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Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in Bangladesh: A Comparative Study in the Context of Developing Countries

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Abstract. Although Civil-military relations have historically been recognized as a subject of study in the developed world, it has become a subject of study in the region since World War II due to military intervention in newly independent Third World countries. Although the country became independent on the basis of Civil-Military relations in the war of liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the relations did not last long. Civil-Military relations have been the subject of renewed research in Bangladesh since the establishment of the military-backed government on 1/11, 2007. The study discusses the historical context of Civil-Military relations, the nature of Civil-Military relations in Bangladesh, various activities under military rule, and political leadership. The roles of the military in the formation of the country have been analyzed. The limitations of Bangladesh's Civil-Military relations have been discussed on the basis of the experiences gained through personal interviews of high-ranking Civil-Military members and general public. In this study has been described on the civil-military relations in the light of developing countries which have been under military rule for several decades during the 1950s, 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s. Therefore in carrying out this study, the civil-military relations in other developing countries and Bangladesh have been analyzed to understand the comparative aspects of civil-military relations at both local and global level. In addition, guidelines have been given on what should be the military-civil relations in the Political System of Bangladesh.

Keywords. Civil-Military Relations, Bangladesh Politics, Political Party, Democracy, Military Intervention, Political System, Comparative Study, Developing Countries

I. Introduction

Military intervention in Third World politics has become a common occurrence in the current world order. The political institutions of those countries seized power in the name of defending the independence and sovereignty of the country on the pretext of weakness, political instability, economic misery, corruption, factional strife and nepotism. Since World War II, 56% of newly independent states have been under military rule at least once, and countries with military coups since 1984 have spent at least 57% of their independence under military rule for

more than half of their time (Hoque, 2007). Civil-relationship has become a common issue. During this time many Political Scientist have written valuable articles on Civil-Military relations. Lucian W. Pye, Manfred Halpern, H. Daalder, John J. Johnson, Samuel P. Huntington and others have praised military rule. Studies by Eric A. Nordlinger, Robert W. Jackman and others have shown that the role of the military is not positive. In fact, the job of the military is to protect the state from external threats or attacks and to help maintain internal order under the direction of the political authorities. Because they are committed to fulfilling the responsibilities assigned to the civil society in their professional life. Bangladesh as a province of Pakistan was crushed under the rule of military rule for about 13 years in 1947-71.

Shortly after independence in 1971, another military coup took place and the military elites ruled the country directly or indirectly for about fifteen years. On 4 December 1990, military dictator, Hossain Muhammad Ershad was forced to relinquish power in the face of a mass movement of political parties and military rule came to an end. When the parliamentary system of government was reintroduced through parliamentary elections in 1991, the civilian government succeeded to a large extent by taking various steps to establish its political control over the military. Under the control of the civilian authorities, the democratic system is in force till 2020, except for two consecutive years (2007-2008). Articles 61 to 63 of the Bangladesh Constitution guarantee that the military will be governed under a democratic government. In that case, if it is possible to establish effective relations on the basis of mutual trust and respect, then the democratic system is long lasting and the development activities of the state are accelerated. In countries like Bangladesh, control of the military has been established for a long time. Due to this the political parties have failed to conduct effective activities and in many cases have shown incompetence. That is why the Civil-Military relations of a country like Bangladesh should be like. It has now become one of the most important study topics. In this article, we will discuss the past activities of Bangladesh's Civil-Military relations and discuss what Bangladesh's Civil-Military relations should look like in order to establish an effective democratic system in the future.

II. Aims and Objectives of the Study

1. To analyze the reasons for military intervention in third world countries including Bangladesh;
2. To review various activities taken during the military rule of Bangladesh;
3. To discuss military contributions in Bangladesh;
4. Identifying the limitations of Civil-Military relations in the politics of Bangladesh;
5. To provide advice aimed at improving Civil-Military relations.

III. Research Method

Methodically it is a qualitative study. The data used in this study have been collected from personal interviews and various local and foreign books, journals, articles, magazines, daily newspapers, Bangladesh Armed Forces and Bangladesh Army websites published on Civil-Military relations. Information has also been collected from various libraries of the country including the University of Chittagong.

IV. Theoretical Aspects of Civil-Military Relations

Civil-Military Linking refers to the relationship and affiliation of government-civilian organizations and other organizations with the military forces of a state. The co-operative connection of civil-military organizations is required for the smooth running of any state. The origins of the original concept of CMR can be traced back to the analysis of the famous Chinese

warrior Sun Xu in the fifth century BC. He said the military was structurally subservient to the state. In the 18th century, German war analysts Clausewitz identified the military as a state power. Later, a number of academics, including the world-renowned American statesman and military analyst Samuel P. Huntington and the German sociologist Janowitz, formalized CMR as an important subject in Political Science and Sociology. Various theories about the prevailing military-civilian world are discussed below.

