Late President Ziaur Rahman presenting the Bangladesh flag to an air force honor guard
Courtesy Bangladesh Ministry of Information

freedom fighters—estimated at 20 percent of the army—would rally behind him, despite the fact that the leader he murdered was a venerated freedom fighter himself. Fearing that a successful coup might trigger another intramilitary bloodletting, senior commanders in Dhaka lined up behind Zia's aging and infirm constitutional successor, Supreme Court justice Abdus Sattar. Loyal army units

converged on Chittagong, and the coup attempt was crushed within forty-eight hours. According to a government white paper published after the episode, Manzur was apprehended after fleeing to the Indian border, and he was shot "while attempting to escape." Thirty-one officers were subsequently tried for mutiny, twelve of the thirty-one were hanged, and fifty-four senior officers were dismissed.

Zia's most impressive achievement—the creation of a viable institutional framework for promoting political stability and economic growth—did not survive long after his death. "One of Zia's strongest points," according to commentator Ashish Kumar Roy, "was the stability he symbolized in a state that seemed to have become a victim of chronic violence, both civilian and military. By assassinating him, the military itself destroyed all that Zia had sought to prove: that the army could be contained, and that genuine power could be handed back to civilians through a democratic process." Sattar lacked Zia's charisma, and the country was soon subjected to mounting political and monetary crises. Although Sattar and his inherited Bangladesh Nationalist Party won an electoral mandate in November 1981, most political observers believed another army coup was only a matter of time (see The Zia Regime and Its Aftermath, 1977–82, ch. 1). To compound matters, Sattar was extremely vulnerable because of the political debt he owed the army for quashing the coup and guaranteeing constitutional order. The generals, nevertheless, were reluctant to seize power immediately because of the fear that public opinion might turn against the military.

Army Chief of Staff Hussain Muhammad Ershad pressured Sattar to grant the military a formal, constitutional role in governing the state. During a press interview in November 1981, Ershad offered "some straight talk about a very grave and deep-seated politico-military problem." According to him, the military was an "efficient, well-disciplined and most honest body of a truly dedicated and organized national force. The potentials of such an excellent force in a poor country like ours can effectively be utilized for productive and nation-building purposes in addition to its role of national defense." Ershad denied any personal political ambitions but lamented the shabby treatment civilian politicians accorded the military. "Our rank-and-file do not want military adventurism in politics, nor do they want political adventurism in the military," he declared to his political opponents, thus setting the stage for the coup he was to engineer later. To remedy the problems he saw, Ershad put forward a concept that "requires us to depart from conventional Western ideas of the role of the armed forces. It calls for

combining the roles of nation building and national defense into one concept of total national defense." Ershad denied that "total national defense" amounted to military interference in the democratic process, but his contention was hotly disputed by civilian politicians.

Sattar responded to Ershad's challenge by trying to establish a National Security Council in January 1982, comprising the three service chiefs and seven civilians. Ershad rejected the plan. Sattar, hoping to forestall an army takeover, reorganized his crumbling cabinet the following month and reconstituted the National Security Council with the three service chiefs and only three civilians. Despite this concession, which was opposed by opposition politicians and by some members of Sattar's own party, Ershad staged a coup on March 24, 1982. Unlike previous coups, there was no bloodshed, senior military commanders acted in unison, and the population accepted the military takeover, albeit sullenly. Ershad cited the political and social evils that necessitated drastic action on the part of the "patriotic armed forces" and again denied any personal political ambitions (see The Ershad Period, ch. 4).

Organization of the Armed Forces

Legal Basis

Under the Constitution, promulgated in 1972, the president is the commander in chief of the armed forces (see Constitution, ch. 4). The services are divided into the army, navy, and air force. In theory, the three service chiefs are coequals in the national command structure; in practice, the army dominates the defense establishment because of its imposing size and its historic role in monitoring or commandeering the political process. In mid-1988 the army constituted 88 percent of the nation's service personnel; the navy and air force accounted for only 7 and 5 percent, respectively.

In mid-1988, each service maintained separate headquarters and was solely responsible for its own training and recruitment programs. There was no joint-service command element to promote interservice cooperation and combined-arms operations. Historically, command-and-control arrangements at the national level have been dominated by the army chief of staff (a lieutenant general; see table 18, Appendix A). In the past, coup leaders such as Zia and Ershad consolidated control over the country by assuming the powers of the army chief of staff, the president, and the extraconstitutional position of chief martial law administrator. During periods of direct military rule, the navy and air force chiefs of staff (rear admiral or major general, respectively) served as deputy chief

martial law administrators, subordinate to the army chief of staff strongman. In the absence of a formal interservice command structure, the cohesion of the Bangladeshi military depends on informal, shifting alliances among senior commanders, most notably within the inner circle of army generals who command the country's six divisions. The military chain of command has broken down on numerous occasions and at every level of command since the country achieved independence in 1971 (see Postindependence Period, this ch.).

Following the British pattern, there is a Ministry of Defence, which is technically responsible for overseeing the military. Even though the Ministry of Defence bureaucracy is predominantly civilian, the military exerts substantial influence over its operations. After seizing power in March 1982, President Ershad followed the practice of his military predecessors by reserving the Ministry of Defence cabinet portfolio for himself. Through the appointment of military retirees and active-duty officers to the Ministry of Defence the military indirectly controls the ministry. Parliament is constitutionally responsible for working with the president and the service chiefs in ensuring the nation's defense. In practice, however, members of Parliament have never played a significant role in either national defense planning or defense budgeting.

The administration of military justice and the military court system is based on three separate but substantively similar service laws that were framed during the united Pakistan era. These laws, in turn, were modifications of British military justice codes, such as the Indian Army Act of 1911. The operative Bangladeshi laws include the Army Act of 1954, the Air Force Act of 1957, and the Navy Ordinance of 1961. These statutes, as amended since their enactment and modified in terminology by Bangladesh, are administered by the respective services. The nomenclature and composition of military courts vary slightly according to service, but court procedures, types of offenses, scales of punishment, jurisdictional authority, appeal and review procedures, and procedures for commutation and suspension of sentences are almost identical for all the services. The military justice system is used for the military in war and peace and is separate from the functions of military personnel acting as civil administrators during periods of martial law.

Recruitment

The three services are staffed by volunteers; there is no compulsory service system, and Bangladesh has a large pool of applicants from which to select. Moreover, the country's high rate of

unemployment has always made relatively secure positions in the military attractive career options. In the late 1980s, approximately 15.4 million of the 25.7 million Bangladeshi males between the ages of 15 and 49 were fit for military service. Drawing from a male population with a literacy rate of 39 percent, however, the armed forces suffered severe shortages of technically skilled manpower. The shortage was particularly acute for the navy and air force because of their need for skilled maintenance personnel. Low educational requirements for enlisted ranks imposed additional handicaps. Recruits often lacked basic skills such as reading, driving, and using a telephone—skills that had to be taught as part of basic training.

As in most aspects of professional life in Bangladesh, women played a marginal role in the armed forces. Women, however, had been instrumental in the nine-month liberation struggle against Pakistan. Although some female partisans were trained in weapons handling and participated in Mukti Bahini ambushes, their primary role was to support guerrilla operations by transporting food and weapons and acting as informers behind Pakistani lines. Following independence, Bangladeshi women receded into the background. Except for a small number of nurses and physicians in all three services and some army switchboard operators, woman were excluded from the regular armed forces. Bangladesh's paramilitary and police forces did recruit some women, primarily for the purpose of searching and processing female criminal suspects. Women in Bangladesh nonetheless have limited opportunities, as their roles are circumscribed by Islamic and South Asian customs, which tend to limit a woman's station in life to raising children, maintaining the home, and performing agricultural or handicraft labor (see Women's Role in Society, ch. 2).

Mission

National Defense

The primary mission of the regular armed forces is the classic one of defending the nation's territorial integrity against external attack. During wartime, the armed forces are responsible for mobilizing the nation's resources by assuming direct control over paramilitary and police forces, civilian transportation, and defense-related industries. Since achieving independence in 1971, Bangladesh has never ordered national mobilization because it has not faced an invasion. In addition, the armed forces have never conducted military operations beyond the country's land or sea boundaries. None of Bangladesh's three services has reserve components to call on during wartime, but the country could employ thousands of military veterans in a protracted guerrilla struggle.

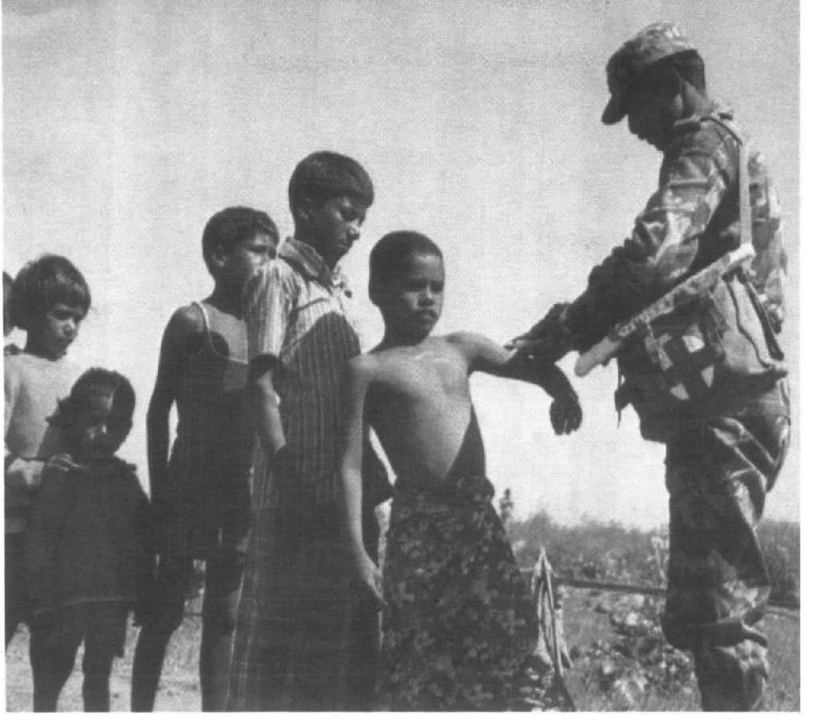
Aid-to-Civil Roles

The armed forces back up local authorities in maintaining public order and ensuring internal security. An "aid-to-the-civil-power" function, based on the British colonial code, was used extensively during the united Pakistan era and has been employed by civilian and military governments since 1971.

Military deployments in aid-to-civil roles fall into three categories. The first and most pervasive use of the military is to assist local authorities and police in putting down riots and conducting counterinsurgency operations. Following the British pattern, the military is customarily used only as the "force of last resort" in domestic peacekeeping because it is not trained in routine police functions, such as crowd control. Ordering troops to use force against their own countrymen, moreover, invites public criticism of the armed forces, tarnishes their image as the "defenders of the nation," and undermines military morale. For these reasons, Bangladeshi authorities have traditionally preferred to rely on police and paramilitary forces to quell disturbances. Nevertheless, Bangladeshi regimes have occasionally resorted to using the military for domestic peacekeeping, sometimes for extended periods. Although the army ordinarily bears the heaviest burden in aid-to-civil operations, the air force and navy can also be called on to transport troops to the scene of a disturbance or to patrol areas near ports or air bases.

