

THE CAUSES OF MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN POLITICS: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH

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Abstract

Military in Pakistan and Bangladesh has been deeply involved in politics all over the history. Since after the birth of both countries, the strong democratic government has not yet been established, due to the continuous involvement of Military in politics. The current research attempts to evaluate the main causes of Military Intervention in two countries. The utilized information of causes has been taken from books, journals, articles, on line materials and other secondary sources. The findings result with regard to the sources of military interventions in politics are the causes of weak political institution, vested interest of the military, legacy of the British army, political corruption and superiority.

Keywords: Military interventions, Pakistan, Bangladesh

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyze the causes of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The military will look at the process of militarization in politics; especially in Pakistan where military is likely a dominant body which violates the principal of representative democracy and military always makes efforts to capture the political power.

Historically, Pakistan and Bangladesh have shared the certain similarities like being a part of the British Empire, member of the Common Wealth Independences States predominately in Muslims countries. For many times, the armed forces of both countries have persuaded toward the overthrow of civil government. It has been observed that most of the times, Military's have ignored the process of democratization.⁹¹ The capture of civilian political power by the military had moved towards in discouragement and eroding the democracy in both countries.

Since 1947, the military has captured the civilian government of Pakistan in four times. The first military coup was led by General Ayub Khan in October 7, 1958, which continued upto 1968 for eleven years. The second military overthrow was led by General Yakhya Khan in 1969 and holds his power upto 1971 for two years. The third military d'état' was led by General Zia-ul-Haq on 5th July, 1977 and he remained a powerful dictator in the country upto 1988 for eleven years, but unfortunately, he died in the accident of air line crashed on 18th August 1988. The fourth military take over was led by General Pervez Musharaf on 12th October 1999 and he ruled in the country upto 2001, for twelve years.

In Bangladesh, the first military coup was led by General Zia-ur-Rehman in 1977 and he had remained a powerful dictator upto 1981 for five years. In 1981, he was killed by a military forces and his wife Khalida Zia became the Chairperson of the party. In 1982, the

⁹¹ Steven. I. Wilkinson, Democratic Consolidation and failure: Lesson from Bangladesh and Pakistan *Journal*. Vol. 7 Issue, No. 3, September 2000. pp. 203-226.

second overthrow led by General Hussain Muhammad Ershad and he continued his power upto 1990.

In both countries, the military interference in governance has dominated the political environment for many times. Military is considered to be one of the biggest third political parties in both countries.⁹² The military intervention in Pakistan and Bangladesh have the causes of vested interest of the Military, lack of democratic culture, corruption, low literacy rate, low economic growth etc. Both the countries are under the faces of poverty, lack of compromise on constitutional measurements and experience with government by talk and signify the common distrust. According to the study of famous scholar Veena Kukreja of Bangladesh, the military rulers in South Asia (Pakistan and Bangladesh) have failed to build the strong political institutions in Pakistan and Bangladesh.⁹³

Causes Of Military Interventions In Pakistan

The reasons of military interventions in politics has taken place on the basis of vested interest of military, poverty, economic instability, weak institutions, corruption and as well as on the basis of low political cultural. According to Samuel Huntington, the sources of military interventions in politics have not only the keen interest of the military itself, but it is also the result of weak political institutions and low political culture of the developing countries.⁹⁴ These kinds' of flaws have been provided the opportunities to military for the coups of state. He further explained the causes of military interventions in politics is that military always come for the short period but history tells us military never returned back the government to the civilian in proper way. It is pointed out that military government is associated with their own class benefits and popularity. The military government is considered to be incapable to dealings the more complicated issues of the country. The previous political structure of the government will be changed with the new one political system that will be seen more powerful in the previous system of government. In the earlier military regime, the rule has obtained the less significant importance to the control of political powers. The politicians make their link with military government for the expansion of upcoming purposes, but no positive results were taken place, regarding the improvement of political system in Pakistan.