Institutional Theory

U.S. Political Scientist Samuel P. Huntington identifies Civil-Military as two Different organizations. The organization follows two distinct principles and etiquette. He described military thinking as conservative and civilian action as sensitive and changeable depending on the situation. Huntington describes the need for civilian state leadership to control the national military in the interests of the state. In this case, he advises the use of objective control or goal-oriented control instead of subjective control or detailed subjective control over military power by civilian state leadership for effective control. The State Civilian Authority shall determine the targets of the military through the control of the Goal Indicators, and the military authorities shall independently take effective steps to achieve that goal (Huntington, 1957)

Convergence Theory

Political Scientist Maurice Janowitz describes the point at which the two forces must co-exist, maintaining their own distinct interests in the larger interests of the country, in spite of completely different levels of civilian or military power. He advised the civilian leadership to integrate closely with the military leadership through various joint training and formalities to achieve this summit (Janowitz, 1960).

Agency Theory

Political Scientist Peter de Fiber has called for the formation of microeconomics in which civilian leadership has the responsibility to set policy and the military authorities to carry out state responsibilities by following those policies. David C. Rapoport, said that every state formulates a foreign policy to pursue its national interests. The state then uses diplomacy as the first choice to implement politics. When diplomacy fails, the state uses the military as a second choice. The state and the government hope that military officers will never interfere in the internal affairs of the state because of their high efficiency (Hossain, 1991). Andrew J. Good Paster, a former commander of the Allied forces in Europe, said that the military has a duty to serve its father, the civilian community. The military's plans and actions are designed to protect the security and interests of society (Good & Huntington, 1977).

150 years ago, General Kal Maria Von Clausewitz, in his famous book *On War*, argued that it is unreasonable to think of political authority under the military. Because war is the result of a political decision and not the other way around. So it is logical to keep the political forces under political authority and it is not an exception. The state creates military forces to ensure its security and the decision to use power and force should be left to the political leaders (Clausewitz, 1832). C.E. Welch said that the military will always support the work of a constitutional democratic government and will show loyalty that will be unquestionable. Mao-Tse-Tung said, 'Our principle is that the party commands the gun and the gun must not be allowed to command the party' (Maniruzzaman, 1987). In a virtually democratic system, the military will act as a neutral institution of the state without objection to the policy that the political authorities will set for the defense and security of the state and it is the desire of all to be engaged in the service of the country; this is no exception.

V. Reasons for Military Intervention in Politics

There are many reasons for military intervention in Third World politics. Various researchers have explained these reasons in different ways: Professor Johnson said that there are four main reasons for military intervention in the politics of developing countries (Yeasmin, 1998).

The reasons are:

- A. Military efficiency in controlling violent activity;
- B. The military is better organized than the civilian forces;
- C. Related to the state-of-the-art equipment and scientific techniques of the military;
- D. The military sees itself as the best organization and this instinct motivates them to take power.

S P Huntington said that although the level of people's participation in the politics of third world countries is high, political institutions have not been formed in that proportion. As a result, chaotic situation has been created in the society. At this opportunity, the military came to power. In such a society, in Huntington's language, the rich pay bribes, the students rioted, the workers went on strike and the masses took part in the procession and the military coups (Huntington, 1968).

Finer explains military intervention in terms of intent and opportunity. He says military intervention can take place in any country if there is an intention. He also says that the political culture of a country is related to the military intervention in that Country. For this reason, Finer divides the political culture into four parts and points out the reasons for military intervention in politics. According to him, since civil society is highly developed in a mature political culture, the people actively participate in politics and follow specific policies of ascension and departure, so the military does not get a chance to interfere in the political system. In a political system in which an advanced political culture exists, everything is conducted in the same way as the opposite political culture. But if there is a conflict over the transfer of power, military rule cannot be established militarily. In lower political cultures, the people are disorganized, there is a crisis over the legitimacy of the ruler and public opinion is divided. So there military rule exists without significant resistance. In political systems where all elements of the opposite political culture are absent, military rule is frequently initiated. The military is the only organized political force in these countries (Yeasmin, 1998).

VI. Civil-Military Relations in the New State

After World War II, many countries gained independence from colonial rule. In many of these newly independent countries, the military intervened in state power. However, military intervention in politics is not a new phenomenon. Military intervention in politics is still taking place in many parts of the world. At that time there were only 48 independent countries and in some parts of 32 countries there was military intervention in politics. However, the level of such interference in Third World politics is higher than in developed countries. This tendency of intervention cannot be confined to any specific region. It has become the subject of academic research in Latin America, South and Southeast Asia, the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa. Studies have shown that the level of this intervention increased significantly in the 60's and 70's. The level of intervention was 12% in 1961. It was 19% in 1966, 27% in 1973 and 29% in 1974. The United Nations had 159 members in 1987. Of these, 82, or 50%, had military intervention in politics (Hossain, 1991).