The military's second aid-to-civil mission entails running essential services or industries whenever public sector employees stage a strike. The military performed this function in the latter half of 1987 when opposition political parties staged a series of general strikes and work stoppages to pressure Ershad to resign. To keep the country running, the military took over a variety of civilian duties, such as managing port facilities, airports, and power plants (see More Opposition Pressure, ch 4).

A third aid-to-civil mission—the only one the military willingly performs—is disaster relief. Bangladesh has suffered repeated natural calamities which caused thousands of deaths and displaced millions of citizens (see Climate, ch. 2). The military is routinely called upon to transport food and medicine to refugees, as they did during the 1987 and 1988 monsoon floods that inundated more than 50 percent and 66 percent of the country, respectively. The military, however, does not usually perform so-called "civic action" duties, such as building roads, canals, and dams. Following the British pattern of civil-military relations, the Bangladesh armed forces prefer to engage in these activities only when they directly support the military's national defense mission or during extreme emergencies.



Jawan *on a civilian relief operation*
Courtesy Bangladesh Ministry of Information

Intelligence and Security

The military has been deeply involved in gathering domestic and foreign intelligence. All three services have their own intelligence directorates, which collect tactical intelligence to support military operations. The Directorate General of National Security Intelligence is a separate civilian organization but traditionally is headed by a senior military officer. It is responsible for collecting foreign intelligence and monitoring internal political affairs. The pivotal intelligence agency, however, is the Directorate General of Forces Intelligence. It monitors disaffection within the ranks and runs counterintelligence operations. The heads of the Directorate General of National Security Intelligence and the Directorate General of Forces Intelligence are usually the president's closest advisers. The Police Special Branch also operates an intelligence wing, which augments both directorates' intelligence capabilities. Since assuming power in 1982, Ershad has exercised tight control over the intelligence establishment.

Another security organization is the Presidential Security Force. Formed by Ershad while he was chief martial law administrator, the organization's mission is to ensure the physical security of Ershad and his family. Because two of Ershad's predecessors were gunned down during army rebellions, Ershad was undoubtedly

concerned over threats to his life. The commander of the Presidential Security Force is an army brigadier who reports directly to the president.

Security Environment

Bangladeshi defense planners have long regarded India as a regional bully, a perception shared by the Bangladeshi public in the late 1980s. According to this perception, governments in New Delhi continued to regard South Asia as an integral security unit in which India played the dominant role because of its size and resources. Thus, New Delhi's ability to project power gave India a self-assigned responsibility for ensuring the security of smaller states and maintaining stability and peace in the area. Aside from the potential threat of direct military intervention, Bangladeshi leaders also believed India had the capacity to destabilize the country by extending covert assistance to tribal insurgents, the Bangladeshi Hindu minority, or the regime's domestic political opponents.

Bangladesh has been the object of three main Indian security concerns since independence: Bangladeshi internal stability, its strategic position in relation to China, and Dhaka's alleged involvement with Indian tribal insurgents. India denied any intention or desire to destabilize Bangladesh and argued that a stable Bangladesh is a critical component of India's eastern defenses. Bangladesh was strategically located near the India-China disputed frontier in the north. In the event of a border clash with China, Indian lines of communication would be restricted to the narrow Siliguri corridor between Bangladesh and Nepal. Moreover, as a worst-case scenario, Indian defense planners feared that a desperate regime in Dhaka might grant military base rights to the United States or China. These security concerns were compounded by Indian charges that Dhaka turned a blind eye to Indian tribal insurgents using safe havens in eastern Bangladesh and allowed a tide of Bangladeshi emigrants to move into the Indian states of Tripura and Assam. India also expressed the concern that serious instability in Bangladesh could trigger another exodus of refugees into India.

Bangladesh's capacity to mount a conventional defense against India was extremely limited. India supported the world's fourth largest army, a sophisticated arsenal of weapons for all three service branches, and a population and economy larger than those of the six other states of South Asia combined. By necessity, any government in Dhaka had to rely primarily on diplomacy to deter India.

Bangladesh's only military defense against a potential Indian attack was based on limited deterrence. Bangladesh's armed forces would try to stall an Indian advance until international pressures

Bangladesh student officers at the Defence Services Command and Staff College pose with colleague from Nepal
Courtesy James Dunn

could be mobilized to bring about a cease-fire and a return to the status quo.

Geography also limited Bangladesh's capacity to mount a conventional defense of the nation. A paucity of roads, bridges, and railroads impeded cross-country military movements, particularly during the monsoon months of June through September. The army's lack of bridging equipment was a severe liability, especially for the armor brigades. In the mid-1980s, there were eighteen airports suitable for military transport operations, although the lift capacity of the Bangladesh Air Force was extremely limited. As Indian, Pakistani, and Bengali partisan forces discovered in 1971, however, Bangladesh provides ideal terrain for conducting guerrilla warfare. The country's primitive lines of communication would slow an enemy advance and frustrate an occupying force. Jungles, rivers, and isolated villages would allow locally based guerrillas to hold out almost indefinitely. There were no indications, however, that Bangladesh had developed a guerrilla war fighting doctrine; the nation's defense rested primarily on a strategy of deterrence by conventionally equipped regular forces.

The 2,400-kilometer border with India was patrolled by a paramilitary force called the Bangladesh Rifles (see Auxiliary Forces, this ch.). During peacetime, Bangladesh Rifles commanders

have authority to conduct "flag meetings" with their Indian paramilitary counterparts whenever stray firing incidents occur. For instance, in April 1984 a Bangladesh Rifles *jawan* was killed when India began construction of a barbed wire fence along the Indo-Bangladeshi border as part of a campaign to curb illegal immigration into Assam (see Foreign Policy, ch. 4). After conducting several flag meetings, Bangladesh Rifles commanders and their Indian counterparts agreed to withdraw some of their forces from the border area and submit the legality of the fence to a bilateral committee. Under this mechanism, Indian and Bangladeshi regular forces avoided a confrontation that could have escalated.

Throughout its existence, the Bangladesh Army has had to contend with severe shortages of weapons, communications equipment, spare parts, and transport vehicles. One 1982 report maintained that target practice—a basic military skill—was restricted because of ammunition shortages. Under these conditions, it is doubtful the army could fight a conventional war for more than a few days without massive assistance from a foreign power.

The country's 600-kilometer coastline was patrolled by the tiny Bangladesh Navy, whose missions were to protect Bangladeshi fishermen, ward off foreign poachers, and assert sovereignty over the nation's territorial waters. A potential challenge to the Bangladesh Navy occurred in 1983, when a *char*—a speck of land formed by alluvial deposits—emerged in the Bay of Bengal along the maritime boundary with India. Both India and Bangladesh dispatched patrol boats to stake their claims to the island and to the expanded 200-nautical-mile exclusive economic zone that went with it. The two sides avoided a military confrontation, and the matter was remanded to diplomatic negotiations. It was clear, however, that Bangladesh's coastal defense force was not in a position to challenge the Indian Navy. As part of its policy of nonalignment, Bangladesh allowed foreign naval vessels to conduct routine port visits at Chittagong. Bangladesh has not granted naval base rights to any foreign power.

Defense Spending

Because it has been in power almost continuously since 1975, the military has been in position to channel resources to the defense sector. According to A.M.A. Muhith, a former Bangladeshi finance minister and a critic of the military, "the defense establishment has become virtually unaccountable and has appropriated a disproportionate share of resources for its perpetuation and enrichment." Muhith asserts that whereas public spending increased ninefold between 1974 and 1986, defense spending during that same

period increased more than twentyfold. The army has received the best treatment. According to 1985 data, the army received over 50 percent of defense outlays. Moreover, army personnel strength has tripled since 1975. Navy and air force expansion has been less spectacular, although their capital outlays for such high-cost items as ships and aircraft represented an onerous economic burden. Analysts calculate that actual outlays for defense were considerably higher than published government budgets suggested.

Nevertheless, the armed forces continued to experience severe economic constraints. The defense budget for fiscal year (FY—see Glossary) 1989 totaled US$290 million and was the largest budget item, accounting for 17.2 percent of the national budget. In per capita terms, Bangladesh spent about US$3 per year, or about 2 percent of its gross national product (GNP—see Glossary), on defense. By any standard, this was a small sum for a military establishment numbering just over 100,000 personnel under arms. Foreign procurement took 15 to 20 percent of the defense budget. Recurring costs, such as training and pay, accounted for more than 50 percent.

Foreign Acquisitions and Ties

Bangladesh's primary concerns since its establishment have been internal security and economic survival. In mid-1988 no Bangladeshi military personnel were operationally deployed abroad. During the 1950s and 1960s, when united Pakistan was formally aligned with the United States, a number of Bengali officers in the Pakistan military received advanced training in the United States (see The Superpowers, ch. 4). By 1988 those officers who had started their careers during the heyday of United States-sponsored security pacts occupied the most senior positions in the Bangladeshi military.

Since 1975 Bangladesh has cultivated close relations with China. Although Sino-Bangladeshi security relations have remained informal, the two sides have regularly exchanged high-level military delegations to review relations, negotiate weapons transfers, inspect military facilities, and cement personal contacts. For instance, Chinese advisers and technicians have periodically served in Chittagong and Dhaka to assist with making Chinese equipment operational in the Bangladeshi armed forces. In January 1987, Yang Dezhi, chief of the general staff of China's People's Liberation Army, conducted a five-day goodwill visit to Bangladesh. While in Dhaka, the Chinese delegation met with Ershad and the three service chiefs. Three months later, the Bangladesh Navy chief of staff, Rear Admiral Sultan Ahmad, conducted a six-day visit to China. Press reports noted the two sides shared "similar views on

all important matters." Most of Bangladesh's inventory of fighter aircraft, coastal patrol boats, and tanks were supplied by China.

Bangladesh has had to court a variety of states for weapons and training support. The country's only defense production facility was a munitions factory built during the Pakistan era with Chinese assistance. Because it depended on foreign sources for most of its military equipment, Bangladesh had a diverse weapons inventory. However, most of the inventory was obsolete, even by Third World standards. The diversity of equipment imposed severe maintenance problems for a military that lacked technical sophistication. Most overhauls of major equipment items had to be performed by foreign technicians or in the country of origin. Whenever these services have not been available—for instance when Soviet military assistance ended after the 1975 coup—foreign-supplied weapon systems have become inoperable. In extreme cases Bangladesh has had to cannibalize weapon systems, such as older MiG-21 aircraft, to keep some of the inventory in operation.

