was announced which outlined-



1. Ceiling of cultivated land upto 60 bighas,
2. Establishment of legal right for five years to the share croppers,
3. The share croppers can cultivate the land in hereditary basis.
4. Share of production is fixed on the three share basis,
5. Nobody would be driven away from his home.

v. **Drug policy:**

The announcement of the drug policy was another most attractive features of Ershad initiated reforms. The principal aim of the reform was to stop the manufacturing, important and sale of non-essential drugs and make cheaper medicine available to the people. The law restrict foreign companies to manufacture drugs in Bangladesh under license only, and forbade such manufacture by third parties if the principal company who had no manufacturing plant in the country. The law prescribed a short list of medicine both manufactured locally and imported which were considered to either essential or life savings. The drug policy was announced banning of 742 allopathic drug including 37 imported finished drugs which was identified as useless and hazardous to health. The manufacturers of the 742 banned drug had been directed to withdraw their product from the market within a month of the promulgation of the ordinance. The stock of 265 items of medicine were destroyed. The Government set up a eight member expert committee headed by professor Nurul Islam Director of IPGMR. The other member of the expert committee were Dr. Humayun, KMA Hye, Director of Medical Education, Prof. M.A. Mannan Chairman of pharmacy Department, Dhaka University, Professor Mobarruk Ali, Head of the Ophthalmology Department, Dr. M.Q.M. Talukder, Specialist in Nutrition and child health, Dr. Azizur Rahman, Chairman of Private Medical Practitioners, Director, Drug Administration. The implementation of the drug policy was strictly followed, Prof. Nurul Islam said that those drugs-which had long ago been outdated in western countries but were still in use in Bangladesh.

vi. **Formation of zakat fund:**

Another important aspect of Ershad Socio-reforms was the formation of Zakat Fund. Through the promulgation of an ordinance called the Zakat Fund ordinance 1982 providing for the establishment of a Zakat fund consisting of the voluntary payment of Zakat by the Muslims. The money credited to the fund kept in non interest bearing bank account and utilized for purpose prescribed under the Sharriah. The Zakat Fund would be managed by a Zakat Board.



#### VII. Others Pro-people Measures :

Besides, all these Socio-Economic reforms, the formation of Pathokali Trust for the Welfare of Rootless working children, setting up a family code for the Welfare of the Women Community of the country. Rin Shalishi Board was formed to the welfare of the poor rural people and various pro-people activities were undertaken which have far reaching impact on the society and the people. During the regime of General Ershad more than 10,000 kilometers of metalloid roads as well as over 500 bridges were constructed. He changed the English spelling of the Capital from Dacca to Dhaka. He took personal interest in completing some monuments of national importance such as the national mausoleum at Savar Shahidminar, the memorial of Mujib Nagar at Meherpur. He made enactment for the use of Bengali as state language in the government offices.

#### VIII. Administrative Re-organization

President Hossain Mohammad Ershad, Reorganized the various Ministry/Division under the Ministry and Reduced 41 Ministry to 17 Ministry and 52 its Division to 42 Divisions in addition to President Secretariat and the Secretariat of CMLA.

##### 1. President Secretariat:-

(A) Public Division (B) Personnel Division

##### 2. Secretariat to CMLA:-

(A) Cabinet Division (Bureau of Anti-Corruption)

(B) Establishment Division

(C) Project Management Bureau.

(D) Election Commission (Constitutional Body)

(E) Parliament Secretariat

(F) Science and Technology Division

(G) National Security Intelligence

##### 3. Defence Ministry:-

(A) Defence Division

(B) Civil Aviation and Tourism Division

##### 4. Home Ministry

##### 5. Foreign Ministry

##### 6. Ministry of Finance and Planning

(A) Finance Division (Including Budget and Implementation)

(B) Internal Resource and NBR

(C) Planning and External Division

(D) Statistics Division

7. Agriculture Ministry

(A) Agriculture and Forest Division

(B) Fishers and Livestock Division

(C) Irrigation, Water Development and Flood Control Division

8. Food Ministry

(A) Food Division

(B) Relief and Rehabilitation

9. Communication Ministry

(A) Rail Road and Road Transport Division

(B) Port, Shipping and I.W.B.T

(C) Post and Telecommunication

10. Local Govt. Ministry

(A) Local Govt. Division (Including self employed protect)

(B) Rural Development and Co-operative.

11. Law and Land Reforms Ministry.

(A) Law and Parliamentary Affairs Division.

(B) Land Administration and Land Reform Division

12. Ministry of Energy, Minerals

(A) Energy Division (Including Atomic Energy)

(B) Petroleum and Mineral Resources Division.

13. Industry and Commerce Ministry

(A) Commerce Division

(B) Jute Division

14. Education and Religious Affairs Ministry

(A) Education Division

(B) Religious Affairs Division

(C) Sports and Cultural Division

15. Works Ministry

16. Information Ministry

17. Health and Population Control Ministry

(A) Health Ministry

- (B)Population Control Division
- 18.Social Welfare and Women Affairs Ministry
- 19.Labor and Manpower Ministry
- (A)Labor and Manpower Division
- (B)Youth Development Division

## 6.2 The Regime Constitutional quest for legitimacy

General Ershad needed constitutional amendment to give legality of his Martial Law regime in Bangladesh. Furthermore, he needed the amendment of the constitution to keep his power unhindered. During the rule of General Ershad the Bangladesh constitution was amended thrice. But before General Ershad, Bangladesh constitution was amended 6th time and thus within 10 years of Bangladesh upto General Ershad the constitution was amended for ninth time and thus the original character of the constitution was no longer remain. Whenever the constitution was amended, it was amended not to improve the constitution but to the needs of incumbents to help them in power.

The first, 2nd, 3rd and 4th amendment to the constitution was made in the 1st Jatiya Sangshad during the rule of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from 1972 to 1975. The fifth and sixth amendments of the constitution were passed in the 2nd Jatiya Sangshad during the rule of General Zia. The first amendment to the constitution came into force on July 15, 1973 to amend article 47 of the constitution under which right to provide property was guaranteed. The second amendment was passed on September 22, 1973 substituting the original Article 33 of the constitution by Act XXIV of 1973 to facilitate the passage Special Power Act and made for provision for the declaration of Emergency and suspension of fundamental rights and other rights. It aimed at amending the law relating to arrest and definition and to provide special measures for preventive detention. This was later followed by Special Power Act 1974. The third amendment to the constitution came into effect on Nov. 28, 1974 rectifying Indo-Bangladesh Land Boundary agreement with regard to Berubari and Tribigha. The fourth amendment that changed the basic structure of the Govt. and the character of the original constitution was passed on January 25, 1975 that introduced Presidential form of Govt. changing the parliamentary system and imposed one party rule under Baksal. The bill was moved by the then Chief Whip Shah Moazzem Hossain and was passed by the Jatiya Sangshad in less than 30 minutes. The fifth amendment passed on April 6, 1979 inserted a new

article incorporating all Martial Law proclamation regulation order and ordinance made during the period from August 15 to April 1979 including all amendment, addition, modification, substitutions and omission made in the constitution & debarred them from court jurisdiction. The bill for this amendment was introduced in the Jatiya Sangshad by Prime Minister Shah Azizur Rahman and was passed by 241-0 vote. The Sixth Amendment was passed on July 10, 1981 enabling the Vice President to contest for the post of President from the office of profit. It was enacted to enable late Justice Abdus Satter the then Vice President to run for the presidency.

#### I. The 7th Amendment of the Constitution

The 7th amendment to the constitution was the most important in the constitutional history of Bangladesh because through this amendment the Martial Law activities of the country imposed by General Ershad was legalized. The Bill was introduced in the third Jatiya Sangshad which was elected under the Martial Law regulation of General Ershad on May 7, 1986 election. General Ershad summoned the session of parliament on Nov. 10, 1986 and in order to rectify his assumption of power in 1982 as Chief Martial Law administrator and to indemnify his Government from legal action against decision made under martial law during his previous four and a half years of Martial Law regime. The seventh amendment bill to the constitution was introduced by Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed. General Ershad needed two thirds of the M.p. that is, 220 of 330 members to pass the amendment bill. A five hour second session of the Sangshad was held on ov. 10. All 223 members (208 JP, 4 JSD(Rab), 3 JSD (Siraj) 2 BAKSHAL, 4 Muslim League and 2 independents) Who attended the session voted in favour of the seventh amendment bill which validated all Martial Law proclamation and orders since March 1982. The amendment inserted a new article 19 in the fourth schedule of the constitution in incorporating all Martial Law proclamation, Regulation, order, ordinance made during the period from March 24, 1982 to Nov. 11, 1986 and debarred them from court jurisdiction. The amendment also raised the age of retirement of the supreme court judges from 62 to 65 years. The Prime Minister Moudud hmed hailed the amendment as a glorious chapter in the realization of the hopes and aspiration of the people, Sheikh Hasina the Awami League leader of the opposition in the parliament called the amendment as a black chapter in the nation's history. Four hours after this session of the parliament General Ershad proclaimed in a national address the withdraw of Martial Law and the revival of the constitution.



## II. 8th Amendment of the constitution

The bill for the 8th amendment of the country's constitution was introduced in Jatiya Sangshad to declare Islam as the state religion and to set up six permanent bench of the High Court Division outside the capital. The Prime Minister and leader of the House moved the constitution (8th amend) act.1988 in the House without resistance from the opposition. In the opposition side only Shahjahan Seraj of JSD protested against the introduction of the bill. He said that the bill was moved with an ulterior motive to use Islam in politics in Pakistan style. Introducing the bill in the House Mr. Moudud Ahmed said that the amendment to the constitution was moved to declare Islam as the state religion to ful fill the hopes and aspiration of the people of the country. The constitution (8th amendment) Act 1988 inserted a new articles in the constitution for declaring Islam as the State religion. The Article 2A will read ; "the state religion of the republic is Islam but other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony in the Republic."

President Hossain Mohammed Ershad expressed the confidence that recognition of Islam as the state religion would firmly establish the fact that the nation had a destinitive identity. He said that the passing of the bill in the Jatiya sangshad to make Islam as the state religion was the manifestation of the aspiration of the Muslim of the country who constitute 90% of the population. During the passing of bill Moulana Mannan was the religious minister.

II) The 8th amendment Bill also aimed at amending the Article 100 of the constitution to set up six permanent bench of the High Court Division at Barisal, Chittagong, Comilla, Jessore, Rangpur and Sylhet. Under the amendment the article will make (1) The permanent seat of the supreme Court shall be in the capital (2) The High Court Division and the Judges thereof shall sit at the permanent seat of the Supreme Court and at the seats of its permanent bench (3) The High Court Division shall have a permanent Bench each at Barisal, Chittagong, Comilla, Jessore, Rangpur and Sylhet and each permanent Bench shall have such bench as the Chief Justice may determine from time to time, (4) A permanent Bench shall consists of such number of Judges of the High Court Division as the Chief Justice may deem it necessary to nominate to that Bench for time to time and on such nomination the judges shall be deemed to have been transferred to that Bench. (5) The President shall in consultation with the Chief Justice assign the area in relation in which each permanent Bench shall have jurisdiction, power function conferred or that may be conferred on the High Court Division by the

constitution or any of the law.(6) The Chief Justice shall make rule to provide for all incidentals, supplemental or consequential matter relating to the permanent Bench.

The Supreme Court Bar Association condemned the move of the 8th amendment bill aimed at amending the article 100 of the constitution to set up six permanent Bench of High Court Division outside Dhaka and to declare Islam to be the state religions of the Republic.(iii) This bill amended the Article 30 of the constitution and declared that any citizen of Bangladesh could not get any reward any degree from the other state without the approval of the President.(iv) This amendment of Article 3 of the constitution determined the substitute of Bengal and amending Article 5 of the constitution the name of the capital city was announced the spelling as Dhaka instead of Dacca.

### **III. 9th Amendment of the Constitution**

The Jatiya Sangshad adopted unanimously the constitution(9th amendment) Bill 1989 making it mandatory for the Vice President to seek direct election. The bill had also restricted the tenure of the presidential office to two consecutive five years terms. The bill provided for simultaneous election of the President or Vice-President. A 272 vote was cast in favor of the bill while none against. Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed said that the Bill was designed to democratize and improve the constitution and it would remove the leadership crisis. The passing of the Bill would help consolidate the national independence and sovereignty.

### **IV. 10th Amendment of the Constitution**

The bill for the 10th amendment of the constitution was adopted in the Budget session of the Jatiya Sangshad on June 12, 1990 and was cast 226 vote. This amendment gave rise the reserve seat for the women in Jatiya Sangshad from 15 to 30 & its time limit was extended upto 15 years from 10 years. This amendment also specifically fixed the date of the Presidential election to be held after six month (180 days) after the expiry of the time period of the President.

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

### ECONOMIC POLICIES OF GENERAL ERSHAD REGIME

#### Introduction:

During the pre-liberation period it was the hope of the people of the then East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) that the liberation would bring an end of the exploitation of man by man, it would stop the concentration of nation's wealth in a single class of people, it would provide them a better life free from, poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy. On December 16, 1997 the people of Bangladesh celebrated the 25th anniversary of the independence of their country. But in the eve of 25th anniversary it is a very big question to them whether they have achieved their goals or fulfilled their hopes and aspiration or whether they have overcome the hard reality of life. The answer is "certainly not" : But still it is also true that a small number of people accumulated thousands crores of taka. In lieu of the 22 families of the then Pakistan perhaps 22000 families have grown in today's Bangladesh. As they have become the owner of industry side by side they have become the owner of Banks and insurance companies. They control trade, business and economy, above all they control the politics of the country. During the last 25 years of independence the governments in power had undertaken various economic policies resulting the uneven distribution of national wealth, widening of gap between rich and poor, dependency of foreign aid for the very existence of this nation. In this chapter the economic policies of the past regimes i.e. the regimes of Sheikh Mujib, General Zia and General Ershad's are analysed. Though the main object of this study is to focus the Economic policies of General Ershad regime and it's impact on our national life yet an attempt is also made to analyse briefly the economic policies of the past two regimes of Sheikh Mujib and General Zia. It's main purpose is to show how the Governments of Bangladesh were experimenting on various vital issues of the economy of the country. In this chapter the regime's economic policies have been briefly analysed under the heading nationalization of economy, privatization of economy and last of all denationalization of economy representing the regimes of Mujib, Zia and Ershad respectively. One of the significant aspect of this study is to highlight how the wealth of the nation concentrated in a single class of people during the past three regimes particularly during the regime of General Ershad which gave the few an opportunity to get the most and alienated the vast majority keeping the country poor.

## 7.1. Privatization and denationalization of Bank and Insurance Company

### (i) Nationalization of Economy.

The liberation war of Bangladesh which left the population exhausted, the country side devastated and the economy shattered.<sup>1</sup> The leaders of this newly born country were overwhelmed with problems of monumental dimension. Of immediate concern was the absolute necessity of getting the economy functioning again. One of the most pressing problems was how to restart a number of former West Pakistani owned and managed industrial enterprises which were abandoned. The Government made law to take over the control and management of industrial and commercial units which were left by Pakistani owner, worth millions of taka and necessary laws were also made on 3rd January 1972 for taking them over in order to protect them. The objective was to keep them functioning. So that the production continued and the economy did not suffer from any depression.

The law was known as the Acting President's Order No. 1 of 1972 provided that the Government could take over the Control and management of the industrial and commercial concerns whose owners, directors and managers or majority entrepreneurs had left Bangladesh or were not available to control and manage the concerns. The Government could also take over such units whose owners or directors were present but could not be allowed to run them in the public interest. It provided that the Government would constitute management boards or appoint administrators to run such units. Later on another law which was called as the Bangladesh Abandoned property (control, management and disposal) Order 1972 was issued while the APO 1 was made only to take over for the purpose of control and management but P.O. 16 had enabled the Government to dispose of the properties.<sup>2</sup>

The promulgation of 1972 provided wide and almost unlimited powers to the Government to take over the control, management and disposal of the properties abandoned by persons who were not present in Bangladesh during 1971 and 1972 or whose whereabouts were not known. The most essential features of this law was that the Government could indirectly take over the property of any person who was not occupying or supervising or managing his property in persons. In other words, a citizen who was residing temporarily

outside the country or who was living in another town, could have lost his property. The law provided that the property which owned by any citizen of Pakistan would be treated as Abandoned property. So under the P.O. 16 the Government was given an extra ordinary power in respect of properties not only of Pakistan ownership but also of its own citizen (collaborator or who helped the Pakistani in the war of liberation).

In less than a month of the promulgation of the Abandoned property order the laws for nationalization of Jute, Textile and Sugar Industries and the bank and Insurance Companies were passed on 26 March, 1972. By doing so about 80 to 85 percent of the nation's entire Industrial, Banking and Insurance business were placed under Government control. In order to build a society, free from exploitation and injustice and to lay the foundation for a new society Sheikh Mujib declared that his government had decided to move forward to implement the phase-wise programme of nationalization of key sectors of the economy. Along with the banks (Excluding branches of foreign banks), Insurance Companies (excluding branches of Foreign Companies) Jute, Textile and Sugar Industries, the Government also nationalised the major portion of inland and coastal shipping, all abandoned and absentee owners property with fixed assets valued 15 million taka and the major portions of foreign trade. The national airline and the national shipping organization were also brought under the nationalized sector. President's Order No. 27 also established a number of sector corporations to ensure co-ordination of government control and to supervise management of the various nationalised enterprises. The following were the sectoral corporations and the enterprises placed under each of them.<sup>3</sup>

Sectoral corporation	NO. of Enterprises
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Bangladesh Jute Industries Corporation	77
Bangladesh Textile Industries Corporation	72
Bangladesh Sugar Mills Corporation	16
Bangladesh Food and Allied Products Corporation	54
Bangladesh Fertilizer Chemical and Pharmaceutical Corporation	13
Bangladesh paper & Board Corporation	9



Bangladesh Tanneries Corporation	30
Bangladesh Steel Mills Corporation	20
Bangladesh Engineering and Shipping-building corporation.	34
Bangladesh Minerals oil and Gas corporation	7
Bangladesh Forest Products Corporation	20
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	352

The main purpose for the establishment of the sectoral corporation was to make corporation predominant authority over the operation of the individual enterprises.

The nationalisation of industrial sector and others had fulfilled Awami League promise which was made in mid seventies election the result of which brought an end to the united Pakistan. But the nationalization programme had a long history.<sup>4</sup> Primarily, The Awami League was a petty bourgeois political party but it had to work gradually through different phases toward adopting a more radical programme in its public commitment. From a long time even prior to the independence of Bangladesh almost all the major political parties of the country were committed to establish some form of a socialist economy.

The Awami League and all the Major Political parties made a commitment for nationalization of Jute as far back as 1954 when they staged a crushing defeat on the ruling Muslim League on the basis of their historic 21 point programme. In 1968-69 during the great mass-upsurge, the popular movement led by the students was based on the 11 point programme which included the programme of the nationalization of Bank, Insurance Companies and all big industries. This 11 point programme became the rallying point of a historical nationalist movement supported and backed by the people. The success of this movement which led to the unconditional withdrawal of the Agartala Conspiracy case and established Mujib as the undisputed leader of the Bangladesh had a deep impact upon and it ultimately resulted in the independence movement in 1971. The Awami League accepted the 11 point programme in full and this programme dominated the political scene right through the 1970-71 General Elections. In the 1970 election, The Awami League in its manifesto pledged to establish a socialist economic order in order to remove economic injustices between man and



man and in this process all the key industries were to be nationalised. It also pledged for the industrial workers participation in equity capital and management of industrial enterprises,abolition of Zaminder, Jaigirdari system and exemption of land revenue upto the holding of 25 bighas (8.2 acres). Further, the idea of nationalization gained momentum because the bulk of wealth had concentrated in the hands of the 22 families in Pakistan and all the major political parties of both the wing of Pakistan were led to demand the nationalization of assets enjoyed by a few business magnets. For the people of East wing, however, the programme received strength from the fact that all these families belonged to West Pakistan. The overall effect of exploitation by the West Pakistani merchant class widened the disparities between the two wing more and this laid the foundation stone of their struggle for achieving economic justice through nationalization.

After the liberation though the 22 families of west pakistan who had been identified as the exploiter were no longer prevailed. The Awami League wanted to stop the repeatation of the emergence of another 22 families in independent Bangladesh and to stop the exploitation of man by man and group by group in the liberated country. So the Awami League assuming power in independent Bangladesh established the nationalization policy. But the irony was that the Awami league as a political party had no ideological foundation and it had no socialist orientation. It had no cadre who could bring the fruits of a socialist economic order to the common man through their dedication and hard work. Though in the Awami League there had a large number of dedicated leaders like Tajuddin Ahmed, Yet the mission of socialist economy in Bangladesh, failed.

The nationalization policy of 1972 did not clearly define the role of the private sector. It specifically excluded private sector enterprises from the Jute,Textile and Sugar Industries,Raw Jute,Export Trade,Insurance and Banking. But there had been a heated debate within the Government whether the new country should follow the socialist pattern of development or should it opt for the mixed economy approach being persuaded by a number of Asian countries. There was wide spread support for Government control of the economy among workers and academicians. But the bureaucracy was in favour of a mixed-economy or at least an active and strong private sector. The political leadership was also splited into faction. But most of the advisers in the Planning Commission advocated for the socialist approach.<sup>5</sup> They

Under this grave situation in July 1974 the Government had decided to give expanded role to the private sector where the ceiling on investment was raised from Tk.3.5 million to Tk. 30 million . In 1973 law 18 industries were reserved for the public sector.

They were:-

- 
- : Arms, and ammunition and allied defence.
- : Jute Industry equipment (Sacking,hessian and carpet backing).
- : Textiles (excluding handloom and specialized Textiles)
- : Sugars
- : Paper and Newsprint.
- : Iron and Steel(Excluding re-rolling Mills)
- : Ship-building and heavy Engineering (Including machine tools and assembly manufacturers of Cars.chassis trucks, Tractors and Power Tillers).
- : Heavy Electrical Industry.
- : Minerals oil and gas.
- : Cement.
- : Petro-chemicals (Fertilizers, PVC Ethylene and Synthetic Fibers.
- : Heavy and basic Chemicals and basic Pharmaceuticlas.
- : Air Transport.
- : Shipping (including coastal ships and tankers above 2000 DWT).
- : Telephone,Telephone cables, Telegram and Wireless apparatus,excluding Radio receiving sets.
- : Generation and distribution of electricity.
- : Forest extraction (Merchandise).

Though the 1974 law did not change those restriction but it recognized that the private sector had a more definite role to play in the economy and the law of 1974 was the first breach in the nationalization wall. During Mujib period 120 units were desinvested which was small and mostly unprofitable,limited interplay between foreign investors and the private sector was permitted mainlybecause of pressure from foreign business. The moratorium on nationalization

was extended from 10 to 15 years. The rights and interests of foreign investors to equity investors were reconstituted,<sup>19</sup> Foreign firms in Bangladesh received preferential treatment.

The nationalization policy of public sector was regarded as an important instrument of giving expression to Government's social inspiration and development objectives and as an instrument of redistribution of wealth and as a vehicle for promoting the anti-poverty strategies of the Government in power. This policies curbed the economic power of elite group through assets redistribution. This policy would ensure command over productive resource by the state. This command over productive resource would make it possible for decision relating to production, distribution, investment and consumption which might directed its policy toward the objective anti-poverty and this policy might play a positive role in breaking or reducing the power of the dominant social class in the society.

Economic self reliance the most crucial national objective still remained concertain even after two decade of independence. All the three post regimes vowed to achieve a self sustaining economy. But the economy of the country could hardly progressed . Even now the economy have worsen than that of the pre-independence period. After independence the poverty situation deteriorated, the distribution of income remained highly uneven and spreading of poverty remained unchange, real salaries of public employees declined from below the pre-liberation levels with consequent adverse effect on the efficiency,morality and disciplines. The efforts of steering the economy in a planned way had always been frustrated. Investment target always remained unfulfilled . Real route of savings had been negatjve, public investment including agriculture and industry declined over the years. So the capacity of the economy to grow became weaker day by day. The over all economic growth rate declined to 2.8 percent in the eightys•longterm growth in per capita income had been at 1.5 percent compared to 5 percent in the South East Asian Countries.

After independence, the Awami League regime had to bear the responsibility to reconstruct a war-ravaged country and at the same time rehabilitating the economy from a zero level which posed a major problem to a new regime. The Awami League Government was committed to build a socialist economy. But in terms of actual action socialist transformation was limited to the nationalization of large scale manufacturing industries, banking, insurance



and foreign trade. In March 1972, the regime nationalized the major large scale industries and it came to own 92% of the fixed assets of the country's formal manufacturing industries. A ceiling was also imposed on the size of private investment. Direct foreign investment was allowed only in collaboration with the public sector and with a minority equity participation. On the contrary agriculture, the major economic sector and trade were kept in private sector. The Awami League Government hardly had any option than to nationalize manufacturing units as positions and the state owned EPIDC owned more than 80% of the industries. It was argued that it was a mistake to nationalize enterprises of Bangladeshi owner. The action destroyed the process of growth of the nascent Bangladesh enterprises. This was a breach of political commitment on the part of the Awami League to the Bangladeshi bourgeois. Nationalization was a total failure as it became a major source of private accumulation output of the nationalised enterprise were under priced and sold to private distributors. Bureaucrats and managers used to enjoy benefit from the assets of the nationalised units. Above all, corruption in management and frequent political intervention transformed the enterprise into losing concerns. The worst part of the Awami League regime was its total failure in containing inflation, the most socially sensitive economic variable. Inflation increased at an alarming rate of over 50% a year during the period of 1972 to 73 to 74 to 75, mismanagement, corruption and adverse relationship with USA was a major cause for 1974 famine in Bangladesh.

## II. Privatization of Economy

Capturing state power General Ziaur Rahman gave away the socialist economy and opted for privatization. He was called the most pioneering man in the field of privatization in Bangladesh. After assuming power he brought a change in the constitution of the Republic and replaced the word "Socialism"<sup>6</sup>. Ziaur Rahman personally believed that private sector was more efficient and dynamic and asserted that the best change for growth would come from the private sector but not the public sector.

In order to fulfill the privatization policy of Bangladesh economy he revised the investment policy in December 1975 which was marked as a pillar as because it gave more dependence on private sector economy and the question of further nationalization was abandoned. Zia did not try to find out the shortcomings of nationalization policy as initiated by the previous Mujib Government and did not try to rectify the mistake but he opted for private



sector instead of public sector's . Zia's new policy maintained the 18 reserved categories but it opened 10 of them to joint ventures between the public sector and the private investors. In such case the Government would hold at least 51% of the equity. The limit on private investment was raised to Tk. 100 million.

The eight categories reserved for the public sector were:<sup>7</sup>

1. Arms,ammunition and allied defence equipment.
2. Atomic energy.
3. Jute (Sacking,hessian, and carpet backing).
4. Textiles,(Excluding handlooms and specialized Textiles)
- 5 Sugar
6. Air Transport
7. Telephone,Telephone cables,telegram and wireless appartus .
8. Generation and distribution of electricity.

The Zia's policy of 1975 left Iron and Steel Shipping and Ship building, heavy engineering, mineral oil and Gas,Cement,Forest extraction and chemical to private sector.The new policy also detected the provision for moratorium on nationalization for a period of fifteen years. It increased to a holidays and other incentives. The official of Bangladesh Shilpa Bank (BSB) had been directed to provide equity support in deserving cases such as small industries particularly agro-based. A total of 110 public enterprises were privatized during the Zia period . A disinvest -ment board was established to facilitate the process of privatization . A decision was taken to return several textiles and jute Mills to their former owner which was marked as a more significant because Jute and Textile were belonged to the core of the major industries taken over as public enterprises.

The disinvestment board which was set up to sale a large number of commercial and trading firm which was taken over as abandoned property,enemy property and vested properly, 23 of the vested industrial enterprise had been returned by the Mujib regime. Another 31 were returned by the Zia Government between late 1975 and 1981.The government also sold 10 of

29 Tea Garden in 1977. Another 115 small firms were disinvested through the office of the Director General of Industries.

The Major industrial concern were housed in the sectoral corporation . In 1976 the scope and size of the holding was as follows:<sup>8</sup>

Corporation	NO. of Enterprise	Fixed Assets	Final Sales	No. of <i>Employees</i>
Bangladesh Jute Mills Corporation (BJMC)	78	1700	2938	199600
Bangladesh Textile Mills Corporation (BTMC)	75	610	1813	65500
Bangladesh Sugar & Food Industries Corporation (BSFIC)	58	407	1401	31600
Bangladesh Chemical Industries Corporation (BCIC)	65	2017	1849	25500
Bangladesh Steel & Engineering Corporation (BSEC)	54	804	1424	14500
Peto Bangla Bangladesh Petroleum Corporation	4 7	177 177	220 220	2800 2800

185

Bangladesh Mine Rals			
Exploration (BMEDC) 10	---	211	1100
Bangladesh Forest			
Industries Development			
Corporation (BFIDC) 20	338	78	4000
	-----	----	-----
	371	6202	10494
			347200

During the Zia's regime a total of 255 public enterprises were divested as privatized. The 115 small firms which were divested were:<sup>9</sup>

Metal working	8
Rubber products	11
Paper and Printing	7
Vegetables Oils	16
Rice and Flour Mills	21
Textiles and Hosiery	10
Soap and Chemicals	4
Film	3
Jute rope	2
Ice and cold Storage	3
Hotels	2
Trading	3
Engineering	5
Wooden products	4
Glass and Optical	3
Salt	2
Miscellaneous	11
	----
	115

110 more industrial units which were disinvested from the corporation were:-

Tanneries, Hides and Bone	25
Metal works	17
Textiles	11
Jute products	7
Tobacco	6
Rubber products	5
Food products	5
Wood products	5
Vegetables Oil	5
Matches	4
Ice and Cold Storage	4
Engineering	3
Chemical and Pharmaceuticals	3
Miscellaneous	10
	---
	110

It was seen privatization and private sector development were advanced significantly during the period of president Zia.

### (iii) Denationalization of Economy

Like his predecessor General Zia, General Ershad was also a proponent of private sector economy. He decided to make a major breakthrough with the past and embark on an economic development effort in which the private sector would play a much more prominent role. General Ershad placed a top bureaucrat named Shafiul Azam at the helm of the ministry of Industry and Commerce who was known as the main man behind the implementation of the privatization policy under Zia. His assumption as the Minister of Industry and Commerce undoubtedly provided an impetus for rapid decision and quick action for privatization. In the Spring of 1982 Mr. Azam told that 'we must denationalize in a big way and started the



privatization programme. With the end in view the Government held a Series of discussion with the representatives of various chambers of commerce, trade associations and industrial enterprises.

As a result ,the New Industrial policy (NIP) was announced on June 1,1982 after 3 month of General Ershad's assumption of State power. The main purpose of the announcement of the policy was to provide a new dimension and greater thrust to industrialization of the economy. Its main objects were underlined as:<sup>10</sup>

1. To expand the manufacturing sector with increased participation of the Private Sector.
2. To limit the role of public sector to the establishment and basic heavy and strategic industries.
3. To improve the efficiency and profitability of public sector enterprises.
4. To protect and promote local industries by reasonable tariff measures and for by banning imports where there was adequate domestic capacity.
5. To promote export oriented industries.
6. To encourage efficient and economic import substitution and to create additional productive employment opportunities in the rural areas through promotion of rural and cottage industries.

The list of industries reserved for the public sector was fixed to six-arm and ammunition, atomic energy, air transport, telecommunication, electricity. Generation and distribution and mechanized forest extraction.

The 12 industries formerly on the reserved list were placed in a new category called the concurrent list which permitted both public and private investment. The concurrent list included:-

1. Jute industries (sacking,hessian and carpet backing).
2. Cotton Textile (Excluding handlooms,power looms and specialized textiles.
3. Sugar.
4. Paper and Newsprint.
5. Iron and Steel (Excluding re-rolling mills .
6. Shipbuilding and heavy engineering,heavy electrical industry.
7. Mineral,Oil and Gas.
8. Cement.
9. Petro-chemicals.
10. Heavy and basic chemical and basic pharmaceuticals.
11. Shipping.
12. Appliances and equipment for telecommunication services.

Under NIP of 1982 Government of General Ershad carried out one of the largest denationalization scheme which was rarely under taken in developing countries. Over 650 public enterprise were transferred to private sector, having only 160 in public sector .

The block buster in the NIP was the decision to return the Jute and Textile Mills, Nationalized a decade earlier, to their original Bangladeshi owners. The Jute and textile lobby had been pushing hard for this for several years. There is no doubt all these issues had been

the central point of political as well as economic. The move to privatise these two major industries was made in order to create a favourable investment climate and confidence in the minds of prospective entrepreneurs. The denationalization of 27 textile Mills and 33 Jute Mills was accomplished within a year.

The Government turned over to the private sector 38% of the Jute capacity and 45% of the spinning and 57% of the Weaving capacity in the textile industry. The Government subsequently sold another 4 textile mills through sealed tender. The NIP stressed rehabilitation and return of existing industrial establishment and use of local resources, whenever possible in order to better balance development and distribution of the industry around the country. Various incentives for investment both domestic and foreign, were included in the NIP. The list of free sectors where no formal Governmental permission was required prior to investing private funds was greatly expanded. These were mainly in industrial areas where the public sector was not active.

A foreign investment cell and a "one stop" service were set up to facilitate investment application from foreign companies.

Reaction to NIP which promoted private sector was mixed. The Awami League was against the privatization of the mills and industries. The workers were feared that denationalization of the mostly over staffed public enterprise would result in loss of jobs in the name of efficiency and profitability. They viewed privatization as a threat due to the denationalization of Jute and Textile, the two most industrial sectors where most of the laboring people worked. Many in the bureaucracy viewed privatization as a threat to their jobs, their power, and their access to graft. The biggest support of privatization came of course from the business community and the traditional elite who had influence with the political leadership.

In the NIP there was the provision for a floor price (The National Reserve Price or NRP) which was marked out and used as a basis for negotiating with former owners over their bids. The final setting price was the NRP or the winning bidders, whichever was highest. The successful bidder was to make a down payment of 25% before the final transfer if the mill was located in developed area ( Such as Dhaka, Khulna, Chittagong and the like ) or 20% if it was

in a less-developed areas. The payment was to be in 24 month after execution of the Deed of Agreement for sales. In this process between 1982 and June 1984, 87 public enterprises was disinvested in addition to the 33 Jute Mills and 31 textile mills.

On August 1984 President Ershad announced that no more public enterprises would be "disinvested or return to private entrepreneurs and that no significant divestitures have taken place since mid 1984.

By early 1987 it was becoming clear that despite confidential endorsement, privatization would not be aggressively persuaded as public policy. In backing off, the emphasis shifted to promoting a mixed economy and making another try to improving the performance and profitability of the public enterprise, President Ershad urged that 'I believe in a mixed economy in a country like ours.'

Over the years, opposition to privatization was vocal and persistent had been effective. The Awami League had been the most strict critique of the Government's privatization policy. However the most effective public opposition had come from recognized labour. Strikes were almost automatically called against the decision of the denationalization of public enterprises.

While loss of jobs and making the rich richer were the main charges leveled against privatization, the accusation of pressure from foreign donor agencies was another frequent and effective criticism.

7.2. Capitalization of Economy:

INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF 1986



The Ershad Government announced its industrial policy in 1986 broadening the scope of NIP-82 in regard to private sector development as it 'opened the window fully' for the private sector.



The industrial categories reserved for the public sector were raised from 6 to 7 to include security printing and mining. The 'Concurrent list' was dropped and replaced by a statement that, all industries not reserved for the public sector would be meant for the private sector. The very 'free economy' concept that allowed investment without prior approval in any field was continued.

A new feature was the appearance of lists of 'priority' and 'discouraged' industries. There were 6 categories of 'priority' industries (a) Agro-based industries (b) Textile (c) Tannery, Leather and Rubber products (d) Chemical, Pharmaceuticals and allied products (e) Engineering and (f) Electric industries. certain industries were listed as 'discouraged' because of over-capacity or under-utilization of capacity. They included, automatic Rice Mills, Cigarettes, Cold Storage, Deep Sea Tawpling, Distilleries, Edible Oils, Sugar Mills, specialist Jute products, Wooden Tea Cheasts, Tanneries (For Wet Blue) and safety matches, one of the most attractive features of the NIP-86 was the offering of share to the private sector up to 49% of enterprises under the sector corporation and converting the public corporation into public limited holding companies.