The Concepts of Military Interventions in Politics

The perception of military interventions in politics has laid down on the basis of two types of factors which has need to explain the participation of military in the politics of developing countries. The first way of military interventions in the politics is the military professionalism and second approach of military interventions in the politics is the socio political matter. These two kinds of features are the main sources of military involvement in the politics of Pakistan which has always overthrows the civilian government.

Military Professionalism

The concept of Military professionalism in politics has been explained by S. Huntington in the developing countries during his work on the civil military relations. He represented the three major formations of professionalism in politics like social responsibility, expertise and corporate authenticity to man who follow it. The approach of military professionalism in politics is linked with the military interventions in politics and

⁹² Hasan, Askari, Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, Sange-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2000, pp.85-86.

⁹³ Veena Kukreja. *Civil-Military Relations in South Asia: Pakistan, Bangladesh and India*, by Ziaul Haque p.257.

⁹⁴<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2010092>

these dynamics have become the major causes for military involvement in the politics of emerging countries. Most of the scholars are disagreed with the idea of Huntington's who assured that military professionalism is enjoyable for the governments. According to Abrahamson, military professionalism makes the mutual understanding with the military. In this pattern, the objectives of the civilian and military governments are different from each other. So that civilian control over the military will be flourish. The new trend of military professionalism, logic of expertise, corporate interest and social responsibility is approved the military participation against the political institutions.⁹⁵ These factors are responsible for the involvement of military in the politics, which is a result of military professionalism. The main purpose of military professionalism in politics is to organize a special training and equipping program for the improvement of all the forces against the enemy. These developments are move towards for the involvement of military in the politics.

Socio-economic feature

The socio economic factor is not only held responsible for the cause of military interventions in politics, but it is also the sign of disapproval of armed forces in the politics. The other reason of military intervention relates to the social mobilization, common interest and class makeup, religion, economic expansion, colonial inheritance and history tells us all these things.

The basis of military interventions in politics has explained the dilemma of military interference in the light of weak political institutions and low level of political culture. The other flaw of military involvement in politics is the vested interest of the military, which stressed the military to take part in the politics of country for their own class benefits. In this regard, the military explore themselves among the several institutions that are opponent for power.

Economic Development

The matter of economic development is explained by the famous scholar Gorman. He stated that Pakistan is come in the low levels of in come country in the world which has less level of economic growth. In the beginning, Pakistan has no industry and the standard of living was very low. The other resources are also very poor in the major areas, like natural income and industrial transportation. The poor economic condition of the country is a result of long and short term reasons.⁹⁶

Military as an Institution

The purpose of military as an institution is to defend the country from the internal and external threats, but in principally the vested interest of military officers, business significance, cohesiveness, self rule and income are become the major sources of military interventions in the politics and vis-à-vis intends to dominate the civilian institutions.

Military as an institution is to perform the job of common things such as economic growth and political power. In this way, military creates the political environment which has become more powerful. This situation is influence the military's attitude and become the rational ruler, although the practice of military involvement is related to the politicians and bureaucrats.

Although the sources of military officers are not directly linked with the middle class, however, their status as an officer falls in this category and usually they have got married into

⁹⁵ Samuel Huntington, *The Solider and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957) pp. 7-8.

⁹⁶ Veena Kukreja: *Civil Military Relations in South Asia*, New Delhi, California London, Sage Publications, 1991, p.50.

middle class families and get the benefits from the said class. Being a member of the middle class, they have shared their vested interest among the group.

Role of military in the Internal Security

The role of military in the affairs of internal security matter is most important. Military is the only institution in the country that defends the country from the internal threats. The military institutions are responsible for the safety of state and watching the country from different angles. The constitution of Pakistan clearly explained the job of military and described the basic function of the army to protect the country from the enemies and to take the control of civilian government if they are not properly functioning and danger for the security of state.⁹⁷ The constitution of Pakistan is not allowed the military to take part in the politics of country, but unfortunately military overthrow the civilian government. Only in the alarming situation if occurred in the country like, natural disasters such as flood, food crisis, and other calamity in the country. In these victims, military is responsible to take over the control of country and take part in such types of calamities.⁹⁸ In some cases, military is responsible to restore law and order in the country at different times, when the affairs of the state is beyond the control of law and order question.