The Bangladeshi military began its development with weapons surrendered by Pakistani forces and small arms supplied by India to the Mukti Bahini. After Indian forces left the country in October 1972, Mujib turned to India and its primary supplier, the Soviet Union, for military equipment and training. The Soviets supplied MiG-21 aircraft, An-26 transports, and some miscellaneous equipment items. In addition, Egypt transferred thirty Soviet-built (Type 54/55) tanks, and Yugoslavia donated a small naval patrol craft. Following Mujib's assassination, the military looked elsewhere for basic equipment items. Britain sold three aging frigates to Bangladesh, and the United States transferred limited quantities of small arms, mostly for police and paramilitary use. A major breakthrough occurred in 1975, when China extended diplomatic recognition to Bangladesh following the normalization of relations between Dhaka and China's longtime ally, Pakistan. By the early 1980s, China had become Bangladesh's primary supplier of military equipment.

Since the mid-1970s, Bangladesh has sought close relations with oil-rich Arab states, most notably with Saudi Arabia. Shortly after staging the 1982 coup, Ershad traveled to Riyadh to meet with the Saudi leadership. Nine months later, a ten-member Saudi military delegation arrived in Dhaka for talks with their Bangladeshi counterparts and for an inspection tour of military facilities. Press accounts reported that the Saudis were considering a plan to station a Bangladesh Army division (some 15,000 personnel) in the kingdom. The proposal was originally suggested by Zia, according to these reports. Although both governments have consistently denied

reports of an impending Bangladeshi troop presence in Saudi Arabia, rumors to this effect persisted in 1988.

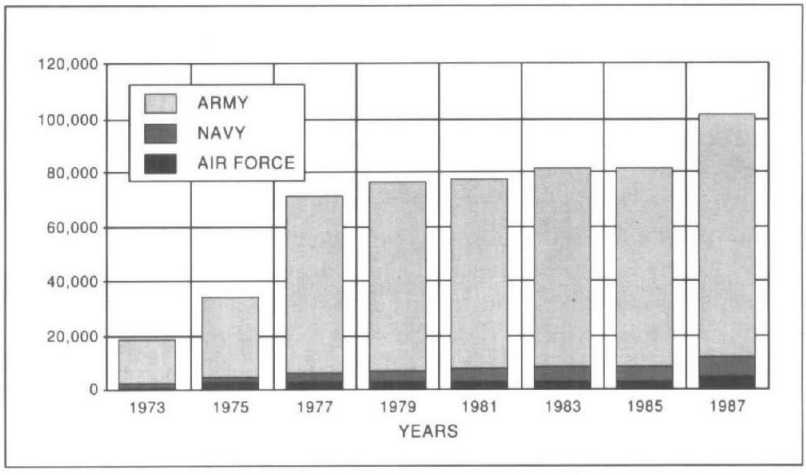
In addition to relying on foreign weapons supplies, Bangladesh has looked to other countries for advanced officer training and for education in specialized military skills, such as repairing aircraft engines. Under Mujib, many Bangladeshi officers, including then-Brigadier Ershad, attended Indian military schools and academies. India was largely responsible for training and organizing the Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini, an elite parallel army raised by Mujib in an effort to insulate his regime from coups (see Postindependence Period, this ch.). After Mujib's death and the absorption of the Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini into the regular army, training in India ended, and Indian military advisers were sent home. Bangladeshi military personnel started attending courses in China on a regular basis in the late 1980s. Starting in the late 1970s, the United States annually appropriated International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds to train limited numbers of Bangladeshi officers in the United States. In FY 1988, these IMET funds totaled US$300,000. In return, foreign officers regularly attend one-year courses offered at the Bangladesh Military Academy near Chittagong. The United States, Britain, Indonesia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and several small Asian and African states have sent military personnel to Bangladesh for staff courses.

The Three Services

Army

The army is the dominant service in Bangladesh. Because of its historic role in influencing civilian governments and taking over the administration of the country, the army is also a critical political institution (see Armed Forces and Society, this ch.; Political Dynamics, ch. 4).

Starting with a nucleus of Bengali deserters from the Pakistan Army—paramilitary personnel, police, and civilians who had fought with the Mukti Bahini—the Bangladesh Army has expanded considerably although erratically since its formation on December 26, 1971. Between 1973 and 1975, the army absorbed many of the 28,000 personnel who had been detained in Pakistani jails for the duration of the war of independence. Following the 1975 coup, additional personnel were absorbed into the regular army when the martial law government abolished the Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini (see Postindependence Period, this ch.). Under Zia's rule, army expansion slowed, in part because of his campaign to purge mutinous



Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance,* London, 1973-88

Figure 12. Growth of the Armed Forces, 1973-87

elements and collaborators from the ranks. When Ershad assumed power in 1982, army strength had stabilized at about 70,000 troops. Starting in 1985, Ershad accelerated the transition from martial law to elected civilian government. The army then experienced another spurt in growth. As of mid-1988, it had about 90,000 troops (although some observers believed the number was closer to 80,000), triple the 1975 figure (see fig. 12).

Zia reorganized the army following the military upheavals of the mid-1970s, in part to prevent coups and *jawan* uprisings. Under Zia's program, the reorganization was intended to neutralize rival factions of freedom fighters and repatriates. Bangladesh was divided into five military regions. The army—cooperating with civilian authorities while maintaining autonomy—preserved internal security and resisted possible Indian domination. Divisions coordinated their operations with paramilitary groups in their respective areas of command, and they mobilized mass support of the government.

The army in 1988 was divided into six strategically located divisions. The location of these divisions' headquarters, five of which were formerly brigade headquarters, underscored the army's primary mission of internal security rather than defense against external threats. The most powerful and prestigious commands were the Ninth Infantry Division, headquartered at Savar on the outskirts of Dhaka, and the Twenty-fourth Infantry Division, headquartered in the city of Chittagong. Elements of both divisions have been involved extensively in the military upheavals that have

plagued Bangladesh since independence (see Restoration of Military Rule, 1975–77, ch. 1). Although the Ninth Infantry Division has an armor regiment, the Twenty-fourth Infantry Division does not. The Ninth Infantry Division has played a central role in staging coups and maintaining military governments once they were in power. According to one observer of the Bangladesh Army, "the role of the Savar division would be crucial in any military coup." The Twenty-fourth Infantry Division, with four brigades, has conducted counterinsurgency operations against tribal guerrillas in the Chittagong Hills since the late 1970s. The army garrison at Chittagong was the site of the coup of May 30, 1981, that resulted in Zia's murder. Other infantry divisions were headquartered at Jessore (the Fifty-fifth), Bogra (the Eleventh), and Comilla (the Thirty-third). Each of these divisions has an armor regiment. In April 1988, a sixth infantry division (the Sixty-sixth) was formally established with headquarters at Rangpur, and plans were in place to raise its armor regiment. The major generals who commanded the six divisions, along with the army chief of staff, formed the center of power within the army and, by extension, within the government, in the late 1980s.

Army formations subordinate to the six division headquarters included fifteen infantry brigades, four armor regiments, nine artillery regiments, six engineering battalions, and various support elements, such as signals, medical services, and ordnance. In addition to the six division headquarters, major army cantonments (barracks and housing areas that serve as the focal point of army life) were at Saidpur, Tangail, Khulna, Jalalabad, and elsewhere. The army also has a small fixed-wing regiment stationed in Dhaka. Army units are not known to operate with the navy in an amphibious assault capacity, although an amphibious assault map exercise is done at the staff college. The army's lack of bridging equipment was a severe liability, especially for its armor regiments. Unlike armies in Pakistan and India, the Bangladesh Army did not have a specially designated "para" (airborne assault) brigade but in 1988 was planning to develop such a capability. In mid-1988 the army reportedly was planning to raise a seventh infantry division to be held in reserve.

The army adopted and has retained the British Indian Army system of ranks. As of mid-1988, Lieutenant General Atiqur Rahman, the army chief of staff, was the only three-star general in the army. Immediately below him were twenty-one two-star generals, eighteen of whom were from the more prestigious combat arms (fourteen of the generals were infantry officers). The remaining officers ranged in rank from brigadier to newly commissioned

second lieutenants. Between the commissioned officers and the enlisted ranks is a separate category of junior commissioned officers (JCOs), who act as a bridge between the officers and their troops. Borrowed from the colonial commissioned officer system of the British Indian Army, JCOs are roughly equivalent to United States Army warrant officers (although few JCOs are technical specialists). JCOs are selected from noncommissioned officer ranks and advance through a three-tier ranking system (*naib subedar, subedar,* and *subedar major*). At the bottom of the hierarchy are the *jawans,* or common soldiers, who make up the bulk of the army (see fig. 13; fig. 14).

Recruitment into the all-volunteer army is open to all male citizens of Bangladesh. There are no restrictions based on religious or ethnic affiliation, though the army is composed almost entirely of Bangla-speaking Sunni Muslims. The language of the military is Bangla. All officers are required to have at least a working knowledge of English. Army officer recruits must be between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one. Before 1980 the maximum age for both officer and enlisted recruits who had fought in the war of independence as civilian irregulars was twenty-three years. With the aging of the liberation generation, however, the army discontinued preferential recruitment of freedom fighters.

Officer candidates must be unmarried and have a high school diploma or the equivalent. The minimum height requirement is 160 centimeters; the minimum weight is 49.8 kilograms. Promising candidates attend a two-year officer training course at the Bangladesh Military Academy at Bhatiary, near Chittagong. After successful completion of the course, graduates receive commissions in the army as second lieutenants. The academy graduated its first class in 1977. Advanced military training is offered at the Defence Services Command and Staff College, founded in Dhaka in 1977. Attendance at the staff college is a preferential assignment for mid-career officers. In addition, the army operates a number of combat schools, such as the School of Infantry and Tactics in Sylhet. The only advanced training beyond the staff college point is in foreign military schools, primarily in the United States or Britain. These choice assignments are reserved for a few select officers. An officer usually serves from fifteen to twenty-five years, after which he is eligible to receive a pension, as well as perquisites such as preferential hiring in the civil service, reduced-price housing, and free land on or near military cantonments.

Military pay and allowances are fixed by the National Pay Commission into ten grades with a total of seventeen steps, or pay scales. Nevertheless, the range in pay between the upper and lower strata of the officer corps remained basically the same in 1988 as in earlier years.

The army's armor regiments in the mid-1980s were equipped with Type 59, Type 54/55, and, its most recent acquisition, Type 62 light tanks (not to be confused with Soviet Type 62 medium tanks). The Type 59 main battle tank and Type 62 light tanks were supplied directly by China. Details regarding the terms of purchase, the training of Bangladeshi tank crews, and maintenance arrangements were never publicized. Following the series of coups and mutinies that erupted between 1975 and 1977, Zia removed the army's tanks from Dhaka in order to guard against further coups. The appearance of Type 59 and Type 62 tanks at the Victory Day parade in Dhaka in 1987, however, marked the first time that any tanks had appeared in a Victory Day parade and suggested that tanks may again be deployed in the vicinity of the capital. Other army weapons included 105mm and 122mm howitzers, 60mm and 120mm mortars, and 57mm, 76mm, and 106mm antitank weapons. The weapons had been acquired from a variety of sources, including as spoils of war from the Pakistan Army.