The Government of Bangladesh denationalized 609 industrial enterprises, 2 banks and one estimated 465 commercial business for a grant total of 1076. Of them 120 were denationalized during the Mujib period, 255 under the Zia Government and 222 under the Ershad regime.

The Government announced its New Industrial Policy (NIP) in order to improve the performance of Government managed industrial sector and stimulate rapid industrial development by expanding private sector participation through liberalization of investment to reduce the role of the public enterprises through denationalization/disinvestment to increase the efficiency of the remaining public sector enterprises. Both NIP 82 and RIP 86 increased the role of the private sector in industrial activity through a major denationalization of public enterprises and by opening up for private investment areas which had been resumed from the public sector. However the outcome of various measures so far taken by the Government were not so encouraging. During Fy 82 to Fy 89 period the manufacturing sector only grew at 2.69%

per annum as against 12.83% per annum during Fy 77 to Fy 81 . Out of 650 public enterprises which were transferred to the private sector a number of privatized enterprise were closed down and several others faced continuing problem and accumulating liabilities and debt servicing problem . Out of 26 Cotton Textile Mills handed over to private sector, 5 Mills were closed down and total debt service liabilities were 127.72 crores, out of which BTMC owes Tk.100 crore as on June-1989.

Despite various efforts the financial performance of the remaining public sector continued to be unsatisfactory. For the five major corporations accounting for 95% of manufacturing public enterprises output of BJMC,BTMC,BCIC and BSFIC there were only two years of net surplus during the Fy 82 to Fy 88 period. In the other years losses ranged from Tk.429 millions to Tk.2249 million. The return on equity was 2% in Fy 86 which increased slightly to 2.8% in Fy 87 and again declined to about 0.6% in Fy 88 because of price increase of inputs (including 10% for raw jute, 30% for natural gas and 15% for power) and wage increased by Government.

The performance of the private sector was also-disappointing. The investment ratio for the private sector declined from 7.2% in Fy 81 to 6.0% in Fy 90.<sup>14</sup>

The liberalization policy of NIP and RIP even failed to attract a sufficient number of Foreign Investors. Since the establishment of the Bangladesh Export Processing Zone in 1983, 57 industrial projects had been approved upto January,1990, with an estimated investment of US\$ 456.72 million . Out of this only 26 industrial units had gone into operation involving an amount of US\$ 26.01 million.<sup>15</sup>

During the regime of General Ershad privatization policy was a central pillar of the NIP 1982 and RIP 1986. But it had yielded no commandable growth in private investment or improvement in productivity. In the Jute and Textile industry it deteriorated in comparison to the nationalised period. The private sector remained in massive-default to the DF IS and NCBS. 90% of borrower of the DFIS are in default and recovery rates as low as 10% of the total recoverable amount .

The public sector remained in a state of uncertainty, managers and workers had become demoralized. The sectors operated below its potential and its losses increased. Except for the fertilizers sector no new industries in the public sector were set up. It was very strange to think that in independent Bangladesh no major industries were set-up, even the industries which were founded during the Pakistan period were mostly closed down. The rulers of independent Bangladesh even failed to run these mills, factories and industries with a profit generating sustained growth.

### Privatization of Bank and Insurance Company

After the political change of 1975 and with the killing of sheikh Mujibur Rahman the chapter of nationalization had been closed. On the other hand a capitalist economic policy was accepted for the economic development of Bangladesh . The Zia's period was characterised as a period of privatization. General Ershad's period was also marked an era of large scale privatization and denationalization. Side by side of the privatization and denationalization of state owned industries, a large number of Bank and Insurance companies were allowed to set up in private sector. The following banks in the private sector started functioning during Ershad regime:-

1. Arab Bangladesh Bank Ltd.
2. National Bank Ltd.
3. City Bank Ltd.
4. Islamic Bank Ltd.
5. United Commercial Bank Ltd.
6. International Finance and Investment Company.
7. Al-Baraka Bank Ltd.

**Among the foreign Bank.**

1. American Express Bank.
2. Bank of Credit & Commerce International .
3. Standard Bank.
4. Chartered Bank
5. State Bank of India.
6. Grindlays Bank (have been functioning since independence.)

Uttara and Pubali Bank was nationalized soon after independence with others commercial bank but were denationalized during the Ershad regime. Besides Bank, there emerged a good number of Insurance Companies in Bangladesh during this period. The Insurance Companies are:-

**a) Public Sector**

1. Jiban Bima Corporation.
2. Sadharan Bima Corporation.

**b) Private Sector.**

1. National Life Insurance Co. Ltd.
2. Bangladesh General Insurance Co. Ltd.
3. People's Insurance Co. Ltd.
4. United Insurance Co. Ltd.



5. Janata Insurance Co. Ltd.
6. Delta Life Insurance Co. Ltd.
7. Bangladesh CO-operative General Insurance.
8. Delta Insurance Co. Ltd.
9. Progoti General Insurance Co. Ltd.
10. Eastern Insurance Co. Ltd.
11. East Land Insurance.
12. Karnafully Insurance Co. Ltd.
13. Phoenix Insurance.
14. Federal Insurance Co. Ltd.
15. Central Insurance Co. Ltd.
16. Reliance Insurance Co. Ltd.

**Foreign company:**

1. Alico Bangladesh.

Since the post independence political regime and thereafter during the military regimes a huge amount of black money was accumulated in the hands of the rising rich class. Above all they got huge loans from the nationalized banking sector. Destroying the state owned institutions they earned a lot of money. So to establish Bank in private sector had become the

demand of the time. Most of the directors of the private bank were the defaulters of NCB's, holder of black money, smugglers, indentor, exporters, industrialist.

Hence setting up bank and insurance company, handing over state owned industries and institutions to private sector, persuading capitalist policy a rich class as like as twenty two families of un-divided Pakistan was allowed to grow in Bangladesh and all national wealth had been forced to concentrate to them. Becoming rich and multimillionaires they were not only dominating the politics and economy of the country, they emerged as the decision maker and the fate of the countries 12 crore people largely depended on them.

In the light of industrial policy the programme of nationalization was adopted through a Government declaration. In the first industrial policy of Bangladesh Government it was stated that the industrial abandoned property whose worth was more than 15 lac taka was to be brought under the Government sector. Later on to make the Government sector more effective, all Jute, Textile and Sugar Industries owned by the private enterprise were nationalised. But in support of this economic policies, the political and administrative policy was not active. In such nationalised industries and institution, the supporter and workers of the Government party was appointed as administrator who gained huge material benefit. They saw it as their reward for their participation in the liberation war. So they engaged themselves to make their own fortune rather to develop the industries concerned. After the death of Sheikh Mujib, General Zia came to power. But his party was not politically committed to the progress of the state-owned industries. During his time the decision of denationalization was under taken and Government owned industries were began to handover to private ownership. General Zia withdraw the word " Socialism" from the constitution and paved the way to emerge a new rich class in Bangladesh .

With the assumption of political power by the Ershad Regime the process of denationalization was accelerated by withdrawing state ownership and selling of share to return back the industrial unite to the previous Bangladeshi owner.

Withdraw of capital from the state owned properties had two ways(1) to return the industries to its previous owners (2) to sell the properties to the new owner through tenders

and other methods. With the second method the number of the owner of industries increased but no new industries were set up whereas setting up of new industries in the private sector was a prime concern in the policy of private sector.

It was stated that the policy of withdraw of capital was adopted to reduce the huge establishment costs, transfer of management, return of Jute and Textile Mills to its Bangladeshi owners and to sell 49% share. But it was shown that capital was withdrawn from some profitable properties like Nabisco and Bread Factory, Albert Debit, Pubali Bank.

By 1985 Government already withdraw the capital from 477 institutions and 42 others were in the list of withdrawal. It was alleged that the Public Sector was not allowed to function properly. The Government was the owner and vertically the controller of the public sector corporation. But the Government policy was against the flourishing of the public sector rather was in favour of the private sector, as a result the public sectors tended to collapse.

During the Martial Law period the regime had given prime importance to private sector. The nationalized bank and financial institutions like Shilpa Bank and Shilpa Rin Sangstha had been directed to give huge loan to private sector, upto 1990 more than twenty one thousand crores of taka had been distributed as loan but whose lion's share were given to the private sectors. One of the most alarming situation which threatened to the existence of the Banking sector was that the private sector entrepreneurs took loan as priority basis under Government directive. But they did not return the loan. Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed while delivering his speech in the newly elected Jatiya Sangshad after the election of February 27, 1991 told the parliament that upto 1990 a sum of 10 thousand crores of taka was appropriated by the customers who took loan from the Bank. But what was true was that near about 40% of total advance as turned up classified loan from whose the bank did not get any income whereas for this advanced money the Bank had to give interest to the depositors. The Government did not take any step to realise the outstanding Bank loans. It was due to their own interest that they were not willing to take any vigorous policy to recover the huge bank loans.

**Table - 4**

**Total Credit of Commercial Banks up to 1990-91**

Year	Deposit	Advance
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198

1973-74	913.2	737.1
1974-75	1014.2	806.8
1975-76	1134.1	948.4
1976-77	1438.0	1188.7
1977-78	1705.9	1447.4
1978-79	2193.3	1864.1
1979-80	2680.2	2540.7
1980-81	3342.7	3091.1
1981-82	3803.2	4114.6
1982-83	4948.0	4706.7
1983-84	7087.1	6436.3
1984-85	9139.0	8570.7
1985-86	10799.7	10456.4
1986-87	12804.3	11289.1
1987-88	15143.9	13341.5
1988-89	17860.0	15886.7
1989-90	20481.0	19032.5
1990-91	23078.4	21245.7

Source : Economic Trends Bangladesh Bank July - (1992)

### 7.3. Rise of a small metropoliton based rich class:

Soon after the emergence of Bangladesh , a democratic Government was formed with the introduction of 1972 constitution which was overthrown after 3 and a half years of rule. During the military cum-personal rule of 15 years out of the 18 years since independence there emerged a rich business class in Bangladesh which led the growth of a strong metropolitan based capitalist class. This was clearly manifested during the nine years of military regime of General Ershad when the metropolitan capitalist class began to grow. These rich class became rich by exploiting the nationalized banking sector. They got the bank loan using Government influence. Most of them live in Dhaka and Chittagong Metropolitan City. Their main source to became rich was Bank Loans and all of them were the defaulter. Today in Bangladesh a richest man is the greatest defaulter of bank loans. Very few family got almost all the loans, they are now the richest men in Bangladesh . They formed group of industries



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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### MILITARIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION

#### 8.1 Emergence of Military as a Political Force:

The Military Coup of August 15, 1975 which killed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder and father of the nation, had marked the beginning of the domination of Army rule in Bangladesh politics. After the overthrow of Bangabondhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, General Ziaur Rahman became the Chief of Army Staff replacing Major General M. Shafiullah. Again through the sepyo revolution of November 7, 1975 General Zia emerged as the most powerful man and ultimately took over political power. The day of November 7, 1975 had been observed by General Zia and his followers in Bangladesh as the Day of Revolution and National Integration because in this day the Army under the leadership of General Zia consolidated their power and began to rule the country. From November 7, 1975 to December 6, 1990 the country was ruled by the two Army Generals, General Zia and General Ershad. During these periods the domination of Military in politics and administration of the country took a permanent shape.

#### 8.2 Military in Politics and Administration:

With the emergence of Military under the leadership of General Zia as a ruling elite the process of militarization of politics and administration began in Bangladesh<sup>1</sup>. After November 1975, the Military as ruling elite occupied the offices of the President and those of the Chief Martial Law Administrator and Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and some command posts and institutions such as the National Economic Council, Planning Commission, Secretariat and the important Corporations which constitute the structural power centers in Bangladesh. General Zia initiated a Civil-Military partnership in administration in Bangladesh. During his 5 and a half years

of rule the Civil and Military bureaucrats occupied the most important position in the country.

In the first half of his rule General Zia as President of the country was the Chief Martial Law Administrator as well as the Chief of the Army Staff. The Chief of the Air Staff and the Naval Staff were the Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators. The country was divided into 9 Martial Law Zones and placed under the charge of nine Zonal Martial Law Administrators. General Zia's council of advisors and council of ministers were dominated by the Military elite. Besides these, the crucial positions were held by the Civil-Military bureaucratic elite. The key policy making institutions of the country such as the National Economic Council, the Planning Commission, the Secretariat and important corporations were dominated by them. The National Economic Council is the highest policy making body in the Economic Sector in Bangladesh which was headed by Chief Martial Law Administrator along with Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator as its powerful members. The CMLA and DCMLA were in charge of the key ministries as like as the Ministry of Defence, Finance, Industries, Commerce, Planning, Agriculture and Flood Control. In addition almost all the sector corporations were occupied by the Civil Military bureaucrat. In 1975 there were 38 public corporations in Bangladesh and all of the 38 Chairmen or Managing Directors were the civil-Military bureaucrat.

The second Martial law which was imposed by General Ershad also followed the same policy of General Zia to dominate the key decision making institution<sup>2</sup>. As Chief of Army Staff General Ershad also occupied the post of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. The Chief of the Air Force and Naval Staff also occupied the office of the Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator. The country was also divided into five zones and twenty five sub zones headed by army officers who were the Chairmen of various development and planning bodies as well as heads of civil administrative units.

in their respective areas. The first council of advisors formed by General Ershad to aid and advise him was dominated by the Military, out of 18 members 9 of them were Military officers. The Military elite were placed in charge of the most important ministries like Defence, Finance, Planning, Agriculture, Industries etc. As that of General Zia's regime during Ershad Government the Military dominated the key decision making institutions, National Economic Council, Planning Commission, National Council and various public sector corporations. During the regime of General Ershad at one time as many as 53 out of 64 districts the superintendents of police were former Military officers. Out of 22 large sector corporations during General Ershad 14 were headed by retired members of the armed forces and of 48 heads of mission abroad one third were drawn from the defence forces. The domination of Military personnel in the key decision making institutions and key administrative posts in Bangladesh has been made a continuous phenomenon. It is an ever increasing process. Both General Zia and General Ershad established Military as a dependable variable whose participation in the central organs of the administration was considered as most essential<sup>3</sup>. In this way they were involved in the policy making body and emerged as the ruling elite of the country.

### **8.3 Increasing Induction of Military Personnel In The Administration:**

During the last 15 years from 1975-1990 there was a civil-Military rule in Bangladesh. In the last phase of this period, Bangladesh was under strict control of Military which was called as civilianised autocracy. During this time the arms and boots controlled the politics, state power and the government. The whole affairs of state life such as, constitution, fundamental rights, individual freedom, the rule of law, the judiciary, press and news media, education and culture, religions and economy of the country were fully controlled by the armed forces. From the highest position to the bottom, the state and administration was controlled by the army and as head of the Armed forces General Ershad had acted as an autocrat. General Ershad during this time tried to prove that he was indispensable in Bangladesh.



The civil bureaucrat and a portion of the political leaders of Bangladesh had assisted General Ershad. In the real sense of the term the country under General Ershad was run by the Military. The process of controlling the state power by the Military was introduced by the then late President Ziaur Rahman and General Ershad only completed the course. The influence and power of the Military over the politics and administration of the country was so strong that inspite of General Ershad's removal from power their influence or interest was not hampered rather it is increasing day by day, for example, even after Ershad during the interim regime of justice Shahabuddin not a single Military men who were absorbed in the civil administration was withdrawn rather they were re-established, one Brigadier named Nuruzzaman who were Ambassador of Sweden was given the charge of the Ambassador of Norway as his additional duty.

One Major General was appointed as Chairman of the National Sports Council and one Brigadier was made Chairman of National Security Intelligences and another retired Army General was made the Chairman of Red Crescent. Even during the period of Begum Khaleda Zia, the rehabilitation of army personnel in civil administration was continueing. But what is most surprising is that the allocation for the army in annual budget has been increasing day by day. From all these it is clear that in Bangladesh the army has taken a permanent footing in country's politics and administration and has been playing an ever growing influence. It is stated that the Military who captured state power in 1975, through the extensive militarization of administration and government got permanent shape during General Ershad's nine years of rule. In a real sense during this time Bangladesh actually had become a 'Garison State' because the Military elite captured state power, stayed in power and took all political decision. The state power captured by the Military in November 7, 1975 by General Zia and in March 24, 1981 by Genral Ershad had four fold purpose<sup>4</sup>:

1. To protect the interest of the bourgeois class.
2. To protect the interest of the imperialist power.
3. To protect the corporate and group interest of the Military.
4. To maintain organizational structure unhinder.
5. To get lion's share of the budget allocation.
6. To ensure licence and permit, contractory and various other's opportunities.

With a view to fulfill these purposes the Military not only captured power in 1975 but also tried to incorporate or rehabilitate the Military personnel (both in service or retired) in the various areas of administration.

After the death of President General Zia in an abrogative coup in 1981, the then army Chief of Staff General H.M. Ershad had been demanding Military's participation in state and Government affairs. Particularly from the beginning of late 1981 General Ershad was insisting on Military's share in the Government of the country<sup>5</sup>. In order to keep positive role in the policy formulation of the state he made his argument through various news media. He published his statement, personal interviews, and writing in Army Journal. On November 28, 1981 as Army Chief he called the Editors of the news papers of the country in his official resident, General Ershad put his argument in favour of army role in country's politics. This kinds of activities of General Ershad was termed as a direct violation of the army discipline and Constitution of the country. Regarding the role of the Army in the decision making and the Governing of the state, the general asked for a separate clause to be incorporated in the Constitution. General Ershad did all these work without the prior permission of the ministry of Defence and the then government. President Abdus Sattar did not take action against him. On the other hand

due to the pressure of General Ershad and other Military officers President Sattar had to form a highest body of National Security Council, (NSE).

Thereafter on March 24, 1982 replacing President Abdus Sattar, General Ershad captured the state power. It may be stated in this connection that according to the schedule 51(3) of Bangladesh Constitution when the President become unable to discharge his office he only can handover power to the Vice President. As per schedule 55(2) of Bangladesh constitution, when the post of President and Vice President fallen vacant and until they are elected the speaker of the national assembly will discharge the responsibility of the President. But no where there is any scope to hand over power to a army General. Again, according the schedule 55(2) of the Bangladesh Constitution the President could have to summon the Jatiya Sangshad to take decision on the issue. But nothing was done as per Constitution of the country rather the state power was captured on gun point. It was alleged that it was the fulfillment of General Ershad's long desire and though it was unconstitutional, illegal and undemocratic.

President Sattar later on said that the power was snatched away in the darkness of night. It was alleged that General Ershad was so arrogant that he did not obey any protocol while visit to President Sattar and to make him afraid he used to go to President Sattar's office very frequently alongwith a group of Army-personnel. Being an employee of the state and under an established Government General Ershad and some others army personnel were used to behave in such a way and they were interfering in the state. Once General Ataul Ghani Osmani during the beginning of 1981 made a comment "Pakistan was destroyed by uniformed politician, we must learn from it and not let Bangladesh be so destroyed". In spite of General Osmani's alertness, the state power was captured on March 24, 1982 and until his fall on December 4, 1990 Bangladesh was put under General Ershad personal rule.

From 1975-1981 General Zia built-up the Army more powerful than that of the past. During this period the benefit were distributed among them in various ways. Thereafter, during 1982 to 1990 under the Military control of General Ershad power and position, opportunity, promotions, increasing of salary, subsidy of ration, free furnished and well accommodation, extension of service etc. for Army personnel were increased tremendously. Appointment of army personnel in Ministry, highest position of civil administration. Autonomous Institutions, Corporations, Foreign Ministry and Foreign Embassy started during the period of General Zia and took a total shape during the period of General Ershad. Placing the Army Personnel in the key post of the state apparatus and giving them an ample opportunity in politics in large scale they had been made as decision making authority of the state and their interest had been well established in every sphere of socio-economic and static life of Bangladesh.

During the regime of General Ershad there was a tremendous expansion of militarization of civil administration. It was stated that during this time out of 64 post of police super in 64 district of the country 53 posts were given to the Army Personnel. It was also alleged that General Ershad gave appointment one thousand five hundred Military personnel in the civilian administration where as during this period appointment in any post from the civilian was stopped. So such trends of militarization which was started from General Zia during 1975-1981 had reached it's culmination in 1982 to 1990 by General Ershad<sup>6</sup>. During the nine years of Army Rule of General Ershad a gigantic attempt was taken to militarization of civil administration. The Military officer who held the various post in various Ministry, Directorate, Institutions have shown below:



### Militarization of Ministry

The following Military personnel had been in charge of various portfolio in the ministry under General Ershad. They were :-

1. Air Vice Marshal (Rtd.) A.K. Khandaker
2. Air Vice Marshal (Rtd.) Sultan Mahmud
3. Air Vice Marshal Aminul Islam
4. Rear Admiral Sultan Ahmed.
5. Major General Mahabbatzan Chowdhury
6. Major General Abdul Mannan Siddique
7. Major General Mahmudul Hasan
8. Major General Abdul Munim
9. Major General Shamsul Hoque
10. Colonel Abdul Malek
11. Colonel (Rtd.) Abdul Momin Mondal
12. Lieutenant Colonel Zafar Imam
13. Lieutenant Colonel H.M.A. Gaffar
14. Major (Rtd.) Iqbal Hossain Chowdhury
15. Major (Rtd.) Monjur Kadar
16. Captain (Rtd.) Abdul Halim
17. Major (Rtd.) A.R.S. Doha

Inspite of regular services in Army a few among the lot had been in different ministries for a long time. Thus, they became active in politics, delivered speeches in the political meeting, became the member of political party. During the period of General Zia Military officers became the member of Gonodal front and leader of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). So was happened during the period of General Ershad. As that of General Zia General Ershad himself and other Army Officers got the

chance in ministry. Jonodal, Front and Jatiya Party. Being a Martial Law Administrator General Ershad called the meeting of Gonodal at his resident of Sena Bhaban. As Chief Martial Law Administrator he attended at the meeting and delivered political speeches. The other Military Generals also attended the political meeting being stayed in the Military services. The army personnels of Ershad ministry contested in the election of 1986 and were elected. Major General Mohabbatzen Chowdhury contested in the constituency of Gopalganj-1 and Major General Shamsul Hoque contested in Chandpur-2 constituency. Both the army personnel were in the ministry of General Ershad. But according to the service rule of the Bangladesh Government no one can participate in the general election or even can be the member of a political party when he is in the armed or government services.

Such kinds of violation of army rule was made in case of both General Zia and General Ershad. Both these Generals captured state power, entered in to the politics and participated in the election, formed political party according to their self developed method. Basically General Zia had made the instance of doing Politics and participating in the election from the post of Army Chief and before capturing the post of the President, civillianised its regime through election. General Ershad simply followed the path of General Zia.

As per Army Act 292 and 293 No. person can participate in the election until he liquidates or resigns from his service. But General Zia as an officer of armed force and Chief of Army Staff before participating in the Presidential election of April, 1978 did not resign from the services. So he was supposed to disqualify as per 292 and 293 Rule of the Army Act. To face this problem General Zia declared a martial Law proclamation which brought amendment to Army Act. which made General Zia eligible to contest in the Presidential election. These Martial Law proclamation of General Zia stated that 'An

officer who is holding the position of Chief Martial Law Administrator or the post of President is not applicable.

Holding the post of President and Army Chief of Staff General Ershad also participated in the election. As like as Zia, General Ershad got promotion and kept Bangladesh under his full control for the whole period.

Holding the post of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator and also keeping Martial law in the country General Ershad formed Gonodal (People's Party). It was alleged that he actually formed the Gonodal Government under Military control by participating in politics and in public meeting directly.

He alongwith other two Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and four Major Generals while in services of the Army got the ministry. General Ershad during his regime changed his ministry in several times but it is interesting to note here that in each and every time the key portfolio of the ministry had gone to the Military officers who were till in service of the Army. In 1985 he formed a ministry with 7 members dissolving the previous one but all the 7 members ministry were the Military officers. They were :-

1. Rear Admiral Sultan Ahmed
2. Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmood
3. Major General Abdul Mannan Siddiqui
4. Major General Mahabbatzan Chowdhury
5. Major General Mahmudul Hassan
6. Major General M.A. Munim
7. Major General Shamsul Haque

During General Ershad period Major General Munim got the portfolio in seven ministries. These were ministry of Finance, Planning, Works, Energy, Commerce, Health and Relief. In 1990 he was given the charge of both Finance and planning Ministry at the same time. Besides these, he became the Chairman of at least 25 investigation or other committees. It is observed that during both the period of General Zia and General Ershad a large number of Military officers got services in the ministry and in this way they were directly involved in decision making process of the country.

### Militarization

In an attempt to draw a picture of Ershad's comprehensive efforts of militarization of state, Government<sup>7</sup> and administration, we can start from Presidential Secretariat where the Military secretary to the president, assistant Military secretary, P.S. to supreme commander, four ADC of the president, PSO to the Army Chief and the Chief Co-ordinator-all of them were Military officers.

Besides these, Transport Officer, Senior Comptroller, Assistant Comptroller, Transport Superintendent, Mahila Medical Officer (Banga Bhaban Medical Dispensary) and PGR-Sena Nibas (Guard Regiment of the President), all of them were Military officer. The Joint Secretary of Presidential Secretariat at Tejgaon old parliament Bhavan, Director General of Natural Human Resource and Social Development Directorate, Director of National Defence Directorate, in all the post were held by Military officers. The Chairman of National Defence Co-ordination Cell was Major General Abdul Latif and his Additional Director-1, Additional Director-2, Joint Director-2 and Joint Director(4) all of them also were Military officers.

Brigadier M.A. Rabbani and Brigadier M.G. Rahman were in the Presidential Directorate, Colonel (Rtd.) A.K.M. Shamsuzzaman as Director and two of his Deputy



Director were Military Officers. The Chief of National security Intelligence and all of its main posts were captured by the Military officer. Among them were Director General, Director and Deputy Director. It should be mentioned here that the Major General Ashraf who were blamed as most corrupt and most close associate of President Ershad even after his fall in the face of mass supsurage in December, 1990 he was simply replaced and posted to log area of Dhaka Cantonment and another Brigadier who were council minister at Bangladesh Embassy in London was appointed as D.G., N.S.I. During the interim regime of Justice Shahabuddin appointment of any civilian was even not considered for the post when the Military Government not in power.

### **Defence Ministry**

In all the key posts of Defence Ministry such as Joint Secretary, Joint Secretary Administration, Deputy Secretary (law), Deputy Secretary and Engineering advisor were given to the Military officers. All decision and activities of the defence Ministry was conducted from the supreme commander Head Quarter and Presidential Secretariat where General Ershad was the person to protect the interest of the armed forces.

With a view to abolishing any civilian control of Defence Ministry the first and third schedule of the "Rules of Business 1975 of the Government was amended in 1987. Through this amendment the Defence Ministry was brought under the full control of the armed forces and the President Secretariat. This kinds of activities was an unprecedented sign of militarization of the Government and administration by General Ershad.

In the notification of the Cabinet Ministry of 2nd week of July, 1987 it was stated that under the power of schedule 56(s) of the Constitution the President had brought some more amendment in the 1st and third schedule of 'Rules of the Business of 1975.

Accordingly, to formulate defence policy and planning to monitor pact and agreement to manage the arrangement of Armed Forces, Para Militia Force and others forces during the time of emergency and declaring war to plan and co-ordination, to control and co-ordinate the members of the armed forces while deployed to aid to civil administration, to prepare purchasing policy of the Armed Forces, to arrange Foreign tour and training of the members of the Armed Forces, to send deligation of Armed Forces to abroad, to co-ordinate inter services posts and other celebration, to produce armed and industries related to Defence Services, to arrange higher training both in an abroad and to conduct research, to appoint colonel level post in three services, welfare to the retired persons and to maintain close liaison with the civil administration in order to perform the above duties had been transferred to a new Division from the Defence Ministry.

In this way all power and activities of the Defence Ministry had been transferred to the Presidential Secretariat. There were six divisions and one secretariat in President Secretariat. But after the creation of supreme command Head Quarter it's total number raised to seven. General Ershad also brought the secretariat of Election Commission and the secretariat of the Bangladesh Jatiya Sangshad (National Assembly) under full control of President Secretariat. In this way General Ershad had completed the militarization of civil administration and consolidated all power to his own hand.

### **Militarization In Home Ministry**

Let us see the situation of militarization at Home Ministry. During General Ershad regime there was a Military officer in the Home Ministry named Major Momtazuddin who got appointment in the rank of Deputy Secretary.

## Police Service

Militarization process in the police service under the Home Ministry was very extensive. The Army Officer who occupied the post in police service most of them were Major and Captain. Among them more than twenty one were in the rank of D.S.P. and more than 3 were in the rank of S.P.

Getting retirement from the Military services these officers were absorbed in the police services. Further, due to absorption in police service they got two years seniority for which the officers got promotion as DIG much more earlier. This policy of the government led to the creation of much dissatisfaction and anxiety among the police officers. It was alleged that though the aim of absorbing Military officers in police service was a part of Government attempts to militarization of administration, it was much more true that they had been absorbed with a view to use the police force to suppress the anti-government people's movement.

Besides the police services the Military officers were also absorbed in the Ansar and VDP, Fire Services, Jail Directorate etc.

## Militarization In Foreign Services

As practice the Military officers have to be posted in Foreign Embassy as Military attaché. But besides this practice a huge number of Military officers were posted to various foreign Embassies of Bangladesh. Those who got appointment in the Foreign Ministry directly from the army and served as Ambassador or High Commissioner in various countries their numbers were 10. Their names and post are mentioned below:

<u>Sl.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Post</u>	<u>Country</u>
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<u>No.</u>			
01.	Major General Kazi Golam Dastagir	Ambassador	Saudi Arabia
02.	Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud	High Commission	Australia
03.	Major General Abdul Monnaf	Ambassador	Philippine
04.	Major General Mainul Hossain Chowdhury	Ambassador	Thailand
05.	Major General Anwar	Ambassador	Germany
06.	Major General Mozammel Hossain	Ex.Ambassador	Sweden and West Germany
07.	Brigadier Nuruzzaman	Ambassador	Sweden and Norway
08.	Brigadier Giasuddin Chowdhury	Ambassador	Singapore
09.	Major General Safi Ahmed Chowdhury	Ambassador	Turkey
10.	Major General Harun Ahmed Chowdhury	Ambassador	Yugoslavia



Besides these, the Military officer who got appointment in the Foreign Ministry after retirement from the Army their numbers were 18. The were -

<u>Sl. No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Post</u>
01.	Major General K.M.Shafiullah	High Commissioner, Britain (Earlier High Commissioner of Canada and High Commission of Sweeden).
02.	Lt. General Mir Showkat Ali	Ex-High Commissioner Britain, (Earlier he was Ambassador in Cario and West Genmany. He was replaced as High Commissioner to Zimbaboi from Britain).
03.	Major General Abdur Rahman	Ex- Ambassador, France and Turkey He died before going to Turkey.
04.	Major General Khaliquzzaman Chowdhury	Ambassador, Poland
05.	Major Shariful Huq (Dalim)	Ambassador, Kenya (Later he was promoted as Lt. Colonel) Earlier he was Charge De-Affairs at Hong Kong and it's before he was first Secretary of Bangladesh Embassy at Beijing.
06.	Major Mainuddin	Director, Earlier he was 1st Secretary of Bangladesh Embassy at Rome in Italy.

07. Major Abdul Aziz Pasha (Later he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel) Director, Earlier he was 1st Secretary of Bangladesh Embassy at Rome in Italy.
08. Major M. Rashid Chowdury Consullar (Tokoyo, Japan)
09. Lt. Col. Abdus Sattar Consular (Deputy Secretary) Abu Dhabi.
10. Major (Rtd.) Shamsur Mobin Chowdhury Director General (Foreign Ministry)
11. Major A.K.M. Mohiuddin Ahmed Director General (Foreign Ministry) Earlier he was Deputy Chief of Protocol.
12. Major A.H.M.B. Nur Chowdhury Minister (Algeria)
13. Major Ahmed Sharful Hossain Minister (Earlier he was Director, South East Asia Deptt.
14. Mr. Ashrafuddoula Foreign Ministry, Consullar.
15. Lieutenant Khairuzzaman Counciller(London High Commission)
16. Captain (Rtd.) M.A.K. Mahmud Senior Asstt. Secretary, Foreign Ministry.
17. Captain (Rtd.) Mohammad Maratuzaman Senior Asstt. Secretary Foreign Ministry.
18. Brigadier A.H.M. Abdul Momin Chief of Protocol (Ex) Ambassador

The Military officers who absorbed in the cadre of Foreign Service from the Military service on retirement had counted their seniority from the date of receiving commission in the Military service. Besides these they had given two years entry dated seniority. Among such officers were :-

<u>Sl. No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	Date of Commission in Army and Seniority in foreign services.	Year of Seniorit in B.C.S. Foreign Affairs.
01.	Major General K.M. Shafiullah	18-09-1953 18-09-1955	1953
02.	Major General Khaliquzzaman Chowdhury	11-09-1958 18-10-1960	1958
03.	Major Shariful Huq (Dalim)	19-11-1964 20-04-1966	1964
04.	Mr. Abdul Aziz Pasha	02-07-1965 02-07-1967	1965
05.	Mr.A.M. Rashid Chowdhury	30-11-1966 19-10-1968	1966

06.	Major (Rtd.) Shamsur Mobin Chowdhury	30-11-1966 19-10-1968	1967
07.	Mr. A. K. M. Mohiuddin Ahmed	02-07-1967 02-07-1969	1967
08.	Mr. S. H. M. B. Nur Chowdhury	06-09-1967 06-09-1969	1967
09.	Mr. Ahmed Shariful Hossain	28-10-1967 28-10-1969	1967
10.	Mr. Ashrafuddoula	05-03-1970 05-03-1972	1970
11.	Mr. M. Khairuzzaman	19-09-1971 19-09-1973	1971

General Ershad made an unprecedented evidence of militarization<sup>8</sup>. In his drive for militarization the civil administration and the Foreign Services General Ershad had broken all the norms and practices.

1. 20% post of Ambassador had been kept reserved for the Military officers in the Bangladesh Embassy of various countries of the world in which 10 such Army Officers in Foreign Service served as Ambassador.



2. A large number of retired Military officers had been encadared in foreign services permanently. They had given the Seniority from the date of their Commissioned in the army. They had also given two years entry dated seniority.
3. Even after retirement from the foreign service the encadared Military officers had given extension of service.
4. Some Military officers who were not carrier diplomat but occupied the post of Ambassadors. Most of them were continuing their service as Ambassador in various countries of the world.

Among them Lt. General Mir. Showkat Ali had served as Ambassador in countries like Egypt, West Germany, Great Britain one after another and General Shafiullah had served 14 yeras as Ambassador in various countries like Canada, Sweden and Great Britain. Though there was a rule that after completion of 3 years services the officers had to be returned home. This rule was not applied in case of them.

During the period of General Ershad from 1982 to 1990 the Foreign Ministry of Bangladesh was alleged to turn to a mini cantonment. All posting and transfer in the foreign ministry was fully depended on the sweet will of President Ershad and in each case the Military officers were got preference to appoint in key posts. It was alleged that all record of corruption in Ministry of Foreign Affairs had also broken during the period of General Ershad<sup>9</sup>. Appropriation of money and the misuse of power were the day to day affairs. General Ershad used three of his most obedient ministers like A.R.S. Doha, Humayun Rashid Chowdhury and Anisul Islam Mahmud to attain his objective in the Foreign Ministry. It was also alleged that in Foreign Ministry, President Ershad, his some Foreign Ministers and his brother-in-law's, influence was unquestionable. One Mr.

A.B.G. Mohiuddin of erstwhile Pakistan taxation service was appointed in the post of Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to U.N.O. His only qualification was alleged that, he was the brother-in-law of General Ershad. Mr. Hannan, an officer of accounts services in Bangladesh Railway was made Consul General of Bangladesh Embassy at New York. Mr. Hannan was a close friend of Mr. A.H.G. Mohiuddin. In this way two officers of Bank of Credit and Commerce International, (BCCI). Mr. A.K.N. Ahmed and Iftekher Karim had been appointed as Ambassador in Japan and High Commissioner in Brunei respectively. Mr. Iftekhar was the son-in-law of Mr. Humayun Rashid Chowdhury. It was alleged that General Ershad had given consent in these two appointment with a view to help drain huge amount of black money out of the country. It was also alleged that due to General Ershad's interference in the Foreign Ministry many carrier diplomat was deprived from their due position and insulted in various way. Among such officers were Fakhruddin Ahmed, Humayun Kabir and K.A. Shahabuddin. We may mention here that the process of encadering the Military officers in the foreign ministry was initiated by Ziaur Rahman and went to its peak during Ershad's time.