Role of Military in National Security

The role of military in the affairs of national security matter is most important. The job of Pakistani military has remained unclear regarding the issues of internal security, growth and global security. But the Pakistan armed forces have to do the job of domestic security, expansion and to maintain the international security issues in the respective areas. After the birth of Pakistan in 1947, the military has taken over the control of civilian governments for four times, in 1958, 1969, 1977 and 1999 respectively. The responsibilities of military's in the activities of broad range public services as well as in the economic sectors and usually in disasters operations are play the vital role. It is further added that the civilian government makes to sure the task of socio political power in the country. The military leaders were effort to make their control in a numbers of occasions to eliminate the differences between the politicians and armed forces. Mainly dealing with the political economy, managing of law, order and such types of issues like corruption etc. All these things are the part of state machinery and make the sources for their personal hold. For instance in August 1990, April 1993 and November 1996, military supported the president to remove the civilian governments from the politics which could not make any longer promised to the internal peace, stability and order.

Military needs to continue the function of internal security and performed their services for the development of Pakistan. It is stated that military takes the keen interest in the domestic security as well as in the foreign policy issues. The foreign policy matter is generally taken by the military leaders. The main purpose of Pakistan army is to maintain the job of internal security and foreign policy related issues. During the era of General Zia, military openly controlled the nuclear policy and managed the action of Afghan War. In 1988, after the demise of General Zia regime, military is come to wait for the present day and remains de facto decision making body in Pakistan nuclear institution like Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission and as well as the Research Laboratories of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan.

Lackoff Independent Election Commission

⁹⁷ Babar Sattar, A. Journey Back to Barrack? Civilian Military Relations in Pakistan. Paper prepared for the State and Solider in Asia Conference, East West Centre, Honolulu, 1999, p.9.

⁹⁸ Najam Rafique, Pakistan Army: *Towards New Professionalism in Strategic Studies*, Vol. XVI Autumn, Winter 1993, p. 108

The lack of independent election commission in Pakistan was remained the major cause of military interventions in Pakistan. The election commission of Pakistan is not hold the independent elections uptill now. It is worth mentioned that after the existence of Pakistan and self governing system, Pakistan has remained under the influence of turmoil practice. The powerful election commission and self governing system in country is the symbol of free, fair and multiparty chains election. In principally the election commission has mostly doing the job of publicity in favour of the ruling party. The following general elections were held in Pakistan i. e 1977, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2008 and 2013 which are the case references of Pakistani politics. However the general election of 2013 is different from the other elections. The election commission of Pakistan has usually remained under the direct pressure of ruling party. Military overthrows in 1958, 1977, 1988 and 1999 are the facts in particular cases.⁹⁹

Crisis of Legitimacy

The crisis of legitimacy in Pakistan has remained the significant characteristic of the military interventions in politics, which created the poor situation in the country, in light of continuous military instructions in the politics. The democratic set up of the government has believed on the authenticity to the state. On the other hand, the military set up of government is believed on the physically recognition of the state and as well as on the particular regime.¹⁰⁰ The prominent scholar i. e Johan J. Linz has disagreed with the legitimacy of state. He proposed that it is the responsibility of masses to elect the suitable candidates for the run of democratic set up in the country smoothly. It is the responsibility of elected government to establish the powerful democratic system in the country for the welfare of masses. The democratic set up is approved by the people in the democratic countries.

Military Corporate Interests

The military corporate interest in Pakistan is the major source of income in the country which provides the support to military officers and maintains the status of army retired officers in Pakistan. The interest is the real objective of the military personnel. The military corporate interest was established by a group, when they make the common links with other organization. The corporate interests of military are the profitable project in Pakistan which estimated value is billions of dollars. The public money was transferred to military organization in connection with the increased of military contribution to the economy and control over the state and society. The military supports the rule of policy making decision and developed the economic income and growth of the wealth.¹⁰¹