Navy

The three primary missions of the Bangladesh Navy are to maintain sovereignty over the nation's territorial waters, to safeguard Bangladesh's economic interest and exercise maritime control within the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf, and to protect Bangladeshi shipping. During the Pakistan era (1947–71), the navy was accorded a low priority. Pakistani leaders were preoccupied with maintaining the West Wing's land defenses against India. The Mukti Bahini did not have a naval force, other than a few frogmen who sabotaged Pakistani merchant ships. Wartime naval operations, including an amphibious landing near Chittagong, were left entirely to the Indian Navy. As a result, at independence, Bangladesh inherited virtually nothing in the way of naval equipment or personnel.

Founded as a separate military service on April 7, 1972, the Bangladesh Navy started with a nucleus of twelve officers and 1,000 seamen, most of whom had served in the Pakistan Navy. Their equipment included six captured speedboats and some miscellaneous small arms. From these humble beginnings, the Bangladesh Navy grew into a coastal and riverine defense force estimated in 1988 to include 600 officers and 6,900 enlisted personnel. The navy's center of operations and training was at the country's major port, Chittagong, where, in 1988, the new Bangladesh Naval Academy began its first academic year. Navy headquarters was in Dhaka. Smaller naval facilities were located at Kaptai and Khulna.

BANGLADESH RANK	2D LIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	LIEUTENANT COLONEL	COLONEL	BRIGADIER	MAJOR GENERAL	LIEUTENANT GENERAL	GENERAL	FIELD MARSHAL
ARMY											
U.S. RANK TITLES	2D LIEUTENANT	1ST LIEUTENANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	LIEUTENANT COLONEL	COLONEL	BRIGADIER GENERAL	MAJOR GENERAL	LIEUTENANT GENERAL	GENERAL	GENERAL OF THE ARMY
BANGLADESH RANK	PILOT OFFICER	FLYING OFFICER	FLIGHT LIEUTENANT	SQUADRON LEADER	WING COMMANDER	GROUP CAPTAIN	AIR COMMODORE	AIR VICE MARSHAL	AIR MARSHAL	AIR CHIEF MARSHAL	MARSHAL OF THE AIR FORCE
AIR FORCE											
U.S. RANK TITLES	2D LIEUTENANT	1ST LIEUTENANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	LIEUTENANT COLONEL	COLONEL	BRIGADIER GENERAL	MAJOR GENERAL	LIEUTENANT GENERAL	GENERAL	GENERAL OF THE AIR FORCE
BANGLADESH RANK	NO RANK	SUB-LIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT COMMANDER	COMMANDER	CAPTAIN	COMMODORE	REAR ADMIRAL	VICE ADMIRAL	ADMIRAL	ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET
NAVY											
U.S. RANK TITLES	ENSIGN	LIEUTENANT JUNIOR GRADE	LIEUTENANT	LIEUTENANT COMMANDER	COMMANDER	CAPTAIN	COMMODORE ADMIRAL	REAR ADMIRAL	VICE ADMIRAL	ADMIRAL	FLEET ADMIRAL

Figure 13. Officer Ranks and Insignia, 1988

BANGLADESH RANK	JAWAN	LANCE NAIK	NAIK	NO RANK	HAVILDAR	NAIB SUBEDAR	SUBEDAR	SUBEDAR MAJOR
ARMY	NO INSIGNIA							
U.S. RANK TITLES	PRIVATE	PRIVATE 1ST CLASS	CORPORAL	SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	SERGEANT 1ST CLASS	MASTER SERGEANT	SERGEANT MAJOR
BANGLADESH RANK	AIRCRAFTSMAN	LEADING AIRCRAFTSMAN	CORPORAL	NO RANK	SERGEANT	FLIGHT SERGEANT	WARRANT OFFICER	MASTER WARRANT OFFICER
AIR FORCE								
U.S. RANK TITLES	AIRMAN	AIRMAN 1ST CLASS	SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	TECHNICAL SERGEANT	MASTER SERGEANT	SENIOR MASTER SERGEANT	CHIEF MASTER SERGEANT
BANGLADESH RANK	NO RANK	ABLE SEAMAN	LEADING SEAMAN	PETTY OFFICER	CHIEF PETTY OFFICER	MASTER CHIEF PETTY OFFICER		
NAVY		NO INSIGNIA						
U.S. RANK TITLES	SEAMAN APPRENTICE	SEAMAN	PETTY OFFICER 3D CLASS	PETTY OFFICER 2D CLASS	PETTY OFFICER 1ST CLASS	CHIEF PETTY OFFICER		

Figure 14. Enlisted Ranks and Insignia, 1988

The most formidable ships in the navy were three vintage frigates purchased from Britain in the late 1970s. These included two Leopard-class Type 41 frigates, renamed *Abu Bakr* and *Ali Haider,* and one Salisbury-class Type 61 frigate, renamed *Umar Farooq.* The most modern craft in the inventory were twenty-four patrol boats purchased from the Chinese between 1982 and 1984. These included four Hegu-class fast attack craft, armed with missiles; four P4-class fast-attack craft, armed with torpedoes; and eight Hainan-class and eight Shanghai II-class fast attack patrol craft. These vessels patrolled coastal waters and rivers to interdict foreign fishing vessels and assert Bangladeshi sovereignty over its territorial waters. Other vessels in the Bangladeshi inventory included vintage patrol craft purchased from China, Yugoslavia, India, Japan, and Singapore; a recommissioned Pakistani patrol boat; a similar craft converted from a Thai fishing boat; and five indigenously built Pabna-class riverine patrol craft. Bangladesh also maintained a merchant fleet comprising 274 vessels. Since all were government owned, merchant vessels could be pressed into service during hostilities. In the late 1980s, the Bangladesh Navy had no air wing, marine corps, or reserves.

Air Force

The Bangladesh Air Force, descended from the Pakistan Air Force, had a 1988 personnel strength of 5,000, including more than 400 officers, of whom about 175 were pilots. Like the navy, it started from humble beginnings, inheriting destroyed aircraft, damaged runways, looted stores, and neutralized maintenance facilities. After its formation as a separate service in April 1972, the air force acquired various fighters and transport aircraft from the Soviet Union. The Soviets also trained some air force pilots. Following the political turmoil of the mid-1970s, the air force looked to China for the bulk of its aircraft, as well as for training.

As of mid-1988, the air force inventory included three squadrons of combat aircraft, some of which were probably unserviceable. These squadrons included vintage MiG-21 interceptors supplied by the Soviet Union during the Mujib period. In 1978 China supplied fifteen F-6s (the Chinese version of the Soviet MiG-19) and sixteen A-5s in 1986. The Chinese-supplied fighter inventory in early 1988 totaled two squadrons, or about thirty A-5s and F-6s. Transport aircraft included one An-26 squadron supplied by the Soviets. Helicopters, used in disaster relief and troop transport operations, included thirteen American-made Bell 212s (twin-engine Hueys) and eleven Soviet-supplied Mi-8s. The air force's main

Bangladesh Air Force ground crew maintains a Chinese-made Xian F-7 fighter
Courtesy Bangladesh Ministry of Information
Defence Services Command and Staff College student officers pose with Bangladesh Air Force Mi-8 helicopter
Courtesy James Dunn

operating base and headquarters were in Dhaka. Other air force bases were located at Jessore, also the site of the Bangladesh Air Force Academy, and Chittagong. Small satellite airfields, all of

which doubled as civilian airports, were dispersed throughout the country. The government-owned passenger airline, Biman Bangladesh Airlines, could also be considered an air force asset during emergencies (see Civil Aviation, ch. 3). Aside from conducting relief operations, the air force's main mission is to transport troops and equipment to isolated army outposts in the tribal insurgent belt in the Chittagong Hills.

Auxiliary Forces

In addition to the three service branches, Bangladesh supports an internal security establishment that numbered approximately 55,000 personnel in mid-1988. These formal auxiliaries included two paramilitary forces—the 30,000-member Bangladesh Rifles and the 20,000-member Ansars—and a 5,000-member specialized police unit known as the Armed Police. Although large—there were 10 million members in 1988—a fourth paramilitary/police element, the Village Defence Party, played a marginal internal security role.

Bangladesh Rifles

The country's first line of defense, the Bangladesh Rifles, is descended from the East Pakistan Rifles formed during the period of a united Pakistan (see Pakistan Era, this ch.). The mission of the force includes patrolling borders, interdicting smugglers, investigating transborder crimes, and extending governmental authority in isolated areas. In addition, paramilitary forces provide backup to the army during wartime.

The Bangladesh Rifles came into existence shortly after independence. The original complement of 9,000 personnel were mostly East Pakistan Rifles deserters who had fought with the Mukti Bahini. By 1973 a vigorous recruiting campaign had swelled Bangladesh Rifles ranks to about 20,000 personnel. For budgeting purposes, the Bangladesh Rifles are subordinate to the Ministry of Home Affairs. The army, however, plays a major role in staffing, training, and directing the force. Most Bangladesh Rifles officers are seconded from the regular army. For instance, the army chief of staff, Lieutenant General Atiqur Rahman, served as director general of the Bangladesh Rifles for four and one-half years. In addition, retired JCOs and *jawans* are often assigned to the Bangladesh Rifles in recognition of long years of service. Although Bangladesh Rifles units can be called upon to assist the police in putting down domestic disturbances, their primary role is to guard the nation's frontiers. The force is organized into battalions along military lines. During wartime or declared national emergencies,

the president, in his role as commander in chief, can authorize the military to assume direct control over all paramilitary and police forces.

Ansars

The Ansars, formed in 1948, are a lightly armed auxiliary force that assists the police in maintaining law and order, participates in civic action projects in rural areas, and performs rear area missions in conjunction with the army during wartime. The word *ansar* (Arabic for helper) alludes to the companions of the Prophet Muhammad who traveled with him during his exile from Mecca.

After independence, Mujib suspected Ansars personnel of being disloyal to his regime and a potential armed threat in the countryside and so played down their role. After Mujib was killed and the Jatiyo Rakkhi Bahini was disbanded, however, army leaders resuscitated the Ansars in an effort to improve rural security, which had deteriorated sharply under Awami League rule. In 1976 the Ansars were designated a "people's defence force," reorganized into battalions, and placed under the direction of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Army personnel are routinely posted for duty with Ansars battalions. In 1980 the Ansars raised four coastal battalions and made plans to post female Ansars contingents to each district. Ansars headquarters and its National Training Centre are located at Gazipur, about thirty kilometers north of Dhaka.

Police

The Armed Police is an elite unit of the national police system that is specifically charged with responding to violent disturbances and threats to public order whenever local police units prove unequal to the challenge. Functioning under the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Armed Police responds to emergencies anywhere in the country. The unit ordinarily cooperates closely with the army and paramilitary forces. It also operates an intelligence wing. Except for perhaps its elite Presidential Security Force, the army does not acknowledge having any specialized counterterrorist squad for protecting dignitaries, thwarting hijackings, and rescuing hostages. These functions are probably handled by units of the Armed Police.