On the other hand, S.E. Finer's study shows that from 1958 to 1973, 13 out of 20 Latin American states (62%), 21 out of 42 African countries (50%), and 9 out of 22 South Asian and South-West Asian states (41%) Military rule existed. Even at that time Europe was not free from military rule. In 3 out of 28 countries in Europe (11%) were under military rule (Ahamed,

1988). A recent study found that there were 615 military coups from 1943 to 1984, of which 316 were successful. Of these, 203 are in Africa, 208 in Latin America, 113 in Asia, 73 in the Middle East, and the rest in Europe (Hossain, 1991).

VII. The Nature of Civil-Military Relations in Bangladesh

Historically we have seen the involvement of the military in the politics of the Indian subcontinent during the British rule. Later, the British rule came to an end on the basis of the independence movement. On 14 August 1947, two states Pakistan and India were born. The people of these two newly established countries then hoped that the system of governance in these countries would be governed on the basis of democratic leadership and by meeting the basic needs of the people, it will find a place in the heart of the world as a strong state. Although India has had a lot of success in this regard, Pakistan has tasted military rule since its birth. Pakistan's President Iskander Mirza imposed martial law on October 7, 1958, citing Pakistan's political instability. But his power did not last long. Shortly afterwards, General Ayub Khan removed President Iskander Mirza on October 27, 1958 and became President himself. It was under military rule until 16 December, 1971. Pakistan has not had good military relations with the political leaders and people of East Pakistan ever since. Later, during the Bangladesh War of Independence, East Pakistani members of the Pakistani military fought side by side with the civilians and snatched the sun of Bangladesh's independence. Even all the sector commanders of the 11 sectors of the liberation war were military officers. At this time, the military officers took part in the war in obedience to the leadership of the Provisional Government of Bangladesh formed by the civilian leadership. For nine long months, the military and civilian freedom fighters fought together and Bangladesh gained independence on 16 December 1971. The idea was born that by maintaining this wartime relationship, a democratic government would be established in Bangladesh on the basis of civilian leadership and members of the military would devote themselves to defending the country's independence and sovereignty. Military became directly involved in the politics of the military through a military coup on 15 August 1975. When the democratic system was re-established in 1991, civilian control was established in politics. From 1991 to 2020, the military was engaged in the service of the state by maintaining military-civilian relations with the exception of the control of the civilian administration (2007-2009). The military-civilian relations of Bangladesh have been discussed in several phases.

VIII. Civil-Military Relations during the Regime of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

After the independence from the British colony and later from the internal colonies of Pakistan, the political government of Bangladesh under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman started. This political government was able to establish civilian authority over the military and the new government introduced Westminster type parliamentary democracy including multi-party system, freedom of press. The independent judiciary was recognized. At that time, the people expected the military under a political government to carry out its professional duties with a neutral outlook.

That is why in the first session of the first National Assembly in 1973, it was declared in the President's address that it is our national ideology to establish the supremacy of the National Assembly and the people's government in governing the state in accordance with the principles of the Constitution. Our defense forces are deeply respectful of that ideology (Hoque, 2007). The ruling Awami League believes that friendship between Bangladesh and neighboring India is inseparable (The Daily Ittefaq, 1972). Moreover, it is meaningless to build a military apparatus against a huge power like India which is encircling Bangladesh in three directions. Prime Minister Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared, 'I want to see the army as the

army of the people'. I do not want my army to go against others." But I want my army to defend its country and work to build the country with it (The Daily Ittefaq, 1975). During the war of liberation the army members did not hesitate to take part in the war of independence. The concept of secularism was misinterpreted by a number of people who were directly connected with Pakistan's government; they never wanted an independent and sovereign state for the Bengali nation. There was a parochial politics in realizing the four state principles, but Bangabandhu included the concept of secularism in the constitution so as to ensure equal rights and dignity irrespective of caste, creed and religion for all Bangladeshi people. Secularism means an equal religious freedom for all citizens of a country regardless of their religious identity (Khan, 1987).

President Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman acknowledged that widespread corruption exists in the country. He said that the plight of the people could be alleviated by 30% if corruption could be stopped. Some government employees have been fired for corruption (Hoque, 2007). In addition, where more than half of the national revenue was spent during the Pakistan period, the expenditure on defense in Bangladesh in 1972-73 was only 16.3% which declined to 12.5% in 1975-76. In 1975-76, the budget allocation for the defense sector increased by about 87% as compared to 1972-73 (Hoque, 2007).