### **The Killers of Bangabndhu Sheikh Mujib And Their Rehabilitation In The Foreign Ministry.**

The Army coup of August 15, 1975 had brought the tragic death of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The coup leaders who killed Sheikh Mujib alongwith his 21 family members and relative were rewarded and rehabilited by Ziaur Rahman after his assumption of power in November 7, 1975. After the coup the majors who killed the father of Nation, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib and his 21 family members were called the brave'sons of the soil and by incorporating a special ordinance had exampted these killers from any trial.

This Indemnity Ordinance had been incorporated in the constitution through an amendment namely fifth amendment of the constitution by the B.N.P. Government of General Zia. Thus the Majors who killed Mujib got Constitutional coverage. They were absorbed in the Foreign Ministry by Zia and Ershad. Most of these majors who were directly involved in the August 15, 1975 killing and got promotion after the coup. The main Architect of the August 15, 1975 coup Major Sayed Farukur Rahman and Major Abdur Rashid had got promoted to the post of Colonel after the coup. Under the direct blessing of General Zia and General Ershad they got business and earned huge property. Zia gave them appointment in the Foreign Ministry but they did not join. They came back to Bangladesh, rehabilitated in politics by forming a political party named by Freedom Party. Like General Zia, General Ershad also gave the majors of August 15, 1975 coup appointment in the foreign service under foreign ministry of Bangladesh and they also got huge material benefit.

During the reign of General Ershad most of the civil administration came under the militarization programme of the Army Government<sup>10</sup>. A brief picture could be drawn from which one could easily understand the extent of militarization during the period of General Ershad in Bangladesh.

Name of the Army Officers	Name of the post	Civil Department
Group Captain Shamim Hossin	Acting Chairman	Civil Aviation Authority
Air Commodor Azahrul Huq	Chairman	Civil Aviation Authority
Air Commodor Mainul Islam	Chairman	Civil Aviation Authority

Group Captain Saiful Azam	Chairman	Civil Aviation Authority
Group Captain (Rtd.) M. Showkatul Islam	Managing Director Bangladesh Biman Corporation.	Civil Aviation Authority
Flight Lt. (Rtd.) Abu Nasir Wahid	Asstt. Director Bangladesh Civil Aviation Authority, H.Q. Kurmitola.	Civil Aviation Authority
Group Captain (Rtd.) Shamim Hossain	Member Administration and Chairman.	Civil Aviation Authority
Captain (Rtd.) Akramullah	Asstt. Director	Civil Aviation Authority
Major (Rtd.) Ashrafuddin Sikandar	Manager Airport.	Civil Aviation Authority
Major (Rtd.) Mozaffar Ahmed	Director Biman Bangladesh Airliness	Civil Aviation Authority
Captain (Rtd.) S.M.M. Rahman	General Manager Security Department	Civil Aviation Authority
Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Jainul Abedin	Deputy General Manager	Civil Aviation Authority



Wing Commander Delwar Hossain	Ex.General manager	Civil Aviation Authority
Lt.Col.(Rtd.) Mahmudur Rahman	Director (Admin)	Civil Aviation Authority
Lt. Col.(Rtd.) Khalid Iqbal	Administrative Officer	Civil Aviation Authority
Squardon Leader (Rtd.) Majharul Huq Chowdhury	D.G.M. (Transport)	Civil Aviation Authority
Lt.(Rtd.) Waliul Haque Khandaker	D.G.M.	Civil Aviation Authority
Lt. Col. Shahriar Ahmed	Director	Civil Aviation Authority
Major (Rtd.) M.A. Salam	D.G.M.	Civil Aviation Authority
Squardon Leader (Rtd.) Sharfuddin Anowar Ahmed	D.G.M.	Civil Aviation Authority
Captain Ahadul Amin	Director	Civil Aviation Authority
Wing Commander (Rtd.)J.H.Mirza	Airport Manager	Civil Aviation Authority
Major (Rtd.) Mozaffar Ahmed	Airport Manager	Civil Aviation Authority
Major (Rtd.) A.B.M. Ruhul Amin	Senior System Analyst (Deputy Secretary)	Establishment Ministry

Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Kazi Ali Asraf	Deputy Secretary)	Establishment Ministry
Brigadier (Rtd.) M.Mashaid Chowdhury	Project Director Inspection	Establishment Ministry
Major (Rtd.) Altafur Rahman	Transport Commissioner	Establishment Ministry
Major (Rtd.) M.Masud	Director	Establishment Ministry
Lt. Col. Hishamuddin Ahmed	Secretary	Relif And Rehabilitation Ministry
Brigadier (Rtd.) M. Moshahed Chowdhury	General Manager	Relief And Rehabilitation Director
Major Abdul Awal Chowdhury	Deputy Chief	Relief And Rehabilitation Ministry
Brigadier (Rtd.) A.M.S. Bari	Chairman	Bangladesh Red Crescent
Major (Rtd.) Ali Hasan Qureshi	Secretary General	Bangladesh Red Crescent
Group Captain (Rtd.) Sayed Ahmed	Secreatry	Forest And Environment Ministry
Group Captain Enamul Huq Chowdhury	Chairman	(BFIDC)
Ltd. Col. A.B.S.A. Hossain	Director	(BFIDC)
Major (Rtd.) Morad Ali Khan	Director	(BFIDC)
Group Captain (Rtd.) M.A. Haque	General Manager	(BFIDC)
Dr. Captain (Rtd.) Masudur Rahman	Medical Centre.	BCIC
Brigadier (Rtd.) Abul Kashem	Chairman	BPC
Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Sikandar Miah	Director (Marketing)	BISIC
Major Ali Ahmed Khan	Chairman (Joint Secretary)	BSAEC

Major General Mahmudul Hassan	Administrator	DMC
Col. (Rtd.) Abdul Malik	Administrator	DMC
Brigadier Mohammad Abdur Rouf	Chairman	RTDA
Captain M. Zakaria	Chairman	Chittagong Port Authority
Captain S.W. Kamal	Ex.-Chairman	Chittagong Port Authority
Group Captain A.B.M. Zakaria	Ex.-Chairman	Khulna Port Authority
Commodor K.S.J. Akbar	Chairman	(Mongla Port Authority)
Group Captain Nurul Islam	Chairman	Dhaka Wasa
Brigadier Khaliquzzaman (Rtd.) Chowdhury	Chairman	Dhaka Wasa
Col. A.N.M. Motahar	Chairman	Chittagong Wasa
Dr. Captain (Rtd.) M.A. Salam	Medical Officer	PDB
Major (Rtd.) Rafiqul Islam	Medical Officer	PDB
Brigadier Mohammad Golam Mowla	Chairman	REB
Brigadier Mohammad Abdul Halim	Chairman	REB
Group Captain (Rtd.) Anowar Karim Khan	Member (C & M)	Bangladesh Handloom Board
Captain Sahid Mohiuddin Ahmed	Chairman	Bangladesh Cercultural Board
Brigadier Amin Ahmed Chowdhury	Chairman	BTB
Captain Jamilur Rahman Khan	Deputy Secretary	JMBA
Major (Rtd.) Kamrul Hasan	Member (Land & Assets)	Rajuk
Brigadier A.K.M. Azizul Islam	Chairman	Bangladesh Export Processing Zone Authority

Lt. Col. Hishamuddin Ahmed	Chairman	Bangladesh oil Gas and Mineral resources corporation
Lt. Col. (Rtd.) A.S.A. Khalilullah	Director (Admn)	Bangladesh oil Gas and Mineral resources corporation
Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Nazimuddin Ahmed	Director (Minerals)	Bangladesh oil Gas and Mineral resources corporation
Major (Rtd.) Mehedi Ali Iman	Director (Purchase)	Bangladesh oil Gas and Mineral resources corporation
Dr. Captain (Rtd.) Hasna Banu	Senior Manager Medical	Bangladesh oil Gas and Mineral resources corporation
Brigadier M. Habibur Rahman	Chairman	TCB
Lieutenant Colonel Mohammad Haresh	Director	TCB
Lieutenant Colonel Dewan	Director	TCB
Brigadier Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman	Chairman	BFDC
Brigadier (Rtd.) Serajul Huq	Chairman	BFDC
Brigadier Serajul Huq	Chairman	BRTC
Colonel (Rtd.) M. Shariful Islam	Chairman	BRT
Major (Rtd.) K.S. Feroj	Director	BRTC
Major (Rtd.) M.A. Samad miah	General Manager	BRTC
Major(Rtd.)Abdul Alam Bhuiyan	General Manager	BRTC
Captain (Rtd.) Abul Kashem	Manager	BRTC
Col. Sayed Shahabuddin Ahmed	Chairman	BPC
Major (Rtd ) Md. Shahidullah	General Manager	BPC



Flight Lt. Mahtabuddin Ahmed	Dy. Director	Bangladesh Meterological Directorate
Col. Mohd. Mahabubul Karim	Surveyor General of Bangladesh.	Bangladesh Survey Directorate
Group Captain Saiful Azam	Managing Director	BFDC
Captain Sujauddin	Director	BFDC
Lt. Col. (Rtd) M. Ismail Haque	Project Director	HEALTH MINISTRY
Captain (Rtd) Najrul Islam	Chief Technical Manager	HEALTH MINISTRY
Lt. Col. Khandoker Ataur Rahman	Chief Engineer.	HEALTH MINISTRY
Lt. A. Samad Khan	Director.	HEALTH MINISTRY
Major General M. R. Chowdhury	Chairman.	HEALTH MINISTRY
Captain (Rtd) S.M. Feroj	Director	Youth & Sports Ministry.
Captain (Rtd) Abdul Majid	Director	Youth & Sports Ministry.
Lt. General H. M. Ershad	Chairman	Bangladesh Lan Tennis Federation
Major General H. M. Ershad	Chairman	National Sports Control Board
Mauor General Abdur Rahman	Chairman	National Sports Control Board
Lt. Col. (Rtd) M.A. Hamid	Vice-president	National Sports Control Board
Major General Mahbubur Rahman	Chairman	National Sports Council
Major General Sadiqur Rahman	Chairman	National Sports

Major (Rtd.) S. Keramat Ali	Manager	BPC
Major General Md. Abdul Latif	Director	Bangladesh Bank
Major(Rtd.)Mohammad Abul Hossain	General Manager (Security)	Bangladesh Bank
Sobadier Major (Rtd.) Md. Siddiqur Rahman	Security Officer	Bangladesh Bank
Colonel (Rtd.) A.K.M. Sikandar Hossain	Managing Director	Security Printing Press Project
Wing Commandar(Rtd)Sayed Wahidun Nabi	General Manager	Security Printing Press Project
Major (Rtd.) Sayed Mashgurer Rahman	Deputy Controller Security.	Security Printing Press Project
Colonel M.K. Barua	Director	Health Directorate
Colonel Golam Gaffar	Director General	Health Ministry
Colonel Shariful Islam	Chairman	BJMC
Lt. Col. M.A. Malek Bhuiyan		Director
Major M. Shariful Islam	Chairman	BJC
Ltd. Col. (Rtd.)Md. Bazlur Rahman	Director	BJC
Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Shafiqul Quader	Director	BJC
Captain (Rtd.) Abu Bakar	Additional Director	BJRI
Major Khairul Alam	General Manager	Adamjee Jute Mill
Major (Rtd.) Sayed Shahabuddin	General Manager	Karim Jute Mill
Lt. Col. Abdur Rashid Howlader	Security & Observation	T & T Board
Major (Rtd) S. M. Shahiduzzaman	General Manager	Titas Gas Co. Ltd.
Major (Rtd) Mohd. Muktadir Ali	General Manager	Titas Gas Co. Ltd.

Flight Lt. Mahtabuddin Ahmed	Dy. Director	Bangladesh Meterological Directorate
Col. Mohd. Mahabubul Karim	Surveyor General of Bangladesh.	Bangladesh Survey Directorate
Group Captain Saiful Azam	Managing Director	BFDC
Captain Sujauddin	Director	BFDC
Lt. Col. (Rtd) M. Ismail Haque	Project Director	HEALTH MINISTRY
Captain (Rtd) Najrul Islam	Chief Technical Manager	HEALTH MINISTRY
Lt. Col. Khandoker Aatur Rahman	Chief Engineer.	HEALTH MINISTRY
Lt. A. Samad Khan	Director.	HEALTH MINISTRY
Major General M. R. Chowdhury	Chairman.	HEALTH MINISTRY
Captain (Rtd) S.M. Feroj	Director	Youth & Sports Ministry.
Captain (Rtd) Abdul Majid	Director	Youth & Sports Ministry.
Lt. General H. M. Ershad	Chairman	Bangladesh Lan Tennis Federation
Major General H. M. Ershad	Chairman	National Sports Control Board
Mauor General Abdur Rahman	Chairman	National Sports Control Board
Lt. Col. (Rtd) M.A. Hamid	Vice-president	National Sports Control Board
Major General Mahbubur Rahman	Chairman	National Sports Council
Major General Sadiqur Rahman	Chairman	National Sports

Chowdhury		Council
Lt. Col. (Rtd) Rejaul Jalil	Chairman	National Sports Council
Lt. General Hossain Md. Ershad	Chairman	National Sports Council
Col. Mohd. Hamidullah Khan	Vice-Chairman	National Sports Council
Major (Rtd) Enamul Huq Khan	Director (Admn)	National Sports Council
Major (Rtd) Aminul Islam	Director (Sports)	National Sports Council
Lt. Col. M.A. Latif Khan	Director General	Bksp
Major Serajul Islam	Director	Bksp
Lt. Col. (Rtd) Abdul Hannan	Haji Officer	Hajj Wing Saudi Arab, Jeddah.
Air Commodor Jamaluddin	Chairman	B.H. P.
Major M. Masud	Deputy Secretary	Communication Ministry.
Wing Commander (Rtd) Kamaluddin Ahmed	Chairman	Communication Ministry.
Lt. Col. (Red) A.M. Sadequl Islam	Director(Admn & Finance)	Social Welfare And Women Affairs Ministry.
Major (Rtd) A.K.M. Aktaruzzaman	Director	Textile Directorate
Major (Rtd) Reazul Islam	Director	Labour & Man Power Ministry.
Major (Rtd) Badruddin Ahmed	Director	
Lt. Col Nurun Nabi	Principal	Fauzdarhat Cadet



		College
Lt. Col. Emdaduddin Ahmed	Principal	Jhenidah Cadet College
Lt. Col. Kaiyser Ahmed	Principal	Rajshahi Cadet College
Lt. Col. Md. Sharful Alam	Principal	Rangpur Cadet College
Lt. Col. Md. Reazul Karim Khan	Principal	Comilla Cadet College
Brigadier M. Abdul Hafiz	Director General	BISS
Brigadier (Rtd) A.H.M.Abdul Momen	Director General	BISS
Major Mosharraf Hossain	Dy. Director	BISS
Flight Lt. Taslimuddin Ahmed	Asstt. Director	BISS
Lt. Col. Masudul Abedin	Additional Director	BISS
Lt. Col. Md. Shamsul Alam Jarder	Dy. Director	BNCC
Major md. Mohsin	Asstt. Director	BNCC
Major Munshi Moniruzzaman	Asstt. Director	BNCC
Lt. Commander Waliul Islam Bhuiyan	Asstt. Director	BNCC
Squadron Leader Md. Saiful Islam	Asstt. Director	BNCC
Captain Fariduddin Ahmed	Staff Captain	BNCC
Major Mainuddin Chowdhury	Regiment Adjutant	BNCC
Major Liaquat Hossain	Batalian Adjutant	BNCC
Lt. Col. Md. Jainul Abedin	Managing Director	Bangladesh Muktijoddha Welfare Trust
Brigadier Amin Ahmed Chowdhury	Managing Director	Bangladesh Muktijoddha Welfare Trust
Lt. Col. (Rtd) Chowdhury Md. Ali	Director	Bangladesh

		Muktijoddha Welfare Trust
Flight Lt. Iqbal Rashid Chowhury	Marketing Advisor	Bangladesh Muktijoddha Welfare Trust
Major (Rtd) Syed Akramul Huq Khandaker	General Manager	Bangladesh Muktijoddha Welfare Trust
Major (Rtd) Nowab Ali	Advisor Manager	Bangladesh Muktijoddha Welfare Trust
Major Mainul Hassan	Secretary	Bangla Academy
Brigadier Shamsul Islam	Director General	Secondary & Higher Secondary Directorate
Group Captain (Rtd) M. Makbul Hossain	Finance Advisor	Bangladesh Atomic Energy Commission
Major Ali Ahmed	Member senate	BUET
Brigadier (Rtd) A.K. M. Saiful Islam	Member	PSC
Lt. Col. (Rtd)A.K.M.H. Rahman	Member	PSC
Brigadier (Rtd) Mashiuddin Ahmed	Director General	Islamic Foundation
Lt.Flight Lt. (Rtd) Feroj Ahmed Akhter	Secretary	Islamic Foundation
Brigadier s. Mashahid Chowdhury	General Secretary	District Gazatear
Group Captain(Rtd) Sayed Ahmed	Secretary	Planning Ministy.
Squadron Leader Z.W.S. Kader	Deputy Secretary	Planning Divison
Captain (Rtd) Jamilur Rahman Khan	Deputy Secretary	Planning Ministry
Captain D.H.SMoniruddin	Deputy Secretary	Finance Ministry
Major (Rtd) Abdul Hossain	Deputy Secretary	Finance Ministry
Major Rouful Alam	Collector	Finance Ministry.

Major Khalid Akhter	Deputy Collector	Finance Ministry.
Lt. Col. ( Rtd) Mohammad Haresh	Director	Commerce Ministry
Group Captain (Rtd) Khairul Anam	Director	Commerce Ministry
Major ( Rtd) M. Rafiqul Islam	Coal Controller	Commerce Ministry
Group Captain (Rtd) Sayed Ahmed	Secretary	Shipping Ministry
Air Commodor (Rtd) Chowdhury Abdul Mannan	Chairman	BIWTA
Major (Rtd) Rafiqul Islam	Chairman	BIWTA
Lt.Col. Serajul Hoque	Principal Engineer	BIWTA
Captain M.S. Islam	Principal Engineer	BIWTA
Captain S. Islam	Deputy Secretary	Sea Transport Directorate
Group Captain (Rtd.) Enamul Huq Chowdhury	Chairman	Manpower Ministry
Lt. Col. A.N. Masum	Secretary	Manpower Ministry
Captain Arifuz Zaman	Transport Officer	President Secretariat
Captain (Rtd.) Abul Khair	Senior Cmtrroller	President Secretariat
Captain (Rtd.) Ahmedullah	Asstt. Comtrroller	President Secretariat
Subedar Major (Rtd.) M. Osman Ghani	Transport Superintendent	President Secretariat
Dr. Major Sufia Khanam	Lady Medical Officer Bangabhaban Medical Centre.	President Secretariat
Ld. Col. Saiful Hoque	Co. PGR. Senanibash President Guard Regiment	President Secretariat
Brigadier (Rtd.) Meshbahuddin Ahmed	Joint Secretry, Cabinet	President Secretariat
Brigadier M. Anwar Kabir Talukder	Director General	President Secretariat

Brigadier Anisur Rahman	Ex. Director General	President Secretariat
Lt. Col. Shamsur Rahman	Chairman	President Secretariat
Major General Mohd. Abdul Latif	Chairman	President Secretariat
Lt. Col. Md. Masud	Additional Director-1	President Secretariat
Wing Commander Mahmudur Rahman	Additional Director-2	President Secretariat
Lt. Commandar S.M. Rahman	Joint Director-2	President Secretariat
Major Mohd. Jahidul Alam		President Secretariat
Brigadier M.A. Rabbani		
Brigadier M.G. Rahman		
Col. (Rtd.) A.M. Shamsuzzaman	Director	Bureau of Anti-Corruption
Major Sudhir	Deputy Director	Bureau of Anti-Corruption
Captain (Rtd.) Manul Hoque Chowdhury	Deputy Director	Bureau of Anti-Corruption

All the top executive posts alongwith the Chief Posts of N.S.I. were occupied by the Military Officer such as: -

Major General Ashraf Hossain	Director General	National Security Intelligence
Major General Anowar	Director General	National Security Intelligence
Brigadier Golam Quadir		National Security Intelligence
Col. Abdur Rab	Director (Security)	National Security Intelligence
Major (Rtd.) Liaquat	Director (Security)	National Security Intelligence



Major (Rtd.) Refayet	Director (Security)	National Security Intelligence
Captain (Rtd.) Aminul Islam	Director (Security)	National Security Intelligence
Captain (Rtd.) Nurul Amin	Director (Security)	National Security Intelligence
Lt. (Rtd.) Baktiar Ahmed Khan	Director (Security)	National Security Intelligence

Major Momtazuddin Deputy Directory Home Ministry.

Mr. Abdul Hakim	-	D.I.G.	Police Service
Mr. Ahmed Fazlul Kabir	-		Police Service
Mr. Moazzem Hossain Khan	-		Police Service
Mr. Mirja Raqibul Huda	-		Police Service
Mr. Mir Hasnatullah	-		Police Service
Mr. Shhidul Islam Chowdhury	-		Police Service
Mr. S.K.I. Chowdhury	-		Police Service
Mr. Abdul Khaleque	-		Police Service
Mr. Khairul Huq	-		Police Service
Mr. Shhidul Hoque	-		Police Service
Mr. A.T.M. Mansurul Aziz	-		Police Service
Mr. Md. Salam	-		Police Service
Mr. Ashraful Huda	-		Police Service
Mr. Ahmed Najmul Hossain	-		Police Service
Mr. Rafiqul Alam Khan	-	S.P.	Police Service
Mr. Zeauddin Ahmed	-		Police Service
Mr. Abdus Salam	-		Police Service
Mr. Osman Ali Khan	-		Police Service

Mr. A.F.M. Mahmud Ali Farid	-	Police Service
Mr. Giasuddin	-	Police Service
Mr. Aminul Islam	-	Police Service
Mr. Ali Mohd. Iqbal	-	Police Service
Mr. Modabbir Hossain Chowdhury	-	Police Service
Major General Mohammad Mahbubur Rahman	Director General	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Brigadier M. Enamul Huq Khan	Director General	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Col. A.H. Tafsir Ahmed	Dy. DG	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Lt. Col.(Rtd.) Harun-Or-Rashid	Director	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Lt. Col. Sheikh A.K.M. Fazlul Huq	Director	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Major (Rtd.) Abdur Razzaque	Director	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Captain (Rtd.) Md. Ruhul Amin	Asstt. Director	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.

Captain (Rtd.) Munir Iqbal Hamid	Deputy Director	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Captain (Rtd.) Lutfor Rahman Chowdhury	Adhinayak.	Ansar And VDP Directroate, Home Ministry.
Brigadier Nurul Islam Laskar	General Manager	Fire Service & Civil Defence Office
Major (Rtd.) G.M. Iehajuddin	Director	Fire Service & Civil Defence Office
Major (Rtd.) F.M. Kaykobad	Director	Fire Service & Civil Defence Office
Col. Md. Mojibur Rahman	General Inspector of Jail	Home Ministry.

Apart from their effort to militarization of the whole affairs of the statcraft it appears from our above analysis that the Military officers occupied most of the crucial position of the government and politics. As a result, the whole affairs of the state business such as running of Government Administration were controlled by the Military officers. In doing these the Military had already became the key decision maker, its controllerd and executioner and main goal of these Military personnels was to protect their own interest and personal gain. They enjoyed double benefit from the state and thus they became the Chief benefiting group of Bangladesh.

#### 8.4. Defence Budget And Its Allocation:

During the peiod of General Zia the high ranking position of civil administration and the foreign service were occupied by the Military personnel<sup>12</sup>. On March 1, 1976, 25 of 625 officers of senior policy pool were Military officers. At that time 6 of 20

secretaries came from Military. In January 1980 out of 101 senior officers of public sector enterprises 42 were Military officers or retired Military personnel. 10 of 20 top public corporations were headed by Military officers. At the beginning of 1980 the number of Military officers appointed in civilian positions was 41, but by the end of the year the number went up to 79. Since the Military personnel occupied the most powerful institutions of the state apparatus and since they controlled over the planning and implementation mechanism the Military personnel used the scarce resources of the country for their own benefit. The Military rulers tried to keep the army and the bureaucracy satisfied by granting additional facilities to them. Armed forces personnel received rations (food staff) at very low prices, free furnished accommodation and attractive fringe benefits. On retirement or resignation from active service, officers have been rewarded with lucrative commercial facilities and contracts or appointments to important and well paid administrative positions. In order to enhance their benefit and coercive abilities the Military rulers had increased the defence allocation substantially. The defence budget left over from the Mujib-regime from 1975-76 was immediately revised upwards and the allocation raised from Tk. 1109.34 million (20% of the national budget). It was alleged that money spent to build cantonments were covered either under developed budget or included under civil work head. During the regime of General Zia in 1979 the regime was spending \$1606 per soldiers.

Whereas per capita income of the population of Bangladesh at that time was less than \$100-. The Army, police and other para-Military forces included in essential priority (EP) group received a larger share than any other section of the society and the share of the EP group in PFDS (public Food grain Distribution System) off take increased from 13 percent in 1973 to 39 percent in 1980/81. The price of rationed rice for EP group was Tk. 58/- per mound since July 1975 to date, while it was Tk. 229/- per mound for SR. (Statutory Rationing). The strength of the defence force and members of law-enforcing agencies was also increased. The number of total defence forces personnel was about 26500 in 1974, which grew to 63000 in 1976, by 1982 to 80000



and by 1990 to 101, 500. The number of cantonment already expanded upto 29 from 4. Besides the building of new cantonment, procurement of arms and ammunition, expansion of the monetary benefit of the officers and soldiers, Dearness allowance, Batman Allowances to the officers, Disturbance allowances, Marriage allowance and many kinds of others monetary benefit were increased. Giving large scale subsidy the Military officers and soldiers have been giving huge quantity of Rice, Dall, Oil, Sugar, Salt, Flour, Ata, Butter and other consumers goods in a most nominal prices.

In addition to the existing allocation for the Defence, they used to get additional allocation from the other sector. The Military personnel being occupied in almost all posts of state, Government and in Administration used to get a lion's share of monetary benefit and opportunity. A comparative data have been shown under from which it would be very clear about the ever increasing allocation of the Military personnel.

Table 5

Budgetary allocation for Military from 1972 - 73.

Taka in Crore.

Year	Budget	Allocation for Defence	D.Works	Total	%	Allocation for Education	%
1972-73	213.11	20.16	4.41	24.57	11.53	45.06	21.14
1973-74	345.20	41.96	21.53	63.49	19.39	64.82	18.78
1974-75	565.53	70.85	52.06	122.91	21.73	82.21	14.54
1975-76	636.03	110.93	34.56	145.49	22.87	83.45	13.12
1976-77	769.39	151.39	7.31	158.70	20.63	98.21	12.76
1977-78	940.65	144.17	39.22	183.39	19.50	126.49	13.45
1978-79	1087.58	148.47	47.59	196.06	18.03	166.50	15.31
1979-80	1341.94	242.67	51.95	294.62	21.95	172.82	12.88
1980-81	1481.56	274.19	56.27	330.46	22.30	206.54	13.94
1981-82	1849.68	347.56	61.68	309.24	16.72	231.64	12.52

1982-83	2147.70	418.36	70.09	488.45	22.74	294.29	13.70
1983-84	2503.00	427.08	77.39	504.47	20.15	365.17	14.59
1984-85	2930.00	492.74	86.24	578.98	19.76	492.72	16.82
1985-86	3420.53	596.09	106.69	702.68	20.54	600.40	17.55
1986-87	3956.00	738.70	132.44	871.14	22.02	747.17	18.89
1987-88	4730.00	832.13	188.56	1020.69	21.58	820.20	17.34
1988-89	6270.00	1014.87	199.43	1214.30	19.68	948.51	15.37
1989-90	6740.00	1148.92	124.90	1273.82	18.90	1093.86	16.23
1990-91	7310.00	1180.00	224.70	1404.70	19.22	1182.00	16.17
1991-92	7900.00	1301.00	156.00	1457.00	18.44	1382.00	17.49
1992-93	8510.00	1494.00	175.00	1669.00	19.61	1624.00	19.08
1993-94	9300.00	1624.00	170.00	1794.00	19.29	1824.00	19.61

Source : Bureau of Statistics, People's Republic of the Government of Bangladesh.

From the above data it appears that the allocation of annual budget in the Defence sector has been increasing each and every year. If the allocation allotted to the security sector add then the total allocation increased much more. On the other the hidden expenditure increased in each year. Such as the subsidy on food mostly spend for the Armed Forces. Besides these from the Annual Development Budget Special allocation on education, health, communication, works , house building sector are to be given for the Army.

From these data one can observe that during the regime of Hossain Mohammad Ershad the expenditure for Military were being increased day by day and it reached to a maximum limit.

Table 6

(Revenue Expenditure for Military during - 1989-90)

SECTOR		AMOUNT OF ALLOCATION
General Administration		
Discipline and Security	-	210.47
Police	-	303.60
B.D.R.	-	130.31
General Activities	-	173.64
Defence	-	1148.92
Education	-	1093.85
Health and Population Control	-	366.76

In the Annual Budget of the year 1989-90 among the sector wise allocation the position of Army was in the top.

#### Subsidy And Subsidy In Food:

During 1982 to 1990 in Bangladesh 80% subsidy on food had been spent on the advanced sector<sup>13</sup>. These advanced sectors were the Army, BDR and Police. In a country where advanced sector for allocation of expenditure were determined to an unproductive sector like Army, BDR rather than Agriculture and Industries, health and Education, how a country like Bangladesh can be think to develop at all ?

The Government of General Ershad under the advice of world bank raised the price of ration allocated for the poor community of the country and increased the price of essential commodity like food and reduced the subsidy, but he didnot raise the price of rations goods for these people of advanced sector. He neither reduced the allocation nor reduced the subsidy. Rather the subsidy on rations goods were increased phase by

phase and had given them ration goods in a most nominal price which was unbelievable. In the year of 1983-84 the Government of General Ershad granted 150 crore taka as subsidy in which only 40 crore taka had been granted for 11 crore people of the country whereas for only two lacs Army, BDR and Police person he granted rest 110 crore taka. The World Bank didn't raised any objection for giving subsidy to the Defence personnel whereas they pressured Government the to reduce subsidy from Agriculture on which 90% people of Bangladesh have to live. But from the very beginning of his regime (1981-82) the ration price of rice and wheat of the civilian people raised once again. In 1989-90 such price raising increased in a alarming rate. During this time where in open market the price of rice was Tk.600/- to 650/- per mound the Army got those rice in ration by only Tk. 58/- per mound. The subsidy for food staff in ration for the Military was Tk. 22 Crore 72 lac. In 1983-84 the Army got the subsidy on food to Tk. 54 crore 77 lac. In 1988-89 the subsidy for Army raised at Tk. 400 crore. The subsidy of BDR and police was also increased accordingly.

The militarization scheme which once Zia started had been completed by General Ershad. The militarization of administration and expenditure for Military increased unexpectedly when General Ershad took over political power<sup>14</sup>. During the period of 1982 to 1990 at least 294 Military officers were encadere din the government, Semi-Government and autonomous institution and public corporations. During the period 28 Military officers were appointed as the district superintendents of police. and many others were absorbed into the police department. The National Airline had 25 Military officers. Army officers filled many of the highest positions in the public corporations in the Government secretariat and even on the Board of Directors of the nationalised Banks. Twenty five percent of the posts in the foreign services were allocated to the armed forces. Overall the country's civilian institutions were militarized even beyond the plan to civilianize the armed forces<sup>15</sup>.



Military officers have also established dominant positions in business circles including the disinvested and private banks, insurance companies, industrial units and so on. It is claimed that in 1988 about five hundred retired Military officers were engaged in business in Dhaka. Many of the departmental stores in Dhaka are owned by the Military officers. They also hold a large share in private transport business, indenting, export and import business. A number of Military officers have also been working as advisors to big industrial units. These officers easily bring high profits for their companies since they have easy access to public office, some of the officers also work as efficient lobbyists and in return get good remuneration. Not only during the martial law period but still today during the civilian period the Military officers use to go to the Nationalized communicational bank and other Government office wearing Military dress to pursue sanctioning loan, to get licence permit, contractory and other business. Their telephone call have been given high importance to the above concerned offices.

During the last decade of Military rule in Bangladesh, important bodies of the government like the national economic council, committee of food, Agriculture and Rural Development, Energy and mineral resources committee, foreign affairs, national security council, export-import committee, Government purchase committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts, senior appointed committee, Promotion and service restructure committee, pay-fixation and administrative reorganisation committee, National Awards Committee and other committees appointed from time to time have been led and dominated by the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators, General Staff/Principal Staff Officers to the CMLA, Quarter Master General of the Army Head Quarters, Adjutant General of the Army Head Quarters, Chief of General Staff of the Army Head Quarters. Director General of the Bangladesh Rifles, Zonal martial Law Administrators, Garrison Commander and a few others top Military officers. From 1979 to 1988, twenty three Military officers, both in service and retired served as ministers under General Zia and General Ershad. In Bangladesh it

has become a custom that when an army officers gets retirement from the armed services, he will give two offer from the government, he may gets a lucrative job within the country or he may gets a job in the foreign Embassy of the country.

Since 1975 in Bangladesh there has been a growing trend of militarization<sup>16</sup>. The nature and magnitudes of the militarization can be understood from the defence expenditure. Despite the fact that this is a country where most of the people are not getting a square meal and necessary safe drinking water, defence expenditure has been accelerated. Bangladesh where 78 percent of female population and 67 percent of male population are illiterate, Government expenditure on education has decreased from 11.5 percent of total expenditure in 1980 to 11.2 percent in 1991. On the other hand defence expenditure has increased from 9.4 percent of total expenditure in 1980 to 10.1 percent in 1991. Despite the fact that crude death rate per thousand population is alarmingly high and majority of population remain outside the purview of Government expenditure to 4.8 percent of total Government expenditure over the same period. In 1981 Bangladesh spent Taka 3210 million on defence, nine years later the figure reached at 11.402 million. Throughout Ershad rule only 5% of revenue budget was spent on development as against 18% on the army. While \$ 147 was spent on each citizen per year but \$ 4700 was spent on each soldiers.

The economic power of the Military institutions provides an edge to the defence forces in the political arena. The prolonged Martial Law and recurrent over seizure of power by army demonstrate that Military can not be satisfied with budgetary allocations alone. The budgetary allocation takes place within the defence sector in order to control political power<sup>17</sup>.

With the aid of state policies defence authorities opened political wing of the Military power. This is the way to extend militarisation proces in the political arena. For

example, in the name of protection of national security various intelligence agencies, such as national security intelligence (NSI), Director General of Forces intelligence (DGF), Field intelligence unit (FIU) special Branch(SB) and more recently the special security forces were created in Bangladesh. The DGFI and FIU are part of the Military and governed by the Army Act of 1952 and are accountable to the defence authority. The SB is a part of the Military and reports to the Home Ministry. These agencies are intimately involved in the application of the National Security legislation. In some cases detenus have been illegally kept in the custody of the intelligence services for interrogation purpose. These agencies also monitor the activities of political parties. The involvement of DGFI in the anti-autocratic movement was shown extremely.

There is another dimension of militarisation process in the political arena. Constitutional amendment in Bangladesh as that of Pakistan had opened a new legal way for militarization. The 5th and 7th amendment to the constitutions of Bangladesh are glaring example of this. These amendments came about through "elected representatives" who were the product of Military interference in political institutions after the imposition of Military rule. This interference was mainly in the form of breaking down existing political parties and to form a new one for his own. The birth of parties like the BNP brought on by General Zia and the JP brought on by General Ershad.