The police, or local constabulary, are the lowest echelon of Bangladesh's security forces. The upper echelons of the police, or "gazetted officers," rank high in the civil service and are relatively well trained and well paid. By contrast, the lower ranks are often poorly trained, poorly equipped, and poorly paid. In the subordinate grades, whose numbers account for about 90 percent of the police, advancement is slow and educational levels low. In addition,

the police are overworked. Further, the police are often viewed by the public as an oppressive arm of government characterized by widespread petty corruption and political manipulation. According to scholar Craig Baxter, "the police have much more contact with citizens than the army, and therefore take the brunt of criticism when they are called upon to quell disturbances." Despite their reputation for corruption, inefficiency, and occasional brutality, the police remain the most vital component of domestic security. Total police strength in 1988 was estimated between 40,000 and 50,000 personnel.

The police services have had to be rebuilt by the new Bangladeshi government because during the independence war the police system of East Pakistan broke down and there was, in effect, no police system except that maintained by the combatant armies in the areas they controlled. The senior police posts had been held by officers of the elite Police Service of Pakistan, most of whom were from West Pakistan. Lower ranking officers and the police rank and file were Bengalis. When the war of independence broke out in March 1971, most of the East Pakistani police defected and either joined the Mukti Bahini or simply disappeared.

Under administrative decentralization programs first introduced by Zia and later implemented and expanded by Ershad, police administration is headed by the inspector general of police, the equivalent of an army lieutenant general and popularly and officially referred to as the IG. He is responsible to the Ministry of Home Affairs. At the district level there is a superintendent of police, and at the subdistrict level, an inspector of police. Commissioners of police direct the work in major urban areas and report directly to the inspector general. As part of Ershad's political strategy of moving decision-making power closer to the grass-roots level, police administration in 1988 generally paralleled the administrative reorganization introduced by the Ershad regime (see The Ershad Period, ch. 4).

Police officers are categorized as gazetted and subordinate, roughly analogous to commissioned and noncommissioned officers in the military services. The top four gazetted police grades, in descending order, are those of inspector general, deputy inspector general, superintendent, and assistant superintendent. Below these gazetted ranks are the upper subordinate positions of inspector, subinspector, and assistant subinspector. Below them are the bulk of police in the lower subordinate grades of head constable and constable.

The inspector general supervises staff departments handling criminal investigation, identification, communications, administration,

Bangladesh Army Type 59 tank in a tactical field exercise
Courtesy James Dunn

and supply. He is further responsible for supervision over the police "ranges," each of which includes a number of districts and is under a deputy inspector general. Within the ranges, police superintendents control districts and supervise one or more assistant superintendents, a number of inspectors, and other personnel. The station house, at the subdistrict (*upazila*—see Glossary) level, is supervised by one of the upper subordinate officers, called the station house officer, with about ten head constables and constables at the station. Assisting the regular police are part-time village constables and Village Defence Party volunteers, who report violations to the nearest police station or apprehend offenders on police orders. These village constables are recruited locally and receive a very small salary.

At all levels the senior police officer responds to the chain of command within the police organization, but he is also responsible in many matters to the general direction of designated civil government officials. These multiple lines of command sometimes cause confusion and disagreement, but the principle of ultimate civilian control has remained dominant since the colonial period. At the national level the inspector general reports to the home secretary; at the range level the deputy inspector general answers to the division commissioner; and at the district level the police superintendent is subordinate to the deputy commissioner, who is in charge of tax collection, law and order, and administration of justice.

Although the deputy commissioner has no authority to interfere directly in the internal organization and discipline of the police, one of his duties is to inspect the police stations of his district at regular intervals. If the deputy commissioner and the police chief disagree on issues relating to police functioning, the deputy commissioner's judgment prevails, but he is dependent upon police cooperation. In case of serious differences, however, both may refer the disputed matter to higher authorities for reconciliation; the deputy commissioner to his commissioner and the superintendent to his deputy inspector general.

Village Defence Party

A fourth auxiliary force, known as the Village Defence Party, was formed by Zia in 1976. As its designation indicates, the Village Defence Party was charged with routine village security duties, in addition to its primary mission of promoting rural improvement projects, such as digging canals. Under Zia's 1980 Self-Sufficient Village Government Plan, 6 million men and 4 million women were enrolled in local Village Defence Party units. The organization, overseen by the Ministry of Home Affairs, played a peripheral role in village security. After Zia's assassination in 1981, the Village Defence Party plan became less visible, though many of the rural development aspects of the program were continued as part of Ershad's decentralization effort (see Local Administration, ch. 4).

Public Order and Internal Security

Violence and Crime

Bengalis have been opposing governments since those imposed by the Mughals in the sixteenth century (see Islamization of Bengal, 1202–1757, ch. 1). Bengali secession movements, first from Britain and then from Pakistan, were violent struggles that exacted an enormous human toll. This legacy of violence, coupled with the propensity to organize the population into mass movements to overthrow governments, carried over into the postindependence era.

A number of fringe parties that embrace violence as an acceptable political tactic existed. In the mid-1970s, Maoist splinter groups such as the Bangladesh Communist Party/Marxist-Leninist carried on a rural-based insurrection. Acting under the direction of two renowned freedom fighters, Mohammed Toaha and retired Colonel M. Ziauddin, guerrilla bands executed landlords and moneylenders and staged hit-and-run raids on police stations and government armories. By the late 1970s, however, Maoism had lost much of its appeal in the countryside, and most guerrilla factions sought

to become legal organizations. The Bangladesh Communist Party/ Marxist-Leninist, the Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal, and dozens of other left-wing parties all followed this route. The country's mainstream Marxist party, the pro-Soviet Bangladesh Communist Party, did not promote organized antigovernment violence, although its student and labor union fronts have been suspected of engaging in violent acts (see Party Politics, ch. 4).

Government officials tend not to make a sharp distinction between ordinary crime and political crime or subversion but describe it all as destructive to the country. Customarily, authorities speak of criminal and subversive elements as "antisocial forces" or "miscreants" and frequently describe them as composed of persons who oppose independent Bangladesh. Similarly, Ershad has condemned democratic opposition parties for engaging in "terrorism and hooliganism" in their campaigns to unseat him.

Insurgency in the Chittagong Hills

Probably the longest running source of domestic violence has been the tribal insurgency that has festered in the remote Chittagong Hill Tracts (see Glossary) since the late 1970s (see Ethnicity and Linguistic Diversity, ch. 2). Spearheaded by the predominantly Chakma guerrilla band known as the Shanti Bahini (Peace Force), in the late 1980s the rebels were still seeking autonomous status for the Chittagong Hills, the expulsion of Bengali settlers from traditional tribal lands, the restoration of tribal rights and privileges enjoyed under British and Pakistani rule and subsequently repealed by the Mujib government, and the withdrawal of the army from the Chittagong Hills. With an estimated strength of 2,000 lightly armed guerrillas, the Shanti Bahini carried out attacks against Bengali settlers, government facilities, and army convoys.

Through the late 1980s, military pacification efforts had been ineffective and often brutal. The Twenty-fourth Infantry Division, headquartered in Chittagong, was the army's largest formation with four infantry brigades and a specialized counterinsurgency unit based at Khagrachari. It mounted reprisal raids against civilian tribespeople as warnings against further attacks. Observers through 1986 estimated that about 400 security personnel had lost their lives in the Chittagong Hills; the civilian death toll was estimated at around 2,000. According to a September 1986 report by Amnesty International, the army regularly engaged in "unlawful killings and torture," acts that are specifically prohibited under the Constitution and various international accords to which Bangladesh is a party. Another human rights organization termed the army's Chittagong Hills campaign "genocide." Some commentators allege

that the army has been overly zealous in stamping out the insurgency because the tribespeople are not Muslims.

In the late 1980s, the Chittagong Hills remained off-limits to all outsiders without a special permit. Details of the fighting therefore have been sketchy. Ershad, like his predecessors, denied reports of human rights violations and maintained that tribal rights would be safeguarded if the Shanti Bahini laid down their arms, accepted government offers of amnesty and rehabilitation, and participated in elections. Aside from the domestic implications of widespread violence in the Chittagong Hills, the fighting also had serious regional consequences. Bangladesh has frequently asserted that India has aided the Shanti Bahini by offering arms assistance, military training, and bases. India has denied the charges and has countered that Bangladesh Army operations in the Chittagong Hills have precipitated a massive exodus of Chakma refugees into the Indian state of Tripura.

Criminal Justice

In general, the criminal codes and procedures in effect in Bangladesh derive from the period of British rule, as amended by Pakistan and Bangladesh. These basic documents include the Penal Code, first promulgated in 1860 as the Indian Penal Code; the Police Act of 1861; the Evidence Act of 1872; the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1898; the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908; and the Official Secrets Act of 1911.

The major classes of crimes are listed in the Penal Code, the country's most important and comprehensive penal statute. Among the listed categories of more serious crimes are activities called "offenses against the state." The Penal Code authorizes the government to prosecute any person or group of persons conspiring or abetting in a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force. An offense of this nature is also defined as "war against the state." Whether or not an offense constitutes a conspiracy is determined by the "intent" of the participant, rather than by the number of the participants involved, so as to distinguish it from a riot or any other form of disturbance not regarded as antinational. Section 121 of the Penal Code makes antinational offenses punishable by death or imprisonment for twenty years. The incitement of hatred, contempt, or disaffection toward a lawfully constituted authority is also a criminal offense punishable by a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Among other categories of felonies are offenses against the public tranquillity (meaning unlawful assembly), rioting, and public disturbances; offenses relating to religion; and offenses against property, such as theft, robbery, and dacoity (robbery by a group of five or more persons).

Dhaka Central Jail
Courtesy Siria Lopez

Punishment is divided into five categories: death; banishment, ranging from seven years to life; imprisonment; forfeiture of property; and fines. The imprisonment may be "simple" or "rigorous" (hard labor), ranging from the minimum of twenty-four hours for drunken or disorderly conduct to a maximum of fourteen years at hard labor for more serious offenses. Juvenile offenders may be sentenced to detention in reform schools for a period of three to seven years. For minor infractions whipping, not exceeding fifteen lashes, may be prescribed as an alternative to detention.

Preventive detention may be ordered under the amended Security of Pakistan Act of 1952 and under Section 107 of the Code of Criminal Procedure when, in the opinion of the authorities, there is a strong likelihood of public disorder. Bangladeshi regimes have made extensive use of this provision. Similarly, Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, frequently invoked by magistrates for periods up to two months, prohibits assembly of five or more persons, holding of public meetings, and carrying of firearms. In addition, the Disturbed Areas (Special Powers) Ordinance of 1962 empowers a magistrate or an officer in charge of a police contingent to open fire or use force against any persons breaching the peace in the disturbed areas and to arrest and search without a warrant. The assembly of five or more persons and the carrying of firearms may also be prohibited under this ordinance.