General Zia-ul-Haq, modified the constitutional provisions, in connection with regularized the military power. The article 58 (2) (b) was given permission to the president of Pakistan for the overthrow of elected government on account of any losses to the integrity of country. The primary objective of the military is to expand its power and protect the income of business organization. The change of constitution, political system and electoral process are the motive of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan. General Pervez Musharaf over throws the government of Main Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in 12th October, 1999. He imposed ban against the entry of opposition party leaders and their participation in the coming parliamentary election. S.E. Finer disagreed with the holds of military power in the politics which always overthrows the civilian governments. He explained the corporate interest of the military and shaped the influential physical collective force and emotionally

⁹⁹ Veena Kukreja, *Military Intervention in Politics: Contrasting Cases of Pakistan and India* in Verinder Grover .ed. *Political System in Pakistan* Vol. 7 (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1995, p. 531.

¹⁰⁰ Juan Linz, *Breakdown of Democratic Regime*, p.45.

¹⁰¹ Siddiq, Ayesha. *Military Inc. Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), p.297.

involved the all military forces. He described the importance of business which has become the fashionable incidence in Pakistan. The Military leaderships are becomes the part of business. They have got their benefits from the different Welfare Scheme like Army Welfare Trust, Askari Cement Limited and Fuji Foundation etc. All these organizations are met together with free housing, land and membership of the executive's link.

Weak Leadership and Governance

The weak leadership and governance in Pakistan has become the major source of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan since its birth. The causes of weak leadership in Pakistan explained by Shuja Nawaz, he is the famous political analyst. He told that after the death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was the founder of Pakistan, the state is facing the problem of leadership. Another scholar i.e. Ayesha Jalal who told the main variable of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan is the fault of weak political system in Pakistan. She also challenged the continued existence job of military in politics of Pakistan. She further stated that the reasons of military involvement in politics are the result of interaction among the high profile military officers and the system of government. In 1988, after the victim of General Zia-ul-Haq, there is a common perception of the people about the military involvement in politics that army will never come back in the politics of Pakistan again. But unfortunately, one more accident has taken place by General Pervez Musharraf on 12th October, 1999 and overthrows the civilian government of Main Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. The coup d'état of 1999, was proved that military is a still dominant institution in Pakistan.

Foreign Influence

The involvement of foreign influence in politics is a common phenomenon in the politics of Pakistan, which is still continued. Furthermore, there is no close information about the supporter's countries whose support them. These are the attitude of the supporter countries that deteriorate the acceptance, which was very usual global contact of beneficiary countries, who gives the wrong motivation to military self possession. This type of approach supports the military to capture the civilian power. For example the donor countries stopped the control, as necessary element of the policy achievement was improved by the army rulers. The existing bureaucrat's system of government is making the contact with foreigner's supporter countries.

Causes Of Military Interventions In Bangladesh

The causes of military interventions in the politics of developing countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh have been taken place on the grounds of vested interest of military, economic instability, weak political institutions, poverty, corruption and poor governance etc. All these concerns are linked to military institution, the nature of the military, corporate interests of military. The reasons of vested interest of military are highlighted by different scholars like Ahmed, Khan, Franda and Muniruzzaman Talukdar.¹⁰² Ahmed stated that Bangladesh military is usually the anti political movement of its predecessor which continued it. The new pattern of military takeover has been described by Ahmed and Khan, as a corporate interest of the military. In 1975, the military profession has been shown the interest of enhancement of their budgetary provision and self government system in the country on the basis of their kinship ties. The primary reasons of military takeover are further analyzed by some other scholars like Lieuwen, S.E. Finer and Decalo. All of them assume the charge

¹⁰²Riaz, Ali, Two Trends analyzing the Cause of Military Rule in Bangladesh: *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*.

Vol. 30, No. 1 (1998): p. p. 56-65 ISSN 0007-4810, 1998 BCAS (Oakland, California)

that people's objectives are the main issues for military government and these matters should be settled.