Figure-1:

Allocated budgets for the defense sector (From 1972-73 to 1975-76, in crores Taka)

Fiscal year	Budget allocated to the defense sector
1972-73	218.43
1973-74	295.30
1974-75	470.23
1975-76	599.13

Source: Hoque, 2007

A section of the army led by some junior officers was tempted to organize a coup against the Awami League government. On 15 August 1975, a coup led by several majors and captains of the army brutally assassinated President Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family, and Khondokar Mostak Ahmad, one of the members of his cabinet, was installed as President (Hoque, 2007). Only his daughters Sheikh Hasina Wajed and Sheikh Rehana, who were visiting West Germany, escaped. They were banned from returning to Bangladesh (Raman, 2006 & Rahman, 2014). The coup was planned by disgruntled Awami League colleagues and military officers, which included Mujib's colleague and former confidante Khondaker Mostaq Ahmad, who became his immediate successor. There was strong assumption in the media condemning the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency of having prompted the conspiracy (Rahman, 2014). Lawrence Lifschultz suspected that the CIA was involved in the coup and shooting, at that time the US ambassador Eugene Booster was present in Dhaka. Sheikh Mujib's brutal killing plunged the nation into many years of political chaos. The coup leaders were soon overthrown and a series of counter-coups and political murders paralyzed the country socio-economically and politically (Jahan, 2006 & Rahman, 2014). Army chief General Ziaur Rahman declared himself as President in 1978, and General Ziaur Rahman signed the Indemnity Ordinance, where he gave immunity from trial to the perpetrators who plotted Bangabandhu's assassination and coup. This is very miserable to mention that the father of the nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was killed brutally along with his family members, but the perpetrators were not allowed to produce before courts for justice through constitutional

amendment of indemnity ordinance. However, when the current government came into power in 1996, the constitution was amended, which paved the way to bring the culprits to justice. Some of the killers of Bangabandhu were brought to justice and were awarded with death penalty; and in 2020 another killer was arrested, and awarded death penalty.

IX. Types of Civil-Military Relations during the General Ziaur Rahman's Rule

When Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family were killed in a military coup on 15 August 1975, Khondokar Mostak Ahmed took over all the full powers of the government as President through a military proclamation on that date. All forms of political activity were banned. But a section of the Awami League condemned Mostak and his followers as assassins of Bangabandhu. The Mostak government did not have the support of the armed forces. In a bloodless coup d'état on November 3, 1975, the then Army Chief Brigadier General Khaled Musharraf took power in the name of restoring order among military officers. He replaced Mostak with Justice Abu Saadat Mohammad Sayem as President. General Zia was removed from the post of Chief of Staff and placed under house arrest and took over as Head of State himself. But Khaled Musharraf failed to win the support of ordinary troops. In the early hours of November 7, troops in Dhaka revolted against him and killed him along with a few others. They freed General Zia from captivity and reinstated him as army chief. Zia successfully tackled various challenges and at one stage adopted a continuous demilitarization process to gain legitimacy for his government.

During President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's rule, bureaucrats of various civil societies in Bangladesh were one of the displeased groups. In order to establish political supremacy over public administration, Presidential Order No. 9 of 1972 provided for dismissal of any civil servant without giving any reason and a large number of employees were removed under this order. General Zia repealed Order No. 9 to the satisfaction of the bureaucrats and reinstated many of the dismissed employees. During the military rule, civilian bureaucrats were the second partner in power. Even after the repeal of martial law, our dominance in the political system remains. After the 1979 parliamentary elections, 21 of the 42 ministers in President Zia's cabinet were political and the remaining 21 were bureaucrats or technocrats. But almost all of Zia's top advisers were former military or civilian bureaucrats. Dr. Rounaq Jahan said about the military domination during the Zia government, 'Under the Zia regime, the civil military bureaucrats elite continued to consolidate its position and dominate decision making' (Jahan, 1980).

President Zia was able to ignore the pressure on the bureaucracy to establish political supremacy, but the influence of the military elites in the civilian administration remained. He followed the policy of gradually appointing military officers in secretariats, diplomatic missions, police departments, public corporations, etc. According to official estimates, there were at least 41 military officers in the civil service in the early 1980's. By the end of that year, the number had risen to 79. In June 1980, 16 military officers held high positions such as additional secretaries, joint secretaries, deputy secretaries and chairmen of public corporations. As of December of that year, 14 of the 20 districts had superintendents of police as military bureaucrats (Hogue, 2007). The nature of military-civilian relations in various fields during Zia's rule is discussed below:

Increase of defense budget allocations

President Ziaur Rahman adopted a policy of strengthening the military. When Zia came to power, he reconsidered the defense budget for 1975-76 and increased the original allocation from Tk 750 million to Tk 1,109.34 million. In the following years, the defense budget continued to grow. Evidence of this can be found in the table below (Islam, 1984).