Persons charged with espionage are punishable under the Official Secrets Act of 1911, as amended in 1923 and 1968. As revised in May 1968, this statute prescribes death as the maximum penalty for a person convicted of espionage. In 1966, in an effort to prevent information leaks, the central government passed a regulation prohibiting former government officials from working for foreign diplomatic missions. In general, all persons seeking employment with foreign embassies or any foreign government agencies were also required to obtain prior permission from Bangladeshi authorities.

The custody and correction of persons sentenced to imprisonment is regulated under the Penal Code of 1860, the Prisons Act of 1894, and the Prisoners Act of 1900, as amended. The prison system has expanded but in 1988 was basically little changed from the later days of the British Raj (see Glossary). The highest jail administration official is the inspector general of prisons or, if this office is not separately assigned, the inspector general of police. At the division level or the police range level, the senior official is called director of prisons; at the district level, he is the jail superintendent. Below the district jail level are the subdistrict and village police lockups. Dhaka Central Jail is the largest and most secure prison and has more extensive facilities than those at the successive lower echelons. All installations are staffed by prison police usually permanently assigned to this duty. In general, prisons and jails have low standards of hygiene and sanitation and are seriously overcrowded. Rehabilitation programs with trained social workers were rudimentary or nonexistent through the late 1980s. Overcrowding—the most serious basic problem—was likely to worsen as the 1990s approached because of the mounting number of arrests connected with opposition campaigns to oust Ershad from office.

The Military in the Late 1980s

According to senior Bangladeshi commanders in the late 1980s, the military was the only institution capable of providing the nation with honest and efficient administration. In their view, civilian politicians were obsessed with settling political scores, undercutting the influence of the armed forces, and downplaying the military's role in leading the nation to victory in 1971. Moreover, most officers regarded politicians as hopelessly corrupt and incapable of creating confidence in the government's capacity to make the best use of vitally needed foreign assistance. The military disregarded suggestions made by the opposition to curtail its power, such as the formation of a "people's army," the outright abolition of the military, or various constitutional provisions that would circumscribe the military's political influence.

Many Bangladeshi officers asserted that they would prefer to limit their role in administering the country and concentrate on their traditional role of maintaining defense preparedness. They feared, however, that if the military were not in a position to safeguard the national interest, a government controlled by the opposition would mortgage the country's future and, conceivably, destroy the armed forces. Civilian political leaders did not reassure the military on this score. For instance, Begum Khaleda Zia, the widow of Ziaur Rahman and the head of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, has called on freedom fighters in the armed forces to take matters into their own hands and join with her party in ousting Ershad. Sheikh Hasina Wajed, the daughter of Mujib and the head of the Awami League, has campaigned against "corrupt generals" and threatened to reduce the army to an internal police force if she came to power. Faced with these kinds of threats, the military has consistently supported Ershad's cautious program of retaining the army's watchdog political role in a nominally civilian government.

* * *

Scholarly works on the role of the military in Bangladeshi society include Ashish Kumar Roy's *Nation Building and the Army in Bangladesh* and journalist Anthony Mascarenhas's *Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood.* "Bangladesh in the Early 1980s: Praetorian Politics in an Intermediate Regime" by Peter J. Bertocci and "Politicization of the Bangladesh Military: A Response to Perceived Shortcomings of Civilian Government" by Zillur R. Khan also provide useful insights. Basic information on personnel strengths, organization, and weapons can be found in the annual *Military Balance.* Craig Baxter's *Bangladesh: A New Nation in an Old Setting* is particularly useful.

There is a rich literature dealing with the organizational history of the Bangladesh military. Included among these are Stephen P. Cohen's *The Indian Army* and *The Pakistan Army,* Rounaq Jahan's *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration,* and Subrata Roy Chowdhury's *The Genesis of Bangladesh.* Details of the internal security problems during the first years of independence are found in Talukder Maniruzzaman's article "Bangladesh: An Unfinished Revolution?" The Hoover Institution's *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs* is also a useful source on left-wing political violence in Bangladesh.

Censorship restrictions make the coverage of military affairs in the Bangladeshi press less than enlightening. The English-language *Bangladesh Observer* and the *Illustrated Weekly of Bangladesh* are useful.

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service's *Daily Report: Near East and South Asia* and the weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review* are probably the best resources for military affairs. Although the Bangladeshi armed forces journal *Senani* is accessible only to those who read Bangla, it contains useful photographs of senior officers, weapons systems, and military installations. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix

Table

Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 m²)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
	1.1	short tons
	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	9 divide by 5 and add 32	degrees Fahrenheit

Table 2. Climatic Statistics, Selected Stations, 1986

Station	Precipitation (in centimeters)	Temperature (in degrees Celsius)		Humidity (average daily, in percent)	
		Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
Barisal	211	10.0	38.4	71	92
Bogra	215	9.5	39.5	51	87
Chittagong	278	12.4	35.4	63	84
Comilla	205	10.0	36.6	65	86
Cox's Bazar	286	13.5	34.5	62	89
Dhaka	248	10.6	39.5	52	84
Dinajpur	198	8.8	40.5	45	87
Faridpur	232	10.5	40.5	52	86
Jessore	210	9.4	40.2	52	88
Khulna	242	8.0	38.7	66	88
Maijdi Court	298	10.6	36.5	67	88
Mymensingh	305	11.1	36.2	57	86
Rajshahi	152	7.8	41.5	47	86
Rangamati	244	12.5	37.4	57	86
Rangpur	231	9.0	39.1	53	89
Sylhet	329	10.6	36.7	54	88

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 23-27.

Table 3. Population Density, Selected Years, 1881-2000

Year	Population (in thousands) [1]	Density (per square kilometer) [2]
1881	25,086	187
1891	27,103	202
1901	28,928	216
1911	31,555	235
1921	33,255	248
1931	35,602	266
1941	41,997	313
1951	44,832	312
1961	50,840	379
1974	71,478	533
1981	87,129	650
1988	109,964	821
1990 [3]	112,865	842
1995 [3]	127,086	948
2000 [3]	142,141	1,060

[1] Some years include enumerated census population data.
[2] Calculation based on land area of 133,910 square kilometers.
[3] Projected.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 38, 71; and United States, Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook, 1988,* Washington, May 1988, 20.

Table 4. Area, Population, and Density by Region, 1981 and 1985

Region	Area (in square kilometers)	Population (in thousands)		Density (per square kilometer)	
		1981	1985	1981	1985
Bandarban	4,499	180	200	40	44
Barisal	7,295	4,819	5,385	660	738
Bogra	3,886	2,814	3,245	724	835
Chittagong	7,453	5,664	6,329	759	849
Chittagong Hill Tracts *	8,675	602	674	69	77
Comilla	6,596	7,103	7,937	1,076	1,203
Dhaka	7,466	10,340	11,554	1,384	1,547
Dinajpur	6,563	3,300	3,687	502	561
Faridpur	6,878	4,918	5,496	715	799
Jamalpur	3,347	2,527	2,823	755	843
Jessore	6,570	4,145	4,632	630	705
Khulna	12,163	4,469	4,993	367	410
Kushtia	3,405	2,365	2,642	694	775
Mymensingh	9,664	6,779	7,575	701	783
Noakhali	5,457	3,938	4,401	721	806
Pabna	4,730	3,534	3,948	747	834
Patuakhali	4,093	1,897	2,120	463	517
Rajshahi	9,452	5,440	6,078	575	643
Rangpur	9,592	6,716	7,505	700	782
Sylhet	12,714	5,835	6,520	461	512
Tangail	3,401	2,527	2,823	743	830
BANGLADESH	143,899	89,912	100,567	624	698

* As of January 1988, known as Rangamati Region.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Pocketbook of Bangladesh, 1986,* Dhaka, 1987, 117-38.

Table 5. Population by Age-Group, Sex, and Urban-Rural Distribution, 1981 Census
(in thousands)

Age-Group	Urban			Rural			National		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes
0-4	955	939	1,894	6,494	6,405	12,899	7,449	7,344	14,793
5-9	935	899	1,834	6,248	6,076	12,324	7,183	6,975	14,158
10-14	947	848	1,795	5,279	4,576	9,855	6,226	5,424	11,650
15-19	744	621	1,365	3,385	3,397	6,782	4,129	4,018	8,147
20-24	741	563	1,304	2,503	2,972	5,475	3,244	3,535	6,779
25-29	709	472	1,181	2,532	2,707	5,239	3,241	3,179	6,420
30-34	528	344	872	1,964	2,127	4,091	2,492	2,471	4,963
35-39	450	267	717	1,908	1,814	3,722	2,358	2,081	4,439
40-44	360	227	587	1,560	1,547	3,107	1,920	1,774	3,694
45-49	259	156	415	1,326	1,121	2,447	1,585	1,277	2,862
50-54	233	174	407	1,184	1,099	2,283	1,417	1,273	2,690
55-59	130	79	209	794	618	1,412	924	697	1,621
60-64	153	112	265	893	791	1,684	1,046	903	1,949
65-69	67	51	118	465	330	795	535	380	915
70-74	74	56	130	465	356	821	535	414	949
75-79	28	15	43	215	135	350	248	151	399
80-84	32	19	51	188	156	344	215	184	399
85-89	9	5	14	56	42	98	68	39	107
90-94	9	6	15	45	37	82	55	43	98
95 and over	7	5	12	45	37	82	49	39	88
TOTAL	7,370	5,858	13,228	37,549	36,343	73,892	44,919	42,201	87,120

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 36.

Table 6. Foreign Employment of Bangladeshi Nationals by Country, Selected Years, 1979-87

Country	1979	1981	1983	1985	1987
Algeria	25	0	0	0	0
Bahrain	827	1,392	2,473	2,965	2,055
Ethiopia	20	0	0	0	0
Iran	4	0	0	144	0
Iraq	2,362	13,153	4,932	5,051	3,847
Jordan	73	66	42	0	0
Kuwait	2,289	5,461	10,283	7,384	9,559
Libya	1,967	4,162	2,209	1,514	2,271
Malaysia	0	0	2	792	440
Nigeria	51	17	41	0	0
Oman	3,777	7,351	10,351	9,218	0
Qatar	1,383	2,268	7,541	4,751	5,831
Saudi Arabia	6,490	13,384	11,462	37,111	39,350
Singapore	110	1,083	211	0	0
Uganda	50	0	0	0	0
United Arab Emirates	5,055	6,418	6,615	8,336	9,953
Lebanon, Syria, and other	0	1,029	2,279	428	711
TOTAL	24,483	55,784	58,441	77,694	74,017

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987*, Dhaka, July 1988, 114.