The military governments are likely to carry out the disputed policies of the state and these policies were formulated by the legislative and executive branches. However, in developing countries, the military have the various purposes like contributed the growth of economic and defending the government from the internal and external pressures. The character of human being in the military governments is unlike from the civilian governments. The nature of military government is more hierarchic, reliable and a reasonable cause of pressure which make it very easy for them to manage the political institutions. A large number of journalists were similar to Mayer & Burnett, which opposed that military government has got a major institutional importance over the manufacturing world by the right of demanding notice, mainly in the developing countries.¹⁰³

Military Professionalism

The model of military professionalism has explained the job of individuals and military itself, in the light of their professions. This model is further explained by the famous scholar Samuel Huntington and he stated the nature of modern military professionalism in terms of its closeness to his master about the civilian dominated democratic state. The result of said model is created the dispute among the groups and increased the strength of military professionalism, which is generally related to the military interventions.

Huntington, disagreed with the job of military officers in the Western Society, they hold the significant levels of expertise in their respective organizations and military further utilized their ability to protect the society from the internal and as well as external threats. This approach holds the control of military interventions in politics as a result of military professionalism.

According to Huntington, the new military professionalism of his wisdom of ability, social liability and corporate interest of concentration is mainly related to the military interventions in politics.¹⁰⁴

Military as an Institution

Military as an institution has gives the many justifications to regularize his political position. In the first step, military want to be an enhanced its share's in the national wealth. Second step, military desire to maintain the political power in their hands. There are some other causes of military interventions in politics and position was explained by Alfred Stephen and he focused on the institutional change theory, fights and military involvement in the politics of developing countries like Bangladesh. He disagreed with the military interventions in the politics which become the part of dominated ruler in a huge part of the increased of a new professionalism, whereas the military customized its usual particular exercise to comprise the socio economic and political expertise. The other analysis about the military involvement as an institution are pointed out by the numerous scholars such as Juan Linz, Guillemo, O, Donnel and Felipe Aguero and they have drawn their interest between the military cooperation and fall of the elected representative of the government. It is insecure that the suitable political power shift from one group to another group.

Lack of Political Institution

The flaws of political institutions in Bangladesh have been pointed out by Ahmed, Khan, Rounaq Jahan, Bertocei, as well as by other scholars. Ahmed placed the question on

¹⁰³ www.e-akademi.org/makaleler/monder-1.htm

¹⁰⁴ Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil Military Relations*, Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press 1957, p.p. 1-15.

establishments and believed that it is a regular flaw of the institutions. According to him, the responsibilities of the organizations needed the requirement of agreement which related to the political sections of population regarding the personality of political authority. He believes that these types of dynamic and along with other equipments led to the causes of military involvements. According to him, the strength of military into power is the reason of weak political institution as well as the reason of weak political administration. His perception is related to Samuel Huntington's explanations and he wanted to explain the causes of military interventions. He was unclear to justify the approaches of military intervention in terms of socio and political culture of the country. He found that most important reasons of the military involvement in politics are not only the causes of military institution itself but it is also the reasons of some other weak political institutions.¹⁰⁵ Professor Dr. Ronaque Jahan has justified the some other weak points which are led by Khan. He further pointed out that after the birth of Bangladesh, Awami League successfully completed the job of constitution making process, but the leader of party was failed to perform the job. The hold of a military practice as an oligarchy in Bangladesh was happened due to the reason of socio political dynamic in the post independence Bangladesh. The political and economic tragedy of the Mujib government, Islamic legacy of Bangladesh and the criticisms of armed forces, all of them go back to the praetorian's model of the Bangladesh polity.

According to Huntington, the charges are explained by the political system of Bangladesh. In the light of low level of linkage and high level of attachment to army is accepted the position of social forces in the political field.¹⁰⁶ The well-being of politicians are attempted to establish the democratic government in Bangladesh. The available sources are satisfied the military interference in politics. The important relationships between the state, classes, economy are linked with the minor issues such as the need of political groups and financial collapse of the civil government.