General Zia will be remembered in the political history of Bangladesh as an architect of militarizing the country's politics and administration. He was the main hero who revert the country from the spirit of liberation struggle. General Ershad simple followed the foot step of General Zia and very Successfully he implemented Zia's scheme of militarisation.

Both these two Generals started their carrier as Military officers in the Pakistan Army and had beared the culture of Pakistan Army in their mind and brain to rule the

country through Martial Law and militarization of administration. Capturing state power in Bangladesh, General Zia once most confidently urged that he would make 'politics difficult for the politician'. On the other hand General Ershad had assured the soldiers to give a permanent role in the political process of the country. The pledges of the two Generals had been materialized in Bangladesh.

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**CHAPTER NINE**

**MARTIAL LAW REGIME OF GENERAL ERSHAD**

**AND ITS CONSEQUENCE :**

General Ershad, the second Military ruler kept Bangladesh under his Military cum-civilianised Military rule for nine years. While taking over power he promised to curb corruption. But during his time corruption became the order of the day and there was corruption in almost all sphere of socio political life. It was claimed that during the regime of General Ershad there was total absence of accountability. The persons who were involved in running the state affairs were not accountable to any body but to Ershad. But General Ershad was not answerable to none. Ershad regime was termed as a regime where there was dishonesty in the field of business. Lawlessness in the field of industry. Unrest in the political arena. Uncertainty in the educational life. Ershad and his Government was found terribly misusing power destroying all democratic institutions, plundering national resources and foreign aid, bribing political leaders and suppressing the democratic will of the mass people of the country. In this chapter an attempt will be made to analysis the consequence of General Ershad's regime in Bangladesh.

**9.1 Economic Scenarios of the state under Ershad regime.**

The decade of 1980's had been termed as a lost decade. The economy of Bangladesh had in fact, been stagnating throughout the 1980's<sup>1</sup>. The 1980's were intended to be the period when significant structural changes should have been realised in the Bangladesh economy to equip her to cope with the future. The first half of the 1970's was the period where the economy rehabilitated itself from the affect of the war of liberation and the disruption to the economy arising out of the withdrawal of Pakistani rule. The second half of 1970 would have been the time when following the recovery of the disstabilized economy, existing capacity was made more productive and

expanded. This historical process would have set the stage for major investments in the economy during the 1980's designed to realise structural changes which would have diversified the economy empowered its outward orientation and put as on the way to self-reliant development. But the 1980's have instead been a decade of stagnation where one found no better than it was at the beginning of the decade. During the decade the average growth rate declined from 6% in 1973/74 to 1974/75, to 4.4% between 1975/76 and 1980/81 and 3.16% in the period 1980/82 to 1988/1989. In this decade the agriculture and industries performed poorly. In the 1980's agricultural growth was negligible and highly uneven. In the nine years of Ershad regime the agricultural value added fell. Trends in manufacturing growth were decreased. In the nine years between 1980/81 and 1988/89, growth rates declined in 5 years over the previous year and were negative or stagnant in three years, 1982/83, 1985/86 & 1988/89. But there was high rate of growth in construction, utilities and in the service sector. These trends were derived from injections of aid, bank credit, and high level of current consumption.

The economy in the 1980's registered little structural change. The share of manufacturing output to GDP a standard measure of structural change, remained virtually unchanged in over two decades<sup>2</sup>. It was 7.8% in 1969/70 and 8.4% in 1988/89. Further, the economy in the 1980's demonstrated little capacity for internal resource mobilization so that the economy remained as dependent as ever before on external resource flows. The share of exports to GDP remained virtually unchanged. It was 6.13% in 1972/73 compared to 6.98% in 1987/88. In contrast to the structural stagnation of export the share of imports to GDP regained from 8.4% in 1972/73 to 16.3% in 1989/90. The 1980's witnessed a decline in the rate of investment to GDP in the national economy, gross investment declined from 15.9% in 1980/81 to 11.2% in 1989/90.



During the period total fixed investment had been virtually stagnant in the productive sectors of the economy. Between 1982-83 and 1986-87 the real value of fixed investment in acquisition of capital goods declined from Tk. 12.9 billion to Tk. 11.7 billion. Low levels of investment activity reflected the declining trends in the rate of both public and private domestic savings. In 1989/90 Bangladesh total domestic savings/GDP ratio was as low as 0.2%. This low rate of savings was one of the lowest in the developing world. During these period Bangladesh economy remained massively depended on aid inflows. As between 1982-83 to 1989-90 aid financed virtually 100% of the ADP and in 1987-88 financed 108% of the development budget. In real terms, the annual revenue budget had for several years been generating no surplus so that country's development programmes remained in fact completely depended on aid.

The ADP for Bangladesh couldn't be framed in any year without reference to the aid commitments made in the donors consortium meeting in Paris in April every year. Over the last years there had been no decline in levels of external dependency to sustain development. In fact the dynamic of the Bangladesh economy had become donor dependent. Bangladesh policy makers continued to wait upon the decisions in Washington, London, Tokyo, Bonn and Paris before they formulate their annual development budget. Depending on the foreign donors they had to announce an import policy, formulate a fund policy or even to decide how many children should be born<sup>3</sup>. The decision maker of the developed world hold the life line of any regime in Bangladesh in their hands. In the beginning of the 1980's it was argued at the highest level that 'money was no problem'. It was sure that these money was indicated external aid. This belief persisted at all levels of policy making throughout the decade. Aid had been marked as a source of the solvent of all problems, pillar of the sustaining of the government power. The government remained very much busy to get maximum foreign aid. It was considered as a substitute for low domestic savings and low export capacity.

Due to the persuasion of bourgeois leadership in the last 25 years of independent Bangladesh the country have been forced to depend on foreign aid for her existence. Since independence still 1990 Bangladesh received 60,000 crores .Taka as foreign aid. But this aid was conditional. The donors led by the world bank from the 1970's had been imposing condition in their aid commitments. The donors and rigidity of this conditionality had infect increased over the years. The donors never intended to give aid to productive sector. They wished to keep Bangladesh fully dependent on foreign aid. They kept watch that the country should not be self reliance, self sufficient, self sustain. In Bangladesh, foreign aid had turned into a deep exploitation and dependency from whom there was no hope of salvation. Aid normally given in mainly three sectors. Food aid, commodities aid and project aid. The food and commodities aid was entirely unproductive. The project aid which might have any scope but was not given for development of industries or production oriented projects. Above all most of this aid money were spent for the salary and allowance of the foreign consultant. Besides the foreign consultant, the major portion of the aid money that was spent in Bangladesh to support specific local group. Local consultants, managers and technician received high income/fees and had access to foreign travel. Indentors receive commission from importing commodities, contractors make huge profits from aid sponsored construction projects, the state bureaucracy also received unofficial compensation for their services in the disbursement of foreign aid.

Foreign aid provided life support to the existence of a small interest group. Aid thus created a new rich class in Bangladesh. Most of the members of this group such as Ruling class, politician, consultants, contractors, bureaucrats had strong social ties and these group were essentially one group which dominated both the economic and political life of Bangladesh.

During nine years long authoritarian rule of General Ershad the economic life was totally shattered. The financial and banking sector was long ailing<sup>4</sup>. The liquidity position of most of the banks and financial institutions was critical because of the poor debt recovery situation. Financial discipline in the overall banking sector had been grossly violated for reasons of massive irregularities and other anomalies in loan sanction. The economic activities in the agricultural sector suffered badly because of lower public investments reduced resource flows higher export prices, inappropriate output pricing policies and other adverse factors over the years.

Total disbursement of aid to Bangladesh stood at 18.9 billion dollars as of 30th June 1989. In 1981 Bangladesh had to pay about 47.6 million dollars as debt service payments. In 1988 Bangladesh paid 174.4 million dollars as debt service payment (3.7 time increase) of which 54% constituted principal amount and 46% constituted interest payment. As on 30th June, 1989 the total outstanding debt of Bangladesh stood at 9886 million dollars. Every new born child inherits a foreign debt burden of about Tk. 4800.

## 9.2 Corruption and Misrule of General Ershad

Power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely, This proverb was fully applicable in the case of General Ershad. General Ershad tookover power through a bloodless coup on March 24, 1982 by over throwing the elected President Justice Sattar, After capturing power, Ershad declared to the nation that he was a soldier and wanted to live with the dignity of a soldier. He waged war against corruption. But General Ershad had been marked as the most corrupt President in the country.<sup>5</sup> By installing his wife as first lady of the country, General Ershad committed unprecedented crimes through her. He abused his power endlessly by misusing the national publicity media like radio and television. The National Dailies had been constrained to publish his press in the front and last page.



Allegation of women scandal was also there against Ershad. General Ershad cringed to power for nine years through unprecedented deception and corruption. During this long period, the democratic and political parties had taken recourse to endless struggle. In the street and all over the country hundreds of students, members of the public and workers became target of Ershad's repression. The Ershad Government succeeded in clinging to power sometime through various tricks and deception, voteless fake election and putting obstacles in the way of democratic movement. Despotic Ershad infiltrated corruption in every sphere of society during his rule. The entire society was crippled by the oppression and repression of Ershad.

General Ershad during his personal rule shattered the economic backbone of the country. The whole economy was ravaged by him and his accomplices. It is alleged that they had illegally smuggled out the country's resources to foreign countries. They made the country a heaven for corruption through smuggling, black marketing, bribery and similar other social evils<sup>6</sup>. The so called first lady was a sample of corruption. She had share in many business enterprises of the country. Although she diffused herself in all circles of the society as the pioneer of anti-drug movement but actually she herself was the person behind the drug and heroine smuggling business. One of the new richman of the country, proprietor of many companies was the main partner in business of Ershad and his wife Roushan Ershad. Through him Ershad and Begum Ershad carried on their illegal business of amassing huge personal wealth. Ershad made Zeenat Mosharraf his partner and promoted his husband A.K.M. Mosharraf Hossain to the rank of Secretary to the Government. He completely ruined the industries of the country through A.K.M. Mosharraf Hossain. A number of the country's powerful industrial groups such as BEXIMCO of Salmon Rahman, Abul Khair Litoo, Gold Hill Company etc. built up assets worth crores of Taka through Ershad. Zeenat used to interfere in the affairs of various corporations and departments including BCIC and



Ministry of Industries. In the political history of the sub-continent, Ershad and Begum Rowshan Ershad may be compared with Marcos and Mrs. Imelda Marcose of Phillipin for corruption. General Ershad and his Government was found terribly misusing power, destroying all democratic institutions, plundering national resources and foreign aid, bribing political leaders and suppressing the democratic will of the mass-people. He was also blamed for his lust for sex, a sensitive issue in the country where almost 95 percent of people are religious minded. It was alleged that he had illicit connection with the wives of some bureaucrats, Ministers, and some beautiful ladies. But above all these affairs of his concubine was the case of his legally married second wife Mery alias Marium. A lot of information about Mery was published in foreign Magazines which could not be published during his rule in Bangladesh<sup>6</sup>.

It was alleged that since capturing power in 1982 Ershad had been the owner of taka crores which he earned illegally<sup>7</sup>. It was also alleged that a bank named BCCI co-operated Ershad in his smuggling of assets. A news was also published in the 'Observer' from London in 1986 that Ershad had an assets worth taka crores in the Swiss and American Bank. The paper on August 31, 1986 also published a report in its front page under the heading 'love, graft in the world's poorest nation and in ninety page the General, his lady and the baby. It was reported that by utilizing his official position General Ershad had become the owner of at least taka one hundred and fifty crores, his first wife Rowshan Ershad also amassed in the country as well as U.S.A. a fabulous wealth illegally earned through her relatives. It was alleged that President Ershad took of the profit as his commission for all big contracts for purchase, supply and construction work of the Bangladesh Army. He got share in a good number of construction and contractors firm and international supply business. In addition to these, he regularly took a colossal amount by direct intervention in big

international tenders. It was alleged that new multimillionaire Abul Khair Litoo, Morshed Khan and Jahurul Islam, known as Rockfellers of Bangladesh were also other business partner of General Ershad. In short, a big group of the multi millionaire businessmen kept Ershad in each of its business. Thus, the office of General Ershad was turned as a big business house which controlled almost all big business affairs of the country and in each and every business deal Ershad got a lion's share as commission or as profit. It was further alleged that General Ershad and his wife Rowshan Ershad along with their family members had been building up a 'dynasty'.<sup>8</sup> Rowshan's uneducated elder sister Mamata Wahab had been made a State Minister of the Government, Rowshan's younger brother Mohiuddin had been appointed to a high diplomatic post in the U.N. while Mohiuddin's brother-in-law Shafiqul Goni Swapan had been made a minister in the Government.

The spoiling system flourished under the personal rule of General Ershad with kickbacks and corruption at all tiers.<sup>9</sup> Hossain Mohammad Ershad who was forced to resign from power through a mass upsurge on December 6, 1990 was a soldier and at the same time a politician. He identified himself as a poet and a sports man. He went to Mecca for pilgrimage several times and used the title Al-Haj before his name. He was the ruler who survived the longest period in Bangladesh. His regime was largely termed as the misrule in Bangladesh. During his period the economy of the country deteriorated, policy shattered, corruption widespread. A group of politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats and above all the military of the country were directly involved in Ershad's misdeeds and misrules. General Ershad's close associates were Aziz Mohammad Bhai and Rouf Chowdhury, Akhtaruzzaman

The business men of the country got huge business through their dealings with the Ershad Government. Among them were Mr. Sajjad Ali of United traders, Mr. Salman Rahman of Beximco group, General Retd. Shishu, Col.(Rtd) Enam and one Altab got the work of importing rice from Thailand, Abul Hossain of Shahco International, Iftakhar Karim, H.R. Nezam of Trainers Graham (Bangladesh) Ltd., Abul Khair Letu and Nurul Kader Khan, Mr. Zeaul Haque and Abul Khair letu got the work of Jamuna Sar Karkhana, The business of Chittagong Urea Fertilizer Industries was the first business of General Ershad with the amounting to Taka 2000 which was performed by Mosharraf Hossain, Salman Rahman and Naziur Rahman. Hedayet Chowdhury of Karnaphuli Group and Bazlul Hoque Depu of Trade Inter-Continental sold two DC 10 Biman to Bangladesh Biman for two hundred crores taka. The highest value worth of 4000 crores taka during the Regime of General Ershad of Chittagong Urea Fertilizer Industries project, Jamuna Fertilizer and Karnaphuli Fertilizer Industries project was got by Salim Bhuiyan of nation united Ltd. Mr. Abdul Awal Minto got the work of three project. Major (Rtd) Jahangir, Lt. Col (Rtd) Manna and Major General (Rtd) Chisti got the work of supply Metal system in the Upa-Zila during the Ershad period. Zahirul Islam got the work of digging deep tube well under Dhaka WASA. Salman Rahman of Beximco got the import permit of Sugar for four years whose worth was taka 1000 crores taka. Mr. Salman was also got a project work of 80 crores to establish 230 KV Sub-Centre of PDV. Morshed Khan of specific group got the work of 400 crores relating the T&T Switch Station. Salauddin Kader Chowdhury got the work of 100 Megawatt Gas Turbine of PDV with MITSUBISHI. The construction work of Mini=Market of Dhaka City corporation was got by Minister Major General (RTD) Mahmudul Hassan.

From the above analysis it was found that a group of businessmen were emerged during the General Ershad Government who got almost all types of state business and amassed huge money. But in all the cases of big business General Ershad, his wife, and his Ministers were directly involved. This discussion also indicate that the state machinery was run to protect and to enhance the interest of a single class of people out of the 12 crores people of the country. The Government was very much busy with a group of people, who were known as capitalist class, who were businessmen, who were smuggler. Who were bank looters. The state of Bangladesh under General Ershad had properly protected the interest of the rising capitalist class, Hamja Alavi rightly pointed out that 'under the bourgeois system the state act as the custodian of private property and the state functioned under the structural imperative of promoting the development of capitalism.'

It was alleged that General Ershad and his associate appropriated more than 41 thousands crores of Taka from the projects given belows:-<sup>10</sup>

Chittagong Urea Fertilizer Industries.

Ghorashal Fertilizer Industries.

Jamuna Fertilizer Industries.

Chittagong Chemical Complex.

buying of Radar for Airforce.

T&T Board Khulna MicroWave.

import of Rice from Bulgaria.



Import of Rice from Thailand.  
PDV Bagabari Power Development Centre.  
Ashugonj 150 Megawatt. (3rd Unite).  
Buying of ship from China.  
Buying of 5 ship ferry.  
Buying of DC 10 Biman.  
Buying of Sugar from Malaysia.  
Buying of Sugar for Brazil  
Buying of boats from Transport Development Corps.  
Buying of ATP Biman.

The appropriation of huge amount of public money by General Ershad, his wife and his associates were well known to both at home and abroad. Once General Ershad was termed as the richest president of the poorest country' in the Far Eastern Economic Review.<sup>11</sup>

After his resignation General Ershad was arrested by the police. The police recovered Tk. 1,90,81,565/- from his Cantonment Residence and Seized 7 Shot Guns, 6 Pistols, two revolvers and 176 Bullets, while two pistols and two revolvers were licensed and the remaining weapons were not so. At least 30 cases had been filed against General Ershad in various court which were related to misappropriation of funds, nepotism, corruption. and possession of illegal arms.

General Ershad's period was also marked by a period of major strike. During his nine years rule more than 63 times country wide hartal was observed at the call of the opposition political parties. It was also claimed that atleast 9500 people were killed in various occasion outing the regime of General Ershad in Bangladesh.

In the nine years of rule, it is alleged that General Ershad and his Government broke down all rules, regulation, norms and practices in order to ensure his domination and to distribution of patronage. General Ershad was instrumental in the promotion of Finance Director of Bangladesh Chemical Industries Corporation Musharraf Hossain to acting Chairman in 1981. With the blessing of Ershad subsequently Musharraf Hossain became the industries secretary and exerted extraordinary influence. A.G. Mohiuddin, a Junior officers in the Taxation department of the then Pakistan Government soon rose to prominence in foreign service under Ershad regime. Immediately after the change of Government in 1982 he was posted in Washington as a diplomat. He was given the rank of Ambassador in 1986 superseding as many as 14 officers.

Gulam Mohammad Kader, the younger brother of Ershad was made the director of BPC in 1989. He was serving as operation officers in the said corporation in 1977. By 1984-85 he became operation manager by virtue of being Ershad's brother, Habibur Rahman, another relative of Ershad became the Chairman of the Parjatan Corporation. In 1975 he was promoted to the post of Assistant Director. But with the change of power he became managing director of export promotion bureau and later Chairman of the Parjatan Corporation.

### **9.3. Role of Bureaucracy in the Martial Law regime of General Ershad.**

The bureaucracy as an integral part of the Military rule has to be played a most crucial role for the achievement of the economic development in the third world countries. The deep involvement and initiative of the bureaucracy is considered as most essential for economic development. Since the bureaucracy constitutes the most modernized and the most well-knit social sector, they directly involved in the exercise of political and economic power. Their involvement in the politics of developing countries is exceptionally high. They played a decisive role in policy formulation as well as policy implementation.

The bureaucrats in Bangladesh are in fact, the ruling elite<sup>12</sup>. They have been holding the important posts in the key institutions and have been formulating the major public policies which are shaping the pattern of economic growth in Bangladesh. Like the bureaucracy in Pakistan, the bureaucrats in Bangladesh are a dominant social element and have been playing a relatively autonomous role. They are the power-elite in Bangladesh. The power-elite comprising the political actors, the corporate rich and the high Military officer and occupying the command posts in the major institutions, have exercised power through many inter-connection and points of coinciding interest. The bureaucratic elite in Bangladesh comprising the higher echelon in the civil service and Military hierarchy have become the most dominant power holding group. In Bangladesh, after November 1975, the civil Military bureaucracy emerged as the ruling elite and occupied the office of the President and those of the Chief Martial Law Administrator and Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators and the command posts in such institutions as the National Economic Council, planning commission, secretariat and the important corporations, which constitute the main power centers in Bangladesh.

The higher echelons in the civil Military hierarchy constitutes the bureaucratic elite in the third world countries like Bangladesh. In course of need they become not contrary but supplementary to each other. When the Military captured state power overthrowing the political elite, the civil bureaucrat come forward to help the Military bureaucrat. In the third world countries the most important reasons for the Military to survive as a ruler, was the support of the civil servant in regard to the formation as well as to the implementation of the policy.

In Pakistan General Ayub Khan captured political power by a Military takeover on October 8, 1958. The Military rule in Pakistan continued to the last days of united

Pakistan. The basic character of martial law in Pakistan had been a partnership between the Army and the civil service. Though the Military rule was considerably civilianized after the promulgation of the 1962 constitution and appointment of civilian ministers yet the real power was always concentrated in the hands of the civil and Military elite.<sup>13</sup>

The two Generals Mohammad Ayub Khan and A.M. Yahya Khan were the Chief Martial Law Administrators and Presidents of Pakistan from 1958 to 1970. Of the nine governors of East and West Pakistan during the period, four were Military officers, three were civil servants, one was a big landlord and the other was a professional lawyer. Of the seventeen central ministers from October 28, 1958 to March 1969, three were Military officers, six were civil servant, five were landlords, two were industrialist and one was a journalists. In the overall power structure the position of the president and governors was crucial but the key ministries such as Finance, Defence, Home Affairs and the most important Division such as Economic Affairs, Cabinet and Establishment Division under the central Government were always of the Military and the bureaucrat. Apart from the crucial positions held by the bureaucratic elite, the key policy making institutions of the country such as the National Economic Council, the Central Secretariat, the Planning Commission, the important public corporation were dominated by them.

After independence in December 16, 1971 the political elite under the leadership of the Awami League came to power. They introduced parliamentary democracy in 1972 where real power rested in cabinet collectively responsible to the Jatiya Sangshad (Parliament). Awami League which had massive popular support became the ruling party. All decision of the state affairs were taken by the political leaders so that real power of the Republic concentrated in the hands of the political elite.<sup>14</sup> But the Awami League very soon failed to handle the problems of increasing



grave economic crisis, social and political instability and security and law and order in the country. As its failure became manifest, the regime began to turn to the bureaucrat and the bureaucrat who seemed to have lost their position of influence and power in the early days (1972-74) came to the forefront and emerged as a dominant factor in ruling the country. After the Sepoy revolt of November 7, Major General Ziaur Rahman captured the real state power declaring Martial Law. Like in Pakistan, the martial law in Bangladesh was in fact, a partnership. The six years of Zia's rule may be divided into two phases. The first phase (1975 to 1979) may be termed as a Military rule, while the second phase was a Military rule under a civilian facade. In both the case the Military and civil bureaucracy occupied important positions in the state craft. In the first half of his rule General Zia as the President was the Chief Martial Law Administrator as well as the Chief of Army Staff. The Chief of Staff of Airforce M.G. Tawab and Naval Chief of Staff M.H.Khan were the Deputy Martial Law Administrators. The administration of the country was divided into 9 martial law zones placed under the charge of nine Zonal martial law administrators. These zonal Chiefs were not only responsible for the maintenance of law and order they also provided significant impetus to policy and programme of development. The Civil-Military bureaucrats overwhelmingly dominated the Zia's Council of Advisors and the Council of Ministries. In 1981 there were 24 full ministers in the cabinet of Zia and of them 6 were Military bureaucrats, 5 civil servants, 6 technocrats, 4 businessmen, 1 land-lord and 12 lawyers. The position of the President, the Chief Martial Law administrator, Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and advisors in the overall power structure were very important. Besides these crucial position held by the civil Military bureaucratic elite the key policy making institution of the country such as the National Economic Council the Planning Commission, the Secretariat and important corporations were dominated by them. As that of Pakistan the National Economic Council (NEC) was the highest policy making body in the economic sector. Headed by the Chief Martial Law Administrators the National Economic Council consisted of the three Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators. The

President, advisers in charge of the ministries of Finance, Industries, Commerce and Foreign Trade, Planning Agriculture and Flood Control, Water Resources, and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and in fact, all of these top and most crucial positions were held by the civil Military bureaucrats. The Secretariat which is the nerve of administration and the main centre of policy making has always been the stronghold of the bureaucratic elite. During Zia's period in 1976 there were 25 ministers and 39 Divisions in Bangladesh secretariat and there were 28 Secretaries 1 Principal Secretary and 11 Additional Secretaries. In the formulation of economic policies in Bangladesh crucial roles are played by the secretaries of the ministries of Finance, Industries, Commerce and Agriculture. In 1976 all these posts were held by former CSP Officer. In 1975 there were 38 public corporations in Bangladesh and all of the 38 Chairman or Managing Director were civil-Military bureaucrats.

The civil-Military bureaucratic elite in Bangladesh had become dominant over the policy making structure since November, 1975 and occupied the command position in all the key policy making institutions, they monopolized policy making in Bangladesh. Since November 7, when Ziaur Rahman took control of the Government the Military officers in alliance with the bureaucratic elite had been managing the affairs of the state.<sup>15</sup>

The second but most effective Martial Law was declared in Bangladesh by General Ershad who captured state power on March 24, 1982 by over throwing an elected government of justice Sattar and run the country until he was forced to resign on December 6, 1990. As like as General Zia, General Ershad also ruled the first half of his period through Martial Law and then through a civilian facade. But in both the period, the regime of General Ershad was termed as a civil-Military-bureaucratic dominated regime. Like all the Military regime, the General Ershad regime was also backed by the civil bureaucrats. But one of the most important aspect of the General

Ershad Military regime was that during his time the Military officers were inducted into the civilian posts. Though the process of militarization was started by Zia it was completed during General Ershad time. In 1980 there were 79 Military officers in the civil service. The key positions such as secretary joint secretary. Additional secretary, Deputy Secretary and Chairman or Directors of Corporation were held by 16 Military bureaucrats. During Ershad period the number of Military officers in the civil administration were increased tremendously. During Zia's later phase of administration the civil and Military bureaucrats were more or less equal partners but under Ershad the civil bureaucracy became the sub-ordinate partner of the Military bureaucracy. General Ershad followed the same strategy as that of Zia's Government. At the initial stage Ershad was the President as well as the Chief Martial Law administrator. The country was divided into five zones and twenty sub-zone headed by army officers. These officers were Chairman of various development and planning bodies as well as heads of civil administrative units in their respective areas.

Table 7

Composition Of General Ershad Council Of Advisor In July 25, 1982

<u>Professional Back Ground</u>	<u>Number</u>
Military bureaucrats	9
Civil Servants	4
Teacher (University level)	2
Lawyer	3

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Total - 18

The first council of adviser which was formed by General Ershad to aid and advise him was dominated by Military and civil bureaucrats. There were 9 Military bureaucrat, 4 civil bureaucrats, 2 Teachers and 3 Lawyers in the council of advisors.<sup>16</sup>

After the parliament election of 1986 the Martial Law was withdrawn and like his predecessor General Ershad tried to civilianize his Martial Law regime through a parliamentary facade. By 1988 the ministers of Ershad Govt. were consisted of 13 Military bureaucrats, 9 civil bureaucrats, 7 intellectual, (Teacher, Doctor, Lawyers) 6, businessmen and 45 person affiliated with political party. In the same manner as that of Zia's rule, during Ershad Government the civil Military bureaucrats were dominating the Chief policy implementing institutions like the NEC, Planning Commission, National Council, National Council Committee and public corporations. The most responsible position in strategic civilian institutions such as the ministries of Defence, Establishment, Finance and Foreign Affairs were given to the Military officers. In 1987 about 1500 members of armed forces were appointed in civilian administration. The police administration at the district level was so militarized that in one time as many as 53 out of 64 districts the superintendents of police were former Military officers.<sup>17</sup>



Above all a 10 member secretaries committee was there during Ershad period who were considered to be the elite committee or super cabinet or G-10 who were very influential in decision making on national issues and they served General Ershad even at the last days of his fall.

So, the bureaucracy became a close partner of Military ruler in running the state. Bureaucracy and Military rule promoted each other in their own interest and for retaining their domination in the management of the state. Bureaucracy support Military rule for the sake of self aggrandizement. Military rulers rely on bureaucracy to establish, legitmise and perpetuate their rule.

#### **9.4 Impact of martial law in the democratic institution building in Bangladesh.**

Democracy in the third world countries like Bangladesh is just like a golden deer which cannot be caught or achieved. Establishment of democracy is a crying need and most essential for the overall socio-economic and political development of the country. The people and their political leaders struggles to stablish democracy but they hardly finds such opportunity. Whenever they found such opportunity they failed to establish it. In the pre-independence Bangladesh the objective of the political leaders and their pro-long struggle was to establish democracy. After independence they found that opportunity and accordingly started their career with the parliamentary system of democracy in Bangladesh. But within two and a half years of its existence democracy fell in trouble at the hands of the ruling elite who introduced parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh in 1972. The ruling elite not only abandoned parliamentary democracy but opted for one party Presidential rule by introducing fourth Amendment of the constitution in january 1975. This action of the ruling elite destroyed democratic norms in one hand and on the other paved the way for Military intervention in Bangladesh power politics. By the middle of 1975 Bangladesh army overthrew civil administration through a bloody coup and took over control of the country, and until 1990, the country

was under the personal rule of the two army generals. The Personal rules of General Zia and General Ershad virtually damaged the democratic traditions in Bangladesh.

1) **Election Commission :-**

Among the most few institutions which helps to flourish democracy is the Election Commission. The main functions of the Election Commission is to conduct election neutrally and impartially. Only the conduction of impartial election can guarantee the democratic rules of games. But the irony was that under the Martial Law regime and under the civilianisation of Martial Law regime the election commission was never allowed to work impartially. The Election Commission had to abide by the decisions of the civilianized Martial Law regime. Though a Justice of the supreme court was to be appointed as chief election commissioner but he never kept himself neutral. He, in most cases, used the machinery of the Election Commission according to the direction of the ruling class whether it may be martial law, civilianized Martial Law or civilian political party regime. Justice Sattar was the Chief Election Commission under General Zia. He conducted Referendum, Presidential Election of General Zia and Parliamentary Election of 1979. In all these elections of General Zia and his party BNP won a landslide victory. As a reward of his service as Chief Election Commissioner, General Zia made Justice Sattar as his Vice President. Like Justice Sattar another Justice of Bangladesh Supreme Court Justice Nurul Islam was the Chief Election Commissioner under General Ershad. During his period General Ershad held Referendum, held Presidential Election and Parliamentary elections of 1986. In all these elections General Ershad and his political party Jatiya Party attained victory. But like Justice Sattar, Justice Nurul Islam was also got appointment as Vice President under Ershad Government, he also joined in Ershad Jatiya Party as Senior Vice Chairman. So it can be presumed that the election Commission, Chief Election

Commissioner were used as a doll under both the regime of General Zia and General Ershad.

## 2) Election :-

Holding of regular election is termed as a pre-requisite of democratic rules of game. For effective democracy election must be held regularly and impartially. But the holding of General Election on regular basis is not practiced generally in third world countries. In Pakistan after independence on August 1947 only on December 1970 the first General Election was held on the basis of universal adult franchise. In Bangladesh the first General Election was held in 1973. The second Parliamentary election was held in 1979 under martial law to legitimize the Martial Law regime of General Zia. The third parliamentary election was also held in 1986 which legalized the Martial Law activities of General Ershad, the said parliament was also dissolved and held fourth parliamentary election in 1988 in which no major political party participated. The parliamentary election during General Zia and General Ershad regime were held under Martial Law only to fulfill their own objectives but not to give democracy a permanent shape. Again whenever elections were held, the voters were not allowed to cast their vote freely. Various obstruction were created so that the genuine voters could not cast their vote on the other hand atmosphere were created to cast false vote. In most occasion the real voters went to the polling centre to cast his vote. But most surprisingly they found that some one earlier had already cast their votes. Besides, there were casting of false vote, widespread violence, firing, snatching away of ballot boxes and unruly atmosphere created in the polling station which had seen a common practice in Bangladesh during the period of General Zia and General Ershad period. In the Presidential Election of 1986 the actual rate of vote cast was very low but it was focussed very high. In the same manner the parliamentary election of 1988 was held without voters. It was purely a voter less election. But the Election Commission announced that more than 70% voter cast their vote which was absolutely wrong and

thus a sense of distrust toward the election and the Government was created. The absence of regular holding of election, unfair and illegal practices in the election, absence of impartial election had a great blow to the building of democratic institution in Bangladesh.

### 3) Party System :-

Party System is the most important elements of democratic political system. Even where there is one party system like China the role of political party is significant. Political parties are inevitable and very important in the functioning of a modern state. A state, in this modern age, without political party is unthinkable. The political party relates with the very existence of modern state and political system. A party is a political organization. It has its own constitution with a political and economic programme and it wishes to achieve its objectives. It has a machinery for internal decision making. The main objective of political parties to obtain political power to run the government of a country and direct its actions to achieve the declared policies of the party. In democratic countries, they attempt to achieve this end through elections. They seek the support of the people in order to realize its stated aims and objectives.

The National political parties were formed in India in the colonial era. The Indian National Congress was formed in 1886 to achieve the independence of India from the British. The Muslim League was formed in 1906 to protect the rights of Indian Muslim and to obtain a separate homeland for the Muslim. Both these parties achieved their objectives. After 1947 in independent Pakistan, Awami Muslim League and later on the Awami League was formed to protect the right of the Bengali people to adhere to the struggle to achieve the autonomy of East Pakistan. The autonomy movement of East Pakistan later turned into the independence movement and ultimately led to the birth of Bangladesh out of the united Pakistan under the leadership of Awami League. Soon after independence the Awami League formed the Government with a parliamentary



model having multiparty political system. But within three years of its existence the Mujib regime introduced one party political system named Bakshal and banned all other political parties. The introduction of one party system created serious reaction in the political arena of Bangladesh. However, soon after the introduction of one party system in Bangladesh the regime of Sheikh Mujib was overthrown by the Military through a Army coup on August 15, 1975. The Military coup of August 15, 1975 enabled General Zia to emerge in the political history of Bangladesh. General Zia was followed by General Ershad. The two Generals first kept Bangladesh under Martial Law and then civilianized Martial Law for more 16 years. The first task of the Military Junta was to ban all political activities. Suspended all fundamental rights, and constitution of the country. As a result a democratic political system could not flourish in Bangladesh. Unlike India, Srilanka and Malaysia of South and southeast Asia Bangladesh couldn't emerge as most powerful nations. On the other hand frequent Military rule and imposition of Martial Law kept the countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan economically and politically backward.

#### 4) Mass Literacy :-

Mass literacy is only a criteria to make democracy a success. A literate man has the power to understand about himself, about his society and the country. He knows about his duties and responsibility. Literacy is a must to build up a democratic and developed society. The great prophet of Islam Hazrat Muhammad (SM), urged his followers to get themselves educated. In modern states where democracy is well practised the rate of literacy is very high. But in the under developed or developing country where literacy rate is very low democracy is proved to be incapable. The great Greek Philosopher Aristotle advocated that since the democracy was a majority rule, and since majority people of a country was illiterate and unwise, democracy would be a rule of fools, illiterate and unwise. Thus, in a state where the literacy rate is very low there democracy cannot be succeeded. Bangladesh is a country of third world nations where

literacy rate is maximum 38%. As a result of a low rate of literacy democracy could not flourish smoothly and Military get the opportunity of taking over political power again and again.

One of the main objective of the vested interest and ruling class was to keep the people poor and illiterate. Poverty and illiteracy of the majority people of the country has been considered as the capital of the ruling class. Using this capital the ruling class get foreign loans and grants and they mis appropriated it. So they never took positive step to remove the illiteracy and poverty of the people. Rather the Martial Law regime turned the Universities and Colleges of the country as mini-cantonment. So their party affiliated student front tried to maintain their supremacy through using armies. General Zia for the first time passed such rule to have a party's student front and their student front struggled to obtain supremacy over other's front. In these struggle their main instrument was arms.

The BNP backed student organization namely Chatra Dal used arms to capture maximum education institution including Dhaka University. General Zia's another policy was to take the meritorious students in his sides and would give leading position to them in his student organization. The terror of Dhaka University was the Neru-Ovi Group who were of Zia's Chattra Dal. Ovi was most meritorious student. But he became one of the leading terror in the campus. So instead of expanding education the educational institutions were made their power centre. Zia's policy was also followed by General Ershad. He created Jatiya Chatra Samaj as an affiliated student organization of his Jatiya Party. But Zia's Chattra Dal was more powerful than that of Ershad.