Table 7. Unemployed Persons by Age-Group, Sex, and Urban-Rural Distribution, Fiscal Year 1984
(in percentage)

Age-Group	Urban			Rural			National		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes
10-19	21.1	22.2	21.5	31.2	32.2	31.4	29.0	30.1	29.2
15-19	20.0	22.2	21.5	36.1	38.9	36.7	32.9	36.7	33.7
20-24	27.8	33.3	28.0	17.4	21.1	18.7	19.7	23.5	20.5
25-29	20.0	11.1	18.7	11.2	7.8	10.2	12.9	8.5	12.0
30-34	1.1	5.6	1.9	1.2	—	1.0	1.2	0.9	1.2
35 and over	10.0	5.6	8.4	2.8	—	2.2	4.2	0.9	3.4
TOTAL *	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

— means negligible.
* Figures may not add to total because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1986,* Dhaka, 1987, 216.

Table 8. Major Religious Communities, Selected Years, 1901-81
(in percentages)

Year	Muslim	Hindu	Other *	Total
1901	66.1	33.0	0.9	100.0
1911	67.2	31.5	1.3	100.0
1921	68.1	30.6	1.3	100.0
1931	69.5	29.4	1.1	100.0
1941	70.3	28.0	1.7	100.0
1951	76.9	22.0	1.1	100.0
1961	80.4	18.5	1.1	100.0
1971	85.4	13.5	1.1	100.0
1981	86.6	12.2	1.2	100.0

* Buddhist, Christian, and "others."

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 46.

Table 9. Health Care Indicators, Fiscal Years 1980, 1985, and 1990

Indicator	Unit	1980	1985	1990 *
Infant mortality	per 1,000 live births	140.0	125.0	100.0
Maternal mortality	-do-	7.0	6.0	4.0
Crude birth rate	per 1,000 population	43.3	39.0	31.0
Crude death rate	-do-	16.8	15.8	13.0
Life expectancy at birth	years	56.9	55.1	54.0
Hospital beds	number	21,141.0	21,637.0	40,734.0
Population per hospital bed	-do-	4,128.0	3,589.0	2,712.0
Coverage of population by primary health care services	percentage of population	25.0	30.0	65.0
Physicians	number	11,000.0	16,000.0	22,500.0
Population per physician	-do-	8,810.0	6,640.0	4,755.0

* Target.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 59, 372, 376, 378.

Table 10. Major Aid Donors, Fiscal Years 1981 and 1986 (in millions of United States dollars)

Donor	1981		1986	
	Commitments	Disbursements	Commitments	Disbursements
Asian Development Bank	164	46	177	159
Britain	6	51	87	42
Canada	40	70	101	98
International Development Association	334	178	489	348
Japan	232	162	63	139
United Nations system	65	38	148	66
United States	191	134	232	104
Other	630	469	365	347
TOTAL	1,662	1,148	1,662	1,303

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 408-9.

Table 11. Production of Selected Agricultural Commodities, Selected Fiscal Years, 1981–87
(in millions of tons unless otherwise indicated)

Commodity	1981	1983	1985	1986 [1]	1987 [2]
Cotton (1,000 bales)	10.00	58.00	29.00	29.00	50.00
Food grains					
Rice					
Aus	3.28	3.06	2.78	2.83	3.10
Aman	7.96	7.60	7.93	8.54	8.20
Boro	2.63	3.54	3.90	3.67	4.10
Total rice	13.87	14.20	14.61	15.04	15.40
Wheat	1.09	1.09	1.46	1.04	1.30
Others	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.04
Total food grains	15.01	15.34	16.10	16.11	16.74
Jute (1,000 bales)	4,943.00	4,881.00	5,111.00	8,610.00	6,750.00
Oilseeds	0.25	0.26	0.27	0.27	0.27
Potatoes	1.00	1.17	1.18	1.10	1.15
Pulses	0.22	0.20	0.19	0.18	0.24
Sugarcane	6.60	7.48	7.00	6.64	7.00
Sweet potatoes	0.70	0.73	0.69	0.61	0.56
Tea (1,000 tons)	40.00	41.00	38.00	37.00	40.00
Tobacco (1,000 tons)	48.00	51.00	50.00	46.00	50.00

[1] Estimated.
[2] Projected.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1986,* Dhaka, 1987, various pages.

Table 12. Production of Selected Industrial Commodities, Selected Fiscal Years, 1981-87
(in millions of tons unless otherwise indicated)

Commodity	1981	1983	1985	1987 [1]
Textiles [2]				
Cotton cloth (1,000 meters)	78,612	59,741	62,590	59,410
Cotton yarn (1,000 kilograms)	46,235	45,237	48,139	45,141
Sacking	309,535	241,647	222,595	248,020
Carpet backing	71,276	93,966	80,922	80,308
Synthetic yarn (1,000 kilograms)	1,499	1,381	1,546	1,059
Paper products				
Newsprint	30,902	26,741	45,972	46,643
Particle board	1,228	543	2,308	2,502
Chemicals and fertilizers				
Urea	341,734	371,008	741,463	846,458
Ammonium sulfate	9,233	12,282	9,634	9,316
Caustic soda	5,984	5,685	6,811	8,331
D.D.T.	1,016	412	1,252	911
Paints and varnish (gallons)	424,370	405,784	583,088	635,502
Cycle tires and tubes (dozens)	16,145	12,621	28,236	29,683
Cement	344,830	306,688	240,176	309,677
Steel ingots	139,343	47,401	101,149	82,081
Ceiling fans (units)	83,760	93,694	128,045	122,998
Television sets				
Black and white (units)	26,314	33,452	56,316	60,730
Color (units)	0	174	706	14,341
Transportation equipment (units)				
Trucks	1,297	0	257	456
Buses	508	56	54	400
Automobiles	0	0	0	50
Jeeps	451	0	226	180
Motorcycles	6,122	3,167	17,334	10,469
Bicycles	28,214	13,338	14,712	16,917

[1] Projected.
[2] Includes ready-made garment production.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 246-49.

Table 13. Exports, Selected Fiscal Years, 1981-87
(in millions of United States dollars)

Commodity	1981	1983	1985	1986	1987 *
Jute					
Raw jute	119	110	151	124	92
Jute manufactures	357	320	390	293	306
Total jute	476	430	541	417	398
Frozen seafood	40	72	87	113	165
Garments	3	11	116	131	150
Leather goods	56	58	70	61	90
Petroleum products	49	31	21	17	15
Tea	41	46	61	33	38
Other	46	38	39	47	44
TOTAL	711	686	935	819	900

*Projected.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh Bank, Statistics Department, *Annual Export Receipts, 1985-86,* Dhaka, 1986, 173-77.

Table 14. Imports, Selected Fiscal Years, 1981-87
(in millions of United States dollars)

Commodity	1981	1983	1985	1986	1987 [1]
Food					
Rice	40	97	176	8	21
Wheat	210	288	322	212	267
Edible oil and oilseeds	103	88	109	147	109
Total food	353	473	607	367	397
Intermediate goods					
Crude petroleum	343	240	226	178	137
Petroleum products	160	171	133	176	128
Fertilizer	104	68	137	103	22
Cement	33	44	26	40	55
Raw cotton	108	56	106	52	85
Other [2]	749	539	796	757	851
Total intermediate goods	1,497	1,118	1,424	1,306	1,278
Capital goods	683	655	616	691	725
TOTAL	2,533	2,246	2,647	2,364	2,400

[1] Projected.
[2] Includes minor imports of food.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh Bank, Statistics Department, *Annual Import Payments, 1985-86,* Dhaka, 1986, 135-41.

Table 15. Major Trading Partners, Fiscal Year 1986
(in millions of takas) *

Country	Exports	Imports	Total	Percentage of Total Trade
Belgium	1,015	347	1,362	1.5
Britain	1,569	2,360	3,929	4.3
Canada	453	2,260	2,713	3.0
China	747	2,370	3,117	3.5
India	76	3,038	3,114	3.4
Iran	959	1,078	2,037	2.2
Italy	1,488	336	1,824	2.0
Japan	1,946	8,233	10,179	11.3
Malaysia	99	1,277	1,376	1.5
Netherlands	477	1,106	1,583	1.8
Pakistan	1,464	2,045	3,509	3.9
Saudi Arabia	190	1,716	1,906	2.1
Singapore	1,272	9,071	10,343	11.5
South Korea	235	3,700	3,935	4.4
United Arab Emirates	195	3,222	3,417	3.8
United States	6,862	5,088	11,950	13.2
West Germany	716	2,623	3,339	3.7
Other	7,633	13,059	20,692	22.9
TOTAL	27,396	62,929	90,325	100.0

* For value of the taka—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Bangladesh, Ministry of Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Statistics Division, *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987,* Dhaka, July 1988, 329-32.

Table 16. Government Ministries, 1982 and 1988

December 1982	July 1988
Agriculture	Agriculture
Chief Martial Law Administrator's Secretariat*	Civil Aviation and Tourism
Commerce and Industries	Communications
Defence and Civil Aviation	Cultural Affairs
Education, Religious Affairs, Sports, and Cultural Affairs	Defence
Finance and Planning	Education and Culture
Flood Control, Energy, and Mineral Resources	Energy and Mineral Resources
Food and Relief	Establishment and Reorganization
Foreign Affairs	Finance
Health and Population Control	Fisheries and Livestock
Home Affairs	Food
Information and Broadcasting	Foreign Affairs
Labour and Manpower	Health and Family Planning
Law, Land Administration, and Land Reforms,	Home Affairs
Local Government, Rural Development, and Cooperatives	Industries
President's Secretariat*	Information
Public Works and Urban Development	Jute
Social Welfare and Women's Affairs	Labour and Manpower
Transport and Communication	Land
	Law and Justice
	Local Government, Rural Development, and Cooperatives
	Planning
	Religious Affairs
	Shipping
	Social Welfare and Women's Affairs
	Textiles
	Works and Urban Development
	Youth Development and Sports

*Ministerial-level organization.

Source: Based on information from United States, Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, *Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments,* Washington, December 1982, 6; and United States, Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, *Chiefs of State and Cabinet Members of Foreign Governments,* Washington, July–August 1988, 5–6.

Table 17. Parliamentary Election Results, 1973–88

Party	Number of Seats Won			
	1973	1979	1986	1988
Awami League	282	41 [1]	76	—
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	—	207	—	—
Jamaat e Islami	—	—	10	—
Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal	1	8	7 [2]	21 [3]
Jatiyo Party	—	—	153	251
Muslim League	—	—	4	—
Muslim League—Islamic Democratic League	—	20	—	—
Other parties	1	8	18	2
Independents	5	16	32	25
TOTAL	289	300	300	299

— means did not participate.

[1] Abdul Malik Ukil faction thirty-nine seats; Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury faction two seats.

[2] A.S.M. Abdur Rab faction four seats; Shajahan Siraj faction three seats.

[3] Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal three seats; Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal (A.S.M. Abdur Rab) eighteen seats.