Crisis of the State

In 1972, after the birth of Bangladesh, the crises of state have been occurred in the country. Due to the reason that country was hold under the direct control of military and two other major political parties' rules. Both of them weakened the democratic culture of Bangladesh. Most of the time country was remained under the rule of military and rests of the period are continued under the hold of two begum's i.e. Hassina Wajid and Khalida Zia. The clash of state emergency was emerged in Bangladesh on the basis of vested interest of the military, as well as the personal interest of the political parties. Both the groups are responsible for the state issue. It is observed that Bangladesh was always remained under the control of military rule and civilian governments. The causes of state interruption were appeared in the light of huge level of corruption which is done by the military dictators and the political parties in their respective period of rule. The main reason of the state crisis is the fight of power among the military and the politicians.

Political Crises

On 16th December 1971, after the independence of Bangladesh, the fall of government politically and administratively remained the major dilemmas in the country up till now. The political crises in Bangladesh led to corruption, poverty and brutal crackdown in the education system. The first political party, Awami League led by Sheikh Mujib-Ur-Rehman, for the support of new Republic of Bangladesh in 1973. But unfortunately his self-governing

¹⁰⁵ Huntington, *Political Order*, p. 194.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 80.

system of government quickly turned into autocratic system. The military dictator General H.M. Ershadoverthrows the civilian government on 25th March 1982.He changed the constitution and legitimized his power in the name of Islam and State of religion. Therefore, the political Islam comes into the majority of votes in the political system of Bangladesh. The Bangladesh has been governing a parliamentary form of government. The system is included the separate judiciary system in the country which has still under the political fights.¹⁰⁷ In September 1978, Bangladesh Nationalist Party was established by the former President General Zia-ur-Rehman. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party was remained popular figure in Bangladesh on the basis of Bengali loyalty with Islam; although it was a secular party.

Later on both the political parties established a coalition with Islamist groups. According to the report of World Bank, corruption is the major problems in Bangladesh which relates to economic and social development. The causes of weakness are the rule of law and other institutions. The Political problems of Bangladesh are mainly related to the disturbance of political system, weak governance and corruption. Bangladesh is a force of self-control at the international forums, and also the part of international peacekeeping processes. Bangladesh is a second major donor to UN peacekeeping missions.¹⁰⁸ All these things are becomes the cause of military intervention in the politics of Bangladesh.

Political Corruption

The political corruption in Bangladesh has become the part of each and every government since its independence. According to the conversation of public, the period of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had become a famous due to main cause of corruption. In his era, the major part of the permits and licenses were given to Awami League workers who sold their licenses to specialist buyers.¹⁰⁹ Although General Ziaur Rahman was not involved in the corruption but he was only famous with institutionalizing corrupt actions. General Ziaur Rahman regime was famous in the name of corruption and misuse of power. The corruption was done by each and every part of the country and the nature of corruption was different by various forms of petty corruption, project corruption and programmatic corruption. In Bangladesh culture the corruption is common in public sector and it is believed that it handles the maximum stages of government. The major forms of political corruptions are bribery, misuse and dishonesty.

There are also some other reasons which help to promote the political corruption in Bangladesh, including the problems of money in politics, funding of political parties and electoral campaigns, candidate nomination and combined business, institutional flaw and weak democracy.¹¹⁰ Bangladesh's politics has been remained confused since its independence. The age of self-governing ruled have been broken up by coups, martial law and states of emergency. The problem of corruption was existed in Bangladesh before and after 1971, when it became self-ruling from Pakistan. Political instability in Bangladesh has led to murders and overthrows that brought to Khaleda Zia and Hassina Wajid to carry on. The focus of this study is generally related to the causes of military interventions in the politics of Bangladesh.

¹⁰⁷ Bangladesh Today, International Crises Group. *Asia Report No. 121*, 23rd October 2006, p.3.

¹⁰⁸ www.studymode.com/essays/political

¹⁰⁹ Muniruzzaman, Talukder, Economic Crisis and political Polarization, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 15 No. 2. Feb (1975) p. 118.

¹¹⁰ Euben, J, Peter, *On Political Corruption*, *American Review*, 36:1, Winter (1978), p. 103.