So where mass literacy is urgently needed to make democracy work able the Military ruler was using the educational institution as their strong base for arms struggle to secure support.

#### **5) Independence of Judiciary**

Independence of Judiciary is the most crucial for the working and success of democracy. The independence of Judiciary implies that the Judiciary must be separated from the executive and it must give the freedom to exercise judicial power with out any interference of the executive. In a developing country, like Bangladesh, the judiciary is not known fully impartial. It is rather controlled by the executive power. The executive appoints the Judges in consulting with the Chief Justice. Since the Chief Justice and other Judges are chosen by the executive, they have become dependent on the executive. So the judiciary is regarded as the branch of the executive. To separate judiciary from the executive and to give judiciary an independent authority is a crying need of the time but after 25-years of liberation the judiciary is still remain under the control of the executive. As a result it enjoyed very little respect amongst the population as a whole.

Martial law not only fail to nourish democracy, but also fail to build up democratic institution and uphold democratic ideal and values. It also fail to attain political development. In a certain country the political development achieved when some major issues can be settled. The issues are the integration crisis. Legitimacy crisis. Participation crises, ideological crisis, distribution crisis and identity crisis. Martial Law and Military rule in Bangladesh neither solved these crisis of the state nor attempted any step to solve it rather acted to make these crisis acute. As a result in many occasion the country and its people had to face diverse problems.

1) **Identity crisis** : Identity is only the method through which the people of a certain country can be known to other country or world body as a nation. But there are many nation in the world where identity of the nation cannot be settled. These problems are mostly faced by the developing and underdeveloped countries. / Soon after independence the national of Bangladesh were declared Bengalee. Bengalee was their identity through which a foreign nation can easily identify that such people who are called Bengalee are the inhabitants of Bangladesh. But after the political change of 1975, the Military General Ziaur Rahman came into power. He then created these problems that the inhabitants of Bangladesh is to be called Bangladeshi but not Bengalee. So the terms Bengalee and Bangladeshi have remained an unresolved issue for more a decade. The Military leaders General Zia and General Ershad were infavour of the term Bangladeshi whereas the country achieved her independents to have an independent homeland for the Bengalee. So Bangladeshi and Bengalee have emerged a controversial issue which led a crisis of the state and this crisis was created by the Military regimes of Bangladesh.

2) **Integration crisis** : Political development cannot be achieved unless the country is integrated. Integration implies that there should not be any threat or any fear of breaking up the territorial integrity of the country. Before 1971 the Bengalee demanded a separate homeland for themselves comprising the Area of the then East Pakistan. In support of their demand for a separate homeland they Launched a war of independence and finally the united Pakistan was broken down leading to the emergence of Bangladesh. So the Bangladesh or East Pakistan issue was a major integration crisis of Pakistan. After the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation, though the country was started her journey without such crisis, but after a few years, the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts started to raise various demands and ultimately they started secessionist movement. They formed a armed wing named Shanti Bahini in the Districts of Chittagong Hill Tracts Areas and engaged fighting



against the Bangladesh authority. They demanded to carve out a separate independent 'Mog' state out of Bangladesh. It was argued that this crisis was linked up with the Military rule in Bangladesh.

3) **Ideological crisis** : Ideology is the guideline of a nation. It is a guideline on the basis of which the country can move toward the development. The ideology of the state should be fixed and clear result of which a nation can reached to her ultimate goal. But the ideology of the third world countries was not adopted specifically. Bangladesh emerged with the high ideals of democratic polity, socialistic economy and secularistic principals of state. Accordingly, the country began her journey and necessary measures was taken to implements those principles of state policy. But overthrowing the Awami League government which led the independent of the country, General Zia amended the constitution. He replaced the term 'socialism' from the constitution and inserted Bismillah instead of secularstand. Thus the ideology of socialism which had adopted as state principles was crushed by General Zia. Once all the big industries and financial institutions were brought under state control, General Zia began to disinvest the nationalised properties. General Ershad followed Zia. Again following the path of Bismillah General Ershad made Islam as a state religions. Once the country was started with a secular state, the Army General's turned it a communal state. All these deeds of the Military regimes led to create an ideological crisis in Bangladesh. One group favoured to establish socialism, another group tried to establish capitalism and the Islamic fundamentalist group try to establish Islam in every stage of the state life.

4) **Participation Crisis**:- The word 'participation' refer to give each and very citizen of the state the right to exercise his vote to elect the representative to govern the country. The right of the people's participation in electing representative to the parliament, to elect executive, implies that the source of all power of the state is people. The state will be governed on the good will of the people. This practices of people's

participation is accepted in every western developed states. But the people's participation in the government is hardly allowed in the third world countries. In Pakistan President Ayub Khan denied the participation of the masses. Rather he introduced a Basic Democratic system. Through which 80,000 representatives would be elected on the basis of peoples' participation. These 80,000 Basic Democrats would formed a electoral College and elected the member of the provincial and National Assemblies and finally would elect the Chief Executive, the President of the country. So under the basic democratic system the common people had no relation with the member of the parliament and president of the country. They were elected through indirect participation of the people. In Pakistan during her 23- year upto 1970, the direct participation of the people was denied and people were not allowed to exercise their franchise through direct election. As a result the Military leader Ayub Khan failed to develop legitimist political institutions and ensured meaningful participation of the people in the political system. But the Ayub system of Basic Democracies which took away the people's right of direct participation resulted a mass upheaval and let finally to the break- up of the country. After independence in Bangladesh under the civilian regime of Sheikh Mujib the system of direct participation was introduced and on the basis of the election of 1973 the people had found an opportunity to elect the members of the parliament directly. But after the over threw of the Sheikh Mujib regime, again just like Ayub, direct participation of the people was prohibited. People's were not allowed to participate in election before 1979. Again General Ershad did not allow them to participate in parliamentary election before 1986. So the direct participation of the people to elect the representative who well govern the state must be ensured for political development and for survival of democracy. But under Martial Law the right of the people of the state was seldom honoured.

5) **Distribution crisis:** Equal distribution of national wealth should be made for overall development of the nation and the people. But the developing nation of the third world

countries fail to distribute national wealth among its people. Due to the persuasion of bourgeois political system the almost all national wealth concentrated into a few hands whereas the vast majority people of the country are deprived from their due share of national wealth. During the twenty three years of her existence before 1970 the 22 families had emerged with 80% of the total assets of Pakistan. The same thing happened in Bangladesh. Today all national wealth are concentrated in the hand of a very few families.

Under this system, the gap between the rich and the poor is widen. The rich become richer and poor poorer. As a result frustration developed among the have-not classes and agitation begin against the ruling class. In Pakistan a mass upheaval was occurred in 1969 which overthrew Ayub. In Bangladesh such mass upheaval also occurred in 1990 which overthrew General Ershad. So distribution crisis always remained and never solved in the countries like Bangladesh.

6) **Legitimacy Crisis:** The term legitimacy implies the acceptance of the authority of the government to govern by the people. Very often the Government of the third world countries lose the confidence of the people. The people loses confidence on the Government when, they try to remain in power through unfair way. Rigging in elections, one of the major causes which leads to raise the question of legitimacy of the Government. The Bhutto Government of Pakistan faced serious allegation of rigging in the election of 1977. As a result a strong anti-Govt agitation was launched by the opposition political parties culminations of the collapse of the Bhutto Government in Pakistan, the legitimacy problems was also faced by the Ershad Government in Bangladesh. The capture of power by the Army led by General Ershad on March 24, 1982 was strongly objected by the major opposition of the country. During the Martial Law period the regime did not enjoy the confidence of the people. Hence a serious legitimacy crisis prevailed in the country. The parliamentary election of 1986 was



claimed by the participants political parties as not fair. Later on the parliament had to be dissolved. The presidential election of 1986 was also claimed as a voter less election. The same allegation was also brought against the parliamentary election of 1988. So always we have seen there was allegation of rigging in the election, media coup, snatching of ballot boxes., creation of pressure by the ruling Government on the election commission to manipulate election result in favour of the Government. All these factors leads to the lose of confidence of the people on the Government which create a legitimacy crisis in the country.

We can sum up that the Military regimes of the third world countries including Bangladesh had an impact which did not help to develop democracy. Not only these, the Military regime also could not overcome the crisis which hindered the political development of the country.<sup>18</sup>

The prolong Military and Military-cum-civilianised rule in Bangladesh helped to rehabilitate the anti-liberation forces of the country and united them. Those - who - did not accept the independence of Bangladesh and its ideology of secularism, Bengalee Nationalism and socialism planned to kill sheikh Mujib. Major Faruk Rahman, a self confessed assassin of Bangabondhu claimed that sheikh Mujib had to die because he had betrayed his (Furuk) faith, Islam. Major Rashid another self confessed assassin of Bangabondhu said that they planned to kill Mujib with a view to establish an Islamic Republic of Bangladesh. After the coup of August 15, 1975. Mejor Dalim, another coup maker, announced over the Dhaka Radio". Sheikh Mujib has been killed, Bangladesh is now an Islamic Republic." capturing state power on November 07, 1975 Major General Ziaur Rahman offered diplomatic assignment to all majors who were involved in the coup against sheikh Mujib. The Army majors who killed Sheikh Mujib and most of his family members were never brought to trail. On September 26, 1976 the Government



issued an ordinance which restricted to take any legal or other proceeding against the August 15, 1997 coup makers.

The first Military ruler General Ziaur Rahman was a freedom fighter but after capturing state power, it was alleged, that he took anti-liberation stand. He destroyed the basic character of Bangladesh constitution as envisaged by its founding father. He changed the principles of secularism and substituted absolute trust and faith on Almighty Allah. He also substituted Bangladeshi Nationalism as opposed to Bangalee Nationalism. General Zia made Shah Azizur Rahman, an anti-liberation personality as Prime Minister of the country. He rehabilitated the anti-liberation forces and allowed them to do politics in the country.

The second Military ruler General Ershad did not participate in the liberation war of the country. As like as General Zia he also formulated his policies against the spirit of the liberation. He gave the constitution a communal character and helped the fundamentalists to consolidate their position. One of the most significant consequence of Martial Law, Military rule, and Military-cum-civilianised rule was that the country had been divided into pro-liberation and anti-liberation camps.

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## CHAPTER TEN

### SURVIVAL OF GENERAL ERSHAD'S REGIME IN BANGLADESH AND HIS SUBSEQUENT DOWN FALL.

In the political horizon of Bangladesh General Ershad was the most fortunate President. He was fortunate not only for the reason that he is still alive but also that he ruled the country for a long period of nine years which was an unique record for Bangladesh political system. Before General Ershad, the two Presidents, one Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder President of the country who was killed by a military coup on August 14, 1975 after the completion of only three and a half- years of rule. After the overthrow of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the Army general Ziaur Rahman came to power through the sepoy revolution of November 7, 1975. He ruled the country first through Martial Law and later through civilianisation of his Martial Law regime. Zia also ruled Bangladesh for five and a half years. But General Zia's regime was also overthrown on May 30, 1981 when the military staged a coup which killed Zia. In comparison with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and General Ziaur Rahman, President Ershad was most successful because he led the country for a maximum period of 9- years. It is also true that though General Ershad was survived for the longest period yet he was forced to resign from power in face of mass upsurge. In this chapter an analysis will be made to find out the reasons for which General Ershad was survived as President for the longest period in Bangladesh politics. In this connection an analysis will also make about the factors which led the down fall of General Ershad's Regime in Bangladesh.

#### **10.1 Causes of the Survival :-**

i. **Bureaucratic support:** Lasswell says, the study of politics is the study of influence and influential. The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get. Those who get the most, are elite, the rest are mass<sup>1</sup>. According to pareto, those



who have power they are the governing elite and those who have none they are the mass<sup>2</sup>. In the third world countries the real political power of the state lies with the military. when military tookover power they depended on civil bureaucrat for running the administration. The civil and military bureaucrats became involved in the decision making responsibility of the state. Their relation remained very close. One was dependent on other. During the military regime of Field Martial Ayub Khan in Pakistan, the civil bureaucracy was very visible<sup>3</sup>. A Senior Civil Servant Aziz Ahmed was appointed Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator of the Country and was delegated authority for the day to day running of the administration. Ayub's key advisers throughout his rule was some civil bureaucrat. They were Manzur Quadir, Shoaib, A.Q.A. Shahab, Altaf Gauhar, and fida Hasan, The civil servants not only monopolized all the policy making Jobs in the central and Provincial Government. But also gradually took over the different corporation and autonomous bodies that had been established. The first regime of Martial Law administrator, General Zia of Bangladesh, after taking over power depended on bureaucracy. During his period the civil bureaucracy in Bangladesh regained their lost glory which they had lost during the first Civilian Political Regime of Bangladesh. So, the military after taking over political power had to take the help of the civil bureaucrat for survival. The Ershad Regime of Bangladesh took whole hearted cooperation from the civil-bureaucrats. So long the Martial Law was in force in the country the civil bureaucrats took share with the military bureaucrats in taking both major decision of the state as well as the running of administration of the country. A group of most efficient civil servant was closely related with General Ershad and helped him to implement his policy<sup>4</sup>. This group of civil servant was known as G-10, in the political circle of Bangladesh. As like as President Ayub General Ershad did not take a single politician in his first Cabinet. Not only in the central Administration, the civil servant also dominated in the sector corporation and maintained close relationship. One Mr. A.K.M. Mosharraf Hossain, was the Chief of the BCIC and earned a good name with General Ershad. After the withdrawal of Martial Law the military regime of the third world countries civilianized their Martial Law Regime by taking civil politician in their cabinet seeking people's mandate through referendum, floating a new political

party or joining with an old one or a faction, holding parliamentary election and thereafter through presidential election, President Ayub of Pakistan passed 5- year (1958-1962) thorough Martial Law and then civilianized his marital law regime. Ayub's first cabinet did not include any politician nor did in the subsequent cabinets during the marital law period. Ayub Khan first wanted to eliminate the influence of politician from the body politics because he considered they were responsible for the ills of the polity. But with the introduction of the 1962 constitution the regime included politician in the cabinet. He joint in one faction of the Muslim League known as convention Muslim League. He introduced Basic Democracy (BD) and created a electoral system of 80,000 BD Member to elect the President, members of the National and Provincial Assemblies, General Zia in Bangladesh also introduced Gram Sarker to create a political base for his regime, floated a political party named BNP, took referendum in support of his policies and then participated in the election to elect President.

General Ershad who led the second Martial Law Regime of Bangladesh also followed the footstep of his predecessor. He created Upazila for his rural support base, floated a political front, and ultimately a political party, took verdict of the people through referendum, contested presidential election as Chairman of the new floated political party and was elected. Parliamentary election was also held. In this long process the military leaders civilianized their Martial Law through which Ayub passed 6- years. (1963-1968) in Pakistan, General Zia passed 4-years (1979-1983) and General Ershad passed 5-years from 1986-1990 until he was forced to resign through mass upsurge. In this long process of civilianization of Martial Law the military regime got the help and support of some prominent politician. General Ershad got the support of Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, Shah Moazzam Hossain, veteran Awami Leaguer who were member of the Mujib Cabinet,. He got the help of Aatur Rahman Khan, once Chief Minister of Pakistan. General Ershad drew the support of anti-liberation political forces of the country who opposed the independence of the country. Dr. Matin, Shamsul Huda Chowdhury and Barrister Moudud Ahmed, BNP Ministers of Zia's Cabinet included in Ershad Cabinet. General Ershad got the support of Kazi Zafar, a prominent leftist

leader of the country. These politician helped General Ershad to float new political party through which he emerged as a politician. He got the support of Armed Forces throughout his regime. Many high ranking military officers were the member of his cabinet and later joined in his political party. The civil servant supported him during the whole period of his regime. All these factors contributed to lead General Ershad as head of the state and thus survived a longest period of time in Bangladesh politics. The political and civil-military bureaucratic alliance helped to prolong the military rule (directly and indirectly) in a third world countries like Bangladesh.

ii. **Introduction of Village Oriented Politics.**

General Ershad as militaryman came to the politics of Bangladesh with the slogan "Bangladesh will survive if her 68 thousand villages survive". Such slogan was very new to the 12-crores people of such a country where 85% people live in rural Bangladesh. The slogan of building new Bangladesh by surviving 68 thousand Villages reached to the remoted corner of Bangladesh. As a Chief Martial Law Administrator, wearing Army uniform, General Ershad toured thousands times in rural Bangladesh. Perhaps there was no area <sup>in</sup> Bangladesh where General Ershad did not go. Wherever he had gone he was welcomed by the common people. As president he talked about the building of new Bangladesh. Most often he said that the politics had already been taken from city to village. The days of colonial era had already passed. "We have to build our new Bangladesh and for this it needs village oriented politics aiming at the welfare of the common people of the village area."

iii. **Introduction of Upazila:**

General Ershad wanted to develop Bangladesh by dividing the whole country into 485 Upazila, The concept of Upazila was the brain child of General Ershad. The dream of his new Bangladesh was perhaps could be achieved through the creation of Upazila. General Ershad upgraded all thana into Upazila and identified them as the centre of development. Thus to bring the administrative and development machinery to the doorstep of the common people General Ershad created Upazila. In a Upazila all



machinery of the Government placed, Magistrate Court was established for administration, Munshef Court for Law Justices. Bank established for financial activities. All types of development offices were established. At least one college, one High School was brought under nationalization. For the functioning of the Upazila administration and to carryout the development activities government officers residential building were setup. Thousands of job opportunities in various cadre were created and many young educated youth got Government job. Since the emergence of General Ershad and his creation of Upazila the Bangladesh Public Service Commission used to take BCS Examination every year and it had become a regular practices. Thus the village people most easily found an opportunity to get the Government machinery within their reach and centering the Upazila the development activities were expanding day by day. Besides the administrative, development, educational and financial well-being of the nations the Upazila developed a rural based democratic institution. The Chairman of Upazila was an elected person. The people of the Upazila directly voted to elect the Chairman of the Upazila. So the concept of Upazila was aimed at not only to bring the welfare of the countrymen but also to get lesson a democratic value of life.

**iv. Creation of Sub-Division as District:**

In order to materialize the decentralization of administration General Ershad created Upazila. In the same manner he upgraded the Sub-Divisions into Districts. The then 19 districts of Pakistani period was reorganized and Bangladesh was divided into 64 Districts. At least all the Sub-Division of Pakistani period was upgraded. It may be recalled here that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman before his death was also chalkout to create 61 Districts breaking the then 19 Districts. But his sudden assassination left his dream unfulfilled. General Ershad might have had got the idea of creating 64 district from Sheikh Mujib and he succeeded to materialize the creation of new district and had given Bangladesh a new dimension for upliftment. Through the creation of new Districts General Ershad decentralized the administration which was the prime need of the time. New Districts had given the people of that area an opportunity to get the governmental machinery very near to them which was their long awaited dream.



District extended the urbanization process, traditional way of life were given up. Modernization took its place.

v. **Revolution in Communication :**

The most outstanding and far reaching contribution of General Ershad during his nine years of rule in Bangladesh was to bring revolution in communication. General Ershad was the main architect of modern communication network in Bangladesh. In order to create the Upazila system of administration and to establish all Government machinery to Upazila area a communication network in all Upazila with the District and capital city was urgently needed and General Ershad during his regime did it. In his period more than 400 Kilometer Road and least 21 bridges and Culvert were made. With the assistance of people's Republic of China a bridge on River Buriganga was made. He took all initiative to make bridge on River Jamuna with Japanese assistance. But his fall could not materialize it. So General Ershad made revolution in Bangladesh by expanding communication network.

Today from the capital city one person can go easily to any small town like Upazila in Bangladesh which was quite imagination just before his regime. So General Ershad was the builder of modern Bangladesh specially in respect of communication.

vi. **Pro-people politics:**

General Ershad had undertaken some people oriented welfare activities These were also centered with the creation of his Zila and Upazila. He set-up Upazila Health Complex in each Upazila to give medical care to the greater Section of common people who live in the village area. He made compulsory to serve at least two years in the Upazila for a doctor who obtained MBBS Degree from the various Medical Colleges of Bangladesh. This arrangement to give medical facilities to the countrymen was no doubt a noble step. He created many medical colleges for medical teaching and to carry out his mission to ensure health for all by the year 2000. With the same objective he also gave importance for expanding and developing of Homeopathic medical

teaching side by side the traditional Allopathic medicine. He established a Homeopathic medical Board and introduced Bachelor Degree on Homeopathy under Dhaka University. General Ershad's another pro-people welfare activities was to give education to all by the year 2000. With the end in view, he nationalized at least one College, one High School in all 485 Upazila of Bangladesh. The women constitute the 50% of the total population of Bangladesh. General Ershad had given supreme importance for the education of the women section of the country. So he also nationalized either a school or a college in each Upazila. He made free education upto class VIII for the Girls students. To give at least primary level education to the people particularly to the coming generation he made compulsory free primary education for all. General Ershad's such effort to expand education was highly appreciated.

During the middle of Ershad regime the repression on women was expanding in an alarming rate. This was happened due to the erosion of social and moral degradation. To get Justice and to stop repression on women, General Ershad established family court in each Upazila and passed such related law. He also passed law for maximum 10-years rigorous imprisonment for such social crime like throwing acid to the women's, He established Pathokali Trust for the education of the working boys. He set up 'Gucchya Gram for the rehabilitation of the landless people. Introduction of triparty share system for cultivation of land for the surplus farmer and such other people oriented welfare activities were under taken during the regime of General Ershad in Bangladesh.

**vii. Metro-police-Bourgeois- a strong hold of Ershad support.**

It was stated earlier that the army protects the bourgeois interest of the state. Since they themselves belong to the same class, they do all their best to promote and to protect their interest. The army whenever and wherever come to power they never talk to the change of the fate of the common men. But they always speak about the failure of parliamentary system of Government, failure of the civilian to maintain law and order. In Pakistan while taking over power by both Ayub and General Ziaul Hoque there were

civilian Government. After coming power they did not take initiative to change the fate of the down-trodden people of the country. They never said about the abolition of feudal lord, capitalist flourish~~ment~~ and rising bourgeois. But Bhutto took some initiative to curtail the privilege of these above class of people by nationalization of heavy industries, Bank, Bima, putting up ceiling of land holding. In Bangladesh the first civilian regime of Sheikh Mujib under took nationalization process. Ayub Khan overthrew the first civilian regime of Pakistan and started to build up the capitalist class. General Ziaul Hoque also favoured these class. Mr. Newaz sharif, a leading capitalist of the country and the Prime Minister of Pakistan was the product of Ziaul Hoque. As a result of the long military rule 66 percent of all industrial profit, 97 percent of the insurance fund, and 80 percent of the bank in the country were controlled by the same twenty two families. 334 leading families controlled over a quarter of the assets, 10 leading families controlled just half of the asset and all 43 families and group controlled just three-quarter of all assets in Pakistan<sup>in</sup> 1971<sup>s</sup>. In Bangladesh due to the direct and indirect military rule of last 18 years a capitalist class had grown up and by these time a small groups and families emerged with strong economic power. Maximum wealth of the country were being concentrated in their hands. Industries, Bank, Bima, trade and commerce, export, import and business all are conducted by them. By these time maximum wealth of the nation is concentrated to them. The capitalist group who have emerged in Bangladesh got every facilities to be capitalist. These capitalist class always supported the regime by extending moral and financial help. This capitalist class are for the military regime. Military regime are for the capitalist class, both are for both.

**viii. Disappearance of radical leftist force :**

During the period Of Sheikh Mujib the radical political parties were very active in Bangladesh. The Sarbahara Party of Siraj Sikder was active in the greater Barisal and Khulna area. He had strong base in Hilltract area, some place of greater Dhaka and Faridpur District<sup>6</sup>. Mohammad Toaha was active in Noakhali, Dinajpur area, Wahidur Rahman, Matin Alauddin were active in Greater Rajshahi, Pabna area, Abdul Hoque and Tipu Biswas were active in the jessore, Kushtia area, These leftist radical groups



were very extreme in their interpretation of the emergence of Bangladesh. All of them had held the similar view that the country was not liberated at all. One Pakistani bourgeois power just replaced by another bourgeois power. They all urged that when the liberation war was going to be a real people's war it was stopped and the country was liberated before her actual liberation. So they did not recognize this independence and was said that Bangladesh revolution war was an unfinished revolution and after liberation all these group started war to eliminate these bourgeois group with a view to liberate the country in the real sense of the term. These radical political group and their violent activities were a great threat for the regime of Sheikh Mujib. During the whole period of the post liberation era these group were very active all over the country<sup>7</sup>. Besides these radical group the Gonobahini of JSD was also a great threat to the regime of Sheikh Mujib. It was known that Sheikh Mujib took the authoritarian measure particularly one party system, Presidential system, imposition of emergency, suspension of fundamental rights partly to face this radical forces. Sheikh Mujib also did a political blunder by Pardoning the anti-liberation forces hoping that if set free they would face the radical threat. But during the regime of Sheikh Mujib Siraj Sikder, Chairman of the Sarbohara Party was first arrested and later killed. With the killing of Siraj Sikder the revolutionary activities of the Sorbahara Parties came under control.

JSD, the another leftist parties in Bangladesh launched a radical group named by Ganobahini<sup>8</sup>. The Gonobahini had a secret wing in the Bangladesh army named Biplobi Sainik Sangstha whose main purpose was to capture state power. The commander of the Gonobahini and its Biplobi Sainik Sangstha was Colonel Abu Taher.

Before having maturity this Biplobi Sainik Sangstha had to stage the November 7, 1975, Sepoy Revolution to counter the November 3, coup of Khalid Mosharraf which brought Major General Ziaur Rahman in power. But General Zia hanged Colonel Abu Taher and did every thing to crush JSD and his Gonobahini including Biplobi Sainik Sangstha. Really Ziaur Rahman succeeded in his mission by hanging Abu Taher, a



symbol for revolution. Onward the JSD did not keep its militants stand and demoralized. Later on the organization splited into various faction and engaged in opportunist politics giving up the idea of socialist revolution. Thus both Mujib and Zia substantially helped to curve the leftist activities in Bangladesh.

So the period of General Ershad was very safe. He did not have to face such revolutionary activities like Sheikh Mujib and Zia. Rather the leftist welcomed Ershad. A S.M. Abdur Rab the most vocal and critic of Sheikh Mujib regime was Ershad loyal opposition. he alone helped Ershad to survive by taking part in the 1988 General Election forming Combined Opposition Party (COP) with some small political group which the major political parties boycotted. besides A.S.M. Abdur Rab. Kazi Zafar and his group supported General Ershad. Toaha, Abdul Hoque, Matin, Alauddin though alive, but they were politically dead. They gave-up all their activities realizing that 'everything was wrong'. Even most of them supported Ershad in order to prevent the reemergence of Awami League in power. So General Ershad found no problem from the radical leftist which his predecessors faced.

**ix. Institutional Support :**

**a. Army:**

The army has always remain a basic source of support of any military regime in the developing countries . The military leader with the full consent of the military takes over political power, gives whole hearted support to remain in power. But whenever the army withdraw support the military leaders have no other alternative but to resign or to hand over power to another military leader or to the civilian political leader. Such was happened in Pakistan, when the army under the leadership of Ayub Khan did not support President Iskandar Mirja, he had to quit power. In 1969 in face of the mass upsurge, President Ayub Khan had to handover power when Army Chief Yahaya Khan did not support. In Bangladesh the military leader General Ershad faced serious mass upsurge at the end of his prolong nine years of rule in December, 1990. General Ershad sought Army's support to declare Martial Law again in Bangladesh. But the

Army Chief General Nuruddin did not agree to support General Ershad leadership. So when General Ershad realized that the Army had no support to his regime he quickly took the decision to resign. So long the military leader enjoy the support of the Army he might be remained in power and Army's support has been termed as most fundamental support for military leaders to remain in power. General Ershad during the whole period from his emergence as military leader and taking over political power enjoyed the support of the Army which may be regarded as one of the major causes of his survival in power.

**b. Radical Army :**

One section of Bangladesh Army was highly politicized and actively took part in the liberation war of this country. One Bengali Officer of Pakistan Army Colonel Mohammad Ataul Ghani Osmani had become the commander in Chief of the liberation war. One Major of East Bengal Regiment of Pakistan Army declared the independence of the country on behalf of our great leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Other several Bengali Officers of Pakistan Army were the sector Commanders of the liberation war. Due to direct participation in liberation war the army was very much politicized . One section of this politicized Army led the August 15, 1975 coup which killed Sheikh Mujib, the founding father of the nation. In addition to politicization one section of the army was left oriented. Colonel Abu Taher who was a great freedom fighter and had lost his one leg in the liberation war were influenced by leftist ideology. While he was in service he formed a revolutionary cell within the armed forces of the country. After getting leave from the active service he became the head of Gonobahini of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal, a leftist political party in Bangladesh. Under the leadership of Colonel Abu Taher Biplobi Sainik Sangstha took the lead in sepoy mutiny which brought Ziaur Rahman in power and killed Major General Khalid Mosharraf. Later on, Major Zia hanged Colonel Abu Taher and wanted to clear his future contender. The death of Colonel Abu Taher had a severe impact on the Army. Zia not only hanged colonel Abu Taher but he eliminated all the radical army personnel in the Bangladesh Army. On the other hand the follower of Colonel Abu Taher began to revolt against Zia in several times. The military revolted

at least 20 times before his death in May'30 1981 coup at Chittagong. But during the whole period of General Zia's regime thousands of radical politicized army personnel were killed. Thus General Zia during his 5 and a half years of rule, cleaned up the radical force within the Bangladesh Army and General Ershad had got a radical and politicized free army in Bangladesh.

Though General Zia was a war hero and a freedom fighter but he had no trust on the freedom fighter army. General Zia depended on the repatriated army. So he had chosen General Ershad, a repatriated Officer as chief of the armed forces. In the name of Multi party system in the country he rehabilitated the collaborator of the Pakistan Army who opposed the independence of the country. General Zia made Shah Azizur Rahman a well known 'Rajaker' as his Prime Minister. Due to the policy of General Zia the politicized Army officers were very annoyed to him. Among the freedom fighter military officers who were very critical to Zia's policies Major General Monjur was one of them, General Zia wanted to replace Monjur from his Command as GOC of Chittagong and kept him Commandless. At this General Monjur reacted and While General Zia was in Chittagong on May 30, 1981 he staged a coup which killed Zia. The military coup of Chittagong was the last military coup in Bangladesh. Through this coup the freedom fighter army officers were almost all vanished from Bangladesh Army. All of them were either killed or retired. So General Ershad when he declared Martial Law the Bangladesh Army was basically dominated by the repatriated army officers and since he did not get a politicized and radical army as that of Sheikh Mujib and Zia, General Ershad was very secured and free from such anxiety of military coup. while he took power he declared, 'Inshallah there will be no coup in Bangladesh.' And really during his nine years of rule the Bangladesh Army did not stage any coup. This was a great advantage of General Ershad Which helped him to survive in Bangladesh politics for a longest period of time. His predecessor Sheikh Mujib and General Zia both of them were killed by the military while staged coups.



x. **Position of Army as a most prestigious and privileged group.**

The regime of General Ershad placed the army in a most prestigious and privileged position of the society. The Army has become a real part near of countries politics and administration and has become the ruling elite. Today the army as a class enjoys most. They not only determined the politics of the country but also got appointment in major administrative position of strategic nature . They dominated in most crucial decision making institutions like National Economic council, Committee of food, Agriculture and Rural Development Energy and Mineral Resources Committee, Foreign Affairs Committee, Govt. purchase Committee, Program policy and implementation, review committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts. Senior appointment committee, promotion and service restructure committee, Pay Fixation and Administrative Reorganization committee, national Award committee and other committees appointed from time to time had been led and dominated by Senior Military Officers. From 1976 to 1988 Twenty Three Military Officers both in service and retired dominated in the cabinet under both Zia and Ershad. besides indulgences in politics and administration the military officers had also established dominated position in business circle including the disinvested and private bank, Insurance companies, Industrial units and so on . Upto 1988 five hundred retired military officers were engaged in business in Dhaka. Many of the departmental stores in Dhaka city were owned by military officers. They also hold a large share in private transport business, indenting, export and import business.

From the very beginning of his regime General Ershad had been trying to keep the army happy in several ways . Apart from a dissent salary and allowances he provided them with free furnished housing facilities, highly subsidized rations, special allowances for defence service and other material benefits. General Ershad reserved highest allocation of annual budget for the army. So the army was highly satisfied during the regime of General Ershad which helped him to stay in power for a long period of time.



**xi. Declaration of Islam as a state religions.**

General Ershad during his regime had earned the support of a major section of bourgeois politician as well as a section of leftist politician. His Jatiya Party was an amalgamation of various groups and parties irrespective of ideology and orientation. The bourgeois politician like Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, Dr. M.A. Matin, Shamsul Huda Chowdhury, Shah Moazzem Hossain and Moudud Ahmed etc. were the Senior Members of his party. On the other hand the leftist oriented politician like Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Sirajul Hossain Khan, Mustofa Zamal Hyder were also the powerful members of this party. Besides these, some anti-liberation forces who did not believe in the concept of independence and worked against the liberation of the country like Salahuddin Kader Chowdhury, Anower Zahid, Moulana Mannan were also dominated in his cabinet. In addition to the support of various groups in the society General Ershad wanted to earn the support of the Islamic forces of the country. Since 90% population of Bangladesh are Muslim, General Ershad declared "Islam" as state religion through 8th Amendment of the constitution<sup>9</sup>. His main aim was to get the support of the Muslim Community who constituted the majority of the population. It was claimed that his declaration of Islam as a state religion had a good impact which helped him to survive in power.

**xii. Corruption:**

General Ershad captured power through corruption, he lived in corruption and survived in power for corruption<sup>10</sup>. He used corruption as an instrument to survive in power. His predecessors Sheikh Mujib and General Zia were personally above the corruption charges. Sheikh Mujib knew that his party and party workers were indulged in corruption. But he neither encouraged nor prevented them to do such evil things. Though General Zia's personal integrity was beyond question but his followers like his ministers, parliamentary members, party workers got opportunity to be corrupted. It was his view that if once corrupted the concerned person would not be able to raise his head before him and must follow him. In this way corruption had found a footing in

the social structure in independent Bangladesh. General Ershad was quite different from his predecessors both Sheikh Mujib and General Zia both of whom were above corruption. But in case of General Ershad the situation was different. He himself engaged in corruption. As a result his whole regime was plunged into corruption. Corruption had become a part and parcel of the regime and spread in the social life of the country just like a epidemic disease. Through corruption one could easily earn a lot and could make his fortune. When the main aim of such regime was to earn something or to get the share of wealth of the state to materialize this objective corruption had been accepted as a best means. So General Ershad combined with himself the qualities of being corruption and to make corrupt others enabling them to get some material benefits which was used as a capital to support General Ershad.

**xiii. Absence of Ideological Basis, Disunity and disintegration of political parties.**

Political party must be guided by an ideology. After capturing power political party implement it. But the military initiated political party had no such widely accepted ideology. The political party of Ziaur Rahman and General Ershad had no ideology but some economic programme. Instead of capitalism, socialism or democracy they spoke about the politics of production, Which can never be treated as an ideology in the literature of political science. Since there is absence of an ideological based political party the military initiated party need not dedicated workers or leaders to implement the declared ideology. It is very interesting that when a military General took initiative to float a political party, he did not find any trouble to get the workers and leaders. The so-called opportunist political leaders and workers from various political group and parties gathered around him and expressed their solidarity to work under him and promised to serve for his cause. Both in villages and in urban area a group of supporters grew up overnight and changed the past political affiliation in order to get the share of benefit distributed by the regime.

When Ziaur Rahman took the initiative to form BNP he found one section of NAP (Bhashani) led by Mashiur Rahman (Jadu Miah), he found anti liberation forces like

shah Azizur Rahman to support him, he instigated Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury to break the Awami League. Again when General Ershad declared Martial Law he found a lot of politician to support him and when he floated Jatiya Party, most prominent and leading politician of the country stood behind him. The BNP of Zia was broken and first a group led by Dr. M.A. Matin and Shamsul Huda Chowdhury joined in Jatiya-Party, Shah Azizur Rahman also came away from BNP. A group later on led by Moudud Ahmed also left BNP and Joined in Jatiya Party. So with the formation of a new political party led by a military General the existing parties splited which led to flourish the new one. In this process first BNP and then the Jatiya Party was formed. Due to the erosion of the existing political parties, the anti-military movement could not be started and if started the opposition political parties could not be united. The military regime always tried to give bribe to the politician or give special privilege to some political parties. The Military leader always tried to divide them with a view to pave the way for rule. During the whole period of General Ershad the opposition political parties specially the Awami League and the BNP did not unite until 1990. In 1990 when they united under a single point the regime of General Ershad collapsed. But until their united movement they could not force General Ershad to resign.