Table 18. Army Chiefs of Staff, 1971–88

Name and Rank	Appointed by	Tenure
M.A.G. Osmany (General)	Bangladesh government-in-exile	December 1971–April 1972 (commander in chief of armed forces)
K.M. Shafiullah (Colonel)	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	April 1972–August 1975 (dismissed after coup)
Ziaur Rahman (Major General)	Khondakar Mushtaque Ahmed	August–November 1975 (dismissed in November 3 coup)
Khaled Musharraf (Brigadier)	Self	November 3–7, 1975 (ringleader of short-lived coup; killed on November 7)
Ziaur Rahman (Major General)	-Do-	November 7, 1975–November 1980
Hussain Muhammad Ershad (Major General, later Lieutenant General)	Ziaur Rahman	December 1980–August 1986
Atiqur Rahman (Lieutenant General)	Hussain Muhammad Ershad	September 1, 1986–

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Glossary

Awami League (People's League)—Political party of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Founded in 1949; won absolute majority in putative Pakistan Constituent Assembly in 1970, an event leading to 1971 civil war and Bangladesh independence.

Bangla—Official language of Bangladesh; often referred to as Bengali before 1971. An Indo-European language.

Bangladesh National Party—Political party of Ziaur Rahman (Zia). Founded in 1978 and became majority party during Zia's presidency.

Bengal—Formerly province of British India, now encompasses India's state of West Bengal and all of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan—*q.v.*) During Mughal period (1526-1858) a province, later governed by a president of the British East India company, and during the British Raj (*q.v.*), a state.

Bengali calendar—Year begins on April 15 of the Gregorian calendar; based on Muslim, or hijra (*q.v.*) calendar and used widely in religious life.

British Raj—Period of British colonial rule (1858-1947) over India, including those parts of British India that were to become Pakistan (on August 15, 1947) and Bangladesh (on December 16, 1971).

Chittagong Hill Tracts—Commonly used name for area comprising Rangamati, Khagrachari, and Bandarban regions in southeastern Bangladesh.

crore—In Bangladesh, as elsewhere in South Asia, large numerical units are usually expressed in crores; a crore is 10 million.

Delhi Sultanate—period of early Indian-based Islamic rule of Bengal (1206-1341). The Delhi Sultanate continued in India proper until 1526.

district—*zila* in Bangla (*q.v.*). One of major administrative subdivisions in Bangladesh; an average of three districts make up each of the twenty-one regions of Bangladesh. In 1988 there were sixty-four districts in Bangladesh.

East Bengal—Eastern part or East Wing of Pakistan from August 15, 1947, to December 16, 1971. Another name for East Pakistan (*q.v.*).

East Pakistan—From August 15, 1947, to December 16, 1971, the eastern part, or East Wing, of united Pakistan. Seceded in 1971 to become Bangladesh.

East Wing—*See* East Pakistan.

fiscal year (FY)—July 1 through June 30.

freedom fighters—*See* Mukti Bahini.

gross domestic product (GDP)—A value measure of the flow of domestic goods and services produced by an economy over a period of time, such as a year. Only output values of goods for final consumption and investment are included because the values of primary and intermediate production are assumed to be included in final prices. GDP is sometimes aggregated and shown at market prices, meaning that indirect taxes and subsidies are included; when these have been eliminated, the result is GDP at factor cost. The word *gross* indicates that deductions for depreciation of physical assets have not been made. *See* also gross national product.

gross national product (GNP)—Gross domestic product (*q.v.*) plus the net income or loss stemming from transactions with foreign countries. GNP is the broadest measurement of the output of goods and services of an economy. It can be calculated at market prices, which include indirect taxes and subsidies. Because indirect taxes and subsidies are only transfer payments, GNP is often calculated at factor cost by removing indirect taxes and subsidies.

hadith—Tradition, based on the precedent of the Prophet Muhammad's nondivinely revealed deeds and words, that serves as one of the sources of Islamic law (sharia—*q.v.*).

hijra—Literally, to migrate, to sever relations, to leave one's tribe. Throughout the Muslim world, hijra refers to the migration of Muhammad and his followers to Medina in A.D. 622, marking the start of the Muslim era. In this sense, the word has come into European languages as "hegira" and is usually and somewhat misleadingly translated as "flight."

imam—In general use, means the leader of congregational prayers, implying no ordination or special spiritual powers beyond sufficient education to carry out this function. The word is also used figuratively by many Sunni Muslims to mean the leader of the Islamic community. Among Shia Muslims, it indicates the particular descendant of the House of Ali who is believed to have been God's designated repository of the spiritual authority inherent in that line. The identity of this individual and the means of ascertaining his identity have been the major issues causing divisions among the Shias (*q.v.*).

International Monetary Fund (IMF)—Established along with the World Bank (*q.v.*) in 1945, the IMF is a specialized agency affiliated with the United Nations and is responsible for stabilizing international exchange loans to its members (including

industralized and developing countries) when they experience balance of payments difficulties. These loans frequently carry conditions that require substantial internal economic adjustments by the recipients, most of which are developing countries.

Jatiyo Party—Political party of Hussain Muhammed Ershad. Established in 1985 and won majority control of Parliament in 1986 and 1988 elections.

jihad—The struggle to establish the law of God on earth, often interpreted to mean "holy war."

Mukti Bahini—Literally, liberation force, frequently taken to mean freedom fighters; the pro-Awami League (*q.v.*) military forces that led civil war against the Pakistani Army in 1971.

sharia—Islamic law.

Shia (or Shiite, from Shiat Ali, the Party of Ali)—A member of the smaller of the two great divisions of Islam. The Shias support the claims of Ali and his line to presumptive right to the caliphate and leadership of the Muslim community, and on this issue they remain divided from the Sunnis (*q.v.*). Shias revere twelve imams, the last of whom is believed to be hidden from view.

Shiite—*See* Shia.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)—comprises the seven nations of South Asia: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka; founded at a meeting of foreign ministers in New Delhi on August 1-2, 1983; inaugural meeting of heads of state and government in Dhaka on December 7-8, 1986. The goal is to effect economic, technical, and cultural cooperation and to provide a forum for discussion of South Asian political problems.

subdistrict—*upazila* in Bangla (*q.v.*). A rural administrative subdivision of a district (*q.v.*). In 1988 there were 460 subdistricts in Bangladesh.

Sufi—Comes from *suf,* the Arabic word for "wool." The term derives from the practice of wearing a woolen robe, a sign of dedicating oneself to the mystical life, known in Islam as becoming a Sufi. Sufis seek mystical union with God and were condemned by some Sunni (*q.v.*) legal schools.

Sufism—*See* Sufi.

Sunni—Comes from sunna meaning "custom," giving connotation of orthodoxy. A member of the larger of the two great divisions of Islam. The Sunnis supported the traditional method of election to the caliphate and accepted the Umayyad line. On this issue they divided from the Shias (*q.v.*) in the first great schism within Islam.

Sunni Islam—*See* Sunni. Sometimes given as Sunnite Islam.

taka—Bangladesh's unit of currency adopted in 1971, derives from the word *tonka,* the Iranian coinage used during the Delhi Sultanate (*q.v.*). In September 1988, the official exchange rate was US$1 equals Tk34.20. One hundred paisas constitute 1 taka; there are 1-, 5-, 10-, 25-, 50-, and 100-paisa coins and banknotes in 1-, 10-, 20-, 50-, 100-, and 500-taka denominations. Ten million takas equals 1 crore (*q.v.*) takas.

ulama—Man trained in Islamic theology.

union—A rural administrative unit, subdivision of a subdistrict (*upazila--q.v.*). In 1988 there were 4,401 unions in Bangladesh.

upazila—See subdistrict.

World Bank—Informal name used to designate a group of three affiliated international institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC). The IBRD, established in 1945, has the primary purpose of providing loans to developing countries for productive projects. The IDA, a legally separate loan fund but administered by the staff of the IBRD, was set up in 1960 to furnish credits to the poorest developing countries on much easier terms than those of conventional IBRD loans. The IFC, founded in 1956, supplements the activities of the IBRD through loans and assistance designed specifically to encourage the growth of productive private enterprises in the less developed countries. The president and certain senior officers of the IBRD hold the same positions in the IFC. The three institutions are owned by the governments of the countries that subscribe their capital. To participate in the World Bank group, member states must first belong to the International Monetary Fund (IMF—*q.v.*).

zamindar—Landlord, but particularly of the group of landlords and the zamindar system that emerged after the British Permanent Settlement (Landlease) Act of 1793. In essence, the former tax collectors of the Mughal period (1526–1858) became landlords under the British. Zamindar tenure was abolished in 1950.

zila—See district.

Index

Published Country Studies

(Area Handbook Series)

550-65	Afghanistan	550-153	Ghana
550-98	Albania	550-87	Greece
550-44	Algeria	550-78	Guatemala
550-59	Angola	550-174	Guinea
550-73	Argentina	550-82	Guyana
550-169	Australia	550-151	Honduras
550-176	Austria	550-165	Hungary
550-175	Bangladesh	550-21	India
550-170	Belgium	550-154	Indian Ocean
550-66	Bolivia	550-39	Indonesia
550-20	Brazil	550-68	Iran
550-168	Bulgaria	550-31	Iraq
550-61	Burma	550-25	Israel
550-37	Burundi/Rwanda	550-182	Italy
550-50	Cambodia	550-30	Japan
550-166	Cameroon	550-34	Jordan
550-159	Chad	550-56	Kenya
550-77	Chile	550-81	Korea, North
550-60	China	550-41	Korea, South
550-26	Colombia	550-58	Laos
550-33	Commonwealth Caribbean, Islands of the	550-24	Lebanon
550-91	Congo	550-38	Liberia
550-90	Costa Rica	550-85	Libya
550-69	Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	550-172	Malawi
550-152	Cuba	550-45	Malaysia
550-22	Cyprus	550-161	Mauritania
550-158	Czechoslovakia	550-79	Mexico
550-36	Dominican Republic/Haiti	550-76	Mongolia
550-52	Ecuador	550-49	Morocco
550-43	Egypt	550-64	Mozambique
550-150	El Salvador	550-88	Nicaragua
550-28	Ethiopia	550-157	Nigeria
550-167	Finland	550-94	Oceania
550-155	Germany, East	550-48	Pakistan
550-173	Germany, Fed. Rep. of	550-46	Panama

550-156	Paraguay	550-89	Tunisia
550-185	Persian Gulf States	550-80	Turkey
550-42	Peru	550-74	Uganda
550-72	Philippines	550-97	Uruguay
550-162	Poland	550-71	Venezuela
550-181	Portugal	550-32	Vietnam
550-160	Romania	550-183	Yemens, The
550-51	Saudi Arabia	550-99	Yugloslavia
550-70	Senegal	550-67	Zaire
550-180	Sierra Leone	550-75	Zambia
550-184	Singapore	550-171	Zimbabwe
550-86	Somalia		
550-93	South Africa		
550-95	Soviet Union		
550-179	Spain		
500-96	Sri Lanka		
550-27	Sudan		
550-47	Syria		
550-62	Tanzania		
550-53	Thailand		

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