Figure-2:

Year	Military Expenditure	The rate of GNP
1975	34	0.7
1976	64	1.1
1977	98	1.6
1978	130	1.8

Source: Islam, 1984

Modernization of the Military, Increase in Membership, Formation of New Divisions

In 1974-75, the number of members of the Defense Forces was 60,000. This number increased to 90,000 in 1976-77. Meanwhile, in August 1975, the number of members of the armed forces was 36,000, which increased to 60,000 by mid-1977. General Ziaur Rahman created a new army division. Defense Forces Intelligence was strengthened under the leadership of Air vice Marshal K. M. Islam and National Security Intelligence under the leadership of ABM Safdar. President Zia increased the number of members of the police force from 40,000 to 70,000 and formed a special police battalion and police force for Dhaka.

Military-Civil Relations in the Cabinet

Civil-Military bureaucrats were included in the cabinet during the Zia government. As a result, the relationship of the members of the military with the political authorities was observed. Of Zia's 24 ministers in 1981, six were military bureaucrats, five were civilian bureaucrats and six were technocrats (Islam, 1984). It is shown in the table below:

Figure-3:

Professional identity	Numbers
Military bureaucrats	6
Civil bureaucrats	5
Technocrat	6
Merchant	4
Landlord	1
Lawyer	2

Source: Islam, 1984

A total of 31 members also served on Zia's advisory council. Moudud Ahmed writes about their professional identities: 'Out of thirty one members who served on the council of advisors, twenty four were either civil –military bureaucrats or technocrats' (Ahmed, 1995).

Civil-Military Domination in the National Assembly

In the first parliamentary elections of 1973, held during the President Sheikh Mujib government, only one military officer was elected as an MP. On the other hand, a total of 19 military and civilian bureaucrats were elected in the 1979 parliament held under the President Ziaur Rahman government. Of these, 17 were retired military bureaucrats and the remaining two were civilian bureaucrats. Military members had a real role in parliament. However, this parliament was a nominal institution. Because the power of the parliament was very limited.

X. Civil-Military Relations during General HM Ershad Regime

After General Zia was assassinated by a section of the army, his party, the BNP nominee Justice Abdus Sattar, was elected president and sought to impose full political control over the military,

but failed due to his weak personality and incompetence of leadership. Meanwhile, the military was not ready to accept full authority of politicians. The then Chief of Army Staff, General HM Ershad, in one of his articles, issued a statement demanding the participation of the army in state power. Then on March 24, 1982, General HM Ershad took over the state power by removing Justice Abdus Sattar from power in violation of the Constitution and the Army Act. Ershad said the rationale for his seizure of power was social and political chaos, corruption, devastating economy, administrative stagnation, collapse of law and order situation and dire food situation, endangering national security, independence and sovereignty (Hoque, 2007).

In July 1983, Ershad's cabinet consisted of seven military bureaucrats, three civilian bureaucrats, two experts and four lawyers. Then the number of civilians gradually increased. In December 1988, the 23-member cabinet consisted of four retired military officers, one retired civilian, one expert and the rest Politicians. The cantonment was the center of power, despite the large number of civilians in the cabinet. Although General Ershad resigned from the army, he was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Significant role of civil administration and military bureaucrats could be seen. In the middle of 1985, at least a dozen retired military officers held important posts like secretary, joint secretary and deputy secretary in the central secretariat. At that time, army personnel held 53 police super posts in 64 districts. Of the 36 public corporations, 17 were headed by retired military bureaucrats, the government decided in early 1988 to reserve 10% of all cadre and vacancies for members of the armed forces. In Ershad's tenure, 11 ambassadors were retired generals and two retired brigadier generals, 14 retired majors. Ershad appointed a military officer to the board of directors of almost every bank (Mamun & Roy, 1995).

XI. Civil-Military Relations after the Restoration of Democracy in 1991

As a result of a joint movement of political parties in 1990, Dictator Hussain Muhammad Ershad handed over power to the then Chief Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed on December 6, 1990. Shahabuddin Ahmed took over as President and announced the election, and on 27 February 1991, parliamentary elections were held. The BNP won and formed the government. He reintroduced the parliamentary system of government through the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution. Earlier, the President was the head of government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, but with the introduction of the parliamentary system of government, the President became the official head of government. In practice, the head of administration and government, as well as the prime minister, as head of the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces, sought to establish control of the civilian administration over the military. To this end, the government included former military members in the cabinet. The government also used the military intelligence branch (DGFI) to gather information from the military and was able to suppress a variety of disturbances, including military coups. The civil administration began recruiting and promoting the military for political reasons in order to establish control over the military. As a result, political considerations became one of the criteria in the army instead of professionalism and merit. With the change of government, high-ranking military officers were given compulsory retirement. For example, in 2001, the heads of the three forces were fired on political grounds (Codron, 2007).