#### **xiv. Donor's Support.**

In the third world countries the survivality of any regime, both civilian and military largely depended upon the support of the external power. The will of the poor people of these area are honoured seldom. When a pro-people regime come in power through people's verdict if that regimes acts against the interest of certain external forces in any way that Government may not remain in power. The emergence of Bangladesh and the civilian regime of Sheikh Mujib was its best example. Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation against the wishes of USA, the world greatest super power. But the regime of Sheikh Mujib Survived a minimum period, under conspiracy of external and internal forces the regime of Sheikh Mujib was collapsed. The government of President Allende in Chille was also collapsed due to external conspiracy. Today President Saddam Hossain of Iraq, Col. Moumum Gaddafi of Libya are facing opposition from



external power and the survivability of these regime, inspite of the overwhelming support of their own people, are threatened and may be collapsed in any moment.

The military regime of General Ershad had enjoyed foreign supports throughout the whole period of his regime. General Ershad took political power on march 24, 1982 having received green signal from some external power including the U.S.A. he maintained most friendly relation with the super power constantly. He visited USA several times in his tenure of office as President and met George Bush, the then President of the U.S.A. He visited France and met President Frances Metera. he visited japan and China and met with the top leaders of the respective countries. General Ershad visited several times in Saudi Arabia and got the blessing of king Fahad and other Saudi leaders. He also visited India and Pakistan and maintained close relation with them. good relation and support of the external countries mostly depends on how the interest of that or those countries are honoured. General Ershad in Bangladesh most honestly served the interest of those country. It is widely known to all that Bangladesh lives on grants and assistance of worlds donor countries received through World Bank and Asian Development Bank. Before granting any loan by World Bank the recipient country has to fulfill some conditions. The condition of World Bank are designed in such a way that 85% loans given by the donor countries has to go back to them. In the name of consultancy fee, chartering of ship of their own countries, import of necessary material from their own countries and in other various ways, a lion's share of the loans of the donor countries had gone back to them. As a result the real benefit of the recipient countries like Bangladesh is quite negligible. Those organization like world bank gives loan mainly to the Non-productive sectors which does not play any contribution to the economic development of the country. As a result of the World Bank persuasion of anti-development policies the third world countries like Bangladesh inspite of huge grants and loans received from the donors countries, remained poor. Poverty has been used in the 3rd world countries as a capital to get further loan. But it is interesting that no specific step was taken to improve the condition of poor people of Bangladesh. The rate of poverty in Bangladeshis have been increasing day by day.



Eighty percent people of Bangladesh remain under poverty line. Though Bangladesh today is not termed as a bottomless basket but is called a economically handicapped country. The situation has reached in such an alarming position is that Bangladesh can not carryout its economic policies without foreign loans and grants. The fate of the regime whether it is civilian or military entirely depends on receiving the flow of foreign grants. As a result the regime has to maintain good and close relation with the donor countries for their own survival.

General Ershad after taking over power maintained continuous contact as a result the relation with the donor countries never hampered or caused to stop the foreign loans and grants. As a most faithful partner the regime of General Ershad carriedout the directions and fulfilled all conditions of world Bank so that he got maximum volume of foreign loans but the country which he led remained poor. But one of the main characteristics of the donors was that they first see whether their own interests under any regime were safe or not. When they see that under a particular regime their interests either may be economical, political, are to be jeopardized then they do not hesitate to withdraw their support from the regime. Such was happened also in case of General Ershad. During the whole period of his regime the donor countries supported General Ershad. But in face of the mass upsurge of 1990 they saw that in order to protect their own interest the 'referee' should be changed. So they automatically withdrew their support from General Ershad which facilitated his down fall on December 4, 1990.

## **10.2 MASS UPSURGE OF 1990 AND THE DOWN FALL OF THE ERSHAD REGIME :**

### **i. Factors leading to the Mass upsurge of 1990 :**

The year 1990 had been marked as the most remarkable year in the nine years old regime of general Ershad as well as the prolonged anti-Ershad movement of the opposition political parties and alliances. On that year on October 10, the major political parties staged a sit in demonstration around the Bangladesh Secretariat to press the demand for resignation of the Ershad Government and holding of election

under a neutral caretaker Government. The incidents occurred on that day passed the way for the mass upsurge of 1990 which led to the collapse of the Ershad regime.<sup>11</sup> The opposition alliances and parties such as eight party, seven party, five party alliances and Jammāt-e-Islami, The Muslim league, The Jatiya Gonotantrik party and their student organisations participated in the demonstration. The October 10, sit in demonstration was the most violent program taken by the alliances and parties after the Dhaka seige program on November 10, in 1987. During the observance of sit in demonstration programme around the Bangladesh Secretariat five persons were killed and over 200 others injured in a series of pitched battles between the police and the political activists. Among the killed persons Zahid Hossain a student of Finance Department of Dhaka University was identified<sup>12</sup>. The sit in demonstration programme began peacefully from the morning of the day, streams of processions from different corners of the metropolis converged Bangabandhu Avenue, northern gate of Baitul Mukarram and GPO area chanting anti-governmental slogans. Since early morning strong contingents of police were posted on guard at various strategic point. The trouble originated when a police contingents forced its way into the crowd gathered at the northern gate of Baitul Mukarram where Begum Khaleda Zia as well as of the student leaders of her party and alliance were injured in police action.

Awami League Chief and the leader of the Eight party alliance Sheikh Hasina urged the people to launch non co-operation movement to bring down the regime of General Ershad from power and to establish a democratic government through a free and fair parliamentary election under a neutral government. Addressing a mammoth gathering at the "Zero Point" near Awami league office during the sit in demonstration Sheikh Hasina declared that the mass movement would be intensified further to overthrow the Ershad regime that upsurged the democratic rights of the people, destroyed the national economy by rampant corruption. She declared that today's nation's only demand is the ouster of Ershad from power<sup>13</sup>.

Begum Khaleda Zia, chairpersons of BNP and leader of the seven party alliance expressed her determination to carry on the movement till the fall of the regime. Addressing a press conference at a party office Begum Zia strongly condemned the killing of political workers by police firing during the sit in demonstration programme. Meanwhile the mainstream opposition alliances and political parties had given a call for a half day hartal in Dhaka city on October 14, 1990 in protest against the killing, arrest of political workers and students during the secretariat gherao programme. During the hartal period Maniruzzaman Azad, a first year student of politechnical Institute at Tejgaon was killed<sup>14</sup> and 100 others including several policemen were injured in a day long pitched battles between the students and police in the metropolis.

As the news of the death spread the student of Dhaka University and other institutions came out on the street in militant processions. The students of the Dhaka University took the victim to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Hall and brought out a mourning procession with the dead body at 2-00 p.m. Earlier the all party students union (APSU) invited the political leaders of all opposition parties to present at 'Aparajaya Bangla' where on request of the APSU Sheikh Hasina announced the programme. In the meantime the government ordered the closure of all educational institutions in the city including the Dhaka University for an indefinite period. The authority also asked the students of the Dhaka University to vacate their halls by 07-00 a.m. Meanwhile thousands of students of the Dhaka University staged demonstration in front of the Vice Chancellor's residence protesting the government order. Strong contingents of police had also been deployed on the campus to step up security.

The anti-government movement spearheaded by mainstream opposition through the sit-in demonstration gained momentum. The students took the street, engaged pitched battles with police, urged the opposition leaders to unite. The students even threatened that the two leaders of the opposition, Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia, who had been maintaining distance over basic political differences would be



gheraoed if they fail to forge unity to establish democracy in the country. The students said that they would carry forward the movement and would not spare any one who would weaken the unity.

Begum Khaleda Zia, the BNP chairperson and seven-party alliance leader told in a public meeting that she was ready to carry on the current movement with all opposition leaders to oust the Ershad government. Meanwhile country's 92 leading intellectuals and professionals urged the opposition political parties to build-up a vigorous united movement on the basis of the spirit of the liberation war to end autocratic rule, they also called for paving the way of establishing people's sovereignty through free and fair election under a neutral caretaker government.

Meanwhile, the mainstream opposition alliances and political parties including the eight party alliance observed "Mourning Day" on 19, October, 1990 to show respect to those killed in democratic movement since October 10, 1990. Streams of processions were brought out in the city. APSU brought out a mourning processions which marched in silence carrying black flags. Wearing black band the students started their processions from Dhaka University and gathered in front of GPO. Khairul Kabir Khokon, General Secretary of the DUCSU and Habibur Rahman Habib, president of the chattrra League jointly hoisted the black flag at GPO square, which is known as 'Noor Hossain Square". It may be recalled that Noor Hossain was killed in observances of Dhaka seige day on November 10, 1987. The APSU held a rally in front of the National Press Club. Speakers at the rally pledged to take forward the movement for the restoration of democracy. Students leaders addressing the rally said that the only way to show respect to the martyrs was the establishment of democracy forcing the ouster of the Ershad Government.

The Awami League Chief Sheikh Hasina warned that the people would not any more tolerate Martial Law in the country. Hasina vowed to carry forward the anti-government movement still the fall of regime. BNP chairperson and Leader of the



seven party alliance Begum Khaleda Zia called upon the people to make mourning into a strengths to boost the on-going democratic movements. She said that the valiant sons of the soil had made their supreme sacrifice for the sake of democracy and if any body betrayed the sacrifice, the people would reject them. The APSU urged the students to uphold student unity at all costs. The students hoisted black flags at Zero point of GPO in the city. All party students alliance held a rally and said 'We are now united, no repression would suppress the democratic movement.' In the meantime the teachers and students of the Dhaka University took a bold action deciding to resume class defying the Government order. The Government closed down all five Universities in the country forcing the students to leave their halls last months in the wake of mass movement launched by the opposition since October 10, 1990 to force the regime to resign and hold a free and fair election under a neutral Government. Meanwhile the country's mainstream opposition political alliances and political parties announced identical programme of 48 hours country wide hartal on November, 20 and 21. In the meantime some 21 mid-level workers were arrested from different areas of the capital city. They were given one month detention each. The government had asked concern agencies to round up opposition leaders and activists. The five party alliance stressed the need for a vigorous movement from a single platform to unseat the autocratic government which had been ruling the country for about nine years. Addressing a post hartal rally near GPO the leader of the alliance of left leaning political parties announced country-wide 48 hours hartal on 20-21 to paralyse the administration as part of their anti-government movement.

The sudden turn of political events in the walk of an invigorating anti-government opposition movement since October 10, 1990 sent shockwave to the ruling Jatiya party and gave fresh impetus to the opposition movement. The opposition camp became very serious about a united movement to unseat the Ershad government and the unity of the opposition party became stronger under constant pressure from the students and the country's intellectuals. To demonstrate political will the two leading opposition parties - The Awami League and BNP had already committed themselves to

carry forward the mass movement till the fall of the regime and establishment of a democratic government through a free and fair election under a neutral government. The rightist parties like Jammāt-e-Islami and Muslim League as well as the left leaning five party alliance had also joined the mainstream opposition which further intensified anti-government movement. The democratic movement spearheaded by the students' organisations who formed all party students unity (APSU) sinking their differences exerted pressure on their respective political organisations to launch united movement to overthrow the Ershad regime.

In the wake of constant anti-government movement President Ershad held emergency meeting with his key political advisors and instructed his cabinet members and party leaders to reach out to the people in their respective constituencies to mobilise public opinion in building resistance against opposition onslaught side by side the government offered for political dialogue. But the mainstream opposition parties and alliance rejected government offer for political dialogue which was made earlier and announced to boycott any election of the Ershad government. The sky rocketing prices of essential commodities in the market and the closure of the Universities and educational institutions inspired the students that added fuel to the discontent against the government.

Meanwhile, President Hossain Mohammad Ershad, gave a clarion call to the people to rise against those who had been trying to create chaos in the country to disrupt the democratic process.<sup>15</sup> Addressing a gathering in Chittagong (his last meeting) he said when the nation needed a united effort to overcome the pressure of its economy caused by the gulf crisis, some opposition parties instead of helping the people were resorting to violence and terrorism to aggravate the suffering of the masses. He said the government could not be changed through creating indiscipline and violence. He reiterated his government determination to uphold the constitutional process and urged the people to strengthened his hand in this regard. In the meantime, Sheikh Hasina the Chief of The Awami League and the leader of the eight party

alliance declared that 'the movement will continue till the goal is achieved. No repressive measure can stop the democratic movement'. She said that President Ershad who came to power 'violating constitution is now shedding crocodile tears for maintaining constitutional process'.

The mainstream opposition parties meanwhile announced identical programme to intensify anti-government agitation movement which included countrywide mass demonstration on October 21, gherao of district and upazila Headquarters on October 23, countrywide rail blockade on October 27 and a dawn to dusk hartal all over the country on November 10, 1990.

Awami League Chief and leader of the eight party alliance Sheikh Hasina asserted that the unity of the people and students had been forged on the street, to remove the autocratic regime from power and establish democratic government through a free and fair parliament election. None can foil this unity now and the fall of the corrupt regime is imminent" she announced. She added that Awami League and eight party alliance always believed in constitutional movement. She warned against any move to impose Martial Law saying 'the nation wants no Martial Law rule'. She observed that President Ershad had no right to represent the country as he was not the legal elected president.<sup>16</sup> She said that the country was passing through a political and economic crisis created by rampant corruption and misrule of President Ershad. The Awami League Chief alleged that the leaders of the regime were amassing illegal wealth and plundering the national wealth. She told that she was ready to make any sacrifice to carry forward the mass movement for restoring the democratic and fundamental rights of the people ensuring rule of law and establishing a truly democratic government through a free and fair parliamentary election.

The Sramick-Karmachari Oikya Parisad (SKOP) also launched a fresh movement to press home its 5 point demand including minimum wage of Tk. 1400, setting up a new wage commission, reopening of laid off mills and factories,



reinstatement of sacked workers and employees, stoppage of denationalisation and retrenchment of workers. The government in a press note warned that stern action would be taken against those who would engage in destructive activities.

The mainstream opposition alliances and parties meanwhile called upon the people belonging to all walks of life to make countrywide road and railway blockade programme on October 28, 1990 a success. The blockade programme was announced to paralyse the Ershad government paving the way for ouster of the regime. Referring the demand for resignation of the Ershad government for holding free and fair polls under a neutral government, they called upon the democratic forces to unite. They called upon the grass root level leaders to consolidate the unity aiming at the cherished goal for restoration of the people's right.

They were bitterly critical of the government for destroying the country's democratic institutions. Awami League Chief Sheikh Hasina threw a challenge to President Ershad to resign and test his popularity through a free and fair election under a neutral caretaker government. She asked her party leaders and workers to mobilise the people for intensifying the mass-movement to remove the despotic and corrupt regime of President Ershad. She bitterly criticised Ershad government for rampant corruption, nepotism, misuse of power and political repression. She accused the Ershad regime for killing hundreds of people including political leaders and student activists during the democratic movement against the government of General Ershad. Sheikh Hasina said that the movement for democracy would not stop still the achievement of final victory. Accusing the government of aggravating the suffering of the people She alleged that the government had looted the foreign assistance which came for the welfare of the people.

The mainstream opposition parties and alliances including the Awami League backed eight party alliance, BNP led seven party alliance and left leaning five party alliance announced simultaneous programme from October 28, 1990 for further



intensifying the mass-movement to remove the Ershad government from power and ensure a free and fair election under a neutral government. The programme was decided by the liaison committee of the three alliances including demonstration in wards and unions, districts and than all over the country. Gherao of TV and Radio station in protest against one sides propaganda and publicity by the government. The programme also included countrywide dawn to dusk hartal on November 10, 1990 in protest against the killing by police firing on the oppositions, democracy day observation on that day in 1987.

Normal life all over the country came to a halt following road and railway blockade by opposition alliance and parties on October 28, 1990. The day was marked by sporadic violence in the city and elsewhere in the country, several persons were injured and arrested in different parts of the country during the blockade which started at 08-00 a.m. and continued till 04-00 p.m. During the blockade city life and normal activities in the district were paralysed<sup>17</sup>.

Congratulating the people for making the opposition's country wide road and railway blockade a success, the Awami League Chief said that the government had to retreat : sounding a stern warning against any repressive measures by the government to suppress the mass-movement, the Awami League Chief asserted that the wave of mass- movement would sweep away the regime 'the victory will come to the struggling masses, Inshallah, she told aides cheers from the crowd. She said that the whole nation was united to remove General Ershad from power to establish democracy. The Awami League Chief held the regime responsible for corruption, plundering of national economy and violating human right and rule of law. Meanwhile leaders of the all party student union (APSU) at a rally held in Noor Hossain Square near at GPO extended their total support to the countrywide programme of the opposition parties. APSU directed all its units at district and Upazila levels to unitedly carry forward the anti-government movement and urged all its lower level units to form a common front with all others students organisations and establish deep understanding outlook. Their

leader took fresh vow in front of 'Aparajaya Bangla' to remain united keeping the body of Zahid who was killed in police firing October 10, 1990 during opposition sponsored Dhaka seige programme. 'There is no alternative to unity of the students to ensure the downfall of the regime' the APSU added. The APSU in directive also warned all concerned about the conspiracy to weaken the students unity and asked to boycott ministers, parliament members and the Jatiya Party, Socially and prevent their entry into the educational institutions. The APSU unanimously adopted 'Down with Autocracy and Free Democracy' as their slogan. In the meantime Mr. Pankaj Bhattacharjee, General Secretary of Bangladesh National Awami Party was arrested from his residence and was detained under Special Power Act. The opposition parties and alliances condemned the arrest of Mr. Pankaj and demanded his immediate release. President Ershad urged the opposition to shun the path of destruction and come to the path of election through discussion to seek people's mandate.

Meanwhile, Awami League Central working committee asked the people to march forward with the democratic movement ignoring all repression's and provocation's. Begum Khaleda Zia Chairperson of BNP and seven party alliance said that the movement to unseat the president government would continue until 'final victory' of the people. Shah Moazzam, the Deputy Prime Minister of Ershad government and General Secretary of Jatiya Party made a fervent appeal to the opposition parties to stop 'playing with fire', people don't want the politics of destruction, anarchy and frustration. They want peace and discipline and continuity of the development process as initiated by President Ershad, he observed. He said that the President Ershad had introduced a golden era in Bangladesh politics. He warned that if the opposition did not shun the politics of arson and terrorism they would be vanished side by side he dismissed the opposition demand for a caretaker government saying that there was no provision in the constitution about such a caretaker government<sup>18</sup>.

In a peasant rally at Bangabandhu Avenue Sheikh Hasina asked the gathering to spread the democratic movement to remote corners of the country and force the

autocratic regime to step down. "None will be allowed to play with the disunity of the deprived masses, Hasina said adding 'victory is ours". BNP Chairperson and seven party leader Begum Khaleda Zia called for turning the mass movement into a mass upsurge to dismantle the Ershad government.

Meanwhile, due to Babri Mosque issue there was a threat to disrupt the communal harmony. Government imposed indefinite curfew in all major cities of Bangladesh including capital city. In this issue the oppositions were very much critical of the government for what they said its attempts to capitalize the Babri Mosque issue to foil the anti-government agitation.

In the meantime, President Ershad on November 4, 1990 renewed his call to the oppositions for dialogue saying that no amount of hartals or demonstrations can dislodge his government. He also warned opposition politician of the danger of relinquishing control of their movement to students: "You are intentionally handing over the leadership of the movement to the students. It will be one of the greatest tragedy, you will not be able to control them. He said, 'they must follow the constitutional process, they must talk to me "I am not an autocrat" President Ershad dismissing the opposition attribution to him. The President referred to the 1969 mass-movement which he said replaced Ayub Khan with Yahya Khan. President emphasised that the continuity of the constitutional process must be maintained at any cost.

Meanwhile, the mainstream opposition political parties launched a fresh anti-opposition movement and planned a countrywide hartal on November 10, 1990. Sheikh Hasina urged the people to intensify the movement to compel the government to quit "we want resignation the government, dissolution of the parliament and holding of free and fair polls to form a sovereign parliament under an interim government. Sheikh Hasina asked the people to defy all sorts of obstacles.' If there is any obstruction the whole administration will be paralysed, she asserted.



In the meantime, a dawn to dusk hartal was observed on November 10, 1990 in Dhaka city and elsewhere in the country paralysing the normal activities at the call of the opposition parties and alliances. The opposition leaders considered the successful hartal as another demonstration of total non-confidence on the Ershad regime. In the meantime country's highest seat of learning the Dhaka University which was suddenly shut down by the government by promulgating the education institution (Law & Order) ordinance on October 13, 1990 in the wake of reinvigorated anti-government mass-movement was reopened officially on November 15, 1990 after 32 days of closure. The University teachers and students however resumed the classes earlier defying the government closure order. APSU observed countrywide gherao of Union, Upazila and Zila Parishad offices to press home various demands including repeal of Educational Institutions Ordinance 1990, resignation of Ershad regime etc.

In the meantime, a tragic incident took place at Adamjee Jute Mills on November 15, 1990 where at least 12 workers were killed by a clash of the two opposing groups. Sheikh Hasina accused the ruling party to kill the workers of Adamjee Jute Mills. She renewed her call upon the president to step down in favour of a caretaker Government for holding election to parliament. Otherwise she threatened to paralyse the entire administration by observing 48 hours ceaseless hartal on November 20-21. Begum Khaleda Zia on the other hand asked the government to hand over power to a caretaker Government for holding impartial polls. She said that the neutral Government would arrange election after which a new government would be formed by the party which gets people mandates. The BNP leader said that the Ershad Government would be forced out of power within the year of 1990 and a people Government would be established pledging to maintain the unity forged on the blood of martyrs during the anti-Ershad movement.

In the meantime, President H.M. Ershad on November 17, 1990 said in categorical terms that his government would take all necessary measures to save the country from ongoing anarchy, terrorism and politics of destruction being carried out by some of the opposition parties in the name of democratic movement. Addressing a



huge workers rally at Moghbazar crossing at Dhaka on November 17, 1990 organised by the Jatiya Party as a part of its elaborate programme to mobilise masses against anarchy, terrorism and politics of destruction. President Ershad said that the programme launched to resist anarchy would be a successful one as the people of Bangladesh believe in peace, progress and stability.

The Moghbazar rally was one of the nine such meetings the Jatiya Party had organised in the city to begin the resistance movement against continued anarchy by some of the opposition parties, President Ershad said his government was pledged bound to preserve the sacred constitution and constitutional process of the country at all cost. 'We are determined to protect the sacred constitution even at the cost of our lives'. Begum Khaleda Zia on the other hand said that the government should immediately resign and transfer power to a neutral caretaker authority. Addressing a huge rally at Tangail on November 17, 1990 she said that the people of all strata had now unitedly taken to the street to out autocratic regime- 'this time the government must go'.

#### **Joint Declaration and the formula of Caretaker Government :-**

On November 19, 1990 the Awami League led eight party alliances, the BNP backed seven party alliances and the left leaning five party alliances signed a joint declaration that outlined the formula of transition from an autocratic to a democratic polity. Briefly the four points joint declaration were :-

- 1) Opposition parties and alliances would not only boycott but also resist all elections under Ershad.
- 2) Ershad must resign and handover power to a caretaker government.
- 3) The caretaker government would restore the credibility of the election system and ensure franchise right to all citizens, and

- 4) The interim government would handover power to a 'Sovereign Parliament' which would be elected through a free and fair elections <sup>20</sup> . The joint declaration was a milestone in the movement for restoration of democracy which united the opposition political parties and alliances to lead the anti-Ershad movement from a common platform.

In the meantime the main line opposition parties and alliances announced the outline of the neutral and caretaker government and asked president Ershad to resign and hand over power to the caretaker government for holding a free and fair parliamentary election within three months. The historic declaration spelling out the four points formula of the caretaker government was given simultaneously by the Awami League backed eight party alliances, BNP led seven party alliances left leaning five party alliances and Jamat-e-Islami at their respective rallies in Dhaka on Monday, the November 20, 1990 <sup>21</sup> . The leaders of the three alliances approved the outline of the caretaker government worked out by the liaison committee of the three alliance in consultation with the constitutional expert. The three alliances resolved not to participate in any election under the government of President Ershad. They had decided not only to boycott the election under the Ershad regime but also to resist all elections under General Ershad. The three alliances reiterated that they would participate in the polls for electing a sovereign parliament under the caretaker government.

The agreed formula of the caretaker government stipulated that President Ershad would dissolve his government , the parliament and he would have to appoint a neutral and non-partisan person as Vice President acceptable to the three alliance and parties under Articles 51 (A) Clause-3, Article 55 (A) Clause-1, and Article 51 Clause-3 of the constitution. After his resignation President Ershad will have to hand over power to the Vice President who would be head of the caretaker government as the acting President. The interim caretaker government would hold a free and fair election for a sovereign parliament within three months time of its installation. The head of the interim

caretaker government must be a non-partisan and neutral person who would not be associated with any political party directly or indirectly and he would not contest the election of President, Vice President and parliament. No minister of his caretaker government would participate in any election.

The caretaker government would perform only the day to day administrative activities and it would reconstitute the election commission and redefine its activities and responsibilities. The interim government would restore the credibility of election system and ensure the franchise right of all voters. It would also guarantee the freedom of Radio and Television and the state control media to ensure the right of publicity and election campaign through this media to all <sup>22</sup>.

Meanwhile, according to the pre-declared programme twenty four hour hartal was observed on November 20, 1990 at the call of the mainstream opposition <sup>23</sup>. There were vigorous clashes and violence in the city and elsewhere in the country. Normal life was disrupted. The clash between the supporters of mainstream opposition parties and ruling Jatiya Party left at least 200 injured throughout the country. All shops and commercial establishment in the city remained closed. The attendance in government office was very thin.

In the meantime, the major opposition political alliances and parties announced a 72 hours country wide total blockade on December 10, 11 and 12 as part of their anti-Ershad mass movement to unseat the government. The announcement for the blockade was given simultaneously by eight party, seven party, five party and Jamat-e-Islami at their respective rallies held in Dhaka in November 21, 1990. Eight party alliances leader Sheikh Hasina said that the 'fall of the government is imminent' and asked the administration to remain neutral in the oust Ershad movement. "Ershad's fall is imminent, victory is ours" Hasina told a big rally in Dhaka as thousands of her workers and supporters waved hands and shouted slogans expressing support to her struggle. 'We have shown the road, the constitutional means, leave power and save



people'. She said adding 'choose your path or get ready for the eventuality', she also said that the people had been struggling for a democratic rule ending dictatorial regime which had deprived them to their right to food and franchise <sup>24</sup>.

Meanwhile, a painful incident took place at Dhaka University where several students were injured following an hour long gun battle between the gunmen led jointly by Sanaul Huq Niru and Gulam Faroque Ovi both expelled leaders of JCD. The trouble started when a procession of APSU came under attacked. Leaders of the eight party, seven party and five party alliances in a joint statement condemned the attack of the APSU procession. They observed that the incidents at Dhaka University campus was another black chapter created by the government. The leaders of the alliance accused the government of encouraging the armed terrorists and reinstating them in the University. They alleged that the government had released members of armed group of Niru and Ovi who were detained earlier in the Jail as a design to disturb peace in the campus. Meanwhile, President Ershad alleged that the oppositions handed over leadership and bombs to the students <sup>25</sup>.

After eight years of sustained movement the rapid fall of the Ershad regime began from November 27, on that day Dr. Shamsul Alam Khan Milon, joint secretary of the Bangladesh Medical Association and a teacher of Dhaka Medical College was shot dead near the TSC on the Dhaka University Campus which electrified the middle class sentiment <sup>26</sup>. This might be compared with the death of Dr. Shamsuzzoha of Rajshahi University which spearheaded the mass upsurge of 1969. After the killing of Dr. Milon the police encircled the cantonment resident of BNP Chairperson Khaleda Zia. Police interned at Road No. 32 Dhanmondi Residence of Awami League President Sheikh Hasina. At 04-00 p.m. government imposed curfew in the Dhaka city from 09-00 p.m. and in Chittagong, Rajshahi and Khulna from 12-00 midnight. On 27 November, after more than seven weeks of mounting violence and civilian casualties, troops and armoured vehicles moved out of the Dhaka Garrison to enforce an indefinite curfew. At 10-00 p.m. in an unscheduled address on Radio and Television, General Ershad



proclaimed a state of emergency to preserve national security and save the economy from the violence and destructive politics<sup>27</sup>. Under the emergency powers ordinance 1990 the government imposed press censorship, suspended civil right and banned all processions, meetings, rallies, demonstrations, strikes and lockouts. The state owned Television also announced that all the country's School, Colleges and University would remain closed for a month.

The proclamation of a state of emergency did not bring the situation under control. Hundreds and thousands of people brought out processions in protest of the declaration of emergency and imposition of curfew and violated the state of emergency throughout the country. APSU, the architect of the anti-Ershad movement brought out a procession from the Dhaka University Campus. A large number of girl students also took part in the procession. Police opened fire on the student procession at Palassy. The student held rally at Central Shahid Miner. The processionist attacked the central office of the Jatyia Party at Road No. 3, Dhanmondi Residential Area, Dhaka where police opened fire and five persons received bullet injury. The Dhaka University Teachers violated the emergency by bringing out procession. People of all walk of life continued to violate curfew and broughtout processions defying the declaration of emergency throughout the country. In Mymensingh three persons were killed when police opened fire on a procession. In many places including Chittagong people uprooted the railway line, as a result, railway communication became disrupted. In Khulna, Rashahi and Barisal people violated the state of emergency and curfew. Since 27th November journalist began to strike in protest against the declaration of emergency and imposition of press censorship resulting which no news paper came out . On 29th November in protest the emergency, The Vice Chancellor, Pro-Vice Chancellor and teachers of the Dhaka University announced their decision to resign. All teachers of Chittagong Medical College were also announced their decision to resign. People procession, violation of curfew and strong agitation continued throughout the country. On 30 December after Jumma Prayer 'Gyabana Janaza' was held at Baitul Mukarram from where a big procession was brought out. The leaders of the three

alliance urged the people to observe complete dawn to dusk hartal throughout the country on December 1. In the meantime, several persons were killed when police opened fire on various procession which was continued to violate curfew and emergency. Meanwhile on December 2 the opposition alliances distributed leaflet and urged the people to stage a mass upsurge. They also urged the people to observe eight hours hartal everyday from 06-00 to 02-00 p.m. from December 4.

Ershad in a Television and Radio addressed broadcast at 09-30 p.m. announced a 10 point 18 proposals for negotiation with the opposition which included holding of presidential and parliamentary election on the same date and handing over power to a Vice President<sup>4</sup> who will be nominated in consultation with the opposition<sup>5</sup> before fifteen days of filing nomination for the elections. In a reaction broadcast through the Voice of America BNP chairperson, Khaleda Zia and Awami League President Sheikh Hasina rejected the proposal and asked Ershad to step down immediately. They also urged the people to continue the movement till final victory was achieved. Hundreds of thousands of people came out to the street protesting the proposal. Eight party alliance, five party alliance and Jamat-e-Islami leaders held their respective rallies where large number of people of all walk of life were attended. They strongly demanded the immediate resignation of General Ershad.

Ultimately at 10 p.m. on December 4, President Ershad announced his decision to resign immediately<sup>29</sup>. He called upon the country's mainstream opposition to nominate one Vice-President. He also demanded an emergency session of the Jatiya Sangsad on December 4 to approve the nomination of newly appointed Vice-President. He also announced that parliamentary election would be held before presidential polls next year. Through the announcement of the step down of General Ershad the much cherished victory of people's movement was achieved.

The day long proceedings of December 4, were particular, people took to street around the National Press Club, various parts of the city and other strategic points,

Doctors, Lawyer, Journalists Writers and Cultural workers had already been in the movement.

The announcement of Ershad's decision to resign sent an electrifying wave of victory jubilation across the length and the breadth of the country. Dhaka city came alive with thousands of people young and old men and women. The street which remained haunted by curfew came to life with jubilee people. They spontaneously chanted slogan and formed processions. In an hour the Tupkhana road from the Press Club to Purana Paltan, turned into a festival venue. Processions of merry making people from all the corners of the city appeared there around the mid-night. They were parading, dancing, singing and shouting with joy. Just after mid-night an all party students unity procession led by DUCSU General Secretary Khairul Kabir Khokon and Chattra League President Habibur Rahman appeared in front of the Press Club. The student leaders addressed the crowd proclaiming the victory of the people.

A spontaneous public meeting took place in front of the Press Club. Awami League leader Dr. Kamal Hossain addressed the people. Speeches were made, among others, by Barrister Amirul Islam, BNP leader Nazmul Huda, Awami League Joint Secretary Amir Hossain Amu, CPB leader Mujahidul Islam Selim, NAP leader Amena Ahmed, Economist Dr. Atiar Rahman and student leader Nasiruddoza which continued for more than an hour. While the political speeches were being made in front of the Press Club, the Cultural Workers converged at Purana Paltan Square and began to celebrate people's victory in a Spree of patriotic songs, dances and parodies. The combined cultural front organised the non-stop programme under the banner of 'Janatar Joy' Samprachar Kendra (People's Victory Broadcasting Centre) was opened. The programme continued for following days.

On December 5, 1990 a.m. an unprecedented enthusiasm was found among the people of all walks of life to celebrate their victory<sup>30</sup>. Since early morning people in large numbers began to turn up in areas around the National Press club. They spreaded over the adjacent area of Tupkhana Road, Purana Paltan Square, Baitul



Mukarram and Zero point. Spontaneous processions were brought out in many parts of the city and all the processions were marching toward Tupkhana Road. From 08-00 am to mid-day all the Tupkhana Road were occupied by mass of people from all walks of life. The people who were in processions raised slogans demanding trial of President Ershad, his cabinet colleagues and collaborators of his regime. By 11-00 a.m. the entire Topekhan Road from High Court to Motijheel, Purana Paltan, Gulistan Square, Bangabandhu Avenue and Bijayanagar, turned into a human sea. In the afternoon the human stream were heading for the venues of the public meeting of the three alliances.

The Awami League organised a massive public meeting in Bangabandhu Avenue in the afternoon of December 5, where they congratulated the nation on the victory of the mass movement that ensured the downfall of the Ershad regime. They hailed the journey to democracy through a free and fair parliamentary election under a neutral caretaker government. In the meeting Awami League Chief Sheikh Hasina asked the President Ershad to dissolve his cabinet and illegal parliament and handover power to the neutral caretaker government. she also warned President Ershad against any intrigue and conspiracy. She announced that the programme of the three alliances including the 72 hours countrywide blockade on December 10,11 and 12 would continue unless President Ershad resign and transfer power to the Vice President to be nominated by the three alliances. Begum Khaleda Zia on the other hand called upon the people to remain on guard against any conspiracy and said that the peaceful united movement would continue till the handingover of power to a neutral government.

#### **Nomination of the head of the Care-Taker Government**

The main stream opposition parties and alliances nominated Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed as their consensus Vice President to lead the Care-taker Government<sup>31</sup> and asked President Ershad to resign and handover power to him immediately. The three alliances also asked President Ershad to dissolve his cabinet and his illegal parliament as well. According to the decision of the alliances the Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed would head the neutral care-taker Government



as acting President to ensure free and fair polls to elect a sovereign parliament. 'After the election the acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed would handover power to the sovereign parliament'. The decision regarding the nomination of the consensus Vice President to head of the care-taker government was taken at a joint meeting of the three alliance with BNP leader Major General (Rtd.) Mazedul Huq in the Chair. The liaison committee considered the factor that the nomination must be accepted by the donors, army and the political parties, student organisations. After a prolonged deliberation and discussion the name of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed was unanimously accepted by the mainstream oppositions and alliances and on behalf of the alliances Rashed Khan Menon announced the name of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed as the Chief of the care taker government. The relevant resolutions were read out by Mujahidul Islam Selim. Sheikh Hasina called Shahabuddin Ahmed and informed him of the decision. Shahabuddin Ahmed accepted it on conditions that he would return to his post on the completion of his tenure as President.