Role of Military in National Security

The basic job of military is to defend the country from the internal, as well as from the external threats. The focus of military is mainly related to the war times, which is responsible to arrange the nation's income by assuming the direct control over paramilitary, police forces and civil transportation. The military is completely engaged in loyal gathering and as well as in foreign intelligence services. All three forces have established their own separate intelligence directorates of services, which supported the military functions and meet the requirement of intelligence plan. The chairman of the Directorate of National Security Intelligence and Intelligence Forces is remained under the direct supervision of Advisor to the President. The Special Branch of police has work with an Intelligence Wing and increase both the Directorates' of intelligence capabilities. The other organization of Presidential Security Forces was formed by General Ershad when he was working in the capacity of Chief martial law administrator; and his job given the guarantee to the physical security of General Ershad and family.

Fragile Democracy

The politics of Bangladesh is dominated by two party system and they make their link with small groups. Awami League is considered to be more social democratic party, whereas the Bangladesh Nationalist is considered as a general conventional group. Both the groups are involved in the murder, killing, threats and corruption by the oppositions as a result of non cooperation and disbelief. The majority of political parties are responsible for prevailing political systems; self interests which exist in the country. On 7th May 1986, the parliamentary elections were held in the country and these elections were supported the Upazila system in the form of rigging, disturbance of voters and hijacking of ballot boxes. The opposition party challenged the winner party through a media campaign and other activities.

Therefore, right of people to cast their vote freely, fairly, bravely and wisely has been damaged by the force and violence done by the ruling party. The causes of weak democracy in Bangladesh were occurred in the light of verbal communication and clashes among the different groups. The honesty of communication is a vital element of the government, however after the independence of both the channels of Radio and TV which has used their functions as an administrator in the government of Bangladesh.¹¹¹ In August 1975, after the fall of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman government, the overthrow of military rule in politics has become the common characteristic in the politics of Bangladesh.

Conclusion

Causes of Military

The causes of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan & Bangladesh have stayed a major debate after their birth. The numerous causes of military interventions in politics are found during the research. The vested interest of the military, low political culture, weak political institutions, corruption, poverty, political crises, legacy of the British army, poor ideologies and legitimacy crisis etc. The military overthrow is often done on the basis of awful condition and corruption. Military interference in politics is always remained a key phenomenon in the politics of two countries. It is also observed that military never come back the political power to the civilian. The common things which are found in Pakistan and Bangladesh i. e, economic crisis, political crisis, poverty issue, inflation, elite class crisis, and

¹¹¹ Baxter, Craig and Rahman, Syedur. Bangladesh Military: Political Institutionalization and Economic Development, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. xxvi, No. 1-2, 1991, (Holland), pp. 50-51.

role of religion in politics. The civilian government are badly failed to fulfill the need of the general masses. Following things are relates to each and every citizen which they wants in their routine life like economic matter, poverty, illiteracy, diseases etc. The political issues are highlighted in connection with ringing, corruption, nepotism and constitutional modification that are the main point of military interventions in the politics of both countries.

The causes of military interventions in the politics of Pakistan and Bangladesh are needed to follow the strict measurement and stop the way of military involvements in the politics of both countries. To strength the political institutions and given the freedom to each and every institution, the institution will be kept far away from the internal as well as the external interference.

It is suggested that to build the strong political institutions in both countries and also provided the entire autonomy to each and every political units under their jurisdiction. Each and every institution should be kept free and fair from the participation of internal as well as external. The criteria for the selection of candidate as representative of people should be at least Master degree holder in the discipline of Political Science/International Relation including L.L.B. An appropriate mechanism for check and balance should strictly be followed. Corruption, nepotism, riggings, political victimization, and other political weaknesses should strictly be removed from the politics. All these things are the main sources of military interventions in politics.

The significant role of economic stability and the successful growth of democratization should be adapted. The economic position of the democracy should strictly be followed by all the political parties in connection with their participation in the political developments of both countries. Particularly the young generation should take part the in political activities and moderate the responsibilities of politicians. The role of youth will stop the military interventions in the politics of two countries. The opportunities should be provided to the middle class to take part in the politics. The strict measurement for check and balance of each and every government should be followed by any responsible department of the government. A separate political unit should be established for the training of politicians. The ban should be imposed on care taker government with the request that not to participate in the functions of any political parties during the activities of their elections.