In order to establish control over the military, the government appointed three important posts on political grounds. They are: Chief of Army Staff, Principal staff officer, Director General of field intelligence (Amena, 2001). On the other hand, politically motivated and loyal high-ranking officials were selected and promoted (e.g., General Moeen U Ahmed) (Chowdhury, 2006). In order to alleviate the dissatisfaction within the military in such situations, the civil administration took the following steps to increase the military's capabilities:

1. To take adequate measures for the modernization of the military;
2. To increase the defense expenditure continuously;
3. Appointment of working and retired officers in various administrative posts;
4. Protecting the military's corporate interests, such as peacekeeping missions and increasing opportunities to conduct various business activities.

The RAB was formed in 2004 under the Ministry of Home Affairs to strengthen the internal security system and strengthen the civilian administration. However, most members are recruited on deputation from the army.

XII. Civil-Military Relations during the Military-Backed Caretaker Government (2007-2009).

After the democratization in 1991, the civilian administration was able to establish control over the military, but the unofficial influence of the armed forces remained. The failure of civilian governments to build democratic institutions as strong and effective and the lack of good governance and accountability have prevented the full development of a democratic culture. On the other hand, due to political considerations in the promotion and transfer of important positions in the administration, the military builds distrust in the civilian administration. Such a situation led to widespread violence across the country in 2006 due to mutual mistrust and mistrust between the political parties over the formation of a caretaker government system; and many people were killed. As a result, the normal life of the people was disrupted. As a result, a caretaker government was formed on 11 January 2007 under the leadership of Fakhruddin Ahmed with the support of the military. Which was in place until the Awami League government came to power through elections in 2009. Military authority was established in all spheres of administration under the leadership of the then Army Chief General Moeen U Ahmed. He changed the existing democratic system and provided a new democratic formula suitable for Bangladesh. He also called for a change in the constitution to balance the powers of the president and prime minister so that the president could dismiss the elected prime minister and his cabinet as well as dissolve the government. General Moeen U Ahmed enacted legislation aimed at establishing control over the internal administration system to implement the plan. Like as Emergency power ordinance (EPO), Emergency powers rules (EPR) (Human Rights Report, 2008).

Through which the full control of the military over civilian administration was established. The fundamental rights of the people were limited. The public were prevented from disclosing political activities. At this time, using the DGFI, the military participated in the decision-making process in all cases. In particular, the two major political parties, the Awami League and the BNP, provided a minus-two formulas to keep Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia out of politics. Moreover, with the aim of forming a new political party, a political party called Nagarik Shakti was formed by Dr. Muhammad Yunus but failed to gain the support of the people. Leaders of the two major parties were also arrested on corruption charges. The military has increased defense spending several times. The military allocation for the financial year 2008-2009 was (TK 64.08 billion or US \$ 934 million) (Ilahi, 2008.) However, the military government did some important work at that time, notably the voter list with pictures.

XIII. Emergence of Civilian Leadership and Civil-Military Relations through the Elections in 2008

When the Awami League won the parliamentary elections on December 29, 2008 and formed the government, the journey of a new civilian government began in Bangladesh. At the beginning of the Awami League government, a BDR mutiny took place in Pilkhana on February

25 and 26, 2009 in which many high-ranking military officers were killed. One of the achievements of this government was to force the rebels to surrender to the law enforcing agencies. Moreover, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has shown her efficiency in appointing a new army chief, Lieutenant General Mohammad Abdul Mobeen. General Mobeen has faithfully demonstrated his commitment to maintaining peace and order in the army and suppressing insurgency, and has established civilian control (The Economist, 2009).

In return, the government has increased the facilities of the military. The budget of the military has been increased, especially from 2007 to 2020. According to the Financial Times, a London-based newspaper, the government has multiplied the military's capabilities to prevent the military from interfering in politics. Because in the past the military has interfered in politics. These facilities include huge budget allocations in the name of purchasing arms, aircraft and submarines from China and Russia. Allocations to the defense sector have almost doubled in the last six years. The military has also been given the opportunity to do various kinds of business so that they refrain from politics (The Financial Times, 2015). The budget of the military has been steadily increasing since the election of the Awami League government. Evidence of this is found in a study by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a Swedish-based research organization. It can be seen that from 2006 to 2017, the expenditure of Bangladesh's military has increased by 123 percent (BBC News, 2018). The defense budget of the government was Tk 26,415 crore in FY 2017-18, Tk 29,064 crore in FY 2018-19, Tk 32,975 crore in FY 2019-20, and Tk 34,842 crore in FY 2020-2021 (Dhaka Tribune, 11 June, 2020). A picture of Bangladesh's allocation to the military is presented below:

Figure-4:

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

In addition to increasing military spending, the Awami League government, which is in power for a third term at a time, is also providing with numerous supports to the military to gain control over them. Consequently, the government has been able to establish a civilian control over military forces within the political apparatus in Bangladesh. Due to military legacy in the subcontinent, many governments in the South Asian countries are usually interested in

recruiting military officers in the different public service posts to achieve military supports to sustain in power for a long time. This example is more appropriate in the political case of Pakistan to a large extent, and in other South Asian countries including Bangladesh to some extent. Consequently, the government has been able to establish control over the military smoothly.

On the other hand, efforts have been made to increase the efficiency of the military through modernization. To this end, various modern military equipment has been procured for the military from abroad. The government has adopted the mega project "Forces Goal 2030" to modernize the armed forces.

Following this, the government has set up cantonments in different parts of the country Barisal, Tangail including Ramu, in Cox's Bazar to increase the capacity of the military. New posts have been created by increasing the number of members of the armed forces, which has created opportunities for rapid promotion of military officers. It has set up and trained high quality training centers to enhance the capabilities of the military. The army has played an important role in the socio-economic development of the country, expansion of education, disaster and emergency response since the control of the civil administration. Salary allowances have also been increased to improve the quality of food and change the quality of life of army personnel.

XIV. Civil-Military Relations in Establishing International Peace

Bangladesh Armed Forces have been cooperating with the civil administration in different countries of the world since 1988 by joining the UN peacekeeping mission to establish world peace. Bangladesh is already recognized as a loyal friend of the United Nations in establishing peace and protecting human rights in various war-torn areas of the world. The principle of Bangladesh's foreign policy is "Friendship to all malice to none". In this policy, Bangladesh Armed Forces have successfully completed missions of about 170243 members of the Armed Forces in 54 missions in 40 countries of the world in the last 32 years from 1988 to 2020. There are currently 8,543 members working in nine countries around the world (United Nations Peacekeepers Journal, 2020). At present, Bangladesh ranks second in peacekeeping missions. Military members abroad have set a shining example in military-civilian relations. Countries around the world, such as Lebanon, South Sudan, Mali, Ivory Coast, East Timor, and the Chad, etc. A unique example of the military's success in peacekeeping missions is the recognition of Bengali as their official language in Sierra Leone.

Member of Bangladeshi forces in peace mission:

Figure-5:

Missions	Army	Navy	Air force	Police	Total
Completed	137710	5775	7102	19657	170243
On going	5070	345	463	665	6543
Total	142780	6120	7564	20322	176786

Source: Overseas operations Directorate, Army Headquarters,(30 april,2020).

XV. Bangladesh Military in the Different Development Activities of the Country:

1. Rehabilitation and relief distribution to displaced Rohingya citizens of Myanmar.
2. Conduct relief operations across the country with the help of flood victims, rescue operations, Civil administration and help evacuate people to safer places.
3. Implementation of various developmental activities and provision of security, such as providing security for Padma Multipurpose Bridge, security of Rooppur Nuclear Power Plant, Hatirjheel Project, Waterlogging Relief Project in Chittagong City, Construction of National

Roads and Highways, Road Ghats in Chittagong Hill Tracts. To conduct various developmental activities of the country including construction.

4. Protect the country's marine resources and conduct operations against drugs and smugglers. To build a shelter project for the Rohingya community at Bhasanchar in Noakhali.

5. As Bangladesh is a disaster prone country, Bangladesh Armed Forces is providing round-the-clock humanitarian service in coordination with the civil administration to deal with various natural calamities such as the floods of 2007, Aila, Sedor and the latest Ampan of 2020.

6. The military plays an important role in various elections, including the parliamentary elections, by assisting in free and fair elections. One of the successes of the military is the creation of digital voter lists for fair elections.

7. The Bangladesh Armed Forces is playing an important role in the spread of education. A significant number of educational institutions are being run in different parts of the country by the Bangladesh Army, Navy and Air Force. In addition to general education, various types of technical schools, colleges and technical universities have been set up to spread technical and technical education.

8. The Bangladesh Armed Forces is playing an important role in providing medical services. The combined military hospitals run by the Army are providing high quality services to military personnel as well as civilians of vital importance. They are also playing a significant role in spreading medical education through the establishment of Army Medical College and various General Hospitals.

9. The government continues to support the civilian administration in cooperation with the government to prevent the spread of the current global epidemic COVID-19. The military is playing a direct role in creating awareness among the people to ensure social distance. It is also playing an important role in providing services and relief to patients.