A little later Sheikh Hasina informed the Chief of Army Staff General Nooruddin Khan of the decision of the three alliances and requested him to ensure the security of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed. General Noor Uddin Ahmed talked to the Chief Justice over the telephone. The leaders of the three alliances Mr. Rashed Khan Menon, Mr. Mujahidul Islam Selim, Mr. Pankaj Bhattacharjya and Nirmal Sen handed over a copy of the decision of the alliances to Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed at his official residence at 09-20 p.m. on December 5, 1990. Shahabuddin Ahmed accepted the nomination. The decision of the three alliances was also conveyed to the government.

#### **Ershad's Formal Resignation and Justice Shahabuddin's take-over as Acting President**

The day of December 6, 1990 has been marked as a red letter day in the political history of Bangladesh<sup>32</sup>. In that day Lt. General Hossain Mohammad Ershad, a military General who captured power on March 24, 1982, after more than eight years

of rule. was bound to resign in face of mass upsurge. on the appointed day of December 6, President Ershad came to President Secretariat at 01-55 p.m. Soon after came the three alliances consensus nominee Justice Shahabuddin. The simple power hand over ceremony started at 02-44 p.m. immediately after outgoing Vice President Maudud Ahmed entered the President Office. Ershad accepted Maudud's resignation as Vice-President and then signed the appointment letter of Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed as Vice President. He then administered the oath of office of the newly appointed Vice President Ershad then signed his own resignation. After handing over the signed papers he stood up and shook hand with Justice Shahabuddin, signifying the handing over of power to the Acting President who was setting in front of him and said "I hope peace and discipline will be restored under your leadership, democracy will be established and the country will advance towards prosperity." At this simple but historic functions besides Maudud Ahmed, Cabinet Secretary M.K. Anowar, Principal Secretary to the President A.F.M. Sadiq, Chief of Army Staff Lt. General Nooruddin Khan, Acting Air force Chief Air commodore Erfan Uddin, Navy Chief Rear Admiral Ameer Ahmed Mustafa, were present. At the corridor General Ershad shook hands and embraced General Nooruddin Khan. The entire function was over within 15 minutes. Earlier the President dissolved the cabinet and parliament to hasten the process of power hand over. The state of emergency declared on November 27 in face of growing anti-government movement was also lifted. The President also directed the Election Commission to take measures for holding General Election within 90 days as per constitutional provision.

Within a hours of his swearing in and taking over as the Acting President following General Ershad's resignation in his first address at the Darbar Hall of Bangha Bhavan Justice Shahabuddin said that he would go back to his own profession as Chief Justice after holding the free and fair election within three month and handing over power to the elected representative of the people 'who will run the country'. 'I am a judge and I have no political party, no political ambition and lust for power and I want to go back to the Bench after fulfilling my task of holding the election'. He told a

distinguished gathering of leading political figures, diplomats and journalists at Darbar Hall. He said that it was common that people come with promise not to continue in power but they later violated this commitment. "Please pray for me so that I may have no lust for power and do not break my pledge to the nation"<sup>33</sup>.

Prominent leaders of major political parties including the two leading ladies, Awami League Chief and leaders of the Eight party alliance Sheikh Hasina and BNP Chairperson and leader of the seven Party alliance Begum khaleda Zia<sup>were</sup> present at the meeting. Chief of Army Staff Lt. General Nooruddin Khan, Chief of Naval Staff Rear Admiral Ameer Ahmed Mustafa and acting Chief of Air Staff Air Commodore Erfan were also present.

In his first policy-making speech after taking over as the Head of the Caretaker Government Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed underlined the need for restoring law and order and ensuring peace which he said was essential for holding free and fair election. He observed that we must bring back discipline and stop violence immediately in the greater interest of the country. He urged the political leaders to form 'volunteer crops' and ensure peace and law and order. He urged to shun the path of violence. To bring back normalcy the acting President advised that all offices would resume functioning, educational institutions would reopen and the mills and factories would go into production. He said that the economic activities must proceed unhindered so that the donor countries continue their economic assistance to us.

The Acting President reminded all that without restoration of law and order the administration would not be able to function properly. He cautioned that to restore law and order and to ensure free and fair election, if necessary, he would be rude and you must help me, he requested the political leaders.

Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed said that he had agreed to take the responsibility of heading the Care Taker Government at this critical stage of the

democratic movement with a mission to serve the country and the people. Different political parties and professional groups in separate statement congratulated Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed on his appointment as the Acting President of Bangladesh.

His appointment as the Head of a neutral Government to conduct free and fair polls had been described as a victory of people's democratic movement. Eight party alliance leader Sheikh Hasina hoped that the interim Care Taker Government, headed by Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed would ensure free and fair parliamentary election. The Awami League President thanked Justice Ahmed for his assurance of holding free and fair elections to restore of representative Government for which the people had fought a bloody struggle for the last 15 years.

Begum Khaleda Zia congratulated Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed on his Take-over as head of an interim Care-Taker government. She hoped that the prime responsibility of the Acting President would be to hold free and fair and neutral election for a sovereign parliament.

The three mainstream alliances called off their programmes and urged all to resume normal activities in the offices of the Government, Semi-Government and all other institutions in the greater interest of the nation. The alliances took the decision following the transfer of power to Chief Justice Mr. Shahabuddin Ahmed by President Ershad marking the victory of the people's movement for democracy. The alliances however, urged the people to maintain unity to establish a democratic process imbued with the spirit of freedom movement. They paid tributes to those who laid down their lives in the democratic movement.



### Role of the professional in the movement for democracy

The anti-Ershad agitation which started with the opposition sit in programme of October 10, 1990 had culminated in the resignation of Ershad on December 6, 1990. As a matter of fact, though the movement was led by the eight, seven, five party alliance, people from all walks of life including industrial workers, lawyers, doctors and cultural workers participated vigorously from the very inception of the movement. At the final phase of the movement, journalists and civil servants by announcing their solidarity with the movement accelerated it<sup>34</sup>. The movement of these professional groups not only inspired the political agitation but decided its future course. Among the different professional groups the lawyers were the first to oppose the Ershad regime. The decentralization of the High Court by the regime provided the flash point in their struggle. In the eight and a half years struggle, the co-ordination council of lawyers very often played the role of vanguard. The lawyers movement was morally boosted by the High Court verdict on the eight amendment which effectively decentralised the High Court. Henceforth, one law suit after another followed, challenging different activities and policies of the Government up-to last date of Ershad, at least five hundred Habeas corpus suits were lodged in the High Court alone. Mostly relating to illegal custody of persons. Besides, the writ petitions in the 'Robbar', 'Millat', 'Jai Jai Din' case was a major moral defeat for the government. Later on in the 'Khoborer Kagoj' case sections 17(1) and 2(F) of the special power act, came under review. As a result, the government's credibility reached an all time low both at home and abroad. The Government, used this law particularly to combat the movement which developed since 10, October. However on October 13, when the Government closed down Dhaka University and other educational institutions of Dhaka in a bid to contain the just spawned movement the regime promulgated a new law-Educational (law and order) Ordinance 1990. The lawyer took up the matter in the court and ultimately the Government had to open the University on November 13. On November 27, when the state of emergency was promulgated lawyers condemned it as unconstitutional and took to the streets. Barrister Istiaq Ahmed, Dr. Kamal Hossain, Barrister Amirul Islam, all led the lawyers movement.

Convenor of lawyers co-ordinations council Mr. Shamsul Huq Chowdhury asserted 'we wanted to establish democracy and rule of law. And Ershad's removal was its preconditions'.

In the long anti-Ershad movement, the role of the physicians were highly laudable. After the announcement of Health Policy by Ershad on July 25, 1990 the physicians started their movement against it. They went on indefinite strike demanding the withdrawal of the Health Policy till August 14. Due to strong agitation's the Government announced the withdrawal of the policy but by September announced a new committee for finalisation of the Health Policy. The committee was included some controversial persons which was not accepted by the physicians. As a result, they once again went on a strike from 5 October. The participation of the doctors in the final phase of the political movement was termed as most crucial. On November 27, when BMA joint Secretary General Dr. Shamsul Alam Milon was killed by bullets fired by Government patronised hooligans, doctors of the country resigned immediately. The doctors were the first organised group to bring out a procession violating the curfew and emergency.

The teachers of the Dhaka and other Universities played an active role in the anti-autocracy movement. Their decisions on various issue added new dimension to the struggle against the autocratic regime. On October 13, when the University was declared closed the Vice chancellor of Dhaka University formally announced the decision of the Government as illegal. The member of the Dhaka University syndicate and the teachers associations filed a petition against it and violating Government order opened the University on November 10. Their decision inspired the students. When the state of emergency was declared the teachers of the Dhaka University announced their decision for resignation in protest against the emergency and violated the curfew.

In the democratic struggle the Sramick-Karmachari Oikya Parisad (SKOP) had played a most important role from the very beginning of the Ershad regime. SKOP

through their activities intensified anti-Ershad movement. During the period the Ershad regime accepted the demand of the SKOP at least seven times but never implemented. As a result, the labours were always in the forefront of the anti-autocracy movement. From 10 October the violence that erupted in Adamjee under the patronisation of Government took a bloody toll. And the strike by transport workers from 1st December went in favour of the political unrest.

The role of the journalist during the Ershad regime was glorious. At least a hundred working journalists were humiliated by policeman in the eight and half years of Ershad's rule. The editor of 'Jai Jai Din' Shafique Rehman had to leave the country. The editor of 'Bichinta' Minar Mahmud and the BBC correspondent Ataus Samad were imprisoned. Journalists had to go on strike on several occasions to protest against the regime's coercive measures. On one occasion journalists went on strike for 26 days. During the period the Ershad Government banned thirty eight publications. On 27 November when the state of emergency was proclaimed the journalists in a meeting decided to go for work stoppage in protest against the emergency proclamation. It was a historic decision. From 28 November to 5 December the nation remained without any News paper. The regime desperately tried to get the Publication but all their efforts failed in vain.

The Shammility Sangskritic Jote was also active in the movement from the very beginning. The movement by the cultural workers against the national cultural commissioned acting control ordinance 1876 added a new chapter to the movement against the regime. The lists of anti-autocracy songs-poems and plays were quite extensive. After 27th November the Jote organised group theatre. Artists of Radio and TV. began to boycott all programme of the Government controlled TV and Radio. They organised processions and gathering violating emergency. In the final stage of the movement on 4 and 5 December they organised an alternative transmission which operated full days.



In the anti-Ershad movement the most significant and crucial role was played by the united platform of all student organisation, the All Party Student Unity (APSU).

In the democratic struggle of 1990 civil servants of Bangladesh also played a vital role. They resorted to strikes, resignations and ultimately joined the masses on the streets. They remained absent from official work and organised demonstration. The movement of the civil servants was led by some young administrative personnel most of whom were students when Ershad seized power in 1982. They played an active role in the first student uprising of February 1983 and joined in Bangladesh Civil Service during the first stage of Ershad regime.

By 1987, when the opposition agitation against Ershad gained stem the young bureaucrats were sympathetic to the democratic movement. They published bulletins whose response was tremendous. The movement of 1987 was failed. But when the political movement gained ascendancy again from 10, October 1990, the BCS cadres reorganised and met the freedom fighters BCS official and formed a committee to run their affairs. They resented the power of a particular group of secretaries (G-10) who backed Ershad. When the news of Dr. Milon's death reached the secretariat on November 27, 1990 the BCS cadre immediately met to review the situation and decided to stop work. A seven member committee was formed to organise the protest against the state of emergencies. A co-ordination committee was also formed to organise different cadres for the movement. On November 28, a meeting of all cadres was held where some Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries were also present. They decided to organise demonstration the Secretariat and to stop work during the three day blockade. After several days of curfew the Civil servant met again on December 2 at the Secretariat building under the Chairmanship Dr. Mohiuddin Khan Alamgir where they decided to resign. They distributed the cyclostyled copies of resignation. On December 4, they met again at the Education Ministry. A procession marched and came down the nine storied building chanting anti-Government slogans.



They came out from the Secretariat building and joined the masses. 370 bureaucrats tendered their resignation.

#### **Role Of The Donors Countries :-**

General Ershad during his nine years long tenure had created an era where donors began to play an increasingly aggressive role even in minor political issue. It became common to seek approval of the major donor countries even before embroiling on political initiatives. These sorts of action done by the Ershad regime was an expression of a level of political dependence on external source of power. The US congress subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific Affairs became one of the most important where the case of Bangladesh had to be referred both by the Government and the opposition to convince the Americans. During the last stage of the Ershad regime a group of opposition leaders trooped off to Washington to plead for democracy in Bangladesh. General Ershad during his regime had tried to satisfy donor countries for which it was stated that the donor countries were vary happy because the Bangladesh Government had implemented a number of measures which they had been asked to the continuous support of the donor to the Ershad Government dampened the enthusiasm of the opposition in not finding the donor as a partner in politics.

But when the situation turned out they were attacked where-ever found and in fact, at one point the Government itself asked to change the colour of their name plates. But the strong anti-donor sentiment did not subside and vehicles attacked. Us relief agency CARE lost over a dozen cars. As the situation began to intensify it become impossible for the embassies and donor agencies to function. At last the donors made a reassessment of the situation and decided to keep aloof themselves from Ershad. They also decided to keep their office closed till the situation was deemed safe. And in the end the donor had to think that Ershad should go and waited to co-operate with the next set of rulers.

ii. **Down fall of General Ershad**

It was General Ershad who had successfully crushed eight years of people's agitation aimed at unseat him from the office. But in late 1990 strong agitation and movement made his final blow. The declaration of the state of emergency on 27 November that finally led to the fall of General Ershad and his regime.

After the declaration of emergency the situation turned into critical and went beyond the control of the Government. On 29 November, Chief of Army Staff Lieutenant General Noor Uddin Khan, who was in Saudi Arabia in official tour was advised by Ershad to return home cutting short of his official visit there. But he returned on 1st December morning completing his four days visit. Before meeting the President, he sent senior defence officials to evaluate the situation. The Chief of Army Staff suggested Ershad to take the path of conciliation to avoid further bloodshed and resolve the crisis through negotiations with the opposition politicians.

On December 3, the Chiefs of the three Defence Services met him again and said if the crisis continued the nation's independence's and sovereignty would be at stake. It is learnt that their comment and the people mood that prompted Ershad to resign. That night he addressed the nation over Radio and Television which contained a package of measures including his resignation 15 days before filing of nomination papers for election. The opposition refused it.

On December 4, the three Chiefs of Bangladesh Army held a meeting with senior and mid level officers of the three services. The meeting ended with the conclusion that the situation had turned into a confrontation between Ershad and the whole nation. And the Army chose to stick to their constitutional responsibility<sup>35</sup>. This opinion was communicated to the President by the Chief of the Army Staff. On hearing this at his official residence, Ershad was confused. At about 07-30 he decided to resign and drafted a declaration himself within 15 minutes and signed it which was announced by BTV at 10-00 O'clock.

Thus the Era of Ershad was closed on December 4, 1990 culminating the prolonged anti-Ershad movement organised by the main stream oppositions<sup>36</sup> December has been marked as a month of victory. In that month of December 16, 1971 the people of Bangladesh achieved their independence through nine month armed struggle with the Pakistani army. In that time an Army General was the President of Pakistan. After 20 years, in December 1990 another army General was in power of Bangladesh. In December 1971 people won independence while in December 1990 the people put down the autocracy to pave the way of democracy.

The longest surviving ruler of Bangladesh, General Ershad never enjoyed political legitimacy. Political legitimacy has to be earned but not to be proclaimed. In the end, General Ershad was standing in the shifting sands of deception and betrayal. General Ershad managed to survive in his own fashion. Till the very end, he was using his cards of division as same he had mastered and played so well. But ultimately the winds of unity upset every thing leaving his hand empty. Even whose support he had counted on as a last resort was also lost. The declaration of students unity was the most important high of the Anti-Ershad movement. General Ershad did not expect such unity of opposition as well as the students even he did not think it would turn out to be so effective. The unity and movement of the lawyers, doctors, teachers and cultural activists added a new dimension. The student unity was a serious threat to the Ershad regime. General Ershad made another serious blunder to his own regime by releasing Niru and Ovi from jail. They terrorised the University Campus. when Ovi, Niru entered the University the APSU boys in all sense of the term defeated them. This was the worst blow to Ershad's Strategists. The Niru and Ovi were defeated in the campus and so by extension Ershad was defeated. The imposition of Emergency followed by curfew was also a serious miscalculation of General Ershad. The people were ready to defy and defeat Ershad at any cost. The Emergency became an important boundary which had to be crossed and the people did it. Having used so many times, General Ershad had rendered it useless as a weapon of intimidation. People so long desperate but

scared, were no longer afraid. The lawyers community of the country were the most significant one who cast the first rock at Ershad facade by winning the eight amendment case. The leaders of the profession had clearly shown that Ershad's rule could be challenged in court and the Judiciary was strong enough to pass just verdicts. The resentment of the professionals and small to mid level bureaucrats added to the collapse of General Ershad. It was their swift withdrawal of support to Ershad pulled the plug and finally the withdrawal of army's support collapsed the Ershad regime.

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## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Military has been playing a vital role in the politics of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Bangladesh, being a country of developing area has become the victim of military intervention. Since independence Bangladesh was under Military rule for more than 15 years. The first Military coup of August 15, 1975 marked a tragedy in the history of Bangladesh politics which killed Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the father of the nation. The beneficiary of the coup Major General Ziaur Rahman ultimately captured state power and ruled the country first through Martial Law and then through civilianisation of his Martial Law. General Zia ruled Bangladesh for more than five years until his death on May 30, 1981. The second Military ruler who held state power through a bloodless coup on March 24, 1982 was General Hossain Mohammed Ershad also ruled Bangladesh till December 4, 1990, first through Martial Law and then through civilianization process. In this study entitled 'Military in Bangladesh politics: A case study of Ershad regime' an attempt is made to analyze the Martial Law regime of General Ershad in Bangladesh.

In the introductory chapter some theoretical aspects of military interventions are studied. Under this heading : The Military's strength for political power, The Military Establishment and Socio-Economic Development, The level of political institutionalization, Professionalism and civilian control and Military's role as an agent of modernization and social change and its relation with military intervention are studied.

In this context the views of some authoritative writers on the politics of Military literature such as S.E. Finer, Morris Janowitz, S.P. Huntington, Guy pauker, Lucian W. Pye, Moshe Lissak, Amos Perlmutter, A.R. Luckham, A. Stepan and Eric, A Nordlinger are studied. While explaining the military intervention in politics by General Ershad in Bangladesh the study mainly focused the theoretical model as formulated by S.P. Huntington, S.E. Finer and Morris Janowitz. In this connection some causes of military



intervention such as threat of Military's corporate and national interest, Lack of Military's budgetary support, threat of Military's autonomy, threat of lower class politicization, failure of the civilian government, illegal action of the political elite, economic deterioration, social disorder and violence, erosion of legitimacy of the civilian government which influence military interventions, are also studied.

In our analysis we found that the Military Leaders justify their coups by charging the former civilian government's performance failures. They blame the civilian Government for political disorder and violence, for low economic growth rate, widespread unemployment and inflationary spirals, and for failure of socio-economic modernization. The military leaders very often claim that they have to intervene because of their public responsibility to constitution and the nation. At the same time the military leaders assert that they will restore the political and economic stability of the country. The Military elite promise that they will eliminate corruption, up root subversive elements, curb political disorder, generate economic growth and will bring a halt to inflationary spirals. Lastly, all military leaders express their intention to handover power to democratically elected civilian government in near future after achieving some long range political and economic goals.

As we have observed the first civilian government of Bangladesh was formed under the leadership of Banghbandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party Awami league. The new Nation of Bangladesh had promised to implement the ideology of Secularism, Socialism, Democracy and Bengali Nationalism. But from the very beginning of her journey Bangladesh was facing internal and external conspiracy. As a part of it the father of the nation, Banghabondu Shiekh Mujibur Rahman was killed by the reactionaries, on August 15, 1975. With the blessing of U.S.A., Khandaker Mustuque and General Zia made the plan which was executed by Major Faruque, Col. Rashid and Major Dalim. Khandaker Mustaque was also overthrown by another military coup on November 3, 1975 led by Brigadier Khalid Mosharraf who was also killed by sepy Revolution of November 7, 1975 under the leadership of Colonel Taher and

Biplobi Sainik Songstha. The Sepoy Revolution of November 7, 1995 brought Major General Ziaur Rahman in power who ruled Bangladesh first through Martial Law and then through civilianisation process and after five and half years of rule General Zia was killed by another military coup at Chittagong on May 30, 1981.

After General Zia, Vice President Justice Abdus Satter took over the power and was elected as President on November 5, 1980. This study found that the then Army Chief of Staff General Hossain Mohammed Ershad captured state power through a bloodless coup on March 24, 1982 over throwing Justice Abdus Satter and placed the country under Martial Law. It was stated that President Zia appointed General Ershad as the Army Chief of staff by passing the claim of freedom fighter's Army General . General Ershad was very calculative and he used President Zia against the freedom fighter Army officers. Among the most serious critics of President Zia, General Monjur was the top. He criticised President Zia for his anti-liberation stand. Particularly the appointment of Shah Azizur Rahman a well known 'Razakar' as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh created his anger. President Zia wanted to make General Monjur commandless and transferred him to Dhaka as commandant of Army Staff College from Chittagong. It was stated that President Zia did it on the advice of General Ershad. It was also stated that General Ershad also instigated General Monjur to stage a coup at Chittagong which killed President Zia . It was also stated that General Monjur was also killed mysteriously at chittagong cantonment . This study found that after Zia General Ershad created pressure on President Sattar to give Army their share in the country's administration. By his strong persuasion President Satter was bound to form National Security Council with the three Service Chiefs including General H.M. Ershad .who wanted a constitutional solution to the problem. It was also stated that during the period of President Sattar general Ershad had emerged as the most powerful politico-military leader in Bangladesh and ultimately materialized his dream by taking over the political power .

This study analyzed the prolonged political movement of the major political parties and alliance against General Ershad's Martial Law regime. It was the student

community of Bangladesh who first opposed the declaration of General Ershad's Martial Law and spear headed the anti -government movement. 14 student groups of Dhaka University united together and started movement . On November 1, 1982 they first brought out procession violating the Martial Law regulation and clashed with the police . The Martial Law regime of General Ershad faced violent confrontation with the students of the Dhaka University on February 14, 1983. Mr, Akhteruzzaman Vice-President of the then DUCSU, a valiant student leader played an active role to organize the movement against the government. After the tragic incidents of mid February massacre at Dhaka University the political parties of the country started movement against the government . Under the leadership of Sheikh Hasina and her Awami league a fifteen party alliance and under the leadership of Begum Khaleda Zia and her BNP a seven Party alliance were formed who opposed Ershad Government and put forward their 5 point demands to end the Martial Law regime of General Ershad.

General Ershad on the other hand promised to return power to the elected representatives and like his predecessor General Zia he started civilianizing his Martial Law regime. He took a revolutionary scheme to introduce Upazila system of administration. He declared 18 point charter of programmes to bring economic emancipation of the people. He promised to build new Bangladesh with a view to reaching the fruits of independence to the door step of the common people . He spoke to the nation that 'Bangladesh will survive if her 68 thousand villages survive'. With this slogan of building a new Bangladesh General Ershad toured almost every corner of the country. Under the initiative of General Ershad a political platform named Ganodal was formed which later on was renamed as Jatiya Party .He got people's mandate through a referendum and held parliamentary election in 1986. He contested the Presidential election. Thus he civilianized his Martial Law regime as those of other Military regime of the developing countries. But the opposition political parties and alliances continued their movement to hold parliamentary election under care taker Government and until his fall in 1990 the movement against General Ershad and his regime continued.



This study found that during his nine years rule General Ershad brought some changes in the country's socio-economic arena which kept a far reaching impact. Among the reform measures the introduction of Upazila system of Administration, Nationalization of Educational Institution, Implementation of Drug Policy, Land Reform, Formation of Zakat Fund, Compulsory Introduction of Bengali as an Official Language, Establishment of Family Court, Formation of Pathakali Trust and Gucchagram (the clustered village) were important.

General Ershad's economic policies emphasised privatization and denationalization of Bank and Insurance Company. As like as General Zia, It was General Ershad who also believed that private sector would play a prominent role in the economic development of the country. General Ershad announced the new Industrial Policy on June 1, 1982 whose main target was Industrialization of the country. General Ershad returned most of the nationalized mills and industries to their original Bangladeshi owner. Later on the government of General Ershad announced the industrial policy in 1986 which broadened the scope of rapid industrial development by expanding private sector participation through liberalization of investment. But the military regime of General Ershad and his predecessor General Zia helped to emerge a rich business classes in Bangladesh. These rich class became rich by exploiting the nationalized and private banking sector. They got the bank loan using government influence. The main source of their wealth was Bank loans and all of them were the defaulters. Today in Bangladesh a rich man is a big defaulter of bank loans.

This study found that during the Military regime of General Ershad the influence of Army in politics and administration of the country increased tremendously and had got a permanent footing. The military officers occupied most of the crucial positions of the Government. As a result the whole affairs of the state business such as running of Government administration was controlled by the military officers and thus they had already become the key decision maker, its controller and executioner. The main goal of military personnel was to protect their own interest. They enjoyed maximum benefit



from the state and thus they become the chief beneficiary group of Bangladesh. General Ershad's predecessor General Zia was the main architect of militarizing the country's politics and administration. General Ershad simply followed the foot-steps of General Zia and implemented Zia's scheme of militarisation.

During the regime of General Ershad the whole administration was totally controlled by the military. Any crucial decision of the state was taken by General Ershad in consultation with the high ranking military officers. Many times whenever General Ershad faced any serious crisis in regard to the affairs of the state he held meeting with the Senior Army Officers at the cantonment and all crucial decisions were taken.

During the time of General Ershad the military occupied the most important position in the statecraft. Like Zia, General Ershad revived the domination of civil-military bureaucratic role in all the most important position of the state apparatus. The civil- military bureaucrats dominated not only in the cabinet but also in the chief policy making and policy implementation institution like the National Economic Council (NEC), planning commission, National Council, National Council Committee and in the public corporations. Furthermore, representation of the armed forces in the Diplomatic, Administrative and in other government. and semi government. Services had shown a tremendous increase during the Ershad era. The strength of the armed forces was increased from 60,000 in 1975-76 to 101,500 in 1988-89. The defence budget increased on average by 18 percent over the period while total yearly budget increased by 14 percent. For the 101500 members of the army personnel government reserved highest allocation of national budget, which raised up to 1460 crore, during 1990. But it was very strange that a country where 12 crore people live, its 32 percent of annual budget was allocated for this special privileged group of the country.

While demanding the share of military's power in the state affairs before the coup of March 24, 1982 General Ershad observed "Inshalla (Godwilling), there will be

no coups, but what you must do is to find constitutional solutions so that coups and killing do not take place a year later or 10 years or ever again". After assuming power through a coup General Ershad tried his best to satisfy the military so that they could not think for further takeover. With the end of this view he increased the annual budgetary allocation for the military, increased the salary and other benefits, increased subsidy of the ration of the military unprecedentedly. While in service the military personnel get maximum benefits from the Government. They had representation in major financial organization such as bank and other sector corporations and thus they had an opportunity to control the financial institution. They had an opportunity to get house building loan. The army personnel got residential plots allocated by Rajuk in a priority basis and in most aristocratic area of Dhaka and in major cities of the country. While in service most of the army personnel had established business in disguised names. They used their influence in business and earned a lot. Getting retirement with full benefit they were posted in a high executive post of the civilian Government. In most cases they were appointed as Ambassadors, as Chairmans of the Sector Corporation, as Director Generals, as Joint Secretaries, Secretaries etc. and got full benefit like higher salary, allowances, transport facilities etc.

Those who did not show any interest to get appointment in the civilian post they started big business and earned huge money. Being a retired military personnel they got maximum benefit from the state, specially in conducting business. They got license permit, most easily. They got the bank loan, they would have an opportunity to establish industries and had became a pioneer of group of industries. So a military man, after retirement involved in business and become industrialist overnight. Again most of these retired army personnel apart from their attachment in big business associated with the political party. In the political party their as sociation was eagerly welcomed. They got nomination and became member of the parliament. In most cases they became ministers. In Bangladesh to get a job in Army was considered as most prestigious, most influential and most lucrative because they had an unquestionable

command in all the affairs of the government, in politics, in administration, in business, in all affairs of socio-political life of Bangladesh.

The emergence of General Ershad as the leader of Bangladesh raised expectations within the armed service that they would be allowed to play a significant role in running the affairs of the state. Thus General Ershad was able to project himself as the patron of the armed forces and a staunch defender of their interest .

This study found that the Army rule of General Ershad made a severe impact upon the democratic institution building of Bangladesh. The Army rule did not help to flourish democratic institution. The country was not allowed to rule according to the wishes of her people. The election commission which conducted the election was kept as an organ of the government and the chief election commissioner was rewarded by giving the post of Vice President of the government. In most cases the election was a big farce.

This study found that General Ershad was the first ruler of Bangladesh who survived maximum period of time. His main source of support was the Army. During the long period he enjoyed the support of the Armed forces of the country. He kept maximum budget allocation for the Army and kept them satisfied. The bureaucrats were the another strong group who gave support to General Ershad. The another major factor of General Ershad's survival was that he got the support of the donor countries.

This study also analyzed the glorious mass upsurge of 1990 which collapsed the General Ershad nine-year long autocratic military-cum civilianised military rule in Bangladesh. The main architect of the mass upsurge in 1990 was the student community who formed All party Student union (APSU) and led the anti-Ershad movement. During the mid 1990 General Ershad announced his intention to contest in the forthcoming Presidential election. His declaration brought the major alliances and political parties to unite and started to fight against the Ershad government and



ultimately under the strong leadership of the student and non-co-operation of all walks of people General Ershad resigned from the Presidency and handed over power to Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed who was earlier appointed as Vice-President as a neutral and non-partisan person to head a care taker Government to conduct the parliamentary election. This study finally found that when in face of the mass upsurge of 1990 the Army withdrew their support from General Ershad and the donor country's refused to give their support to his government and only then the mighty Army President of Bangladesh General Ershad took his decision for resignation.

This study found that after twenty five years of her independence Bangladesh remains one of the most poorest nations of the world, although Bangladesh was liberated with the promise to build a prosperous country which would be free from exploitation, hunger and poverty. During the prolonged military cum military rule in Bangladesh no practical attempts were made to change the fate of the down trodden people of this country. Again and again the people were used to capture state power or to retain in power. But the condition of the common people deteriorated. Exploitation was increasing day by day. The gap between the rich and the poor were widening. Politics was being controlled by the vested quarters led by the Military, by the muscleman and by the money. But it is also true that during the last 25 years of her independence a rich class had grown who accumulated maximum wealth of this nation. This rich class are known as the bougeois in Bangladesh who are lootera in nature and whose protector are the army. It is also true that the people of this land participated in many movement to realize their right to vote and food. They had to shed their blood. Many valiant sons of this soil had to die for the cause of better life. But the out come of all their movement and sacrifice had gone to this single class of people. Again, in many occasions they themselves struggled with each other for capturing power. If one group of this class capture state power the other groups start movement against them. This has become a regular feature of the politics of this country. A long period of time had already been spent in vain and no more time is there to waste. So it should be the earnest demand that the ruling elite of Bangladesh should take patriotic attitude in their thinking and



activities and they should take whole hearted efforts to make this country a happy and prosperous nation.

In the final analysis this study found that the Army got a permanent footing in the politics and administration of Bangladesh. General Ershad's regime in Bangladesh helped to increase tremendously the influence of Military in the socio-economic and the political affairs of the country. During the Past regimes both civil and military no attempt was taken to build up the Political institution which could function as a countervailing forces to control the influence of the Army. No attempt was made to expand the democratic institutions to ensure civilian supremacy, professionalism of the Army, establishment of a civil society. As a result domination of military in the political and administrative affairs of Bangladesh increased in such an extent that any civilian government in future would not be able to stay in power ignoring the corporate interest of the Military, their desire and expectation. With a view to staying in power the civilian government must have to enjoy the support of the Military within the country in one hand and side by side they also must have to get the support of the good wishes of the Donors countries specially the U.S. government. And finally, the study found that, the Army will continue it's dominating role in the affairs of the state and politics of Bangladesh in the years to come.

**APPENDICES****Appendix-1:**

- 1. Declaration of Independence: "Made by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 26, 1971.**

This may be my last message. From today Bangladesh is independent. I call upon the people of Bangladesh wherever you might be and with whatever you have to resist the army of occupation to the last. Your fight must go on until the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army is expelled from the soil of Bangladesh and final victory is achieved".

- 2. Declaration of the War of Independence:**

"Pak Army suddenly attacked EPR base at Peelkhana, Rajarbag Police Line and killing citizens. Street battles are going on in every street of Dhaka and Chittagong. I appeal to the nation of the world for help. Our freedom fighters are gallantly fighting the enemy to free the motherland. I appeal and order you all in the name of Almighty Allah to fight to the last drop of blood to liberate the country. Ask the police, EPR, Bengal Regiment and the Ansars to stand by you and fight. No compromise. Victory is ours. Drive out the last enemy from the holy soil of motherland. Convey this message to all Awami League leaders, workers and other patriots. May Allah bless you, Joi Bangla".

(Sk. Mujibur Rahman).

**Appendix-2:****1. Declaration of Independence made by Major Ziaur Rahman on March 27,1971:**

I Major Zia, Provisional Commanden-in-chief of the Bangladesh Liberation Army, hereby proclaims, on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Independence of Bangladesh.

I also declare, we have already formed a sovereign, legal Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which pledges to function asper Law & the constitution. The new democratic Government is Committed to a policy of nonalignment in international relations. It will seek friendship with all national & strive for international peace. I appeal to all Government to mobilize public opinion in their respective countries against the brutal genocide in Bangladesh.

The Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is sovereign ,legal Government of Bangladesh and is entitled to recognition from all democratic nations of the world.

**Appendix- 3****THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

Mujibnagar, Bangladesh

Dated 10th day of April, 1971.

Whereas free elections were held in Bangladesh from 7th December, 1970 to 17th January, 1971, to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a constitution,

AND

Whereas at these elections the people of Bangladesh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League.

AND

Whereas General Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3rd March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

AND

Whereas the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for indefinite period,

AND

Whereas instead of fulfilling their promise and while stiff conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangladesh, Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war,

AND

Whereas in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Bangabandhu Sheikh Munibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of the 75 million people of Bangladesh, in due fulfilment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangladesh, duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March, 26, 1971, and urged the people of Bangladesh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangladesh,

AND

Whereas in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war the Pakistani authorities committed and are still continuously committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangladesh,



AND

Whereas the Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representative of the people of Bangladesh to meet and frame a Constitution, and give to themselves a Government,

AND

Whereas the people of Bangladesh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangladesh,

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh, as honour bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangladesh whose will is supreme duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and

having held mutual consultations, and

in order to ensure for the people of Bangladesh equality, human dignity and social justice,

declare and constitute Bangladesh to be sovereign Peoples' Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and

do hereby affirm and resolve that till such time as a Constitution is framed, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice-President of the Republic, and

that the President shall be the Supreme Commander of all the Armed Forces of the Republic,

shall exercise all the Executive and Legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon,

shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister and such other Ministers as he considers necessary,

shall have the power to levy taxes and expend monies,

shall have the power to summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly, and do all other things that may be necessary to give to the People of Bangladesh an orderly and just Government,

We the elected representatives of the People of Bangladesh do further resolve that in the even of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice-President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President,

We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations that devolve upon us as a member of the family of nations and under the Charter of United Nations.

We further resolve that this proclamation of independence shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

We further resolve that in order to give effect to this instrument we appoint Prof. Yusuf Ali our duly Constituted Potentiary and to give to the President and the Vice-President oaths of office.