10. The Armed Forces plays an important role in the economic development of the country by efficiently managing various types of industries besides defending the country. These organizations have created employment opportunities for military members as well as civilians. The organizations run by the Bangladesh Armed Forces are: Khulna Shipyard, Dockyard and Engineering works, Chittagong Dry Dock and Bangladesh Aeronautical Center (Armed Forces Day journal, 2018 & 2019).

XVI. Challenges in Achieving Civil-Military Relations in Bangladesh

1. Lack of mutual trust and confidence: Sometimes the army lost its apolitical character by overthrowing the democratic government and seizing political power through military coups (Ahmad, 2016). Again, the civil administration again runs the country due to its incompetence, corruption, nepotism and self-interest. It has turned into a failure, which has given rise to mutual disrespect, mistrust and lack of confidence between the military and civilian authorities.

2. Lack of skills of the military in relation to the civil society: The living, accommodation, training, professional identity, clothing and transportation of the military are different from the civil administration. That is why after joining the military, a separate entity was formed among them, separating them from the civilian administration.

3. Chronic Corruption and Bureaucratic Impact: Chronic Corruption and Bureaucratic Influence become an integral part of our society. Sometimes civilian bureaucrats over-supervise military affairs lead to discontent and conflict within the military. There is a possibility of corruption if involved in activities.

4. Lack of Accountability and Transparency: Lack of administrative accountability and transparency increases social and political tensions and leaves military-civilian relations in a state of uncertainty.

5. Lack of effective organizational structure: Although there is a military-civilian directorate under the Ministry of Defense to ensure CMR, its activities are very limited. Although an officer of the rank of Brigadier of the Armed Forces served as its director, in reality he was limited to organizing national parades on the occasion of Independence Day and Victory Day, inviting freedom fighters on Armed Forces Day, and making various publications of the Armed Forces. Although there is an ISPR for the establishment of CMR, its activities are actually limited to issuing notifications.

XVII. What should be the Civil- Military Relations in the Context of Bangladesh?

1. Like the civil bureaucracy, it will be under the control of the military bureaucrats and the legitimate political authorities of the country.
2. Military personnel should be governed in the same manner as civilian personnel are governed by the rules, regulations, procedures, manuals, orders, ordinances, including the constitution of the country.
3. The military is only an employee of the republic according to the customary law of the country, so they will be bound to obey the orders of the political government.
4. Civilian authority, not military power, will have the power to decide on complex defense issues.

XVIII. Conclusion

Democracy is now universally recognized as a system of government. And the main basis of democratic governance is the rule of the people through the elected representatives. That is why it is not possible to gain public support by seizing power through the use of force at this time of the advancement of democracy. It is not possible to stay in power for long. That is why the rulers who have been in power for a long time in the Middle East countries were forced to resign in the face of mass movement. Based on their long experience of military rule in Third World countries, people are of the opinion that military power is not conducive to this region. Military-civilian relations in these areas are not pleasant. The role of the military in the social, political and economic development of the third world including Bangladesh is moral. Many researchers highlight this in their research work. Nordlinger, through international research in 74 Western and non-communist countries, found that there was a negative and zero level of correlation between the political power of the military and social and economic modernization (Yeasmin, 1998).

Jackman surveyed 77 independent Third World countries from the 1960s to 1970s and said, In short, military intervention in Third World politics, regardless of the level of economic development or geographical region, can have no unique effect on social change (Jackman, 1966). Based on the experience of Bangladesh's long military rule and the rule of elected representatives in the late 90's, we can say that military rule is not good for the state. However, in the interest of protecting the national security and sovereignty of the state, the military is needed as an organization trained during various natural disasters. Everyone expects the military to accept the leadership of the civilian government and perform its duties in the service of the motherland. However, political leaders and their narrow party interests must refrain from using the military politically. Then Bangladesh will be recognized in the world as a strong state on the basis of good military-civilian relations. However, the political governments in Bangladesh are being pressurized for having numerous facilities for the armed forces. Consequently, the governments have been able to establish civilian control over military forces within political apparatus in Bangladesh. Because of the military legacy in the Indian subcontinent, several governments in South Asia are pressured to employ military officers in

the diverse public service posts, where military forces are used as political tool to sustain in political position. This case is more appropriate in the politics of Pakistan to a large extent, and in other South Asian countries including Bangladesh to some extent; particularly the case is true during the regimes of General Ziaur Rahman and Ershad. To avoid military intervention in politics, political leaders should be free of corruption, highly educated with proper training and, of course, they should be highly skilled in dealing with military-civil relations. Then the military will have no scope to come up with the intention of taking over political power in any developing country including South Asia.

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