**Appendix-4****Lists of Sectors and Sector Commanders of the liberation war.**

- Sector-1: Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Feni:  
Major Ziaur Rahman, BU, upto the June 1971 and then Major Rafiqul Islam, BU.
- Sector-2: Noakhali, parts of Comilla, Sylhet and Dhaka Districts: Major Khalid Mosharraf, BU upto September and then Major A.T.M. Haider, BU.
- Sector-3: Parts of Comilla, Nabiganj of Sylhet and parts of Dhaka and Kishoreganj:  
Major K.M. Shafiullah, BU, upto May and then Major A.N.M. Nuruzzaman, BU.
- Sector-4: Eastern part of Sylhet:  
Major C.R. Dutta, BU.
- Sector-5: Western part of Sylhet:  
Major Mir Shawkat Ali, BU.
- Sector-6: Rangpur and Thakurgaon of Dinajpur:  
Wing Commander M.K. Bashar, BU.
- Sector-7: Western part of Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Pabna and Bogra: Major Kazi Nuruzzaman, BU.
- Sector-8: Kushtia, Jessore, parts of Faridpur and Khulna:  
Major Abu Osman Chowdhury upto August and then Major M.A. Manzur, BU.
- Sector-9: Southern parts of Khulna, Barisal and Patuakhali:

Major M.A. Jalil upto December and then Major Joinal Abedin.

Sector-10: Coastal areas and water ways:

Sector-11: Mymensingh and Tangail:

Major Abu Taher, BU, upto November and then Squadron Leader M. Hamidullah, BP.

### **Appendix-5**

Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Peace between the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of India signed on 19 March 1972.

INSPIRED by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism:

HAVING STRUGGLED together for the realisation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign, and independent Bangladesh;

DETERMINED to maintain fraternal and good-neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship;

ADHERING firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual co-operation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;

DETERMINED to safeguard peace, stability and security to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual co-operation;

DETERMINED further to expand and strengthen the existing relations of friendship between them;



CONVINCED that the further development of friendship and co-operation meets the national interests of both states as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world;

RESOLVED to contribute to security and make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism, and imperialism;

CONVINCED that in the present-day world international problems can be solved only through co-operation and not through conflict or confrontation;

RE-AFFIRMING their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Republic of India, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Bangladesh, on the other, have decided to conclude the present Treaty;

#### **Article-1**

The High Contracting Parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respective people struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples each side shall respect independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

The High Contracting Parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship good-neighbourliness and all-round co-operation existing between them, on the basis of the above mentioned principles as well as the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

**Article-2**

Being guided by their devotion to the principles of equality of all peoples and states, irrespective of race or creed, the High Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations and are determined to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The High Contracting Parties shall co-operate with other states in achieving these aims and support the just aspirations of peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

**Article-3**

The High Contracting Parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security, and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

**Article-4**

The High Contracting Parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both states, through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

**Article-5**

The High Contracting Parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round co-operation in the economic, scientific, and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual co-operation in the fields of trade, transport, and communications between them on the basis of the principles of

equality, mutual benefit, and the most-favoured nation principles of equality, mutual benefit, and the most-favoured nation principle.

#### **Article-6**

The High Contracting Parties further agree to make joint studies and take joint action in the fields of flood control, river basin development, and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

#### **Article-7**

The High Contracting Parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature, education, culture, sports, and health.

#### **Article-8**

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries, each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other High Contracting Party.

#### **Article-9**

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict against the other party. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective

measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their countries.

#### **Article-10**

Each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment, secret or open, toward one or more states which may be incompatible with the present Treaty.

#### **Article-11**

The present Treaty is signed for a term of twenty-five years and shall be subject to renewal by mutual agreement of the High Contracting Parties.

The Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect from the date of its signature.

#### **Article-12**

Any differences in interpreting any article or articles of the present Treaty that may arise between the High Contracting Parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

Done in Dhaka on the nineteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and seventy-two.

Indira Gandhi  
Prime Minister  
For the Republic of India

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman  
Prime Minister  
For the People's Republic of Bangladesh



## Appendix 6. Result of the Parliamentary Election 1973:

Name of the Party	Name of the Seat contracted	No.of seats won	Percentage of votes secured
Awami League	300	292	73.17
Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal	237	1	4.30
National Awami Party (Mujaffar)	224	1	4.29
Jatiya League	11	1	5.42
National Awami Party (Bhashani)	170	0	6.48
Independent and others	150	5	6.34
Total	1078	300	100.00

Source: The Bangladesh Observer, Dhaka, March 8-10, 1973.

## Appendix 7

The accused who were involved ( under trail) in the coup of August 15, 1975 and killed Bangabandhu Shiekh Mujibur Rahman and other members of his family.

1. Lt. Colonel Syed Foruk Rahman
2. Lt. Colonel Shahrear Rashid Khan (Rtd.)
3. Mr. Taheruddin Thakur, Ex-Information Minister)
4. Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Mohiuddin Ahmed
5. Captain (Rtd.) Wahab Zoarder
6. Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Khandaker Abdur Rashid
7. Major (Rtd.) Md. Bazlul Huda
8. Lt. Col. (Rtd.) S.H.M.B. Nur Chowdhury
9. Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Shariful Huq Dalim
10. Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Md. Abdul Aziz Pasha
11. Lt. Col. A.M. Rashid Chowdhury

12. Major (Rtd.) A.K.M. Mahiuddin Ahmed
13. Risulder Moslehuddin
14. Major (Rtd.) Ahmed Shariful Hossain
15. Captain (Rtd.) Md. Kishmat Hashem
16. Captain (Rtd.) Najmul Hossain Ausari
17. Captain (Rtd.) Abdul Majid
18. Daffadar Marafat Ali Shah
19. Md. Abdul Hashem Mridha, L-D.

The name of

1. Khandaker Mustaque Ahmed
2. Mahbubul Alam Chashi
3. Syed Sarwar Hossain
4. Captain M. Mustafa Ahmed P.S.C.

were not included because of their death.

Source claimed that the name of General Ziaur Rahman, a top leader of BNP, a top leader of JP and an editor of a news paper were scrapped at the last moment from final charge sheet due to political decision.

**Source: The Sangbad, January 22, 1997.**

**Appendix-8**

**THE TWELVE-POINT CHARTER OF DEMANDS OF THE SFPOYS WHICH WAS DISTRIBUTED TO THE SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS IN THE FORM OF A LEAFLET WRITTEN IN BENGALI AND WAS HANDED OVER TO GENERAL ZIA ON 7 NOVEMBER 1975:**

1. Our revolution is not for changing leadership only; this revolution is for the interest of the poor classes. We have accepted you as our leader in this revolution. For that reason, you are to express very clearly that you are the leader of the poor classes and for that reason you are to change the structure of the armed forces. For many years we have served as the soldiers of the rich classes. The rich classes have used us for their interests. The 15 August incident is an example of that. This time we have revolted not for the rich and not on their behalf. We have revolted this time along with the masses. From this time onward the armed forces of the country will build themselves as the protector of the interests of the masses.
2. We demand the immediate release of all political prisoners.
3. All properties belonging to corrupt officials and individuals should be confiscated immediately. Arrangements should be made to bring back the money from foreign banks and invest it in the interest of society.
4. Our demand is to do away with all discriminations between the officers and sepoy, and ensure payment to each according to his work and capability.
5. Our demand is to recruit officers from among the capable sepoy and not from special schools such as cadet colleges and public schools.

6. There are many colonial practices in the defence services and we demand immediate changes in these dehumanizing practices obtaining in the cantonments.
7. We demand enhancement of the salaries of sepoy, and immediate abolition of the rent payment system for the accommodation of sepoy.
8. Our demand is to immediately abolish the batman system under which the jawans are required to work as personal servants of the officers at their houses.
9. We call for the establishment of a revolutionary army organization for the whole of Dhaka Cantonment.
10. The Revolutionary Sainik Sangstha would serve as the central policy-making body for the armed forces. General Ziaur Rahman would take any decision in regard to defence forces only after consulting this body.
11. This central policy-making body would co-ordinate the activities and policies of other such bodies in the different cantonments and enlist the support of revolutionary students, peasants, workers and common men of the country.
12. The revolutionary army in league with the progressive and revolutionary students, peasants and workers would play its role in bringing about a revolution in the society.



**Appendix 9. Result of the Parliamentary Election (February 1979):**

Name of the Party	Name of the Seat contracted	No. of seats won	Percentage of votes secured
BNP	298	206	41.2
AL (Malik)	295	40	14.4
Muslim league Islamic Democratic league alliance	265	19	10.0
JSD	240	9	4.9
AI (Mizan)	183	2	02.8
Independent	425	17	12.09
Others party	419	7	1.7
Total	2125	300	100.00

**Appendix-10 List of the accused army persons who were involved in the abrogative coup of may 30, 1981 and killed President Ziaur Rahman**

1. Brigadier Mohsin Uddin Ahmed
2. Major M.A. Rashid
3. Colonel Nowajish Uddin
4. Lieutenant Colonel A.Y.M. Mahfuzur Rahman
5. Lt. Col. Mohammad Delwar Hossain
6. Major A.Z. Giasuddin Ahmed
7. Major Rowshan Yazdani Bhuiyan
8. Major Mujibur Rahman
9. Major Kazi Mominul Haque
10. Captain Md. Abdus Sattar

11. Captain Jamil Haque
12. Captain Abdul Qayyum Khan
13. Captain Shaukat Alley
14. Captain Mohammad Latiful Alam Chowdhury
15. Captain Md. Fazlul Haque
16. Lieutenant Mohammad Rezaul Karim
17. Lieutenant Md. Maruf Rashid
18. Lieutenant Mohammad Ilayas
19. Lieutenant Ghayas Uddin Ahmed
20. Lieutenant Syed Md. Munir
21. Lieutenant Salah Uddin Ahmed
22. Lieutenant Md. Rafique Hassan Khan
23. Lieutenant Mosleh Uddin Ahmed
24. Subedar Sazdar Rahman
25. Captain Dost Md. Sikder
26. Captain Mohammad Mustafa
27. Lieutenant M.M. Iqbal
28. Lieutenant Md. Mainul Islam
29. Captain Md. Samsul Arfin.
30. Lieutenant A.T.M. Mesbah Uddin Serniabat
31. Lieutenant Motiur Rahman

**"The Bangladesh Observer" Sunday, 16th August, 1981.**

**The officers who were hanged to death are:**

1. Brigadier Mohsin Uddin Ahmed.

2. Colonel Md. Abdur Rashid.
3. Colonel Nowajish Uddin.
4. Lieutenant Colonel A.Y.M. Mahfuzur Rahman.
5. Lieutenant Colonel M. Delwar Hossain.
6. Major A.Z. Giasuddin Ahmed.
7. Major Mominul Haque.
8. Major Rowshan Yazdani Bhuiyan.
9. Major Mujibur Rahman.
10. Captain Jamil Haque.
11. Captain M.A. Sattar.
12. Lieutenant M.Rafique Hassan Khan.

**Penalty of death was awarded by the General Court Martial held at Chittagong on August 11, 1981.**

**"The Bangladesh Observer" 4th September, 1981.**

**Appendix-11:**

List of the accused persons ( under trail ) of General Monjur Murder Case, are :

- 1) Lt. General (Rtd) Hossain Mohammad Ershad.
- 2) Major ( Rtd) Kazi Emdadul Haque.
- 3) Major General ( Rtd) Abdul Latif.
- 4) Lt. Col. ( Rtd) Shamsur Rahman.
- 5) Lt. Col. ( Rtd) Kamal Uddin Bhuiyan.

Source : The Sangbad, June 29, 1995

**Appendix-12:****Declaration of Martial Law**

Registered No.DA-I

The Bangladesh Gazette

Extraordinary

Published by Authority

Wednesday, March 24, 1982.

**GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH PROC.  
LAMATION OF MARTIAL LAW**

WHEREAS a situation has arisen in the country in which the economic life has come to a position of collapse, the civil administration has become unable to effectively function wanton, wanton corruption at all corruption at all levels has become permissible part of life causing unbearable sufferings to the prople, law and order situa-tion has deteriorated to an alarming state seriously threatening peace, tranquility, stability and life with a dignity and bickering for power among the members of the ruling party ignoring the duty to the state jeopardising national security and sovereignty

And

WHEREAS the people of the country have been plunged into a state of extreme frustration, despair and uncertainty,

And

WHEREAS in the greater national interest and also in the interest of national security it has become necessary to place our hard earned country under Martial



Law and the responsibility has fallen for the same upon the Armed Forces of the country as a part of their obligation towards the people and the country.

NOW, therefore, I, Lieutenant General Hussain Mohammad Ershad, with the help and mercy of Almighty Allah and blessings of our great patriotic people, do hereby take over and assume all and full powers of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh with immediate effect from Wednesday, 24th March, 1982 as Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and do hereby declare that the whole of Bangladesh shall be under Martial Law with immediate effect. Along with assumption powers of Chief Martial Law Administrator I do hereby assume the full command and control of all the Armed Forces of Bangladesh.

In exercise of all power's enabling me in this behalf, I, Lieutenants General Hussain Muhammad Ershad do hereby further declare that:

- a. I have assumed and entered upon the office of the Chief Martial Law Administrator with effect from Wednesday, 24th March, 1982.
- b. I may nominate any person as President of the country at any time and who shall enter upon the office of the President after taking before the Chief Justice of Bangladesh or any judge of the Supreme Court designated by me. I may rescind such nomination from time to time and nominate another person as the President of Bangladesh. The President so nominated by me shall be the head of state and act on and in accordance with my advice as Chief Martial Law Administrator and perform such function as assigned to him by me. ... .. This Proclamation, Martial Law Regulations, orders and other Orders/Instructions made by me, during their continuance shall be the supreme law of the country and if any other law is inconsistent with them that other law shall to the extent of inconsistency be void.

I may by order notified in the official Gazette amend this Proclamation.

HUSSAIN MUHAMMED ERSHAD  
LIEUTENANT GENERAL  
Commander-in-Chief  
Bangladesh Armed Forces  
and  
Chief Martial Law Administrator

Dhaka  
The 24th March, 1982

**Appendix-13. Name of General Ershad's first Council of advisors.**

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 1.  | Naval Chief Rear Admiral Mahbub Ali Khan-Communication |   |
| 2.  | Air Chief Airvice Marshal Sultan Mohmud -              | Flood Control, Energy and Mineral Resources |
| 3.  | Major General M. Shamsul Hoque                         | Health and Population Control               |
| 4.  | A.K. Bakar   | - Law and Land Reforms                      |
| 5.  | S.M. Shafiul Azam                                      | - Industry                                  |
| 6.  | A.R. Shamsuddoha                                       | - Information and Radio                     |
| 7.  | Khan Mohammad Aminul Islam                             | - Labour and Man Power Ministry             |
| 8.  | A. Mannan Siddique                                     | - Works and Urban Development Ministry      |
| 9.  | A.G. Mahmud  | - Food, Relief and Rehabilitation           |
| 10. | M.A.A. Mohith  | - Planning Ministry                         |

- |     |                        |   |   |
|-----|------------------------|---|---|
| 11. | Mahbubur Rahman        | - | Local Government<br>Rural development<br>and Co-operative<br>Ministry |
| 12. | A.Z.M. Obaidullah Khan | - | Agriculture and<br>Water Resources<br>Ministry                        |
| 13. | Dr. A. Majid Khan      | - | Education and<br>Religious Ministry                                   |
| 14. | Dr. Shafia Khatun      | - | Women Affairs<br>Ministry.  |

#### **Appendix-14**

#### **NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE JATTYA PARTY-1986**

- |                |   |                              |
|----------------|---|------------------------------|
| Chairman       | : | Hossain Mohammad Ershad      |
| Vice-Chairman: |   | Justice A.K.M. Nurul Islam   |
|                |   | Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury |
|                |   | Barrister Moudud Ahmed       |
|                |   | Prof. M.A. Matin             |
|                |   | Mr. Kazi Zafar Ahmed         |
|                |   | Mr. Sirajul Hossain Khan     |
|                |   | Mr. A.K.M. Moyeedul Islam    |
|                |   | Mr. M.M. Korban Ali          |
|                |   | Mr. Anower Hossain Manju     |
|                |   | Mr. M. Mahbubur Rahman       |

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	Begum Mamata Wahab
Secretary General:	Shah Moazzam Hossain
Jt. Secretary:	Mr. Zafar Imam
	Mr. Mostafa Zamal Haider
	Mr. Mr. Moinuddin Bhuiyan
	Mr. Nurun Nabi Chowdhury
Treasurer:	Mr. Naziur Rahman Monju
Organizing Secretary:	Mr. Ruhul Amin Howlader
	Mr. Mamdudur Rahman
	Mr. Ibrahim Bin Khalil
	Mr. Shah Md. Abu Zafar
Jt. Organizing Secretary:	Mr. Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto
	Mr. Ismail Hossain Bengal
	Mr. Khaliquzzaman Chowdhury
	Mr. M.S.S. Alam
Office Secretary	Mr. Tajul Islam Chowdhury
Jt. Office Secty.	Mr. Shafiqul Islam Babul
Publicity & Publication Secretary:	Mr. Miah Musa Hossain
Joint Publication & Agricultural Secy.	Mr. Fakhru Imam
Joint Secy.	Mr. Nazimuddin Al Azad
	Mr. Md. Harun



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Co-operative Secy.	Mr. Syed Ahmed Khondaker
Joint Secretary:	Mr. Shamim Al Mamun
Sports & Cultural Secretary:	Major (Rtd.) Hafiz Uddin Ahmed
Joint Cultural Secy.	Mr. M.A. Reza
Education & Student Secy.	Mr. Shahjahan Shaju
International & Research Secy.	Mr. Ziauddin Ahmed Bablu
Joint Intl. & Research Secy.	Mr. Md. Isheque
Law Secretary	Mr. Kazi feroj Rashid
Jt. Law Secy.	Mr. Sudhir Kumar Hazra
Youth Secretary	Mr. Sufiur Rahman
Joint Youth Secretary	Mr. Mujibul Hoque Chunnu
Cabinet & Industry Secy.	Mr. Hasanuddin Sarker
Jt. Cabinet & Indus. Seccy.	Mr. S.R. Faroque
Wome Secretary	Mrs. Umme Kawser Sal Sabil (Hena)
Jt. Woman Secy.	Mrs. Suraiya Siddiqui
Family Planning & Population Secretary	Mr. H.M.A. Gaffar (Bir Uttam)
Jt. Family Planning &	Mr. Ashrafuddowla Pahlwan

Population Secretary

International Affairs

Mr. Wazed Ali Khan Panni

Secretary

Jt. Intl. Affairs Secy.

Mr. Sheikh M.A. Sajed

Social Welfare Secy.

Mr. Farid Ahmed

Jt. Social Welfare Secy.

Mr. Abu Hossain Babla

Industry & Cultural

Mr. Abdur Rahman

Secy.

Joint Indus. & Cul.

Mr. Ajmal Huda Mithu

Secy.

**MEMBER**

Mr. M.A. Manik

Mr. Redwanul Hoque Chowdhury

Mr. Sarder Amjad Hossain

Mr. Abul Khair Chowdhury Monju

Mr. Moynul Kabir

Prof. Abdus Salam

Mr. Fakhrul Islam Munshi

Mr. T.M. Giasuddin Ahmad

Mrs. Homayra Kabir

Mrs. Quamrun Nahar Zafar

Mr. Abdul Bari Wasi

Mr. Munshi Abdul Latif

Mr. Shamsuzzaman Mintu

Mr. M. Nurun Osman Advocate

Mr. Delwar Hossain

Mr. Ahsan Babib Linkon

Mr. Anam Prassnya Roy Chowdhury.

**Appendix- 15**

The name of military officers who got appointment through the Establishment ministry.

Sl. No.	Name of the Officers	Designation and the name of organization.	Date of Joining	Last Designation of Army.
01.	Mr. Anower Hossain Chy.	Jt. Secretary, Defence Ministry	06-04-89	Brigadier
02.	Mr. Amin Ahmed Chowdhury	Chairman, Tea Board	21-08-89	"
03.	Mr. Nurul Islam Lasker	Director General, Fire Service	19-06-86	"
04.	Mr. Shamsul Islam	Member, Public Service Commission	19-12-84	"
05.	Mr. Anisur Rahman, PSC	Director General, Public Deptt. President Sectt.	19-12-84	"
06.	Mr. Md. Golam Mowla	Chairman, Rural Electrification Board	29-05-89	"
07.	Mr. Amin Azam Khan	Director, Parts Education Institution	13-09-89	Major
08.	Mr. M.M. Kayser Rashid	Chief Engg., Health and Family Planning Directorate	06-07-89	Lt. Colonel
09.	Mr. Abdul Matin	Director, General Jail	23-01-89	Colonel
10.	Mr. Shamsul Hoque	Dy. Secty., Ministry of	30-01-86	Major

		Defence.		
11.	Mr. M. Waliullah	Dy. Director, Bangladesh Biman	14-05-90	Wing Commander
12.	Mr. Syed Kamaluddin	Director, Development Board	Rural 22-07-86	Major
13.	Mr. Mukhlesur Rahman Khan	Director, Medical Store	Central 31-05-90	Colonel
14.	Mr. Md. Mosharraf Hossain	Director, of Health and Family Planning	Directorate 22-01-90	Lt. Colonel
15.	Mr. Mahbubur Rahman	Director Directorate of Ansar and Village Defence	General, 30-04-89	Major General
16.	Mr. M. Mohiuddin Ahmed	Secretary, Chittagong Port Authority	05-08-86	Lt. Colonel
17.	Mr. Zahiruddin Ahmed	Director, Mymensingh Medical College	02-11-87	Colonel
18.	Mr. Syed Azizur Rahman	Chief Comprolotar, President's Sectt.	04-03-90	Major
19.	Mr. Shamsur Rahman	Director, President Sectt.		Lt.Colonel
20.	Mr. A.F.M.N. Chowdhury	Chairman, Rajshahi City Dev. Authority	07-04-87	Colonel
21	Mr. Abu Nayan Motaher	Chairman, Chittagong WASA.	11-03-90	Colonel

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The name of retired military officers who were posted in Government, Semi-Government and Autonomous and Semi Autonomous through establishment ministry are as follows:-

Sl. No.	Name of the Officers	Designation and the name of organization.	Date of Joining	Last Designation of Army.
01.	Mr. M. Rahman (RTD)	Chief Security Officer, Bangladesh Biman	20-06-77	Captain
02.	Mr. Zahiruddin Mahmud (RTD)	Member, Mongla Bander Authority	10-04-85	Captain
03.	Mr. A.N.Mashud (RTD)	Member, Inland Water Transport Board	18-04-85	Major
04.	Mr. A.K.M. Najmul Alam (RTD)	Director, Export Promotion Bureau	10-04-84	Major
05.	Mr. M.A.Latif Khan RTD)	Director General, Ports Training Institution.	15-07-87	Lt. Colonel
06.	Mr. Md.Azizur Rahman (RTD)	Director, Bangladesh National Computer Council.	14-07-88	Colonel
07.	Mr. Md. Shamsul Hoque (RTD)	Principal, Training Nabic	06-06-87	Captain
08.	Mr.A.K.M. Shamsuzzaman	Director, Bureau of Anti-Corruption. Directorate	01-10-88	Colonel
09.	Mr. Mainul Haque Chowdhury	Deputy Director, Bureau of Anti-	27-04-83	Captain

		Corruption					
10.	Mr. Moqbul Hossain (RTD)	Finance Atomic Commission.	Director,	07-10-86	Group Captain		
			Energy				
11.	Mr. M. Showkat-ul-Islam (RTD)	Managing, Bangladesh Biman.	Director	03-09-87	Group Captain		
12.	Mr. A.K.M. Azizul Islam (RTD)	Chairman, Processing Zone Area.	Export	05-05-87	Brigadier		
13.	Mr. Sirajul Hoque (RTD)	Chairman, Development Organization.	Fish	01-10-85	Brigadier		
14.	Mr. Md. Jainul Abedin (RTD)	Managing Mukti Joddhya Welfare Trust.	Director,	16-07-89	Lt. Colonel		
15.	Mr. A.B.M.A. Hossain (RTD)	Director, Industries Development Organization.	Forest	04-10-87	Lt. Colonel		
16.	Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmed (RTD)	Chairman, Board	Handloom	05-03-90	Air- Commander		
17.	Mr. Anowarul Karim Khan (RTD)	Member, Board	Handloom	15-02-89	Major		
18.	Mr. Mehedi Imam (RTD)	Member, I.W.T.A.		25-02-89	Major		
19.	Mr. Rafiqul Islam (RTD)	Chairman, Inland Water Transport Organization.		02-07-88	Major		
20.	Mr. Bazlur Rahman (RTD)	Director, Directorate	Jute	26-07-82	Lt. Colonel		
21.	Mr. Najimuddin Ahmad (RTD)	Oil, Gas and Mineral Resources Corporation.		01-01-89	Lt. Colonel		

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22.	Mr. Mojammel Hossain (RTD)	Member, Oil, Gas and Mineral Resources Corporation.	12-05-84	Major
23.	Mr. M. Shariful Islam (RTD)	Chairman, Road Transport Corporation.	30-11-86	Major
24.	Mr. K.S. Feroj (RTD)	Director, Road Transport Corporation.	30-11-86	Major
25.	Mr. Sekandar Hiah (RTD)	Member, Small Cottage Industries Corporation.	03-10-85	Lt. Colonel
26.	Mr. M.A. Abdul Hoque (RTD)	Director, Textile Mills Corporation.	13-04-88	Group Captain
27.	Mr. Shamim Hossain (RTD)	Member, Civil Aviation Authority	28-10-87	Group Captain
28.	Mr. Belayet Uddin (RTD)	Member, Civil Aviation Authority	31-12-86	Wing Commander
29.	Mr. Abdul Hossain (RTD)	Dy. Secretary, Finance Division.	17-05-89	Major
30.	Mr. Khairul Anam (RTD)	Director, Supply and Inspection Directorate.	20-12-84	Group Captain
31.	Mr. M.M. Shadiqul Islam	Director, Social Service Directorate.	30-11-87	Lt. Colonel
32.	Mr. M.M. Iqbal (RTD)	Director, Sports Directorate	20-06-89	Major
33.	Mr. Muslehuddin Ahmed (RTD)	Director, Islamic Foundation.	14-02-89	Brigadier
34.	Mr. Feroj Akhter (RTD)	Secretary, Islamic Foundation.	29-03-84	Flight Lt.
35.	Mr. Enamul Hoque Chy.	Chairman. I.W.T.	09-09-88	Group Captain

	(RTD)				
36.	Mr. A.K.M. Zakaria (RTD)	Chairman, Khulna Development Authority	31-03-90	Group Captain	
37.	Mr. A.B.M. Ruhul Amin	Senior System analyst, Ministry of Estt.	13-11-86	Major	
38.	Mr. Shahadat Hossain (RTD)	Secretary, Parjatan Corporation.	22-02-86	Major	
39.	Mr. Abul Kashem	Chairman, Petroleum Corporation.	05-05-87	Brigadier	
40.	Mr. A.K. Rahman (RTD)	Member, Public Service Commission	14-04-86	Lt. Colonel	
41.	Mr. A.F.M. Kamrul Hasan (RTD)	Special Office In-Charge, Rajdhani Unnayan Kortipakhya.	19-07-88	Major	
42.	Mr. Syed Mahiuddin Ahmed	Chairman, Horticulture Board	31-10-88	Captain	
43.	Mr. M. Habibur Rahman	Chairman, TCB,	14-10-88	Brigadier	
44.	Mr. D. Jahidur Rahman (RTD)	Director, T.C.B.	05-03-82	Lt. Colonel	
45.	Mr. Nurul Islam (RTD)	Chairman, WASA, Dhaka	28-12-89	Group Captain	
46.	Mr. Jamilur Rahman Khan (RTD)	Deputy Sectary, Ministry of Health and Family Planning.	25-03-90	Captain	

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## Appendix 16

## TOTAL FOREIGN LOANS &amp; LIABILITIES DURING 1973-1974 TO 1989-1990

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Foreign Liability</u>
1973-74	501.4
1974-75	973.4
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	<b>1,474.8</b>
1975-76	1,575.3
1976-77	1,827.3
1977-78	2,248.0
1978-79	2,733.9
1979-80	3,361.4
1980-81	4,383.3
1981-82	4,959.4
	-----
	<b>21,088.6</b>
1982-83	5,451.6
1983-84	5,940.5
1984-85	6,280.9
1985-86	7,438.3
1986-87	8,364.2
1987-88	9,437.9
1988-89	9,885.7
1989-90	21,037.6
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	<b>63,452.1</b>

## Appendix 17. Members of General Ershad Ministry As On 30th December

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1.	President H.M. Ershad	
2.	Vice President Justice A.K.M. Nurul Islam	Law & Judiciary
3.	Mr. Moudud Ahmed	Industry
4.	Dr. M.A. Matin	Home
5.	Mr. Kazi Zafar Ahmed	Port, Shipping & I.W.T.
6.	Major General M. Shamsul Hoque	Relief & Rehabilitation
7.	Major General M.A. Munim	Commerce
8.	Major General Mahmdul Hassan	
9.	Mr. Shah Moazzem	L.G.R.D. Rural Dev. & Cooperative
10.	Mr. Anisur Islam Mahmud	Irrigation, Water Dev. & Flood Control
11.	Mr. Serajul Hossain Khan	Fish & Livestock
12.	Barrister Robeya Bhuiyan	Social Welfare & Women Affairs
13.	Mr. Anower Hossain	Energy & Mineral Resource
14.	Mr. Humayun Rashid Chowdhury	Foreign
15.	Mr. Salahuddin Kader Chowdhury	Health & Family Planning
16.	Mr. A.K.M. Maidul Islam	Land, Administrative & Land Reform
17.	Mr. Mirja Ruhul Amin	Agriculture
18.	Mr. Mowlana M.A. Mannan	Religious
19.	Mr. Shafiqul Goni	Works
20.	Mr. Sunil Gupta	Textile
21.	Mr. Anower Zahid	Information
22.	Mr. M. Saiduzzaman	Planning
23.	Mr. Mahbubur Rahaman	Education

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24.	Mr. Zafar Islam	Jute
25.	Mr. M. Matiur Rahman	Commerce
26.	Mr. Abdur Rashid	Labour & Manpower

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**STATE MINISTER**

1.	Mr. Sheikh Shahidul Islam	Youth & Sports
2.	Mr. A. Sattar	Civil Aviation & Tourism
3.	Mr. Sardar Amjad Hossain	Food
4.	Mr. Meshbauddin Ahman Bablu	Industry
5.	Mr. Binoy Kumar Dewan	LGRD & Cooperative
6.	Mr. Mustafa Zamal Haider	Labour & Manpower
7.	Prof. Abdus Salam	Agriculture
8.	Major. Iqbal Hossain Chowdhury	Energy & Mineral Resources

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**DEPUTY MINISTER**

1.	Mr. Ziauddin Ahmed Bablu	Port, Shipping & IWT
2.	Mr. Wazed Ali Khan Panni	Foreign
3.	Lt. Col.(Retd) H.M.A. Gaffar	Commerce
4.	Mr. A.F.M. Fakhru Islam Munshi	Finance
5.	Mr. Golam Sarwar Milon	Education
6.	Mr. Mamdudur Rahman Chowdhury	Communication
7.	Mr. Nurul Amin Khan Pathan	Health & Population Control
8.	Mr. Zakir Khan Chowdhury & Mr. Mahbubuzzaman have in	-

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appointed as the adviser to the  
president.

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**Appendix 18. Members of General Ershad Ministry As On December 24,  
1987**

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1.	President H.M. Ershad	
2.	Vice President Justice Nurul Islam	Law & Judiciary
3.	Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury	(Prime Minister) Post & Telecommunication
4.	Mr. Moudud Ahmed	(Deputy Prime Minister) Industry
5.	Mr. M.A. Matin	(Deputy Prime Minister) Home
6.	Mr. Shah Moazzem	(Deputy Prime Minister) L.G.R.D. & Cooperative
7.	Major General M. Shamsul Hoque	Relief & Rehabilitation
8.	Major General M.A. Munim (PSC)	Commerce
9.	Mr. Anisul Islam Mahmud	Irrigation, Water Resource & Flood Control
10.	Mr. Serajul Hossain Khan	Land
11.	Mr. Anower Hossainlam	Energy & Minerals
12.	Mr. Humayun Rashid Chowdhury	Foreign Ministry
13.	Mr. Salahuddin Kader Chowdhury	Health & Population Control
14.	Mr. A.K.M. Maidul Islam	Port, Shipping & IWT



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15.	Mr. Mirja Ruhul Amin	Social Welfare & Women Affairs
16.	Moulana M.A. Mannan	Religious
17.	Mr. Sunil Gupta	Textile
18.	Mr. Anower Zahid	Information
19.	Mr. M. Saiduzzaman	Finance
20.	Mir. Vice Marshal A.K. Khondaker	Planning
21.	Mr. Mahbubur Rahman	Education
22.	Mr. Zafar Imam	Jute
23.	Mr. M. Matiur Rahman	Commerce
24.	Mr. Mahbubuzzaman	Agriculture

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**STATE MINISTERS**

1.	Sheikh Shahidal Islam	Youth & Sports
2.	Mr. A. Sattar	Civil Aviation & Tourism
3.	Mr. Sarder Amjad Hossain	Flood
4.	Mr. Binoy Kumar Dewan	L.G.R.D. & Co-operative
5.	Mr. Mustafa Jamal Haider	Labour & Manpower
6.	Prof. Abdus Salam	Fisheries & Live Stock
7.	Major (Rtd) Iqbal Hossain Chowdhury	Energy & Minerals

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**DEPUTY MINISTERS**


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1.	Mr. A.K.M. Fakhru Islam Munshi	Finance
2.	Mr. Wajed Ali Khan Panni	Foreign
3.	Lt. Col(Rtd) H.M.A. Gaffar	Commerce
4.	Mr. Mamdudur Rahman Chowdhury	Communication
5.	Mr. Kazi Feroj Rashid	Port & Shipping & I.W.A.T.
6.	Mr. Hohammad Mojibul Hoque	Land
7.	Mr. Humayun Kabir	Health & Population Control

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**Appendix 19. Members of General Ershad Last Ministry.**

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1. Mr. Moudud Ahmed
  2. Mr. Kazi Zafar Ahmed
  3. Mr. Shah Moazzem Hossain
  4. Mr. Mohammad Abdul Monim
  5. Major General(Rtd) Mahmudul Hasan
  6. Mr. Anisul Islam Mahmud
  7. Mr. Anower Hossain
  8. Mr. Zafar Imammdul Hassan
  9. Mr. Sheikh Shabidul Islam
  10. Mr. A.Sattar
  11. Mr. Sardar Amjad Hossain
  12. Mr. A.B.M. Golam Mostofa
  13. Mr. Mostofa Jamal Haider
  14. Mr. Rezwanul Hoque Chowdhury
  15. Mr. Major General(Retd) Shamsul Hoque
  16. Mr. Ziauddin Ahmed Bablu
  17. Mr. A.B.M. Ruhul Howlader
  18. Lt. Col.(Retd) H.M.A. Gaffar

19. Mr. Naziur Rahman
20. Mr. Abdul Hasnat
21. Mr. Kazi Feroj Rashid
22. Dr. Azizur Rahman
23. Mr. Syed Rajia Faiyez
24. Mr. Mamdudur Rahamn Chowdhury
25. Mr. Habidur Islam Bhuiyan
26. Mr. Tajul Islam Chowdhury
27. Dr. Mizanur Rahaman Chowdhury
28. Mr. Netai Roy Chowdhury
29. Mr. Syed Dedar Bakta
30. Major(Retd) Monjur Kader
31. Mr. Faroque Rashid Chowdhury
32. Mr. Md. Nurun Nabi Chowdhury
33. Mr. Syed Md. Kayser
34. Mr. Advocate Fazle Rabbi
35. Mr. Khaledur Rahman Titu
36. Mr. A.B.M. Shahjahan
37. Mr. Kazi Shah Mofazzal Hossain
38. Mr. Kaykobed
39. Mr. Md. Monsur Ali Sarker

**Advisors**

40. Mr. B.M. Abbas
  41. Dr. Md Rafiquzzaman
  42. Mr. Michel Shushil Adikari
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10) Times	New Delhi
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15) Banglar Bani	"
16) Bichitra	"
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3) Asian Affairs	Dhaka, Bangladesh
4) Biiss Journal	Dhaka, Bangladesh
5) Social Science Review (The Dhaka University Studies)	Dhaka, Bangladesh
6) The Chittagong University Studies	Chittagong, Bangladesh
7) The Rajshahi University Studies	Rajshahi, Bangladesh

**The end.**